HoTT
HISTORY OF TEXT TECHNOLOGIES

Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany

New Worlds in Print Culture

Stephanie Leitch

Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany

History of Text Technologies, developed in conjunction with an interdisciplinary research program at Florida State University, is dedicated to new scholarship and theory in the history of books and, more generally, the transformation of sign systems into engineered objects. This exciting new series moves from the analysis of texts as material objects to the analysis of texts as material agents. It is committed to the recognition that texts cannot be separated from the various and changing technologies through which they are created. Included are analytic bibliography, paleography, and epigraphy, history of authorship, history of reading, study of manuscript and print culture, and history of media. Rather than being solely a historical overview, this series seeks out scholarship that provides a frame for understanding the consequences of both globalism and technology in the circulation of texts, ideas, and human culture. For more on the series, see the History of Text Technologies Web site at http://hott.fsu.edu.

Series Editors

Gary Taylor is George Matthew Edgar Professor of English, and the Founding Director of History of Text Technologies program at Florida State University.

Francois Dupuigrenet Desroussilles is Professor of Religion at Florida State University.

Elizabeth Spiller is Professor of English, and a member of the interdisciplinary History and Philosophy of Science program at Florida State University.

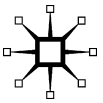
Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture
Stephanie Leitch

Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany

New Worlds in Print Culture

Stephanie Leitch

palgrave
macmillan



MAPPING ETHNOGRAPHY IN EARLY MODERN GERMANY

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2010 978-1-349-38269-9

First published in 2010 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®
in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world, this is by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-38269-9 ISBN 978-0-230-11298-8 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9780230112988

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: September 2010

Contents

Figures

Plates

Following page 100

1 Hans Burgkmair, *Peoples of Africa and India*, 1508, handcolored woodcut (28.5 x 230.6 cm) Freiherrlich von Welsersche Familienstiftung, Neunhof

2 Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, Map of World, *Nuremberg Chronicle* or *Weltchronik* (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1493), handcolored woodcut, image 38 x 49 cm. BSB, Munich, Rar. 287, fol. XIIv & XIIIr

3 Anon., broadsheet with text from Vespucci, *Dise Figur anzaigt uns das Folck und Insel* (Augsburg: Froschauer, 1505), handcolored woodcut, (25.5 x 35 cm). BSB, Munich, Einbl. V, 2

4 Hans Burgkmair, *Natives of Guinea and Algoa*, 1508, handcolored woodcut (28.5 x 42.4 cm). Freiherrlich von Welsersche Familienstiftung, Neunhof

5 Hans Burgkmair, *Natives of Arabia and India*, 1508, handcolored woodcut (27.2 x 41.2 cm). Freiherrlich von Welsersche Familienstiftung, Neunhof

6 Hans Burgkmair, *Natives with a Herd of Animals*, 1508, woodcut (26.5 x 39.9 cm). Freiherrlich von Welsersche Familienstiftung, Neunhof

7 Anon., Vespucci *Das sind die new gefunde[n] mensche[n] od[er] Volcker In form un[d] gestalt Als sie hie stend durch de[n] Cristenlichen Künig von Portugall/ gar wunnderbarlich erfunden* (Leipzig: Stuchs (?), 1505), handcolored woodcut broadsheet, 29.2 x 40.5 cm. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Sig. QuH 26 (5)

8 Daniel Volkert, *Indian as Personification of "America,"* design for a cylinder mirror anamorphosis, 1726, pen and watercolor, 30.4 x 37.5 cm. Nuremberg, GNM, Graphische Sammlung, HB 25736

9 Peter Flötner, *King of Bells,* playing card (Nuremberg: Franz Christoph Zell, 1540). Nuremberg, GNM, Graphische Sammlung, Inv. SPK 7418(47)

Acknowledgments

More than likely, this project began with my trick or treat rounds amongst my suburban neighbors who, for many years, opened the door to me in my "Indian" costume. For this outfit, deerskin from my father's hunting excursions was sewn together sandwich-board style by my mother. I sported a headband of pheasant feathers and carried a slack bow. Although even a cursory look at the literature on Native American dress of any historical period would have disproved it in a second, my Halloween costume was universally lauded by my neighbors for being "authentic." This project takes a critical look at the history of the cultural circumstances that produced this costume.

My mother hails from a German town on the Swiss border, north of the Alps and south of the Black Forest. While no Indians roam there, Germans I met as a child had an avid interest in the Native American, quite unlike my American friends who were obsessed with cowboys. To this day, German hobbyists of the "Indianer Clubs" stage mock battles and attend spiritual healing seminars. The figure of the Indian has been a positive trope in the contemporary German imagination since the novelist Karl May began his famous *Winnetou* series at the end of the nineteenth century.[1] The Winnetou of May's imagination is an Apache whose right-hand man, Old Shatterhand, is a displaced German. My mother read May's books voraciously as a child, and I daresay that at least part of her decision to emigrate to a Maryland farm with Algonquian etymology originated in a firm German conviction that the frontier stretched just beyond the backyard.

This book represents a happy journey between the two worlds I inhabit and about which I have been fortunate to research and ruminate for many years. For imposing a deadline on these ruminations, I thank my editor Gary Taylor, whose visionary spark I also acknowledge here. Chris Chappell and Samantha Hasey at Palgrave helped bring this project together expediently. I owe a great debt to the two anonymous and careful readers of the manuscript and trust that they will hear their voices in what follows. I am also grateful for feedback I received on the versions of two of the present chapters which appeared as articles, "The Wild Man, Charlemagne, and the German Body," in *Art History* 31:3 (2008); and "Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print," in *The Art Bulletin* 91:2 (June 2009).

This journey would not have been half so happy were it not for the mentors and colleagues whose input and enthusiasm for this project jump-started it when it stalled. Their contributions to this project are everywhere and difficult to properly credit. Herewith, my major thanks; all infelicities, of course, are my own. This book began as a dissertation at the University of Chicago, written under the watchful eye of Linda Seidel, to whom I owe thanks for her sharp reads and her keen eye for story structure. To Rebecca Zorach, I owe gratitude for her ready and consistent guidance, collegiality, and expertise that is as wide-ranging as it is deep. Tom Cummins's voice at the campfire charged that I chart the Atlantic and learn how to map the stratospheric amorphousness of theory on to the ground. For inspiring tutelage I received from Ingrid Rowland, Rob Nelson, Reinhold Heller, Marty Ward, Barbara Stafford, Ian Wardropper, and Christopher Pinney, I am grateful. I have also profited from conversations with and perusals of drafts by Peter Parshall, Anthony Grafton, Christian Feest, and Neil Swerdlow. While in Chicago, the Department of Prints and Drawings at the Art Institute was my home for many years; the education I got from art handling privileges and eavesdropping on the experts could not have been bought. I owe much to the graphic intelligence of the print keepers there, especially Suzanne Folds McCullagh, Jay Clarke, Peter Zegers, Martha Tedeschi, and Mark Pascale.

