

Peter Martyr and His Works

BY HENRY R. WAGNER

THE name which I have chosen for the subject of this article is so well known to English readers that I varied from my custom of not translating foreign proper names into their English equivalents, so I call him Peter Martyr instead of his Italian name, Pietro Martire, or his Spanish one, Pedro Martyr, or his Latin one, Petrus Martyr. In writing this sketch of Martyr and his works I have only consulted a few biographies of him, for one reason because some of these were not available and for another because I wanted to set forth my own views. I have, however, obtained some assistance from the *Petrus Martyr* of Herman A. Schumacher, New York, 1879, the *Pierre Martyr d'Anghera* of J. A. Mariéjol, Paris, 1887, the *Lettres de Pierre Anghiera* of Paul Gaffarel and Abbé Louvet, Paris, 1885, and more especially from the Introduction to the English translation of *De Orbe Novo* of Francis A. MacNutt, New York, 1912. MacNutt had the just mentioned works at hand and his life of Martyr has most of the facts set forth in them. His translation was made from the Richard Hakluyt Paris edition of 1587. Whenever I have not used the original works the quotations from *De Orbe Novo* are taken from his translation. For the letters of Martyr my inadequate knowledge of Latin made it necessary to call for help. Dr. H. E. Robbins of Pomona College kindly translated some of the troublesome letters for me, a service for which I tender my sincere thanks. The University of Chicago Press, publishers of Caro Lynn's *A College Professor of the Renaissance*, kindly

gave me permission to reprint Marineo's letter to Pedro Fajardo and I might add that I obtained several useful hints from the book itself.

Martyr, according to his own statement, now generally accepted, was born in Arona, a town near the south end of Lago Maggiore, on February 2, 1457.¹ Little is known of his life in Italy and that little is found in his own letters and in *De Orbe Novo*, for his contemporaries had nothing to say about it. His family name is unknown as he took, or was given, that of a Dominican, Pietro, who was assassinated in 1252, and whose memory was highly venerated in Milan as a martyr. He, himself, claimed to be a descendant of the noble house of Angleria, a town opposite Arona, on the same lake. This name he wrote Anguera, now known as Angera, and no doubt for this reason he was usually referred to as Anglerius, the Latinized form. Angera had belonged to the Visconti family and in 1397 was erected into a *condado* in favor of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan. In 1449 the country around the south end of the lake and the castle in Angera were given to Giovanni Borromeo who had been created Conte di Arona in 1445. The Borromeo family were bankers with branches in Barcelona and London.

In one of Martyr's letters he refers to the Trivulzios as being of his family.² It is therefore possible that Giovanni Borromeo was connected by marriage or descent with the Trivulzios. Several of Martyr's earliest letters are addressed to this Borromeo whom he calls "benefactor" of his family,³ and at the beginning of one of these he calls him his patron.

¹ Different biographers of Martyr have assigned different dates for his birth, ranging from 1445 to 1459. The 1445 was probably originally a typographical error for 1455 as such a wide difference is unlikely. It appears that Ignazio Ciampi in his *Pietro Martire*, published in 1875, examined this question so thoroughly that his date of 1457 is now generally accepted as the proper one.

² *Opus Epis.*, Amsterdam, 1670, Letter 239.

³ *Ibid.*, Letter 23.

In other letters he refers to Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, who was the son of Antonio Trivulzio and Francesca Visconti, as a relative, but in two places he merely refers to him as a fellow citizen.⁴ Everything indicates that he was in some way connected with Trivulzio and perhaps with Borromeo as well. In a letter addressed to his friend, Pedro Fajardo, from Zaragoza in August, 1502, after his return from Egypt, he goes into the question of his descent at some length. He says that the family was radicated in Angleria from the time of his great-great-grandfather.⁵ Apparently he was descended on his mother's side from French or German antecedents. The letter contains a full description of Arona, but no mention is contained in it of the Borromeo or Trivulzio family. Indeed, there is no information of value in the letter about his family. I believe he carefully concealed this. His friendship with Ascanio Sforza, Mercurio de Gattinara, and Luís Marliano, all fellow countrymen of his, indicates that he was well connected in Milan. Perhaps he was illegitimate, nothing uncommon in Italy in those days and to which but little stigma was attached. In one of his letters he alludes to his parents as having lived in Arona, perhaps better evidence that he was legitimate.

In 1477 Martyr went to Rome after having been educated in Milan by Giovanni Borromeo. Here he had two protectors, Ascanio Sforza and Giovanni Arcimboldo, later archbishop of Milan. From the numerous letters afterward written by Martyr to Pomponius Laetus we learn that he was on terms of intimacy with him and in all likelihood was a member of the famous Laetean Academy. He apparently read lectures at this time; he certainly had two pupils, Alonso Carillo, afterward bishop of Pamplona, and Pedro Ingherami, afterward archbishop of Braga, Portugal. When

⁴ *Opus Epis.*, Letters 239, 245, and 379.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Letter 248.

Francesco Negri, another Milanese, was governor of Rome under Innocent VIII, after 1484, Martyr served as his secretary. In the latter part of 1486, Iñigo López de Mendoza, the Conde de Tendilla, came to Rome to render homage to the new pope, Innocent, for his sovereign. This man was a younger son of the Marqués de Santillana. The conde's branch of the Mendoza family was perhaps the most noted of any in Spain. Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, was his grandson. He became acquainted with Martyr and persuaded him to accompany him to Spain. They left in September, 1487, and arrived in Spain in December. Martyr's reasons for this change are given in his earliest printed letters. In the first, he says that Italy was a divided country—Spain soldered into one. In Italy the princes were unable to agree; in Spain they were in accord. In his second letter to Conde de Borromeo he intimates that he went to Spain to join in the war against the Moors, and this may have been his chief reason.⁶ Although at Rome he was connected with the Laetean Academy, where the atmosphere was anything but clerical, Martyr remained a good churchman all his life. Perhaps wanderlust was at the bottom of the change. From his letter of May 21, 1488, it appears that the queen had taken him under her protection, and his reference to children indicates that already he was in charge of the children of the queen's court. He lived with her camp.⁷

Judging from his letter of September 1, 1492, from Zaragoza it seems that he then had a school at the court, consisting, as it afterward appeared, of sons of the nobles,⁸ some of whose names he mentions. In this letter he says he already had his house full of noisy children. In October he

⁶ *Opus Epis.*, Nos. 1 and 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 23.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 115. He left Granada about the middle of April, 1492, and first went to Segovia (Letter 106).

was made a *contino* of the royal house and in the order appointing him he is called "orador." With this he obtained a salary of 30,000 maravedis.⁹ How long this undertaking lasted is very uncertain. Martyr, in his letter of May 15, 1493, first announced the return of Colón, with no more than a brief mention of his discoveries. It was not until September 13 that he wrote some account of them.

In 1497 Martyr was selected as a diplomatic agent to go to Bohemia to settle a quarrel in which the daughter of the king of Naples, Ferdinand, was involved. She was the widow of Matthias Corvinus, the king of Hungary, and was married to the king of Bohemia. He tried to repudiate her and Fernando, the king of Spain, on her appeal, took it on himself to champion her cause. Martyr was appointed to lay the case before the pope on the way. It was learned that the pope favored the cause of the king against his wife and the project was abandoned. Soon, however, a new opening for diplomatic action arose in Egypt where the Mohammedans in power threatened reprisals against the Christians in the Levant and against Christian pilgrims to the holy places in the Holy Land. It was decided to send Martyr on this delicate and dangerous business. Why Martyr was chosen is rather a mystery; I suspect it was because he was an Italian. He accepted the appointment and with it some instructions to present a secret message to the Venetian government which was suspected of harboring intentions to aid the French.

Martyr left Spain in late August and, proceeding by land through France, reached Venice on October 1. Here he delivered his message on October 6 and, after stopping at various islands, arrived at Alexandria on December 23. The French Consul offered him hospitality and while waiting to

⁹ *Col. de Docs. Inéditos para la Historia de España*, Tomo 39, p. 398. Just what Martyr meant by *orador* is uncertain. He called ambassadors *oradores*.

go on, he viewed the wreck of that once great city. On January 26, 1502, he started up the Nile on the journey to Cairo, which he called Babylon. At the time its sultan, named Cansa Alguri, had as interpreter a Spaniard by birth and a renegade. He assured Martyr that in his heart he was still a Christian and certainly, according to Martyr's account, acted as such in Martyr's behalf. After the customary delay, Martyr was received rather graciously and finally, in spite of the opposition of the populace and the Mohammedan clergy, a contract was signed, and on February 21 a final audience took place. Two months more Martyr spent in Egypt in seeing the sights and on April 22 he left Alexandria for Venice.

The treaty or compact agreed on was brought about by Martyr's blaming all the trouble in Spain on the Jews. As the sultan also detested the Jews they met on common ground. The monks in the Holy Land were granted certain privileges; tributes and payments by pilgrims were reduced, and they were granted personal safety.

What the sultan received for his contribution toward peaceful relations is not clear, but apparently Martyr extended brilliant hopes for the treatment of the Moors in Spain.

Martyr's visit to Egypt and his account of it published in 1511 in his *Legatio Babilonica* was possibly the earliest knowledge of that country to be given to the Western Europeans for many centuries. He visited the pyramids and the sphinx and speculated about the hieroglyphics. Altogether his account is filled with a mass of information about the country and some of the islands at which he stopped. The *Legatio* ends at Alexandria on the Fourth of the Nones of April, 1502.

Martyr reached Venice on June 30 to find a new doge installed. Here, without waiting for instructions from Spain

he opened negotiations with him after giving him the same message which he had delivered to the Senate on his first arrival. The French envoys took advantage of his interference to denounce him and made it so unpleasant that he left the city and went to Milan. He visited his birthplace, Arona, and became sentimental about it. He thought he would like to spend his declining years there as abbot of San Gratian and tried hard to obtain the post but without success. He returned to Spain before August 10 as his first letter after his return is dated at Zaragoza on that day. His course can be pretty well timed by his letters.

After his return in 1502 he was appointed *maestro en las artes liberales de los caballeros de la corte*.¹⁰ In 1504 he was made papal prothonotary and prior of Granada,¹¹ having apparently taken holy orders in 1494. This was about the only method which a man of his training could employ to make a living. In 1522 Pope Adriano appointed him arch priest of Ocaña and in 1524 he was created abbot of Jamaica by Carlos V, and built a church on the island.¹² These various appointments and minor ones, not here specified, must have secured him a respectable income.

Martyr's political appointments were more important. So far as now known he first became connected with the Consejo de Indias in 1518. Las Casas assures us that he saw him received into that body in Zaragoza.¹³ The year was probably 1518, and there is some evidence to the same effect in

¹⁰ *Col. de Docs. Inéditos para la Historia de España, Tomo 39, p. 399.* The salary which he had been enjoying of the same amount up to that time was cancelled. The following are all of his pupils whose names can be gleaned from his letters: Luís Hurtado de Mendoza, don Juan de Portugal, García de Toledo, Pedro Fajardo, Luís Sánchez, Pedro Marqués de Priego, Alonso de Silva, son of the Conde de Cifuentes, Duque de Cardona, Duque de Villahermosa, Iñigo de Mendoza and Pedro Giron.

¹¹ Catholic Encyclopedia, under Martyr. Herman A. Schumacher in his *Petrus Martyr*, New York, 1879, p. 55, says in 1505.

¹² *Opus Epis.*, No. 800. The provision of possession was dated December 19, 1524. *Docs. Ultramar*, vol. 14, p. 24 and 112. See also the emperor's letter to his ambassador in Rome of August 15, 1524, *Docs. Inéditos*, vol. 7, p. 449.

¹³ *Historia*, vol. 4, p. 213.

Martyr's letters. In March, 1518, he refers to Mota as a member of the Consejo but he does not call it "our" Consejo or refer to himself as a member.¹⁴ In October, however, in speaking of the decision to send Magellan to the Spice Islands he refers to "our" *Senatu regio de rebus Indicis*.¹⁵ It would therefore appear that he had been appointed to the Consejo between March and October and consequently Casas was right. According to the books of the Consejo, Martyr was not added to that body until September 26, 1521. The Consejo itself was founded by an order of May 17, 1520, although it had existed in some form for many years.¹⁶ No mention of Martyr by Santacruz occurs before his appointment as chronicler in 1524.¹⁷

The difficulty in tracing the history of the Consejo arises from the fact that it seems to have at first formed part of the Real Consejo in Castile. Antonio de León in his *Tablas Cronológicas de los Reales Consejos*¹⁸ states that in 1511 a junta was formed for the business of the Indies with the title of Consejo. He does not mention any further change except for the appointment of subsidiary officers until 1524, when it received its final form of "Royal and Supreme" with headquarters in Valladolid. In his letter of August 3, 1524, announcing the fact Martyr makes a peculiar remark. He says "Suo Caesareo chirographo me imperat ad esse."¹⁹ I judge this to mean that his appointment was made in the emperor's handwriting, but it has been asserted that at this time Martyr was made cronista of the Consejo. Nothing can be more certain, however, than that Francisco de los Cobos was

¹⁴ *Opus Epis.*, No. 613.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 629.

¹⁶ *Docs. de Ultramar*, Tomo 14, p. 20.

¹⁷ *Crónica*, Madrid, 1920, vol. 2, p. 93.

¹⁸ Madrid, 1892.

¹⁹ *Opus Epis.*, No. 800.

then secretary and had been since 1517.²⁰ Later Martyr made many references to "our" Council of the Indies in his letters as well as in the *De Orbe Novo*.

In spite of the assertions by Santacruz and others that Martyr was appointed chronicler it does not appear that he ever wrote any formal history. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo also refers to him as a Cronista, but that does not necessarily mean that he had an official appointment as such. In a sense, of course, the Decades are history, but four of them were written and published before 1524, and three, in fact, had been printed eight years earlier. A comparison of these with the letters of Martyr which have been printed, shows that there is no essential difference between them except in detail. He himself says that he does not write as a professional historian, but tells a simple story by means of letters.²¹ When he left Italy in 1487, he promised his Italian friends to keep them posted about occurrences in Spain, and he was not long in beginning a lengthy correspondence, much of which, no doubt, was afterward printed in 1516. The First Decade in this edition was addressed to his friends in Italy with the exception of Book 10, which was not written until 1510 or 1511 and was in the form of an epilogue addressed to Íñigo López de Mendoza, explaining how he had come to write the first nine books. The Second Decade consists of letters addressed to Leo X and the last is dated December 6, 1514. The Third Decade was also addressed to Leo X and was finished in 1516, the last date mentioned being October 13.

²⁰ Santacruz, *Crónica*, vol. 2, p. 93. Among the documents relating to Peter Martyr in Tomo, 39, page 400 of the *Docs. Inéditos para la historia de España* is a *cedula* dated March 5, 1520, appointing him *Cronista* with a salary of 80,000 *maravedis*. Apparently he succeeded Francisco de Vargas. In this *cedula* he was also called *del nuestro Consejo*. MacNutt in *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, p. 39, evidently refers to this appointment, which is probably correct, although contrary to Santacruz's statement.

²¹ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, p. 180.

During all this time Martyr had been writing letters to his friends in Italy and others in Spain on all sorts of subjects. He continued this practice until 1525 and possibly later. After 1500 few were addressed to friends in Italy. Altogether eight hundred and thirteen of his letters were printed as the *Opus Epistolarum* in Alcalá in 1530. It is asserted in the Introduction to this edition that the letters had been collected by Antonio de Lebrija and the Conde de Tendilla from those to whom they had been addressed. The Marqués de Mondéjar had died in 1515 and Lebrija died in 1522; perhaps the Conde was the son of the Marqués. Owing to the great number of people to whom these were addressed I think it reasonable to suppose that Martyr kept copies of them.²² On the other hand, we know from various of his letters that he had written others which were not printed. The *Opus Epistolarum* has been only once reprinted, in Amsterdam in 1670, and has never yet been translated into either French or English, so far as I know. Several letters concerning Colón were translated by John Boyd Thacher in his book on his discoveries and those, as well as most of the others relating to the Indies, were translated into French by Paul Gaffarel and published in Paris in 1885. Gaffarel omitted a few of the important ones. There is an occasional difference in dates of the letters in the two editions.

Some controversy has arisen over alleged anachronisms in Martyr's letters, and by some he has been charged with having antedated some of them intentionally; it is certainly obvious that some are misdated. This I believe was the fault of the editors who either misread the original dates or erred in copying them. Sometimes Martyr is a little late with his news, but as he may not have written to the same man for

²² Thacher in his *Christopher Columbus*, vol. 1, p. 71, also was of the opinion that Martyr gave copies of his letters to prominent people and used them for working up his *De Orbe Novo*.

some time previously, the news to the recipient could still have been fresh. His style is what we would now call "journalistic," although sometimes his sentences are involved. His letters may generally be divided into two classes, personal and news letters, though sometimes they are a little mixed. Most of them are directed to the Conde de Tendilla and after his death to his son, the Marqués de Mondéjar. A large number are addressed to his friend, Pedro Fajardo, who became Marqués de Velez in 1505. While Hernando de Talavera, the archbishop of Granada, was alive, Martyr frequently wrote to him and sometimes jointly to him and the Conde de Tendilla. His personal letters are generally of but little interest and of even less historical value. He seems to have written a good many of them to prominent people simply to let them know he was still alive.

Martyr was a kind of funnel through which information and news from Spain and the Indies was transmitted to Italy and news of Italy to friends in Spain. Generally, he was interested in international politics, and after Spain became involved in this vortex he paid a great deal of attention to them. It is only from his replies to letters from Italy that we can deduce in general what these contained. Some of the leading men of the court in Spain were Italians, Lucio Marineo, a Sicilian; Mercurio de Gattinara, the great chancellor who succeeded Sauvage in 1518; and Luís Marliano, the physician of Carlos V and afterward bishop of Tuy in Galicia. Marliano was born in Milan and according to Martyr was related to him by marriage,²³ and affiliated with his family of Angleria. Gattinara was a near neighbor of his as he was also born in Arona.²⁴ Martyr writes in 1518 that he and Gattinara had been friends since the latter came to Monzón as ambassador. Some of his personal letters were

²³ *Opus Epis.*, Nos. 644 and 676.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 630.

addressed to his youngest brother, Giovanni Battista, and to an intermediate brother, Giorgio.²⁵

Martyr died in Granada on October 31, 1526, and was buried in the cathedral.²⁶ His will was signed on September 23.²⁷ In this he refers to himself as Pedro Martir de Angleria. At this time Giovanni Battista was dead, and had left a daughter, Laura.²⁸ Martyr left one thousand ducats to a friend to redeem property in Arona which had belonged to his parents, or buy other property for the benefit of his brother, Giorgio Anguera, with instructions to him to keep his niece, Laura, who was to be the final heir. A curious provision of the will stipulated that in case Laura married outside of Arona she and her husband were obliged to return to live there as he desired that his parents' house should not disappear from the town. To another niece, Lucrecia, a nun, daughter of Giovanni Battista, he left eighty ducats. As all these relatives lived or had lived in Arona, a natural question arises: Why did Martyr use the name Angleria or Anglerius? Antonio de León refers to him as Doc. Don Pedro Mátyr de Angleria.²⁹ The Doc., which must stand for Doctor, puzzles me. I do not see where or when he obtained the title. Martyr also had an illegitimate nephew who came to Spain in January, 1508, and brought letters to him from Italy.³⁰ Possibly the letters came from Trivulzio, as Martyr wrote Trivulzio about it. He left the nephew twenty ducats in his will.

A few quotations from some of Martyr's letters will show his conception of the new discoveries. In November, 1493,

²⁵ *Opus Epis.*, Nos. 18, 78, 412, 422, and 79, the latter to his brother, Giorgio.

²⁶ Santacruz, *Crónica*, vol. 2, p. 249.

²⁷ *Docs. Inéd.*, Tomo 39, p. 398 *et seq.*

²⁸ MacNutt in the Introduction to his translation of the *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, p. 3, says he died in 1516.

²⁹ *Tablas Cronológicas de los reales consejos*, Madrid, 1892, p. 28.

³⁰ *Opus Epis.*, Nos. 376, 386, and 387.

he speaks of the "New World;"³¹ in October, 1494, of the discovery of gold in the "New World;"³² and later in the same month of the "Western Hemisphere."³³ In December he writes of the gold nuggets brought back. In April, 1494, he discusses the question whether Colón's discoveries were a new continent and displays his skepticism about Colón's opinion of the short distance from them to Asia,³⁴ but he seemed to be somewhat uncertain about the matter. The subject did not bring forth much speculation at the time, at least little was published about it. The most effective elucidation of the subject was written by Rodrigo de Santaella in the preface to his translation of Marco Polo, published in Seville in 1503. He ridiculed the idea that because gold had been found in Española this proved that it was in the Indies, and averred that the name Indies was entirely inappropriate to that island.

The entire First Decade relates to Colón and his expeditions and to that of Pinzón. It was finished about 1500 or 1501 except for the epilogue. A transcript of it was given to an Italian who carried it to Italy where it was printed in 1504, greatly paraphrased as *Libretto de tutta la navigatione de Re de Spagna*.³⁵ This was reprinted in 1507 in the *Paesi nuouamente retrouati* together with some account of early Portuguese navigation. It is of this edition that Martyr himself complained as having been printed without his consent.³⁶ He himself printed the First Decade in 1511 in

³¹ *Opus Epis.*, 138.

³² *Ibid.*, 142.

³³ *Ibid.*, 144.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 164.

³⁵ Henry Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Additions*, Paris, 1872, No. 16, from the then only known copy in the Marciana in Venice, lacking the title. In 1904 the John Carter Brown Library secured a perfect copy.

³⁶ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, p. 249. However, in this paragraph Martyr states that he had allowed copies to be made of the first three Decades by some of the Venetian ambassadors to Spain. This, I think, indicates that he knew of the publication. The *Opera* is evidently the book referred to in his letter said to have been stolen from Martyr by Lucio Marineo and given to Fajardo. I believe, however, that it was a manuscript and was printed as the *Opera*. See Dr. Caro Lynn's *A College Professor of the Renaissance*, Chicago, 1937.