I am grateful to the Annette Kade Foundation for funding a fellowship year in 2003–4 at Chicago's Newberry Library. Warm thanks go to Jim Akerman, Robert Karrow, John Aubrey, Carla Zecher, Jim Grossman, Sara Austin, Frank Valadez, Bruce Calder, Ray Clemens, Ruth MacKay, Jeff Sklansky, Eric Slauter, Anna-Lisa Cox, Tilar Mazzeo, and Carole Levin for the scholarly footprints they gave me to follow. A 2006 faculty seminar at the Folger Library led by Sabine McCormack also gave this project a unique perspective.

Research years I spent in Munich and Augsburg were funded by the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst, the Samuel Kress Foundation, and from the Hannah Gray Fellowship. The Smart Foundation generously funded a write-up year. I am also grateful to the German Historical Institute for the opportunity to train in their summer paleography seminar. I thank the staffs of the Handschriften Lesesaal in Munich's Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, as well as those at the Graphische Sammlung, the Zentral Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Augsburg's Staats-und-Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg's Graphische Sammlung, and the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin for allowing me to roam freely about their rooms and explore their treasures. I am particularly grateful to Thomas Eser, Archim Riether, Helmut Zäh, Frank Schmidt, Martin Hirsch, Claudia-Steinhardt-Hirsch, Markus Brandis, Andreas Heese, Marianne Finkl, Elizabeth McGrath, and Georg Freiherr von Welser. I owe special thanks to Christine Johnson, my partner in charting the course of merchants and humanists in early modern Augsburg, and to Hans-Jörg Künast for breathing life into the library of Konrad Peutinger and sharing his passion and his finds so generously with American scholars.

For help in the religion department, I owe thanks to Peter Matheson for accompanying me on the search for obscure Reformation polemic, as well as to Amanda Porterfield. For the home that Florida State University has provided these last few years, I am most grateful to my colleagues in the Art History Department, and to

my students who have helped me shape these ideas. For professional support I have relied on Jane McAdams, Bonnie Cheng, Craig Hanson, Adam Jolles, Dana Katz, Lia Markey, Alexandra Korey, Georgi Parpulov, Janna Israel, Naomi Hume, Ken Allan, Angela Volan, John Mann, Dawn O'Dell, Jennifer Koslow, Ana Maria Allessi, James McCullum, Suzanne Karr-Schmidt, Traci Matthews, and Sarah Andyshak. I also thank Tom DaCosta Kaufmann, Emily Bakemeier, Frederick Ilchman, and Don Mullins for unfalteringly monitoring my progress in early days.

For the keen intellect, deft cuisine, good cheer, and warm heart of my husband Paul van der Mark, words fail where a good Barolo might not. My brother Erik Leitch, my pocket Renaissance man and astronomer, frequently offers me scope from his cosmographic travels. And finally, this work is dedicated to my three elders Roswitha and Arthur Leitch, and my late grandmother Erika Rist who, respectively cobbled together my first Indian costume, put venison on my plate, and taught me my first words of German. They are my pathfinders.

Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany

CHAPTER 1

Wonder and the Working Print: An Introduction

In 1520, the Nuremberg artist Albrecht Dürer stood rapt before the Aztec treasures brought back to Brussels by the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés. He did not blink. Straining for words, he pronounced the marvels he saw there to be better than the "Prodigies" or the *Wunderding(e)* in Dürer's German, employing a trope that connected these treasures to wonders, marvels, and prodigious occurrences.[1] Two opinions offered as to what Dürer might have meant by "better than the prodigies" try to unpack the interpretative traditions that governed his response. On the one hand, Dürer's positive appraisal of the ingenuity of these peoples and their products suggested that they were on a par with Europe's, a bold sizing up often hailed as the first acknowledgment of cultural relativism by a Renaissance artist.[2] On the other hand, if we characterize Renaissance *wonder* as "the central figure in the initial European response to the New World, the decisive emotional and intellectual experience in the presence of radical difference,"[3] then we are forced to reevaluate Dürer's response as less articulate. Dürer's use of *wonder,* whether he refers to the marvelous nature of these artifacts or to the producers themselves, is beholden to that same aesthetic response, that wide unblinking stare that begins with awe and ends in speechlessness.[4] Although Dürer's reaction has been mined for clues of a cultural sensitivity matching his own artistic exceptionality, the challenge facing Dürer—how to perceive and relay the stuff of new worlds—already had a history in Germany. For more than a decade prior to Dürer's spellbound gaze, artists and printers in Augsburg—colleagues of his, in fact—had regarded the natives of Southeast Asia and the Americas not as ineffable exotica, but as peoples whose distinction from Europeans was *not* predicated on radical difference.

In contrast to the conventional images of exotics accompanying reports of New World discoveries printed in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, the illustrations by Augsburg printmakers featured in this study expressed the distinctive and unique qualities of non-European peoples in equally unique and distinctive ways. Produced in a dynamic merchant, patrician, and humanist milieu, these prints of Hans Burgkmair

(c. 1508) and Jörg Breu (c. 1515) were the first to release these native inhabitants from the shackles of a visual tradition of exotica that had grouped them together with marvelous beings, monstrous races, wild men, and barbaric Others, and considered them instead as fully human. The foreign native unveiled himself briefly in the early sixteenth century, shedding his exotic trappings ever so briefly before colonial Europe wrapped him back up in filmy Orientalist gossamer.[5] In this period, he was parsed and studied, rather than swallowed whole.

Humanists and Artists

The confluence of international trade and the artistic energy galvanized by humanism in the early sixteenth-century produced new ways of looking at the world and of organizing visual thinking about humanity, a collaborative attempt to chart non-European peoples in terms less vague than "the Other." Any discussion of Renaissance Others only derives sense from an exploration of the self, a project whose ubiquity in the early modern period was identified by Stephen Greenblatt's seminal study, but whose precision was perfected by German engineering.[6] German introspection and self- fashioning include the civic posturing that produced the largest printed chronicle and map of the world, the *Nuremberg Chronicle,* as well as representations of the shape and body of the wild man, who, here, represents a cipher of German humanists' national self-appraisal. Humanists' text-based excavation of German ethnography determined the profile of its people and what constituted membership in its group.[7] A frank examination through the ethnographic lens of Cornelius Tacitus, the first ethnographer of German-speaking peoples, revealed a wild man surprisingly lurking at the base of the Germans' own pedigree. This barbarian, who in many ways resembled the image of the Indian circulating in print, ultimately precipitated a need for a closer look at non-European Others and increased descriptiveness.