Seville, with an account of his expedition to Egypt, and was responsible for printing the first three Decades in Alcalá in 1516. The Fourth Decade written probably in May, 1520, was printed in Bâsle in 1521 as: *De Nuper sub D. Carolo Repertis Insulis, simulque incolarum moribus*. This was reprinted in 1530 with the complete work with slight changes of no importance. Nowhere did Martyr make reference to its previous publication in Bâsle so far as known, but it is not impossible that he may have done so in some of his numerous letters. Possibly his remark at the end of his letter of March 7, (No. 717), 1521 alludes to it. This Bâsle edition contains a dedication obviously inserted by the printer. At the end it is dated the *Nones* of January, that is, January 3. The question at once arises: Is this old style or new style, that is, 1521 or 1522? This problem has never been satisfactorily settled. Old style was still in common use but writers generally assume that the year given in these letters is in accordance with the beginning of the year on January 1. Undoubtedly the January in Martyr's letters is the January of the New Year and not of the old.

As Martyr was never in the Indies all the information which he had to impart on this subject was derived from documents which he had examined or from interviews with people who had returned from them. Oviedo says Martyr received some information about the Indians on Cuba from Martín Fernández de Enciso.³⁷ I am inclined to believe that the first reference to the discovery of Yucatan will be found in Martyr's letter of July 20, 1518, telling of the arrival of people from Cuba. It is true that as he speaks in this of precious stones and 160 pearls the letter may refer to pearl discoveries on the continental coast of South America. I am, however, more inclined to believe that it refers to the voyage of Francisco Hernández de Córdoba as he speaks in it

³⁷ *Historia de las Indias*, Madrid, 1851-55, vol. I, p. 499.

about discoveries to the west of Cuba where people lived under laws, traded, had books and idols and paved streets as well as magnificent temples. Such things had not been found in any part of the Indies before Yucatan was discovered.³⁸ Oviedo was in Barcelona in May, 1519, and writes of seeing some of the things brought by Benito Martín.³⁹ Martín went to Spain from Cuba after Grijalva's return with the objects brought back by him. Therefore, Martyr's letter may be misdated 1518 for 1519 as Martín could not have been there in May, 1518, nor is there any notice of books having been found by Hernández de Córdoba. In Martyr's letter of December 9, 1519, he speaks of Velásquez having sent Cortés to the recently discovered countries of Ulloa, Yucatan, and Cozumel.⁴⁰ In this letter he again speaks of books but plainly refers to the discoveries of Cortés, as he then knew of the arrival of the messengers, bearers of wonderful presents. He tells his friends that they will soon see them; consequently they were probably then in Valladolid. It is in this letter that he tells of his intention to consecrate a special work to the new country. From Barcelona, which he had just left, he had written a letter on December 1 about Garay the governor of Jamaica, and about his expedition, but gives no details.⁴¹ In none of his letters that has survived does he speak of Hernández de Córdoba or Grijalva by name.

Martyr was interested in the native books and later gave a long description of them.⁴² Even earlier, before 1516, he had written about a native who came to Darién from the west and, seeing a man reading a book, explained that where

³⁸ *Opus Epis.*, No. 623. (Probably the pearls came from one place and the rest of the information from another). About the time this letter was written, Casas in Zaragoza received Hernández de Córdoba's letter about his expedition.

³⁹ *Historia*, vol. 1, p. 538.

⁴⁰ *Opus Epis.*, No. 650.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, No. 649.

⁴² *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 40.

he came from there were also books but with different characters. He also declared that in his country the towns were walled and the people wore clothes and were governed by laws.⁴³ This man undoubtedly had come from Central America or Yucatan.

No other letter was devoted to the affairs of the Indies until one written from Valladolid on March 4, 1521, and a much longer and still more important one on the following day.⁴⁴ In the meantime he had obviously written what was finally called his Fourth Decade, the special work which he had proposed to write on the subject which he called "the new country." When first published in 1521, it was dedicated to Margaret, the daughter of Maximilian, but when reprinted in the complete edition of 1530, it was addressed to Leo X.

Martyr describes in this Decade the objects brought back by the procuradores of Cortés and gives a good description of the country so far as known on July 10, 1519, when they departed. He makes the following statement referring to objects of native apparel which they brought: "I pass them over in silence as I likewise do different incidents of the voyages, the labors, the miseries, the dangers, the wonderful achievements and all the misfortunes which each of our navigators had noted down in his log book and which have later been brought to our knowledge in our Royal India Council."⁴⁵ He then details some of the facts that he had allegedly learned from private correspondence. He soon, however, goes on to write about the colonists in Darien, a subject to which he devoted a large portion of his attention. By the time he wrote this Benito Martín had made his complaint about the actions of

⁴³ *De Orbe Novo.*, vol. 1, p. 402.

⁴⁴ *Opus Epis.*, Nos. 715, 717.

⁴⁵ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 47, also in Letter 665 of March 15, 1520. In this he says the account will be added to his Decades.

Cortés before the Consejo de Indias. Martyr said that judgment was postponed until both parties could be heard.⁴⁶ He quotes what the accused had to say, the accused no doubt being Montejo and Puertocarrero, who had been examined in Coruña in April, 1520.⁴⁷ It is apparent that Martyr, who was present in Coruña, obtained most of his information from these men and from Alaminos, the pilot. His statement that he obtained this information about the proceedings by correspondence, although he himself was then in Coruña, would seem to indicate that he was not present at the meetings.

The question has arisen whether Martyr consulted the first letter of Cortés. It is certain that the information contained in the Fourth Decade is much fuller than that in the letter of the *Regimiento*, since preceding the account of the Cortés expedition are short ones of those of Hernández de Córdoba and Grijalva, which he could not have drawn from Cortés' letter which did not mention them. An account of the Grijalva expedition had been published in Spain before he wrote this book and there is internal evidence that he obtained from it much of his information about it. Nevertheless, there is some small mention of the customs of the natives which he could not have so obtained; I suspect that Alaminos was his informant. An interesting coincidence, at least, is the story about the expedition to the Guanajas islands which was afterward told in almost the same language but more fully by Bartolomé de las Casas.⁴⁸ Martyr expressly states that he had questioned Alaminos, Montejo, and Puertocarrero, and nowhere, except in the passage referred to above about log books does he mention any documents. It might be said, however, to have been one of

⁴⁶ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 48.

⁴⁷ *Documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vol. 1, pp. 486-95.

⁴⁸ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 22, and Casas, *Historia*, vol. 4, p. 326.

Martyr's peculiarities that he seldom mentioned documents although he must have seen plenty of them and no doubt had taken information from them. At this time he must have been already a member of the Royal Council as he speaks of it as "our Council."

It is a noticeable fact that in his Fourth Decade, Martyr makes no reference to the sinking of the ships by Cortés nor to the punishment inflicted on the party which attempted to return to Cuba. This would seem to be rather positive evidence that these events had not happened before the procuradores left for Spain. Nevertheless, Montejo in his testimony in Coruña on April 29, 1520, stated positively that all the ships but three had been sunk before he left and Puertocarrero confirmed him. It seems impossible therefore that Martyr had not heard the news.

In the Fifth Decade Martyr proceeds with the conquest of Mexico and discusses it through the Eighth Decade. After the departure of the procuradores from Veracruz in July, 1519, no vessel appears to have reached Spain from that country until some time just before March 7, 1521, when Martyr mentioned in a letter the arrival of vessels from the south part of Cuba. He said that they brought news of fortified towns and of people wearing clothes and loaded with ornaments. The sailors, he said, had not yet reached him. When they did he would send more precise details.⁴⁹ Evidently a letter had arrived from the governor of Seville as on the same day Martyr sends on the news in another letter which the governor had transmitted. This letter contains an account of Temistitán and the customs of the inhabitants. At the end Martyr said the new land would be described in special new books, where, as he says, "you will find circumstantial details."⁵⁰ This means the Fifth

⁴⁹ *Opus Epis.*, No. 715.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 717.

Decade, and this contains such an account. Martyr even goes back to discuss some of the subjects he had written about in the Fourth Decade and here he tells about the sinking of the ships and the punishment inflicted on the would-be revolvers. The side remarks of Martyr are sometimes very illuminating. In his Fourth Decade he refers to the rumors of the disloyalty of Cortés current in Spain. In this Decade, speaking of Garay's squadron arriving near Veracruz in 1519, he writes: "Cortés sent messengers to him offering him the hospitality of his colony of Veracruz and any assistance he might require. One of these days we may learn whether in proceeding thus he was sincere."⁵¹

Martyr not only repeats in the Fifth Decade what Cortés wrote in his letter of October 30, 1520, but he even admits it.⁵² There are a few additions from other sources, especially an interesting one regarding the use of cacao as money. The first six books contain the substance of Cortés letter. As this letter was not printed until November 8, 1522, it might be supposed that these six books had been written subsequently and this may be true, because after describing the Magellan expedition in Book VII, he reverts to the siege of Mexico in Book VIII. The account of this event was probably not taken from Cortés' letters at all, as it seems possible that he had obtained the information from Diego de Ordáz, Alonso de Benavides, and from a private letter which he apparently had seen.⁵³ Benavides was on the small fleet which left Veracruz in 1522, with Alonso de Ávila and Antonio Quiñones, or else with Juan de Rivera who left shortly afterward. They carried Cortés' letter of May 30, 1522. Ávila was captured, Quiñones killed, and Rivera arrived in Spain in November. On December 13,

⁵¹ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 62.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 176. The private letter was probably that of Lic. Alonso Zuazo of November 14, 1521 *Icaz, Col. Docs.*, vol. 1, pp. 358 *et seq.*

1522, Martyr wrote a very interesting letter to Giovanni Ruffo de Forli, archbishop of Cosenza, about this event,⁵⁴ and in Book X he describes his interview with Rivera, one of the most interesting accounts of Mexico ever written.⁵⁵ The Decade was finished early in 1523. Martyr referred to the fact that the Consejo had confirmed Cortés as captain general of the country. "Velásquez," Martyr said, "was removed from authority in Cuba for having overstepped his powers by sending soldiers against Cortés in spite of the prohibition of the council in Española."

The Sixth Decade, a very short one, is devoted to the doings of Gil González de Ávila and Licenciado Espinosa. Part, at least, of this information was no doubt obtained from Espinosa. This was written after the conclusion of the conference at Badajoz in 1524. The Seventh Decade among other things is devoted to the expedition of Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón. It further contains some notices of Cortés, and mentions his making cannon of gold which Martyr says he does not believe. Book V of this Decade relates to the troubles of Francisco de Garay in the Pánuco region and to the expedition of Cristóbal de Olid to Honduras. This Decade was finished in the middle of 1525 and the Eighth and last about the first part of 1526. This contains another account of Garay's expedition to the Pánuco region, much fuller than the other.

Martyr, who had told the story of the capture of Cortés' presents,⁵⁶ informs us some time in 1525, that since the French pirates captured the presents sent to the emperor in 1522, Cortés had sent no other letter either to the emperor or to the Consejo so great was his chagrin and sorrow at this important loss. "Nevertheless," says Martyr, "quite a

⁵⁴ *Opus Epis.*, No. 771.

⁵⁵ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, pp. 191 et seq.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

number of other Spaniards have come at different times from those countries and this has given rise to the suspicion that Cortés meditated rebellion.⁵⁷ Finally, in Book X, Martyr mentions the arrival of three vessels from New Spain, carrying a long report of general interest drawn up by Cortés and his officials. This appears to have been the letter that Cortés wrote on October 15, 1524. Very few extracts were made from it but Martyr gives us the substance of a letter in cipher written by the chief accountant, Rodrigo de Albornoz.⁵⁸ In Martyr's letter he tells us of one Lupicus whom he had sent with Albornoz and who came back in 1525 with Diego de Soto; he no doubt brought Albornoz' letters. His name was Lope de Samaniego and he afterward returned to Mexico with Ponce de León in 1526.⁵⁹ From this letter Martyr apparently obtained his information about the expedition to Honduras. He speaks about the arrival of the famous Fenix⁶⁰ and about the offer of Rivera to supply the emperor with 200,000 pesos.⁶¹ The last note of any importance in the book concerning Mexico relates to the sending of Ponce de León who, Martyr says, was a modest man and remarkably intelligent.

Martyr's position at the court and as a member of the Consejo de Indias kept him in close touch with affairs in those regions. In an impartial and frequently highly judicious manner he often discusses them. He was especially interested in the career of Cortés and was loath to believe the calumnies repeated about him in Spain. He says,

should your Holiness [Clement VII] ever be puzzled to know whether Garay's misfortunes should be attributed to Cortés, whether he was responsible for the other's death and how he should be punished if that

⁵⁷ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 365.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

⁵⁹ *Opus Epist.*, Nos. 809 and 811.

⁶⁰ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 409. Diego de Soto brought this in 1524.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 410.

death was his doing, may your Holiness suspend judgment as I myself have done. In my opinion, an inquiry into so serious an offense should be concealed. One cannot put a bridle upon such a formidable elephant by similar means. Kindness and gentle treatment are better calculated to heal such a wound than severity which might irritate it. Time, the eternal judge of all things will do his work. Nevertheless, I believe that one day or another Cortés will be taken in the same net in which he first caught Diego Velásquez, governor of Cuba, who originally sent him to that country where he revolted against him, and afterward against Pánfilo de Narváez and more recently Garay, that is if the rumors about him are true.

"Perhaps," he says, "The hour is not so far distant when this debt must be paid."⁶² He then speaks of the rebellion of Olid in Honduras, and of the movements of Pedrarias Ávila and the fear that the rivalries of these captains will result in general ruin,

the more so since neither the emperor nor we of the royal council know what to decide, unless it be to increase by frequent decrees the power of the council of Española. In this wise, that council, invested with supreme authority and using courteous treatment, admonitions, and threats as they may be needed, may forestall any catastrophe, prevent dissension, and bring about harmony. The disobedient would risk being accused of treason, and would be punished. Moreover, the other Spanish gentlemen, who command troops, would not share their views if they disobeyed the king's orders. In our opinion it is not with armies that these discords are to be settled. Should we suspect treasonable dispositions in any of these captains, a little ink and parchment would suffice to reduce to powder any one who attempted to resist our decision. In the heart of all Spaniards lives a great quality—the desire for honor and praise; they wish to be thought loyal to their king. From one hour to another we expect ships from the New World. Should any hidden ill develop and come to a head, we will summon the surgeon to cure it.⁶³

This opinion, for which much can be said, appears to have been Martyr's final contribution to the subject of putting an end to the disorders in the Indies. Elsewhere he tells us that Diego García, an intimate friend of Garay's, had left Veracruz about April 1, 1524, and had reached Spain and confirmed the statement of Cristóbal Pérez Hernán that

⁶² *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, pp. 365-6.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

Garay died of pleurisy. The latter had been present at Garay's death.⁶⁴ Martyr mentions this fact, no doubt to evince his impartiality in the dissensions about Cortés.

In his letter of September 13, 1518, Martyr speaks of the bishop of Burgos as his friend.⁶⁵ In no place do I find any stricture on the bishop's conduct of the affairs of the Indies. In fact, Martyr always places the blame for the disturbances there on the adventurers themselves. In one passage he says plainly that the Consejo does not know what to do except extend the power of the governor of Española. Almost every man sent out to govern some province was, if possible, more crooked than his predecessor. There were some good, honest men in Spain but the bishop never seemed able to find one. From all we can learn there must have been collusion between him and his appointees. Martyr was too keen not to have suspected something, but no doubt he was too prudent to join in the attacks on his friend the bishop.

Martyr was greatly interested in the geography of the New World. He did not believe that the lands discovered by Colón were part of the Indies, but a New World. This idea developed slowly, as at first he apparently accepted Colón's theory. In the epilogue to the First Decade, written in 1510 or 1511, he tells us that Cuba, long considered to be a continent, had been found to be an island.⁶⁶ At the end of this book, after speaking of Colón's voyage of 1502, he says, "It is claimed that the western coasts have been visited by Vicente Yañes, Juan Díaz de Solís de Nebrissa and sundry others, but I have no precise information on this point."⁶⁷ In another place in the Second Decade Martyr says Vicente Yañes sailed along the south side of Cuba and then circumnavigated it. Then he sailed west and discovered the lands

⁶⁴ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 358.

⁶⁵ *Opus Epis.*, No. 628.

⁶⁶ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, p. 181.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

which Colón had first touched. Then he turned east and finally reached Paria.⁶⁸ At what point in the voyage Yañes sailed around Cuba is difficult to understand. No doubt he reached the western end and perhaps sailed along this far enough to satisfy himself that Cuba was an island. Martyr gives no date for the voyage but it must have been the one of 1508-9. Then he adds that many others have since reported that they had sailed around the island.

In Book X of the Second Decade, Martyr says that he examined, with the bishop of Burgos, a terrestrial globe and many maps, one drawn by the Portuguese with the alleged assistance of Vespuccius. Colón, he says, during his lifetime began another map while exploring these regions and his brother Bartolomé supported his opinion about the size of the continent: "Since then every Spaniard who thought he understood the science of computing measurements has drawn his own map; the most valuable are those made by the famous Juan de la Cosa, together with the ship's captain, Andrés Moranes [Morales]."⁶⁹ Then he and the bishop measured the coastal shore in leagues. The westernmost point was San Matteo, a river so named by Colón. He then adds: "A certain Asturian of Oviedo, Juan de Solís . . . asserts that he sailed westward from San Matteo to a distance of many leagues. As the coast bends toward the north it is consequently difficult to give exact figures but three hundred leagues may be approximately estimated."⁷⁰ Beyond Veragua the coast bends in a northerly direction to a point opposite the pillars of Hercules; that is, if we accept for our measuring certain lands discovered by the Spaniards more than 325 leagues from the northern coast of Española.

⁶⁸ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, p. 252.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 271-2. Here Martyr notes that sometimes the Spanish navigators measured by marine league of 4,000 paces and sometimes by land league of 3,000 paces. A little later he estimates the league as 3.8 miles (no doubt the Italian mile).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

Among these countries is an island called by us, Boinca, and by others, Aganeo. It is celebrated for a spring whose waters return youth to old men."⁷¹

Now a map illustrating the text just quoted exists, and what is more it is attached to the *Opera* of Martyr, published in Seville in 1511. All copies of the book do not contain the map which is on an unnumbered and unsigned leaf with an epistle on the verso, addressed to Cardinal Ximénez. In this the following sentence occurs: "At the north marvellous coasts and lands have been discovered of which on the recto see the engraved representation."⁷² This statement corroborates Martyr's words just quoted about the discoveries north of Española. HARRISSE, who made a study of the map concluded that it was added to a second issue of the book put out not after 1512. His reasons for this are somewhat tenuous to say the least and I see no reason why it could not have been inserted at any date after the original issue of April 11, 1511, or even in the first issue as believed by John Boyd Thacher.⁷³ The map is noticeable for showing a coastline north of the Bay of Honduras, just as far as opposite to the Strait of Gibraltar as indicated by Martyr in the above remarks about Juan de Solís' statement.

Where did Martyr obtain this information? In the investigation held in Spain in 1513 and 1515 concerning the discoveries of Colón, Díaz de Solís did not testify for some reason. Pedro de Ledesma declared that he was a pilot with Pinzón and Díaz de Solís on the expedition of 1508 and 1509 and that they discovered beyond Veragua toward

⁷¹ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, p. 274. Havana is in about 23° and the Pillars of Hercules in about 33°.

⁷² Henry HARRISSE, *Discovery of North America*, p. 139.

⁷³ *Christopher Columbus*. Thacher thought that Fernando, the king, objected to the map and Martyr cut it out. He had the idea that the map was drawn by Nuño García de Toreno in Seville and says there is a reference to it in the second book of Xerez' *Conquista del Peru* in 1534. He thought that the map was some proof of Vespucci's claim that he had visited this coast fifteen years before. I do not agree with this opinion: Vespucci never visited this coast.

the north of the Isla de Guanajas as far as $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, where Colón had never been.⁷⁴ Pinzón himself gave different testimony asserting that they discovered from the Isla de Guanajas to the province of Camarona, following the coast toward the east. Another witness,⁷⁵ Nicolás Pérez, although not a participant in the expedition declared that he took his information from a map which Pinzón and Díaz de Solís brought back. He said that Colón had discovered from Veragua to Cabo Gracias à Dios and that all beyond was discovered by Pinzón and Solís.⁷⁶ It is hardly possible to interpret Perez's testimony otherwise than as corroborating that given by Ledesma. Is it not possible that Martyr copied this map? Martyr's own description of the voyage states that "after Yañez had found Cuba to be an island, he sailed farther and discovered other lands, at which, however, Colón had first touched. He then kept to the left and following the continental coast toward the east, crossed the Uraba and Cachibacoa, touching finally with his ship at the region which in our First Decade we have explained was called Paria and Boca de la Sierpa."⁷⁷ The Decade in which this occurs is dated 1514. Here we see that he has varied completely from the statement made in the epilogue to the First Decade which I quoted above. Perhaps the solution of the problem may be that Pinzón, after circumnavigating Cuba, sailed west and discovered the Yucatan coast and then sailed south and finally east.

Much speculation has been devoted to this map. It is plain that it shows the alleged discoveries of Pinzón and Solís and corresponds to Peter Martyr's description in the text of the First Decade and his map of 1511. In a recent

⁷⁴ Martín Fernández de Navarrete, Madrid, 1825, *Viages*, etc., vol. 3, p. 558.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 558.

⁷⁶ HARRISSE, *Discovery*, p. 448.

⁷⁷ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, p. 252.

publication in Buenos Aires, *El Nacimiento del Nuevo Mundo* by Diego Luís Molinari, the author claims that this map is a reproduction of the padrón real as it existed at the time the book was published in 1511. It certainly bears some resemblance to copies of the padrón real afterward drawn, but if so it could only be a portion of it as the padrón real covered the known world, or at least the Atlantic ocean. Molinari claims, probably on the authority of John Boyd Thacher, that the map was suppressed by order of King Fernando.