A fellowship of humanists stood at the helm of German self-fashioning in their intellectual concerns and in the circulation of their labors through the printing press. In addition to shaping the boundaries of the national self, humanist sodalities also systematized Renaissance cartography, organized natural history, inspired antiquarianism, and sponsored art making.[8] In the sixteenth century, Augsburg was the gateway for the diffusion of new geographic information from Spain and Portugal and artistic styles from Italy. The local Welser and Fugger families oversaw a web of commercial networks, positioning trading posts in Venice and agents in Lisbon. These merchant bankers turned over to their humanist associates and the artists in their circle reports and artifacts from the newly discovered territories: parrots, samples of South American feather work, sketches that provided preparatory studies for Burgkmair, and even live human specimens wrested from their homes. Marginalia written in the local humanist Konrad Peutinger's own hand in his copy of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* provides one of the first recorded instances of Indian "slaves" on the European continent. This note announces the purchase of natives from India by Peutinger's father-in-law Anton Welser, as well as by Ambrosius Höchstetter and Konrad Vöhlin, members of other Augsburg merchant families.[9] Peutinger reported these Indian natives to be alive and well and living in the German region of Swabia;

Burgkmair almost certainly saw and used them as models for his compositions (plate 1).

If, as this study assumes, Hans Burgkmair actually encountered natives of the Malabar Coast of India in his hometown of Augsburg, it was through his connections to merchants via humanist patrons. First-hand observations of artifacts and specimens collected by Augsburg merchants infused the canon with new data; local humanists processed the raw materials for the artists.[10] Equally important as the new data were humanist proclivities for organization and interpretation. Burgkmair's perspicacity, attention to detail, and categorization paralleled the intellectual currents of contemporary humanism. Humanist mediation kept these artists' representations free from both the discourse of monstrous races that historically characterized travel accounts, as well as from the propagandistic and colonial taint that would mark images of these same subjects in the wake of conquest.[11] As the artistic attachments of humanism have been explored by studies that show how material evidence challenged the boundaries of established disciplines and forced them to restructure, we can also argue for their role in a significant change in the way of thinking about a plurality and diversity of worlds.[12]

The Working Print

The pictorial field of prints readily adapted itself to new possibilities and new functions. New genres took shape in the print's experimental space, which offered itself as a space for recording observations, surveying topography, or providing paper surfaces for scientific instrumentation; prints tendered their space for new technology and new technologies of seeing.[13] Recent studies have stressed the imperatives of these prints' function, and because many of these prints are unique in form and content, and therefore escape easy categorization, they are perhaps best quantified by their use as tools.[14] Svetlana Alpers' work, for example, examines the role maps played in the development of visual technology and the ways in which certain types of knowledge were systematized by cartographic energy.[15] We will examine here how printing could fix facts and warrant the presentation of visual observations, especially in cartography and physiognomy, genres that assert descriptive scrutiny and in many cases, establish the corporeal presence of an observer. Through these visual innovations, I explore how printed illustration became especially suited to ratify the claims of empirical observation and the important role it played in shaping the visual representation of facts.

Early modern prints were marshaled into reporting everything from marvelous occurrences to discoveries of new worlds, declaring themselves eyewitnesses to these sightings. Each chapter in this book offers a case study of the kind of work that print did in the Renaissance. Each weighs the role of the print in the construction of visual truth. In the early sixteenth century, and in Northern Europe especially, prints began announcing their function as purveyors of unmediated representations of nature. Truths struggling for acknowledgment in a variety of media forged accomplices in printed illustration, including broadsheets, religious propaganda, maps, herbals, portraits, as well as medical and artists' manuals. Despite the black-and-white starkness of the sixteenth-century print, a surface ill-suited to the mimetic

copying of nature, it was here that some of the most repeated and insistent claims to reflecting the observed world were made.

Early modern prints are not the most obvious place to look for Renaissance contributions to the artistic tradition nor for the systematic pursuit of truths; both have been more fervently sought in media that aspired to mimetic likeness. Stories of art that located teleological progress in illusionistic naturalism reveled in narratives of deception or metamorphosis: the Ancients conferred the laurel of "truth in art" on works that deceived the eye, applauding as they watched dazed birds stub their beaks on Zeuxis' fresco of painted grapes and Pygmalion's marble Galatea become flesh.[16] Italian Renaissance painters and sculptors revived the antique preference for illusionism, and from Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* (1550) forward, the story of the Renaissance has been told through the lens of artists struggling to revive formulae for proportions forgotten since antiquity and to unlock the enigma of linear perspective. Printed impressions on paper could not hope for trompe l'oeil trickery, and thus, set their claims to observed reality to different calibrations.

But, far from thinking themselves hopelessly handicapped in describing empirical observations, prints clamored that they were made "from life." The framework for printed truths in this period was shaped by claims of accuracy made by a variety of printed genres. Sixteenth-century artists, especially in the North, looked to both the particularity embedded in portraits and in abstractions like maps for standards by which to assert precision. Albrecht Dürer, for example, slaved over complicated mathematical contortions to achieve the formulae for proportionate, and therefore "accurate," reproductions of the human body. However formulaic, both a textual and visual vocabulary for argumentative claims to observation develop in this period, claims that invoke a transparent relationship between nature and the authority of the eyewitness. Clamorings by way of labels that announced the images were made "from life"—in the form of *contrafacere*, *naer het leven, nach dem Leben, ad vivum, au vif*—suggest operative models of how prints and drawings authenticated subjects recorded in the presence of their makers.[17] Surely these testimonies had visual counterparts that matched the text's claims to authenticity. Rather than literally stating them, German printmakers staked silent claims to descriptiveness and likeness by visually asserting their endeavors as documentary ones.