According to Bartolomé de las Casas, Nicolás de Ovando sent Sebastián de Ocampo in 1508 to see whether Cuba was an island or mainland. He sailed along the north side of the island and finally entered the port now known as Havana. He rounded Cabo de San Antón, and anchored in Puerto Xagua. The voyage lasted eight months. It is probable that this is the voyage to which Martyr refers in the Epilogue to the First Decade. In 1941 in the *Geographical Review* an article was published by William Jerome Wilson on a manuscript in the Thacher collection in the Library of Congress. It is now in Italian but had been translated from the Spanish. It relates to a voyage to the pearl coast which was supposed to have lasted forty-five days, leaving Española on September 28. No year is given, but Mr. Wilson speculates that the voyage took place in 1494. Having reached Cumaná, the expedition coasted along the north coast of South America and in his opinion reached Cabo Gracias à Dios. From this point the vessels sailed north around the west coast of Cuba and returned to the north coast of Española. I see very little in the account to indicate that this expedition ever rounded the island of Cuba. The only possible proof of it lies in Martyr's map, which, however, could just as well show the results of the Ocampo expedition. Certainly there is no reason to suppose that Martyr received any informa-

tion after 1510 which would lead us, as Harrisse supposes, to believe that the map was made later but before 1512. By 1512 Cuba was well known. It had been explored from one end to the other. Harrisse figured that the information on the map became available to Martyr after the text of the book was written. He also noted that on the leaf containing the map there is a table of Errata which does not appear in the copies of the book without the map. He finally concluded that the leaf with the map was finished to accompany a later issue or was simply added to the unsold copies.

In writing about the Indies, especially, Martyr was confronted with difficulties. His informants and correspondents made use of native words of which there was no Latin equivalent. He therefore had to use the original native word or Spanish word, or else change them into some kind of bastard Latin. Just about that time Ciceronian Latin was in vogue and certainly Martyr's bears little resemblance to the polished style of Cicero. He almost created a new dialect.

Above all, Martyr was a courtier, and a keen observer of the events of his time and of the principal actors in them. By studying the various places from which he wrote his letters it is apparent that he followed the court around. It is sometimes stated that he lived in Valladolid but he could have been there very little of the time. He had a house there, according to his own statement, which I imagine he set up when he became connected with the Consejo de Indias. After May 20, 1520, almost all his letters were written from that place. The last letter is not dated nor from any stated place but was probably written from Granada or Seville.

After 1502 Martyr seems to have had sufficient income to live in a style suitable to his tastes. He liked to entertain friends and set a good table. In one of Lucio Marineo's letters he speaks about Martyr's table "on which appeared

peacocks, doves, quail, thrushes stuffed with figs, and pheasants."

In another letter Marineo describes a visit to Martyr.

A bold and memorable deed have I committed, illustrious Marquis in which I greatly need your judgment whether I deserve praise or blame. For in this affair honesty was sacrificed to utility, which the Stoics say should never be. So although this crime of mine will bring great benefit and no small pleasure to you and to all those who joy in worthy things, yet because it broke the laws of God and man it became not only a crime but a dangerous one as well. I therefore flee to you as patron and defence. What is the case, you say. I will tell you. . . . When day before yesterday I was in the palace I met Peter Martyr. "Sicilian," said he, "I beg you come home with me today;" for I often dine with him. "Willingly," said I; "I am always glad to do your behests, Martyr, and in nothing more gladly than in this; your table outdoes not Spaniards only, but the Lucullan feasts of Rome." For no one entertains his friends more lavishly and acceptably than does Martyr. So we went to his hospice; but while the servants were busy, some preparing the food and others laying the table, and Martyr was indulging himself by the fire, I went on through the dining room and, anxious of course to pry into Martyr's affairs, presently entered a little room whose door was standing wide, and scanned the whole place with my eyes. When I had scanned every nook and corner of the place I neared a couch, well spread with silks and crimsons; and there before and partly underneath the couch stood an open chest of beautiful and elaborate design. In one corner of it lay no mean pile of gold and silver things, all negligently guarded, such as might have provoked the most saintly man to robbery and pillage. Wondering at the carelessness of the chamberlain and the other servants I regretted having entered; for I began to fear I might incur a charge of burglary. And it would not have been without a cause; for though it was no effort for me to disregard the gold and treasures, I could not keep my hands from the books. Turning them over one by one, and glancing at them, I fell upon a new book of Peter Martyr's. Stealthily I began to read. First I turned to the *Argumentum*, which was of the praises of Ferdinand and Isabella. Just then Martyr called me to allay our hunger, since the table was prepared and laden. Anxious to continue the reading I thrust the book in haste within my robe, next to my fearful heart; for I had fallen captive to the work, its title, content, and its charming style; especially what had moved me was the letter of Alexander Geraldini, commending the verses of Martyr. Cunningly then emerging I came to the table and sat down opposite my host. Eager to return to my reading, I astonished Martyr by my unaccustomed rapidity of eating; for as soon as I had beaten off the pangs of hunger, "Martyr," I said, "I pray you pardon and excuse me; for a messenger just arrived from Sicily is awaiting me with letters, and I

cannot rest until I have my news from home." So saying my farewells I mounted my mule and spurred him along until I reached my hospice. And here in hiding now the third day I gloat over Martyr's book. It seems to me most worthy of publication; and so secretly, dear Marquis, I sent it on to you; I urge and implore you to send it to the printers. I meanwhile will meet Martyr and cannily deal with him so that he will not bring a charge of theft against us. I will confess to having made a confiscation, not a theft; and you will so defend my cause as to adjudge whether I am deserving of accusation or of praise.⁷⁸

This letter was apparently not dated but was addressed to Pedro Fajardo, and in the course of it he is referred to as the marqués. Fajardo was made Marqués de Velez in 1505, so the letter was written after that. The collection of Marineo's letters was printed in 1514 and is not arranged chronologically; the only clue to their dates lies in their contents. I think the letter was written about 1509 or 1510, and that Fajardo persuaded Martyr to have the *Opera* printed. The "Poemata," as Marineo and Martyr called it, was included in this work. It is true that a separate edition of the "Poemata" appeared in 1520, but as the letter must have been written before 1514 it can hardly refer to a manuscript printed so long afterward.

In spite of Martyr's life in the court and his position as a member of the Consejo de Indias I have found very little contemporary mention of him, besides the letters of Marineo to which I have previously referred. A rather quaint account of him, however, was printed by Hernando Alonso de Herrera in 1517. After referring to his birth and his country called Angleria, the author states:

He is a man who has seen much, is very proficient in the studies of humanity, which they call liberal arts, and principally in poetry, in which, with his very great genius he has a well-known graceful delivery. Living in Rome, a friend of the Conde de Tendilla, don Iñigo López de Mendoza, ambassador of our kings, don Hernando and doña Isabel, he came to

⁷⁸ *Epistolarum familiarum*, Valladolid, 1514. Translated by Caro Lynn, pp. 249-50.

Spain. I believe that what brought him was the news of the war of Granada then going on, and the greatness of the affairs of Spain, and he left his native country to examine our affairs. He has given a good account of himself and done things of great importance with his great skill and diligence and his speech, generous of heart. Although a foreigner, our kings chose him to go to the sultan of Egypt as ambassador on some great business. He returned with much honor, having dispatched all that was entrusted to him, and he wrote the chronicle of the mines of gold which lie at our feet, and in the districts which were first found by Cristóbal Colón, a Genoese, at the orders of our king, and afterward by others. There is no other more noted prothonotary in our times.⁷⁹

There is a curious story about Martyr told by Juan de Vergara and repeated by Antonio⁸⁰ that he had frequently seen him write two letters while the table was being set. Martyr might easily enough have written two of any number of his letters in such a short space of time. Furthermore, we must remember that we only have a selection of his letters. There is evidence in some of them that he had written others which have not survived, and indeed, with his desire to keep up relations with many prominent men he must have frequently written them.

In these letters Prescott says "he shows a mixture of self-complacency with a consciousness of the ludicrous figure he made in exchanging the Muses for Mars."⁸¹ As he grew older he became so busy that he could not devote all his time to writing a history of the Indies. "When a leisure moment arises, my pen is crowded and I cannot observe the least order as the documents reach me without any."⁸² Just preceding this he says that "I have abused my memory so much that it is almost destroyed to such a point that when I have once finished writing on a subject I am obliged to admit that I do not know if asked how I have treated it, especially

⁷⁹ *Disputatio adversus Aristoteles*, Salamanca, 1517. HARRISSE, *B.A.V.*, *Additions*, No. 50.

⁸⁰ Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, Madrid, 1783-88.

⁸¹ *History of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. 2, p. 68.

⁸² *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 397.

when it is a question of information which reached me from different sources and deals with different epochs."⁸³

Martyr, in his letters, is strong on advice. Whether he had any real influence or not we shall probably never know. He pursued the Flemish courtiers with vindictiveness, but it may well be doubted that this campaign had any final effect on their removal from Spain. His statements went mostly unanswered. His letters are valuable for facts and not for opinions. The most important are simply newsletters, just like those incorporated at greater length in *De Orbe Novo*.

Later historians have made long draughts on Martyr's works, especially *De Orbe Novo*. The first was Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who in 1535 took part of his facts about the Hernández de Córdoba expedition from the Fourth Decade. Oviedo frequently refers to him and I think always to what Martyr wrote in the first four Decades. Bartolomé de las Casas frequently refers to *De Orbe Novo*. He admitted that for the beginning the work was entitled to great credit, because Martyr knew Colón and frequently interviewed him. For the later events he often criticises his facts and points out what he considered numerous inaccuracies. Antonio Galvano in his *Tratado* of 1563 used the Decades for the first part of Grijalva's voyage. Fr. Jerónimo Román in his *Republicas de las Indias Occidentales*⁸⁴ gives Martyr as one of his authorities but in view of his use of the *Conquista* of López de Gómara and the *Historia* of Casas, it may be doubted that he used it. Generally speaking Martyr's books were superseded by the more widely circulated ones of Oviedo and Gómara. Later writers, such as Herrera, mention him among their lists of authorities but took little from him. One trouble, I think, has always been the rarity of his

⁸³ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 388.

⁸⁴ Medina del Campo, 1575.

books. The original issue of the Decades in 1516 and the subsequent complete one of 1530 are both extremely rare books and the *Opus Epistolarum* of 1530 is even more rare. Lic. Alonso de Zorita, writing about 1585, says he had heard of his *Decadas Oceanis*, but had not seen it.⁸⁵

Alexander von Humboldt is generally credited with having revived the interest in his works. Certainly it is only in the nineteenth century that they have begun to be studied. The best account of Martyr and of his work which I have found was written by J. H. Mariéjol, *Pierre Martyr d'Anghera Sa Vie et ses Oeuvres*. He sums up his career in a few words. "In the first place we put his historical and geographical work, the account of contemporaneous affairs and of the first establishments in America. In effect it is as a writer, representative of the Renaissance that I think Martyr will live. The letters which brought him the favor of princes will recommend him to posterity. As senator of the Indies, canon and abbot of Jamaica, Peter Martyr will fall into complete oblivion. Born in happy Italy in an epoch of profound agitation the author of the *Opus Epistolarum* and the *De Orbe Novo* will always have a place in the memory of man."⁸⁶ Francis A. MacNutt in his translation of *De Orbe Novo* has given a good account of him in his Introduction.⁸⁷

What we lack in Martyr's writings is greater light on the proceedings of the Consejo de Indias in its attempt to deal with the problems of the conquered countries. He revealed in one case that he had been forbidden to talk too much about the measures to curb Cortés under discussion in the Consejo.⁸⁸ It seems likely that the members of the Consejo de Indias like those of the Consejo Real were sworn to

⁸⁵ *Historia de la Nueva España*, Madrid, 1909, p. 12.