Subjects that challenged what was already known, especially creatures that taxed the probable, advanced the development of a visual documentary vocabulary. Ancient and medieval accounts that studded the uncharted parts of the globe with monsters capitalized on their difference in order to distinguish these regions from a moral and theological center. Authorities such as Pliny, St. Augustine, and Isidore of Seville used the rhetoric of the eyewitness to their direct observation of these monstrously formed beings in order to enhance their credibility, a fiction that Anthony Pagden calls their "autopic imagination."[18] Albrecht Dürer, also not privy to a firsthand view of the beast, used the term "abkunterfet" (or, an image made from life) to label a print of a rhinoceros he never saw.[19] Still, this claim was backed by the documentary vocabulary vested in print, because Dürer's quadruped served as the source, as well as the last word, in the visual construction of the rhinoceros until the nineteenth century. The same sparseness of the visual field, coupled with the specimen's surfeit of particularity, was used to substantiate the "wurmb" or hydra

that was drafted by a South German artist (c. 1530), and was made popular through many printed editions.[20]

Burgkmair's and Breu's illustrations pushed merely rhetorical eye witnessing to assert a different kind of veracity, one steeped in visual rhetoric and with claims to autopic observation. The artists included in this study show an unprecedented visual engagement with their subjects within the context of shifting ideas of viewership from the late medieval to the early modern period. They transform the representation of the act of eye witnessing by investing it with guarantees of observational proof and develop the language of being there. The visual strategies they employ define an ethnography shaped as much by the new subjects they portrayed, as by concerns with how to depict them as the products of observation. This book contextualizes their innovations in arenas of concern and possibilities new to the Renaissance.

The print productions of these Augsburg artists established visual warrants to assert that their subjects were documented from life. In some cases, the subjects portrayed *were* actually the product of empirical observation. But their techniques were inflected by the surveying that characterized mapmaking, formulae established for proportions, mimesis demanded by portraiture, and the specificity that attended experimental sciences like physiognomy. These solidified into visual practices that tried to capture the particularity of the "world around," which now included human races.

Prints propose an alternate way of looking at the stylistic ruptures traditionally associated with Renaissance art. Without the means to express truth as illusionism, the print in this period strives to capture the natural world, but in a highly constructed form. Instead of the privileged contributions of the revival of antiquity and the adjustments of linear perspective, this project emphasizes the role of visual technology in the development of Renaissance naturalism. By borrowing stylistic and compositional guarantees from other media in order to claim scientific scrutiny, artists included in this study introduced vocabulary both new to print and never before used in rendering racial difference. They suggested systematic comparisons of the sort that would later underwrite taxonomy, and other proto-scientific gestures like ethnography.

Ethnographic Impulses

The pictorial turn that this book tracks highlights a unique and early incidence of visual accuracy and an unprecedented investment in the practice of ethnography. Things never before seen, like rhinoceri, South American feather work, petrified remnants of the natural world, samples of blowfish, or even a group of new arrivals to Augsburg from India, inspired new ways of recording and organizing those experiences. This fusion of empirical observations and the novel representative strategies developed to record them built to a moment of visual sophistication and intellectual rupture. This breach occurred in a climate shaped by German humanism, artistic techniques developed in Italy, and mercantile interests in new worlds. A confluence of new standards for recording the observed world and new sets of visual guarantees reflected an ordering that begs for the term ethnography to describe it *avant la lettre.*

The term "ethnography" today is reserved for anthropology governed by firsthand and sustained research and is still very hesitantly applied to any image-producing endeavor besides photography, film, and video recording. Despite the widespread use of the term in the secondary literature, it is without a doubt, an anachronistic term for sixteenth-century methods of investigation.[21]

By ethnographic, I do not mean that the new visual thinking about humanity produced images of humans whose coordinates can be concretely pinned down on a map that corresponds to familiar national borders, or that they were the products of prolonged and scientific scrutiny. Early printed images were routinely recycled from models that approximated the needs of the printer; saints and sinners, as well as popes and paupers, did double duty for each other. When new world inhabitants enter the cast of representational desiderata, all nude children of nature including Adam, Eve, wild men, and wild women, became their go-to *doppelgänger*. Recycling Europe's own to describe these new peoples represents a visual stride in the understanding of peoples from these regions.

Early representations of these new neighbors, when not simply recycled, still placed little premium on naturalism. This study operates under the assumption that naturalism walks a tightrope between the descriptive and normative, erring frequently on the normative side. If anything, this study exposes the assumed transparency of mimesis and naturalism and treats them as eminently constructed categories. The medium of print absorbed naturalism less readily than did other media, and the rampant practice of recycling, encouraged by ease and cost-effectiveness, only held up the process. While William Ivins has enshrined the standardization afforded by print's exactly repeatable statement, it is difficult to argue for anything like ethnographic or even artistic intentionality in this impoverished medium fraught with technical shortcuts and iconographic shorthand.[22] Yet, in some cases, even these expediencies marked radical departures from stereotypes.

In this project, the term ethnography is marshaled to describe the artist's direction toward organizational structure, his impulse to group, to categorize, to locate, and to differentiate among a sum of descriptive detail. It also implies that he collected and reproduced his data in a comparative fashion; this gathering does not operate within any scientific framework and without any pretensions to ethnology, but was motivated by hunches about human diversity while alluding to their overall unity. Assembling particulars about language, religion, modes of dwelling, diet, and dress formed a standard approach to describing the inhabitants of foreign places—indeed the same questions had been asked about humanity since classical ethnographers such as Herodotus. Classical and medieval histories and encyclopedias that provided a model for telling about strange people, and textual ethnography can be found in contemporary books of customs, moral histories, costume books, and other precursors to modern anthropological texts such as cultural geographies and travel literature.[23] Contemporary records of mariners and manuals for merchants provided a list of things for which those travelers should look when venturing into foreign markets.[24] Ethnography was clearly being practiced on the amateur level, in some cases, printed as field guides for merchants who were also encouraged to observe and record their findings.[25] Tallies of customs and habits of peoples made on the models of ancient histories were preserved in the vernacular how-to books

of the sixteenth century, as well as in the allegorical literature. The protagonist of Thomas More's *Utopia*, the explorer Raphael Hythloday, for example, reports cultural customs of the salubrious Utopians using taxonomic categories gleaned from Thucydides' and Herodotus' histories that he carried on board.[26] More's case study of the exemplary society of Utopia presented a compelling foil to Europe in the form of an ethnographic sketch of the Utopians. In the shape of a Platonic dialogue, *Utopia* asks the reader to compare and contrast, to recognize antithesis, to explore virtues and vices, and encourages a relativistic study of societies.

More's *Utopia* (1516) and Michel de Montaigne's essay *Of Cannibals* (1580) form two milestones of textual ethnographic query in the sixteenth century. By setting up comparisons between the New Worlders and contemporary Europeans, More and Montaigne both dismantle the frail defense Europeans had erected between themselves and their "primitive" contemporaries. Both accounts offer sympathetic views of new peoples whose virtues exposed European folly and even barbarity. Both achieved their claim to unbiased recording by virtue of their narrators, both innocent rustics not driven by agendas, who characterize the new societies overwhelmingly in terms of "lack" of hypocritical trappings of European culture. Both promote the idea that an important fringe benefit of travel was perspective into one's own society.