⁸⁶ Paris, 1887, p. 166.

⁸⁷ New York, 1912, 2 vols.

⁸⁸ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 400.

secrecy. The crown had a three-fold policy. These I shall place in the order of their importance: First, to extract as much gold and silver as possible from the new conquests; Second, to keep the Spaniards in them loyal and to kill all signs of independence; Third, to convert the natives to the Holy Catholic Faith. Some may quarrel with this arrangement, thinking that the third should be first, but after all that was an altruistic policy and as usual, altruism gave way to realism. It is true that any number of orders were sent out to the colonies to attend to this matter but they were all contrary to the first two policies and could not be enforced. Vacillation about encomiendas continued for a long time; the crown wanted to abolish them but when it came to the scratch, backed down because of the obstinacy of the encomenderos and the fear that if pushed too far the colonists would throw off their allegiance to the mother country. Further, it was through the natives that most of the gold and silver was obtained. The chief charge against Cortés which gained credence in Spain was that he had not sent the gold he was alleged to have received.

Martyr frequently mentions decisions of the Consejo which were afterward, and perhaps then, called "consultas." These consisted of measures agreed on by the Consejo and submitted to the emperor for approval. The original consultas of this period are not extant to my knowledge, and Martyr in no case has even given more than the final advice. An apparent exception occurs in Book IV of the Seventh Decade, in which he speaks of the capitulation with Vázquez de Ayllón, signed on June 12, 1523. In this chapter he speaks of daily drawing up instructions in concert with his associates. These regulations were wise but could not be enforced. Now he says "We plan to publish new regulations and to send out new administrators to apply them. To tell the truth, we hardly know what decisions to make. Should the

Indians be declared free, and without our right to exact labor of them, without their work being paid? Competent men are divided on this point and we hesitate." After mentioning the terrible massacre of the Dominicans at Chiribichi he says some of the monks came to Spain seeking relief for their companions. While the Consejo was in session the document written by Fr. Tomás Ortiz, a Dominican, was laid before them.⁸⁹ Martyr then gives us the document or at least the substance of it. Just when this meeting occurred Martyr does not tell us but it was evidently in 1523 and probably before the instructions to Cortés of June 26, 1523, were issued, but possibly in 1525 as the death of Diego Velásquez is mentioned, and this did not take place until June, 1524. The Decade was written largely in 1521. Casas was well aware of the conflict between the desire to convert the natives and to make a profit for the crown and so founded his order of the "Golden Spur." Although this project failed after stirring sessions of the special council called to consider his affairs it had been ratified by the king.⁹⁰ At this time Martyr may not have been a full-fledged member of the Consejo. No mention of the plan nor of the subsequent disaster at Cumaná can be found in the *De Orbe Novo*, nor does he once mention Casas.

I have never been able to understand why Martyr did not write to his Spanish friends in that language. It is plain that he wrote in Latin the works he intended to print; that was then the universal language of scholars and scientists. Why, for instance, are his letters addressed to Italians also written in Latin? Not a single sentence can I find that he wrote in any other language than Latin, except his will. Even his Italian friends in Spain seem to have been addressed in Latin and what few letters from them are transcribed in his

⁸⁹ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, p. 274.

⁹⁰ *Historia*, vol. 5, p. 162. The capitulation was signed on May 19, 1520.

Opus Epistolarum are in the same language. Perhaps he never learned Spanish well enough to write in it and perhaps in the course of time he forgot his native tongue. I am inclined to believe, however, that his use of Latin was a kind of affectation due to a desire to appear as a learned man. His great contemporary fellow countryman in Spain, Marineo, also used Latin exclusively in his correspondence if we can judge from his publications, but then he was a Latin teacher.

Martyr's domestic establishment appears to have been run like those of other churchmen of his day. In his will he remembered his servants but did not mention any special or favored one. A curious note is found in Antonio de León. "Juan Pablo Mártir Rizo, descendant of don Pedro Martir, well known in this country for the books he printed, has translated the *Decades* of his great-grandfather into Spanish to be printed."⁹¹ León, who was an official of the Consejo de Indias, should have been well informed about Martyr and this remark indicates plainly that he knew that Martyr had left children. Martyr, himself, so far as I know never mentioned any relationship with a woman or referred to any children. He does mention two young men in whom he was interested, especially Lupicus, who was Lope de Samaniego. Martyr appears to have been a somewhat jovial character and "simpatica," as they call such people in Spain. He had a good sense of humor and a bit of wit to boot. In spite of a lack of contemporary information about his life in Spain we can easily visualize him as a typical Italian churchman of his day, a bon vivant, fond of entertaining his friends and including no doubt a "niece," married or not,

⁹¹ *Epítome de la Bibliotheca Oriental y Occidentalis*, Madrid, 1629, p. 6. It does not follow necessarily that the man was descended from an illegitimate child of Martyr's. Martyr was over thirty before he entered the church and might then have been a widower. Martyr Rizo published a life of Seneca in Madrid in 1625. On the title-page he declared that he was a grandson of Pedro Martyr. His father's name was Domingo.

somewhere in his home. His letters are filled with gossip as well as valuable information. He had an insatiable curiosity which, fortunately for us, was to a large extent directed toward the movements in the newly-acquired world. The world was his egg and he used both hands in opening it.

Martyr was not only interested in the New World but, probably due to his visit to Egypt, in the Near East. He furnishes us with graphic accounts of the Persian-Turkish wars and of affairs in Egypt. He also forwarded in his letters to his friends in Spain long accounts of Italian affairs, both political and military.

One of the episodes in Martyr's life most pleasing to him was the invitation to address the students in Salamanca in 1488, shortly after his arrival in Spain. The vice-chancellor of the university, Pedro de la Puente, had heard Martyr highly praised. In his letter of September 28 from Salamanca Martyr describes his experiences: He received a noisy reception from the students. On being urged to lecture he said that when he reached the reader's chair he would ask that a subject be suggested to him. This proved to be Juvenal. This was merely a little strategy of Martyr as he had the matter arranged beforehand. On arrival at the hall an immense and turbulent crowd of students was awaiting him. Finally the doctors and university officials forced their way in and Martyr says he was carried about the hall. Lucio Marineo, who had evidently been primed shouted out "the Second Satire of Juvenal" when Martyr asked for a subject. After several hours of oration Martyr was carried out by the students. He says this took place on Thursday, which was September 26 and not September 27 as Martyr would have us to understand from the date of his letter.⁹²

Dr. Caro Lynn was much interested in Martyr and his relations with Marineo, which were particularly close, and

⁹² *Opus Epis.*, No. 57.

frequently quoted passages from his letters. He compared the two writers as follows: "Martyr's letters have more Luculan salt than those of Marineo; but the Sicilian excelled in a suavity of phrase, a smoothness of Latinity, a nice observance of Spanish formality. There are no short cuts in Marineo's letters; sometimes the modern reader feels the occasion is but a peg, the letter the reality. Yet none could better the Sicilian when he had a mind for terseness; as when he perhaps apes Pomponio Leto in a note to a remiss correspondent."

Martyr fancied himself as a poet, and besides those poems printed in the *Opera* we have a record of one addressed to Lucio Marineo in the preliminaries to his *De Hispaniae Laudibus*, printed in Burgos about 1495, and no doubt others now lost.

After the death of Martyr a cedula was issued on December 7, 1526, to deliver to Fr. Antonio de Guevara the documents and papers which Martyr had left on his death. In the cedula a reference is made to a "Corónica o historia que el dicho Pedro Martir dexo comenzada del descubrimientos de nuestras Indias,"⁹⁸ which might possibly be a now-lost work, but was probably nothing more than the last four Decades which were not printed until 1530. Strictly speaking, of course, the Decades are not exactly a "crónica," but after all the form of letters in which they were written is only a device to get a little credit with the popes.

⁹⁸ Romulo de Carbia, *La Crónica Oficial de las Indias Occidentales*, Buenos Aires, 1940, pp. 78, 92. Carbia insists that Martyr was never a Cronista of the Indies but only of Castile, a distinction without a difference as Martyr never wrote any history of Castile or of the emperor but only of the Indies. The cedula was quoted from Morel-Fatio's *Historiographie de Charles-Quint*, p. 27.

Martyr's Published Writings

Libretto de tutta la navigatione de Re de Spagna de le isole et terreni nouamente trovati. Venice, 1504.

Folio, sixteen unnumbered leaves in thirty chapters although the Index calls for thirty-one. At the end the colophon is dated April 10, 1504.

One Anzalo Trevisan, a secretary of the Venetian embassy to Spain, wrote a letter from Granada on August 21, 1501, to Domenico Malipiero in Venice, in which he said that he had been very friendly with Colón and now had an account of his voyage written by the man who was going to the sultan of Egypt on a mission for the king. Trevisan had copied and translated it into Italian and said he was sending it presently. "The first book will go by the hands of the author who will present it to the prince, who I think should have it printed." This translation and Trevisan's letter are still extant in the Marcian Library in Venice.

Obviously the ambassador to the sultan was Martyr who was then in Granada and left at the end of August.⁹⁴ In his letter of August 15 Martyr does not speak of Trevisan or his treatise nor can I find any mention in his letters of the transaction or of the printed book. I judge from Trevisan's letter that Martyr was aware of the intention to have it printed. Why the Decade was not printed for two years after its arrival in Venice is unknown unless Trevisan did not forward the rest of the book until later.⁹⁵

This is the merest abstract of the First Decade. It ends with Pinzón's return to Spain, and with some remarks about Canela. This sentence occurs in the 1516 edition at the bottom of CIII recto, that is, in the ninth book.

It is very possible that this is not an extract made by Trevisan but a copy of Martyr's real original text, which he afterward extended in the *Opera* of 1511 and the *De Orbe Novo*. Martyr had the habit of making changes when he reprinted one of his books, usually by way of addition. The *Libretto* contains the sum and substance of Colón's and Pinzón's

⁹⁴ In his letter of August 13, 1501 (No. 225), he says he is setting out for Venice and Babylon.

⁹⁵ For a long time the only copy known, lacking title, was in the Marciana in Venice. Some years ago the John Carter Brown Library obtained a perfect copy and published a facsimile in Providence in 1930 with an Introduction by Lawrence C. Wroth, who kindly presented me a copy.

voyages to 1501, very much unadorned and greatly abridged by omitting nearly all Martyr's description of the customs and religions of the natives. In the original text of the *Libretto* the division into letters is not mentioned, but in *De Orbe Novo*, No. 1 is dated November 13, 1493, No. 2, April 29, 1494, the remainder not dated.