Whereas the ethnographic character of More's and Montaigne's texts has rarely been disputed, it seems strange that no one has tried to advance claims about contemporary images, or looked for images that expressed similar sensibility, inspired, or inflected this relativistic kind of thinking. Arguably, images are as sound a place to search as any, as they were responsible for conveying all other period novelties, and more concretely, could not express ideas through lack. The first "ethnographic" image-making endeavor is frequently identified with the publishing enterprise of the Frankfurt-based family of Theodor de Bry who, between 1590 and 1634 collected and printed the transcripts of the great European voyages to the New World as the *Grands Voyages*.[27] The secondary literature sets the start date for the visual narrative of cross-cultural and ethnographic contact with the copious engravings accompanying de Bry's thirty-volume anthology of the discovery reports. The current project's reevaluation of ethnography revises this entrenched point of reference.

Retrospective assessment of the ethnographic merits of de Bry's images accrued to the *Grands Voyages* via the anthropological texts that comprised the anthology, such as Jean de Léry and André Thevet's account of their time spent amongst the Brazilian Tupinamba. Léry and Thevet's documentary tendencies, as well as their refusal to link rituals such as cannibalism with complete alterity has driven modern ethnographers to search for the discipline's origin in these texts.[28] Claude Lévi-Strauss famously set foot in Brazil in 1935 with a copy of Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la terre du Brésil* (1578) in tow, a book he considered a work of ethnography.[29] Augmenting the ethnographic aura that surrounds the de Bry volumes are several firsthand sketches, such as John White's watercolors of the Virginia Algonquians, which formed the study for only a handful of the engravings. The engravings in the published edition, however, retooled these first hand sightings along the lines of idealist European models driven by anti-Catholic polemic. Distilled from the accounts of conquest and retold by an exiled French

Protestant with an anti-Catholic agenda, de Bry's images of Amerindians were hardly disinterested, let alone comparative, or judiciously weighed.[30] Neither do they embody unmediated representations of nature, nor seek to organize them into rigorous categories, as even the broadest formulations of ethnography presume.[31] Even when modern scholarship invokes ethnography to describe Burgkmair's images, it employs an ahistorical and transdisciplinary notion of this term to indicate quasi-scientific observation of nature.[32] This project inspects the art-historical conditions that could support the kind of investigation implied by ethnography.

Finally, the Renaissance notion of ethnography at work in this study treats "races" as groups of peoples, like More's Utopians, who shared a common ancestry and who had habits and customs discrete from other groups. Renaissance racial constructions acknowledged diversity among peoples based on these habits and customs, and sought to differentiate peoples along cultural, religious, ethnic, and geographical lines.[33] Governed by nonhierarchical ordering of the differences among ethnic groups, racial constructions were models distinct from the noxious ethnocentrism in later approaches to the study of human difference that produced systematic morphologic data and encouraged audiences to inspect, judge, and place them in artificial hierarchies. More importantly, this early sixteenth-century look at human diversity does not interpret the differences between peoples as a justification for their subjugation. Burgkmair and Breu parsed these differences for the study of variety, for the challenge of differentiation, and, in some cases, for the sake of stunningly novel models on to which they applied new artistic techniques—many undertaken in the name of deriving a rational basis for beauty.[34] Their artistic choices gesture toward anthropology, and not the institutionalized racism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries backed by "scientific" warrants.

Organization: Management of Knowledge and New Facts

Ethnography borrows from the organizational principles that characterized other Renaissance fact-finding endeavors. The great organizers of the Renaissance were scholars and humanists who deciphered lost languages, neatly transcribed and numbered found inscriptions and *spolia*, organized their coin collections, catalogued and described nature, ordered fossilized and dried remains, devised ways to remember such, and recorded them for their colleagues and for posterity. The tools of the ethnographer partake of the same organizational constructions that governed other early modern attempts at canon formation, for example, in natural history, the taxonomic description in herbals and botanicals, and the parsing of difference and the systematization of knowledge found in the curiosity cabinets, or *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammern*.

Clues to the logic of organization are embedded in these cabinets, or collections of *naturalia, artificialia,* and *scientifica* that formed the *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammern*.[35] Paradoxically, whereas it was the object's novelty, opacity, and resistance to categorization that earned it a niche in the cabinet in the first place, the *Wunderkammer* was not just a repository of random samples, but a venue for ordering the stuff of the world. The cabinet's organization reflected the fluidity between things of artifice and unusual artifacts of the natural world; it was both the cabinet keeper's burden

and sport to decide which was which. Because artifacts gathered from exotic places were also housed in these collections, the principles by which they were organized can shed light on how these were integrated into hermeneutic frameworks. The botanical and zoological specimens of the Bolognese naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi were crammed into the countless pigeonholes and drawers of sixty-six armoires that contained the chaos of his microcosm, "things from beneath the earth, together with various fruits, gums and other very beautiful things from the Indies, marked with their names so that they can be found."[36] As broad a classification as this reflects, nevertheless, the organization of exotic objects in a logical manner and their compartmentalization in separate cabinets, formed a de facto taxonomy. Horst Bredekamp suggests that parallels forged by placing artifacts of exotic origin into dialogue with indigenous objects "constitute the first evidence of a kind of ethnology that viewed foreigners with a certain respect . . . (and) integrated (their objects) visually in a nonhierarchical fashion."[37] The impulse of collectors to group products of non-European cultures together with European ones suggests a reception that viewed these cultures relativistically and produced presciently modern responses.

In what space was knowledge of nature constituted? Late medieval experimental science interpreted natural phenomenon by deciphering signatures inscribed on them. These signatures were linked to other signs via a system of resemblances, from which analogies were drawn. The explanatory mortar of these analogies formed the basis of natural history. In this landscape of billboards, per Michel Foucault, nature floated airlessly between the sign system and its interpretation, the oxygen forced out by a series of recursive analogies.[38] Aldrovandi's marking the "wonders of the Indies" with names in order that they could be located, processed for comparison, and digested, represented new possibilities for organization. Artists in this study also exposed Foucault's hermetically sealed paradigm to the air; not interpreting peoples merely for the sake of moralizing, and in a space where particulars were not only adjustable, but also taxonomically and morphologically knowable.

In addition to wondrous objects, the curiosity cabinet also contained prints, books, and images, included because they either represented marvels of technology or portrayed marvels of the created world.[39] Aldrovandi's cabinet included bound volumes of things "dried and pasted," which were supplemented with "3,000 other (examples) . . . which (he) had painted from life (*al vivo*)."[40] Pictorial images, in the form of prints and drawings, expanded the group of known specimens. Even images of samples that were products of both observation and hearsay, like the strange *Mischwesen* called the monkfish, they qualified as parts of creation, and thus served to flesh out the canon. The encyclopedia of the microcosm was inclusive and often in search of supplementation. Like ethnography, botany was another body of knowledge in the process of canon formation in the early modern period. Botany as a field of investigation was concretized in illustrated herbals that transferred the garden plot to paper. The botanical book aspired to the ambitions of an apothecary garden with its mandate to instruct through comparison and encyclopedic inclusion.[41] The illustrated botanical served as an ossified garden, a space impervious to the punishments of weather, an arena of knowledge that could be fixed by the exactly repeatable statement, a book that could replace travel or empirical experience. But volumes of collected specimens did more than simply supply ersatz representations of the

natural world, they also changed the terms of organization. The printed botanical shifted the classification of plants away from their therapeutic properties to an organization based morphologic principles. With these anthologies of images, natural history took a phytographic turn, one grounded in the precise description of plants that were catalogued with attention to form and structure.[42] The removal of natural specimens from their context facilitated and concentrated the naturalist's concern with description, and his resulting "painterly descriptions" inflected his habits of observing.

Collection of objects, specimens, and flora from the natural world produced new ways of looking at them and new stakes for observing them. It was the multiplication of these empirical discourses fashioned for practical purposes, according to Joan-Pau Rubiés, that made the possibility of ethnic and cultural diversity in this period more than just an abstract idea.[43] If empirical investigation reshaped man's experience of the natural world, did that experience translate into images used to describe acts of eye witnessing? Late medieval accounts of monsters and marvelous human races had all but bankrupted eye witnessing as a rhetorical strategy because their authors simply reiterated what had issued from the fountainheads of antiquity. Rarely did texts furnish images that could imply that the renderings were made in the presence of these fantastic subjects. The translation of empirical acts into representations required mediation between the descriptive and the normative. In Aldrovandi's microcosm, according to Paula Findlen, "the encyclopedia was located neither in the text nor the object alone; rather it was the dialectic between *res* and *verba*."[44] Perhaps it is in this liminal space that the subject rests uneasily as a visual description. Prints also reside in exactly that liminal space between the normative and the descriptive. By endeavoring to supply proof of observation, prints, and the way that knowledge was systematized in them, answered for both some of the developments and some of the contingencies of facts in this period.

Text Technology and Printing Problems

This study engages a set of overlooked images in which the novelties of printing and text technology in this period articulate themselves eloquently. Although prints regularly accompanied the reports of the explorers and merchants that announced the finds of the discoveries, many of these prints remain relatively unknown today. This neglect is puzzling, considering that these pamphlets and broadsides are arguably the most significant documents of the discoveries. Introducing novelty was a task shouldered almost entirely by prints and printed pamphlets in the Renaissance. Dubious artistic merit and uncredited authorship have kept them beneath the radar of art history and relegated them to the status of ephemera, if not exactly detritus. The expediencies and economics of the printing trade gave rise to multiple, unauthorized, and sometimes adulterated copies of these prints that thwart attempts to construct seamless genealogies of artistic authorship. Rampant borrowings and frequent recycling of motifs within these genres produced a visual fluidity that also frustrates classic concerns with artistic invention, and therefore, left them outside the realm of consideration by traditional scholarship.

A broad cross-section of the mercantile, patrician, and humanist population informed artistic training and patronage. Acknowledging their contributions, this project embraces art history's revisionist attention to visual culture uncharted by traditional art history, seeking to incorporate knowledge of and artifacts from cultures, not only beyond the reach of medieval cartography, but also outside Leon Battista Alberti's cone of vision.[45] Contributions of the strange bedfellows of merchants, publishers, and artisans overlooked in an earlier discourse that favored masters and masterpieces have been rehabilitated by recent studies of visual culture. This project consults their untidy paper trail of printed documents relating to the discoveries, correspondence among humanists, merchants, and factors in conjunction with the array of broadsides, maps, pamphlet title pages, and book illustrations to which their investigations gave rise.

While past print scholarship privileged connoisseurial questions of originality and invention, the concerns of early printmaking are better characterized by the evolution of the technology that purposely depended on the skills of the copyist. Current efforts to reinvigorate the reputation of the reproductive print have steered the path away from the inventions of A-list artists in order to inspect the technologies responsible for their renown. The contributions of "masters" like Raphael and Dürer have recently been weighed against the "commercial printers" like Marcantonio Raimondi and Theodor de Bry who expanded the audience for the *peintre-graveur.* Their print shops were responsible for setting masterpieces, in the case of the former, and news of the discoveries, in the case of the latter, into the broadest circulation. This book introduces other printmakers who helped define parameters for the field. Like Raimondi and de Bry, Burgkmair and Breu's productions were not always entirely of their own making; but their very collaborations and borrowings were critical to their innovations and to their successes.[46]

Many of these printmakers featured in this study are still relatively unknown outside of Germany. While Burgkmair's printed work has been the subject of several German and international exhibitions, his profile in the English-speaking world awaits a monograph.[47] His inclusion in the canon depends on the critical link he forged in the technology of print culture: Burgkmair's renown comes from his work on several print projects made for a famous patron, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, and is amplified by a technical development that emerged from this activity, the *chiaroscuro* woodcut.[48] The *chiaroscuro* woodcut, an enriched print composed of a line block and multiple tonal blocks, elevated the status of the print to a work of art and Burgkmair to the rank of an early *peintre-graveur.*[49] Burgkmair's role in bridging the evolutionary gap between craft practice and artistic ambition by way of a technical improvement has recently been supplemented by scholarship that considers his work in the epistemology of science.[50] The breach I posit for the ethnographic moment also borrows rhetoric from visual studies that situate other artistic ruptures in German visual culture in this period.[51]

Jörg Breu, on the other hand, has been rescued from oblivion by recent English-language scholarship that regards him as a minor craftsman in the realm of design, yet an important figure in his ambient.[52] No one has given much play to Breu's somewhat derivative woodcut cycle for Ludovico de Varthema's *Die Ritterlich vñ*

lobwirdig rayß (1515), the illustrated account of a Bolognese knight's adventures in India. This study of Breu turns from questions of political identity, as well as from originality and invention that mark these rehabilitative studies, and queries instead his images of Hinduism and Islam to examine how his derivative borrowings inflected and made familiar the remoteness of classical Others.