Paesi nouamente retrouati. Et Nouo Mondo da Alberica vesputio Florentino intitulado. Vicenza, Italy, 1507.⁹⁶

This contains as Book IV an exact reprint of the *Libretto* except for the addition at the beginning of a few lines. The rest of the book contains Portuguese discoveries, the first, those of Ca da Mosto. This is the work several times referred to by Martyr as having plagiarized his first three books of his First Decade, those addressed to Sforza and Arcimboldo. There are really nine books. Editions of this book were published in 1508 in Milan in Italian, and in Latin, in Nuremberg in German, in 1512 in Milan in Italian, in 1515 in Paris in French. HARRISSE asserts that Book IV in all editions is the same as in the original of 1507. Martyr's specific charge is that Cadamosto borrowed and plagiarized "whole writings [about the Spaniards] from the first three books of my First Decade, those addressed to Cardinals Ascanio and Arcimboldo. He evidently thought that my works would never be given to the public and it may be that he came across them in the possession of some Venetian ambassador, to some one of whom I willingly showed my writings and readily consented that copies be taken."⁹⁷ From this it would appear that Martyr did not know of the issue of his First Decade in 1504. His complaints have more the tone of a man wounded in his pocketbook than in his pride. The *Libretto* had a privilege to print in Venice and the *Paesi* one to print in Vicenza, a town quite close to Venice and presumably at that time under the control of Venice. A privilege in Venice should have been good in all towns of the republic. Had the original expired in three and a half years? It seems unlikely. Probably the publisher of the *Paesi* paid Verellesi da Lisoni, the publisher of the *Libretto* for the right to reprint this. Perhaps Martyr got nothing.

Although, generally speaking, the facts given are the same as in the First Decade, afterward printed in Martyr's *Opera* in 1511 and in *De*

⁹⁶ See HARRISSE, *B.A.V.*, for bibliography of this book.

⁹⁷ *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, p. 249, also on page 190 without mentioning Cadamosto.

Orbe Novo of 1516, if this was a copy of Martyr's work in 1501, it was subsequently entirely rewritten. The *Libretto* contains facts in the very beginning about Colón which were afterward cut out. The first two books of the Decade in the edition of 1516 are dated November, 1493, and April 29, 1494; the others are undated but were written between 1494 and 1500, perhaps all in 1500 as near the beginning of Book III the short address to the Admiral Luís de Aragon is dated Granada, April 23, 1500. If Trevisan copied the letters he certainly used more than discrimination. I feel some doubt about the dates of these letters; it occurs to me that Martyr may have written them later and antedated them.

P. Martyris angli mediolanensis opera Legatio babylonica
Oceani decas Poemata Epigrammata Cum preuilegio

Colophon: Printed in Seville by the great diligence of Jacob Corumberger, German, April 1511.

Folio, 74 unnumbered leaves: a-k⁸, except c which has only four and k only six.

On the verso of the title is a letter to Iñigo López de Mendoza; on a2 is Martyr's address to Lebrija and on the verso the privilege of Juana dated Madrid, January 6, 1511, under ten lines of verse; on a3 is a letter to the archbishop of Toledo about the *Legatio* and at the bottom the address to Fernando and Isabella begins, and the *Legatio* continues to the verso of c4. On d begins the *Oceanis decas* and continues through f. After this is the miscellaneous material referred to on the title-page.

There are two issues, perhaps editions, of this book. Besides the one described which is in the Huntington Library and corresponds with the Murphy copy and the one in the John Carter Brown Library, HARRISSE in his *Additions* to the *B.A.V.* describes another which he found in the Department of Public Works in Madrid. Not only is the title somewhat different but the dedication to Iñigo López de Mendoza on the verso of the title has been enlarged. Apparently this copy does not contain the map. The colophon and dedication have been reset.

HARRISSE was of the opinion that the work was first issued with the map and the leaf of Errata which occupies g7 and g8 and that after issue the map was suppressed and another issue like the one in the Department of Public Works was put out which only contains 72 leaves. The survival of more copies containing the map than those without it contradicts this theory. If the map was suppressed we would find more copies without it than with it. My own impression is that the book was

first issued without the map and the accompanying leaf of Errata, or at least some copies were printed in that way and before finishing the book a new title-leaf was printed and the map and accompanying leaf were inserted. It is a generally accepted rule that as new issues of a book are put out the work is expanded instead of being curtailed. In this case the lack of the word "Epigrammata" on the title-leaf of the Madrid copy and the different dedication on the verso would indicate on this basis of reasoning that it was the original issue. The map certainly belongs to the book as on the verso of the leaf is an address to Cardinal Ximénez by Martyr explaining the issue of the map. The idea that the map was suppressed seems to me without foundation, as the book contains the privilege from the queen and it is not likely that Martyr, who lived at the court, could have obtained this privilege without having had the copy examined previously.

The "Legatio Babylonica" was here printed for the first time. It consists of three letters addressed to the king and queen, the first dated Venice, October 10, 1501, the second at Alexandria about January 24, 1502, and the third from the same place April 4, 1502.

The book is nothing but a hodge podge of material, some of it written before the queen died in 1504 and some even before Pope Innocencio died in 1492. The alleged poems are adulatory in most cases of either Martyr himself or of other persons when written by him. The poetry seems to have appealed to Lucio Marineo, who was interested in poetry but not interested in history. I have no doubt that the text of this poetry was what Marineo found when he stole the manuscript from Martyr as described in my text.

Incipitur Legatio Babylonica

Folio, a-b⁸.

The text is preceded by a dedication to Leo X, and the text begins on the verso on this leaf.

The dedication of Martyr to Leo X contains little of interest. It relates, generally speaking, to the Second and Third Decades which were both dedicated to Leo X. About the *Legatio Babylonica* Martyr says it is somewhat changed (reformed he says) "from that which was current without my knowledge some ten years ago." He further states that he is bringing out again the *Legatio Babylonica* at the request of Cardinal Ximénez.

What Martyr meant about having printed the *Legatio Babylonica* some ten years ago is hard to understand. So far as we know this story was first printed in the *Opera* of 1511, and it seems from later references in the dedication that this was the work to which Martyr referred, but when he speaks of it as having been previously printed without his knowledge, if he referred to the *Opera* he was very much mistaken because that was not printed without his knowledge. No earlier edition of it is now known. The dedication throws little light on the date of its publication. His reference to the Second and Third Decades is too obscure to resolve the question whether they had already been printed or not.

This edition of the *Legatio* is usually found attached to the *De Orbe Novo* of 1516, but from Martyr's letter of December 25, 1515, to Leo X, I judge that the *Legatio* had already been printed and sent to him. The letter refers to *De Orbe Novo* which he says Antonio de Lebrija was urging him to have printed.

A copy of the *Legatio* not bound with the *De Orbe Novo* is in the Hispanic Society Library. It is not an exact reprint of the original edition of 1511, but the only difference of importance which I noticed in comparing the two texts was that Martyr had cut out about one-half of the sepulchral epitaphs which he had copied in the 1511 text. The text is also divided into three letters and the inscription to Fernando and Isabella in the beginning of the first letter is naturally eliminated.

De Orbe Nouo Decades.

Folio, Title, and 62 unnumbered leaves plus one unnumbered, plus one blank, plus three leaves for the *Vocabula Barbara*, plus 16 leaves for the *Legatio Babylonica*.

The title at the bottom of the page is preceded by an address to the reader by the Archbishop of Cosenza, Giovanni Ruffo di Forli. The colophon states that it is printed by the celebrated Master Antonio Nebrissensis (that is, Lebrija) in the workshop of Arnaldo Guillelmus in the city of Alcalá on the 5th of November, 1516.

The printer was the celebrated Brocar who had been brought to Alcalá especially to print the polyglot Bible of Cardinal Ximénez.⁹⁸

The first notice of this work is in a letter to Leo X written December 25, 1515, in which Martyr says that Antonio de Lebrija was trying to persuade him to have it printed. The First Decade, as we know, had

⁹⁸ Generally the commentators on this have stated that Fajardo and the Conde de Tendilla had the book printed, basing it on the fact that the Conde had asked for copies of Martyr's writings for his library and these Martyr had sent him.

already been printed in 1511. The last letter in the Second Decade, which was dedicated to Leo X, is dated December 6, 1514, and had undoubtedly been sent to the pope in manuscript. The Third Decade is undated, but also dedicated to Leo X and was probably finished in September, 1516, just in time to have it printed. All this time while the work was in the press Martyr was in Madrid and Lebrija was in Alcalá. At that time there was no printer in Madrid which probably accounts for Martyr turning the job over to Lebrija. I have never found any account of this book in Martyr's letters.

The book is dedicated to Carlos V and dated December 29, 1516. It is in this letter that he complains that the First Decade had been printed contrary to his wishes. This printing was in the *Paesi* and not in the *Opera* of 1511, as assumed by HARRISSE in his article on the book.

Part, if not all of these Decades, was translated into French and published by Simon de Colines in Paris on January 12, 1532. The Decades were republished with the *Legatio* in the original Latin in Bâsle in 1533 by Johann Bebelius. It also contains a reprint of the *De Nuper sub de Carolo Repertis*.

The extract printed in Italian in 1534 is of no importance although the book itself is a very rare one. It consists of three parts, the first of Martyr and others and the second as well. The third part is from Oviedo. This little book contains two maps. The one of Española is quite common, while the world map is a very large one and very rare. It is supposed to have been taken from the Padron of the Casa de Contratación in Seville. My impression is that the *Legatio Babylonica* found in most copies of this book at the end with different signatures was added to it from copies previously printed.

The dedication to Carlos was suppressed in the 1530 edition and in that of Hakluyt of 1587.

I have used the translation of Richard Eden who published the first Four Decades in London in 1555 under the title: *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West Indies* with one of those long descriptive additions common in those days. After some twenty-four leaves of preliminaries the translation of Martyr's Decades occupies the next 136 leaves. Eden began the translation in 1554. He did not apparently know the 1530 complete edition of the Decades as undoubtedly he would have recognized the Fourth Decade as the one first printed in Bâsle, which he called the Third Decade in his translation. As the *Legatio Babylonica* was not pertinent to Eden's or Arber's purposes, it was not translated.

In 1577 Richard Willes had this translation reprinted in London with some additions: 4°, 10 preliminary leaves and 466 numbered leaves and 6 of Errata and Contents, as the *Historia of Travayle in the West and East Indies, and other Countries*. The additions were chiefly an abridgment of the last four decades. In 1612 Michael Lok had the entire eight decades published as *De Orbe Novo*, or the *Historie of the West Indies*, 4°, 5 prel. leaves and 318. This was reissued in 1628 with the same text but only 3 preliminary leaves. The first edition was reprinted by Edward Arber in London in 1880 as part of the *The First Three English Books printed in America*.

Eden in his address to the reader before the Decades says that some held that the Gentiles should not be compelled to accept the Faith. Evidently he thought otherwise. It almost seems from his argument about the necessity of using force that he was criticising and condemning the doctrine of Casas, although I do not find any mention of him. He argued that although the Spaniards were after gold, they also were after souls and he admonished the English to do likewise. Eden's translation was a very good one, and I append herewith his translation of Martyr's address to Carlos.