The impact of the vernacular press on early modern social revolutions is a mainstay of Reformation studies, which has helped to identify critical issues and audiences during a period of unprecedented upheaval in early modern Europe.[53] These studies investigate the role that printmaking had on collective identities, religious confession, the use and abuses of propaganda, and the chicken and egg relationship that the Reformation sweats out with the printing press. Whereas polemical prints feature prominently as agents of change in the social landscape of early modern culture, there is scant scholarship, however, on secular printmaking in Germany on the eve of the Reformation. This book previews the role of secular printmaking before the Reformation and asks how prints of new people may have contributed to ideas of tolerance.

Modern scholarship on the European discoveries circa 1492 produced a discourse around the label "New World" that artificially separated the consideration of America from the East Indies. To consider the discovery of India, Asia, and America as discrete events is to forge an ex post facto distinction for the period before circumnavigation.[54] This distinction forgets that Columbus was headed to Asia, mistakenly presumes that his reports, as well as those of his fellow discoverers, found their way to wide audiences, and labors under the assumption that precise accounting was made of the changing world picture as strict new boundaries were drawn. In reality, these lines and continental divides were negotiable for quite a while afterwards. In addition, precise geographical knowledge was limited to tight circles of humanists and, as John Elliott suggests, news of the discoveries generally made only a very blunt impact.[55] The anachronism of the modern distinction between India and the Americas exposes itself most tellingly in early modern visual records in which East and West Indians are used interchangeably long after their coordinates should have been sorted out, according to a model that poses 1492 as a temporal break in the history of European thinking. The visual conflation of these stereotypes compels us to see past anachronistic geographical divides and to compare Amerindians with Asians and Goths with wild men.

Modern use of the ambiguous term "New World" to mark the discovery of the Americas plotted surveying lines on maps that did not necessarily correspond to the contemporary mental geography of early modern Europeans. The erasure of this divide is crucial to understanding the visual vocabulary of these prints. Broadening the "new world" to include Africa and Asia creates a conceptual model that allows us to consider the discoveries in tandem.[56] Hans Burgkmair and Jörg Breu's images of African and South Asian natives show us the necessity of weighing the impact of Asia in the making of America. Only by considering these European encounters with Africa, India, and the Americas together can we truly explore the fluidity of the visual tradition between Asian and American Indians. This book responds to revisionist calls by recent scholarship, particularly Claire Farago's *Reframing the Renaissance,* to reject anachronistic and culturally

divisive nationalisms in favor of a Renaissance that was diverse, admitting of its own patchwork beginnings, grounded in exchange, and exemplary of complex connections between cultures that perhaps even invited relativistic assessments of each other.[57] By looking past these standard epistemic breaks, I locate the moment of empirical and ethnographic discovery of new peoples in a time and place where no one has thought to look.

Chapter Outline

The chapters in this book are designed as a series of case studies of works by members of common artisan and intellectual circles knitted together by humanists, patrons, and printers. These personalities knew each other primarily by their artistic output. These chapters are related in the sense that the images that these artists both reference and forge were common intellectual property. The chapters resonate with each other insofar as each represents a phase or contribution to the project of unraveling the other in the Germans' midst. While they evince development in the German view of non-European peoples, they do not assert a teleological progress toward anthropology, rather they represent trends in printmaking as a new technology, with all the attendant glitches, improvements, and piracy.

Chapter 2, "Centering the Self: Mapping the *Nuremberg Chronicle* and the Limits of the World," examines the cosmographic framework of the period just prior to the discoveries of the New World within which the novelties of those discoveries subsequently came to be viewed. The chapter focuses on the largest printed atlas of its time, Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik* or *Nuremberg Chronicle* from 1493. While the *Nuremberg Chronicle* still reflects ancient demographics that seeded the remote regions of the East with monsters, marvels, and prodigies, it lodges a scientific program at its core. Schedel relied heavily on contemporary travel accounts for the form, content, and illustration of his chronicle; the first step was to have Nuremberg replace Jerusalem at the world's navel. These innovations would ultimately make Christian cosmography susceptible to cartographic revisions from sailors and merchants. The *Nuremberg Chronicle* destabilized the world picture of the late medieval Germans and awakened interest in other cultures.

Even as European explorers were discovering other lands, German humanists were discovering their own history. Chapter 3, "The Wild Man, the German Body, and the Emperor's New Clothes," demonstrates how the barbarian who sat at the base of the Germans' pedigree required these scholars to make sense of the wildness in their own past. This "ancient German" was brought to light in the late fifteenth century by the revival of the text of Tacitus's *Germania* (98 A.D.), the first ethnography of the German peoples. Long dormant, Tacitus was rediscovered by humanists who were simultaneously processing news of recently discovered lands and peoples. I argue that the vivid descriptions of Tacitus's *ur*-German, a rude forest dweller, in many ways closely resembled reports of the peoples of the New World. Because no visual precedent existed for either Tacitus's barbarian or the New World inhabitants, the long-established iconographic tradition of the legendary wild man stepped in as the visual model for both.

Chapter 4, "Hans Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print," shows how earlier models were challenged by printmakers in Augsburg, the first to unburden their subjects of the bloodthirsty and warlike posturing that had characterized depictions of peoples of the West and East Indies alike. Hans Burgkmair and Jörg Breu's illustrations accompanying accounts of Europeans' voyages to Africa and India were the first images to reflect the nature and degree of cultural difference that this contact represented. Burgkmair's representations of African and Indian natives in a 1508 woodcut edition of a merchant's voyage is the first print of Africans and Indians to assume empirical observation as a prerequisite to its production. More importantly, however, my analysis shows how Burgkmair equipped prints to pictorially accommodate that claim. In contrast to the illusionism and perspective that governed Italian Renaissance standards of mimesis, I argue that Burgkmair borrowed warrants from other media to assert scientific scrutiny; he marshaled the documentary impulses that shaped cartography, the mimetic guarantees embodied in physiognomy, and the recording of antiquities in order to assert both a seeing eye and seen subjects. His attempts to categorize the distinctive qualities of the newly discovered African and Indian races were prescient of comparative ethnography.

The images in Burgkmair's frieze stake claims as novel as the peoples they represent were to their European observers. The print itself resists being subsumed into established categories. Burgkmair's frieze escapes categorization by the genres established for prints; it is neither a "work of art," created for religious or devotional purposes, nor for the propagandistic or moralizing uses to which prints were put in this period. Compositional ruptures within the frieze itself contribute to the problem of identification: the frieze's flickering between narrative episodes and taxonomic charting complicates easy categorization and provokes questions of whether an object like this was meant to be viewed or used. It asks to be considered a tool for organizing a world in the process of being ordered.