To the most noble Prince and Catholic king, Charles, Peter Martyr, of Angleria, wishes perpetual felicity.

The Divine Providence, from the time that He first created the world, hath reserved unto this day the knowledge of the great and large Ocean Sea: In this time he hath opened the same, chiefly unto you (most mighty Prince) by the good fortune and happy success of your grandfather on your mother's side. The same Providence (I know not by what destiny) hath brought me out of my native country of Milan, and out of the city of Rome (where I continued almost X. years) into Spain, that I might particularly collect these marvellous and new things, which should otherwise perhaps have lain drowned in the whirlpool of oblivion: for as much as the Spaniards (men worthy [of] great commendation) had only care to the general inventions of these things. Notwithstanding, I do not challenge unto me only the thanks of the travail bestowed herein, whereas the chief reward thereof is due to Ascanio, Viscount Cardinal, who, perceiving that I was willing to depart out of the city to be present at the wars of Granada, dissuaded me from my purpose. But seeing that I was fully resolved to depart, exhorted and required me to write unto him such news as were famous in Spain and worthy to be noted. I took therefore my journey into Spain, chiefly for the desire I had to see the expedition which was prepared against the enemies of the Faith, forasmuch as in Italy, by reason of the dissention among the Princes, I could find nothing wherewith I could feed my wit, being a young man, desirous of knowledge and experience of things. I was therefore present at the wars, whence I wrote to Cardinal Ascanius, and by sundry epistles certified him of such things as I thought most worthy to be put in memory. But when I perceived that his fortune was turned from a natural mother to a stepdame, I ceased writing. Yet after I saw that by the overthrow of the enemies of our Faith, Spain was purged of the Moors as of an evil weed plucked up

by the roots, lest I should bestow my slippery years in unprofitable idleness, I was minded to return to Italy. But the singular benignity of both the Catholic King and Queen, now departed, and their large promises toward me upon my return from my legation to Babylon, detained me from my purpose. Yet it doth not repent me that I drew back my foot, as well for what I see in no other place of the world at this time the like of worthy things to be done. Also, that in manner throughout all Italy, by reason of the discord of the Christian princes, I perceived all things to run headlong into ruin, the countries to be destroyed and made fat with human blood, the cities sacked, virgins and matrons with their goods and possessions carried away as captives and miserable innocents without offence to be slain unarmed within their own houses. Of which calamities I did not only hear the lamentable outcries, but did also feel the same. For even the blood of mine own kinfolk and friends, was not free from that cruelty. As I was therefore musing with my self on these things the Cardinal of Aragon, after he had seen the two first books of my Decades written to Ascanius, required me in the name of King Frederick, his uncle, to put forth the other eight epistle books. In the meantime, also, while I was void of all care touching the matters of the Ocean, the Apostolic messengers of the bishop of Rome Leo the Tenth (by whose wholesome counsel and authority we trust the calamities of Italy shall be finished) raised me as it were from sleep, and encouraged me to proceed as I had begun. To his holiness I wrote two Decades, comprised in short books after the manner of epistles, and added them to the first, which was printed without my advice as shall further appear by the preface following.

But now I return to you (most noble Prince) from whom I have somewhat digressed. Therefore, whereas your grandfathers on your mother's side, have subdued all Spain under your dominion except only one corner of the same, and have also left you the kingdom of Naples with the fruitful islands of our seas, it is surely a great thing and worthy to be noted in our chronicles. But not offending the reverence due to our predecessors, whatsoever from the beginning of the world hath been done or written to this day, to my judgment seems but little, if we consider what new lands and countries, what new seas, what sundry nations and tongues, what gold mines, what treasuries of pearls they have left unto your Highness, besides other revenues. Which and what they are and how great these three Decades shall declare.

Come therefore most noble Prince elected of God, and enjoy that high estate of things not yet understood by men. We offer unto you the Equinoctial line hitherto unknown and burnt by the furious heat of the sun and uninhabitable according to the opinion of the old writers, a few excepted, but now found to be most replenished with people, fair, fruitful and most fortunate, with a thousand islands crowned with gold and beautiful pearls, besides that great portion of earth supposed to be part of the firm land, exceeding in quantity three Europes. Come therefore and embrace this new world, and suffer us no longer to be consumed with desire for your presence. From hence, from hence I say (most noble young Prince) shall instruments be prepared for you, whereby all the world shall be under your obeisance.

And thus I bid your Majesty farewell: To whose taste if I shall perceive the fruits of this, my tillage, to be delectable, I will hereafter do my endeavor that you may receive the same more abundantly. From Madrid. The day before the Calends of October, in the year of Christ. MDXVI.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Eden's translation of 1555, somewhat modernized.

Poemata: inquibus supreme laudes Catholicorum Regum continentur: que sunt.

Pluto furens

Janus

Jnachus

Equestria

Satyra

Victoria

Convivium regium

Varia item ad diversos epigrammata lectu sapida et utilia. . . . Author Prothonotarius Petrus martyr Regius senator

4°, 72 unnumbered leaves (verso of the last blank). A-I.⁸

Colophon: Nones of February, 1520. It was printed in Valencia according to Dr. Henry Thomas in his *Short Title Catalogue of books printed in Spain* by J. Vignaus. At the present time part of the colophon has disappeared, apparently torn off, but enough is left to show that the printer's first name is Joannes. It appears on the verso of 17. HARRISSE saw a copy in the Department of Public Works in Madrid, which evidently lacked the last leaf, as he only allows it seventy-one unnumbered leaves.

This is a reproduction of the similar part of the *Opera* of 1511 with omissions and additions. He shifted about the various pieces in a bewildering manner, making it impossible to collate the work without an unnecessary amount of time and trouble. The *Pluto furens* was shifted to the beginning and the *Equestria* and *Satyra* were added. Some of the repeated poems have undergone changes. Most of the longer pieces are attempts at epic poetry eulogizing various individuals for their valor in warfare. Interspersed throughout are addresses to Martyr and to the reader, and almost every one has prefixed to it an *Argumentum*.

De NUPER SUB D. CAROLO REPERTIS Insulis, simulatque incolarum moribus, R. Petri Martyris, Enchiridion, Dominae Margaritae, Divi Max. Caes. filiae dicatum. Basileae, Anno M.D. XXI.

4°, 43 pp. numbered except the title-leaf.

On the verso of the title-leaf is a long address from the printer, Adam Petrus, to Johannes Catenaeo, dated Bâsle, Nones of January. According to this Catenaeo had been the physician of Maximilian and was at this time the physician of his daughter, Margaret.

I have long been puzzled over the fact that this book was printed in Bâsle, when there were plenty of printers in Spain. I believe I have hit on the solution. Carlos set out from Coruña in May, 1520, and after stopping four days in England reached Flanders in June and was crowned in Aachen on October 23. He took with him Luís Marliano, the bishop of Tuy, and his physician. I have no doubt that Martyr gave his manuscript to Marliano when he left Coruña, possibly because the revolution in Spain was then gathering force and Martyr was uncertain about the future. Marliano died in Worms in March, 1521. The volume appears to have been brought to the printer by Joannes Catenaeo, the physician of Margaret, to whom the book is dedicated. If the date of the book, 1521, is according to the calender by which the year begins on January 1, then the book was printed before Marliano died and we can only infer that he had previously turned it over to Catenaeo. Martyr wrote an eulogy on his friend in June, 1521. This Decade was reprinted with the complete work in 1530 with slight and insignificant changes.

It is apparent from the words *Pater sancte*, which occur in the third line of the text, that the work was really addressed to Leo X. In the 1530 edition this expression was suppressed, but the book was dedicated to Leo X, and was preceded by an Introduction addressed to the same individual. The possibility therefore arises that the pope sent the Decade to Bâsle to be printed, or to Catenaeo, who apparently delivered it to the printer, and suppressed the dedication to himself, or else the printer did it, and substituted one of his own.

The Petrus family were quite prominent printers in Bâsle a few years later.

Opus Epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerij Mediolanensis
Protonotarij Apostolici atque a consiliis rerum Indicarum;
nunc primum et natum et medioeri cura excusum:
quod quidem praeterstili venustratem nostrorum quoque
temporum historiae loco esse posterit. Compluti Miguel
de Eguia Anno Domini M.D. XXX. Cum privilegio
Caesareo.

Folio, Title leaf and 11 unnumbered of preliminaries plus 199 numbered leaves (collation from HARRISSE'S *B.A.V.* as I have not seen a copy).

This contains 813 letters, the first dated January 1, 1488, and the last undated, but No. 812 was written in May, 1525. As *De Orbe Novo* was not finished until December it appears probable that this was published before it. The following letters relate to Colón: Nos. 130, 133, 134, 135, 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 152, 156, 160, 164, 168, 169, 177, 180, 190, 202 and 206. Numbers 181 and 185 of 1497, and 202 of 1499, probably misdated for 1502 or 1503, contain very interesting accounts of the Portuguese discoveries in India. From them we pass on to the Spanish discoveries beginning in December, 1513, largely in Darien and that neighborhood. Nos. 532, 539, 540, 544, 545, 547, 551, 560, 561, 562, and 629 (Magellan). We then begin a series concerning the discoveries in New Spain: Nos. 634, 650, 715, 717, 763, 770, 771, 782, 797, 800 (Esteban Gómez), 802, 806, 809, and 811. A few, Nos. 613, 623, 649 (Garay) and 665 were passed over by Gaffarel.

In these letters will be found a general and sometimes detailed view of events in Europe of the first twenty-five years of the century, and the few preceding ones. At times Martyr goes into most minute details. The letters are supposed to have been gathered up by the Marqués de Mondejar (the Conde de Tendilla's son) and Antonio de Lebrija. I do not think there is a letter in the collection addressed to Lebrija, although there is every evidence that the two men were friends. I have always thought that in most cases Martyr had kept copies of his letters and that these were used to print the book.

This edition was reprinted by the Elzevirs in Amsterdam, 1670. With this edition some letters of Fernando de Pulgar were also printed.

From the allusion in his letter, No. 562, to Leo X about the letter of the 7 of the Kalends of January, 1515, and the date of the Second Decade, the Nones of December, 1514, it is clear that for Martyr the year began on January 1.¹⁰⁰

*De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis
Protonotarij Cesaris senatoris decades.*

With this imperial privilege, Alcalá, with Miguel de Eguia, December, Anno, 1530.

Folio, Title, and leaves numbered II-CXVII plus 3 unnumbered (verso of last blank).

This contains the entire Decades. Martyr had died in 1526, and it is generally understood that Antonio de Lebrija published this edition.

¹⁰⁰ Letter No. 562, the only one addressed to this pope in the *Opus*.

There is no Preface to it and some slight changes were made in the first four Decades which had been previously printed.

The edition is extremely rare and the one that has been used by most historians is the one printed by Richard Hakluyt in Paris in 1587. Hakluyt's edition contains a map which does not belong to the book, but was evidently drawn to be used in the account of the Espejo expedition printed by Hakluyt in Paris.

Some commendatory verses were written by Martyr for Marineo's *De Hispania Laudibus* printed in Burgos in 1497, according to the Short-title Catalogue of Spanish books in the British Museum, 1921.

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