Chapter 5, "Recuperating the Eyewitness: Jörg Breu's Images of Islamic and Hindu Culture in Ludovico de Varthema's *Travels* (1515)," shows how the image of the exotic was challenged by another Augsburg artist who pictorially gave life to early European "eyewitness" testimony of the natives of coastal India. Arresting the claim of eyewitness as a purely rhetorical flourish, Jörg Breu constituted Indians of the Malabar Coast as visually perceived and culturally heterogeneous. Breu's inquiry betrays a curiosity that can be considered ethnographic; his woodcuts address class distinctions, lineage and succession, crime and punishment, eating habits, warfare, and religious ritual. These illustrations endowed the cultures of South India and Southeast Asia, long essentialized and oversimplified by Europeans, with cultural and socioeconomic complexity that relativized their practices with respect to Europe. By bringing the visual depiction of Indians into a European iconographical and ideological orbit, Burgkmair and Breu began to reorganize the cultural space of what once had been the chaotic living quarters of the Other.

Chapter 6, "The Amerindian's Moveable Feast: From Cannibal Roast to Fools' Fete," queries why early modern revolutionary ideas about human equality stopped dead in their tracks, as later depictions of Indians ultimately resisted earlier headway and regressed into essentialist models. Burgkmair's ethnographic view dissociates

in later appropriations of his work that became grist for clip art featuring cannibals and fools. Such acts of piracy mainstreamed the exotic, turning the ferocious cannibal into a fool. This chapter explores an obscure detour in the history of Native Americans' representation that exposes the ambivalence surrounding the exotic's reception: Indians attired as carnival fools featured unexpectedly, yet prominently, on Reformation pamphlets. Ideas about folly reinforced by Sebastian Brant and Desiderius Erasmus and tolerance articulated by Thomas More and Michel de Montaigne met the Indian in the Utopian playground, where the benign foolery of Native Americans threw the savagery of their past life into stark relief. Their world-upside-down antics also contrast with the propagandistic uses of cannibalism later adopted by colonial rhetoric. Simultaneously a case study of visual technology and an investigation of the impact of Utopian thinking on the visual description of Indians, it posits that a different kind of relativism was forged in the mid-sixteenth century. In short, this chapter addresses the limits of empirical consideration of other cultures in the Renaissance.

CHAPTER 2

Centering the Self: Mapping the *Nuremberg Chronicle* and the Limits of the World

The mapping of ethnography must account for maps and ethnography; both of these categories are somewhat anachronistic in the ambient engaged by this study, the German-speaking lands early in the sixteenth century. Both were amorphous concepts when judged by the modern sense of these terms, but terms we can historicize with the aid of a "map" in the largest monument of pre-Reformation printing in Germany, the *Nuremberg Chronicle,* known in Latin as the *Liber Chronicarum,* or the Book of Chronicles. This map offered a conceptual model of the world, but it had no mandate to either temporal or geographic accuracy; it followed Ptolemy's worldview, a snapshot of the world at that point over thirteen hundred years out of date[1] (plate 2).

The first edition was in production by the summer of 1492, on the eve of the discovery of the New World, admittedly too early to include serious attention to Columbus's activities in the Atlantic, but the shape of Africa had been updated recently enough for the map to have reflected those adjustments. Instead, the map followed Ptolemy's model in which Africa trailed off indefinitely beyond the equator and stretched east to enclose the Indian Ocean. Ptolemy's *oikoumene* was long in need of revisions, but it had been a serviceable, if conceptual, model of the world for over a millenium. Bartholomeu Dias' rounding of the tip of Africa did not produce the authority to reshape the southern subcontinent, nor did Columbus' sighting of several obscure islands in the West Indies have the weight to challenge Ptolemy's authority.[2]

This world map was also less than current in its portrayal of the world's ethnography. Unconcerned with the text's own project of recording and locating the world's peoples, the *Chronicle*'s map focused its ethnographic energy on a decorative border of monsters that rimmed the world. The monstrous races were holdovers from theological maps that located Jerusalem at the exact midpoint of the world; the monsters marked the unredeemed edge of civilization and took their moniker, "Marvels of the East" from this spatial periphery. A good example of the medieval

oikumene surrounded by a monstrous rim can be found in the Psalter world map (England, 1265) (figure 2.1).[3] In the Psalter map, as well as in the *Chronicle's* map, the monsters' distance from the center was more of a spiritual than a geographical one, but they had been a fixture of geographical thinking since antiquity, theological mapping since the early medieval period, and the most ready and continuous example of extra-European others. Although it may seem arbitrary to search for an

Figure 2.1 *Psalter Map*, British Library, Add. MS. 28681, fol. 9r (*Photo credit*: Visual Resources, Florida State University)

ethnography of peoples in these specimens of cyclopses and dog headed races, the *Chronicle*'s map illuminates how closely sutured mapping and ethnography were, despite their uneven seams. Although the *Chronicle*'s Ptolemy map and marvels emerged from different traditions, nowhere were they most closely connected in the late medieval world than in cosmography. This chapter examines the state of maps in the most authoritative reference book for contemporary knowledge of remote parts of the world, and shapes its areas of inquiry around the center and periphery.

The largest printed atlas of its time, the *Liber Chronicarum* or *Nuremberg Chronicle*, first published by Anton Koberger in 1493, represents the most complete pre-Columbian "map" of the world.[4] The Nuremberg humanist and physician Hartmann Schedel compiled a corpus of works of the ancients and collected them into a geographical and historical chronicle. The chronicle belonged to a cosmographic tradition that considered the structure of the universe as a function of both the history of the world and the description of its parts. While descending most directly from cosmographic precedents, this work was also indebted to travel literature. As such, the *Nuremberg Chronicle* embodies the period's very fluid definition of a map: it was not a literal atlas, but a picture of the universe stitched together by ancient ethnography, old maps, and contemporary topographic descriptions.

The secular, temporal, and geographical leanings of travel literature freed the genre from pure Christian cosmography, replacing revelation with historiography. In the place once reserved for God as universal narrator, the *Nuremberg Chronicle* provided multiple voices of authority.[5] Unseating the authority of God also allowed the book to replace its spiritual center, Jerusalem, with the geographic center and the site of its production, Nuremberg. To English-speaking bibliophiles, this revision is preserved in the book's title, the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.[6] Inspecting the cosmological framework of the period just prior to the discoveries of the New World and thus, the conceptual background against which to view those novelties, this chapter argues that a world realigned with Nuremberg at its core permitted the *Chronicle* to redefine its periphery. This readjusted globe also became the one in which the news of the discoveries of the world's farther reaches would make its debut.

Cosmographic Tradition and the Text

The *Nuremberg Chronicle* had no less ambition than to relate the history of the world from the Creation up to the present.[7] The chronicle is a late Roman artifact, a historiographical genre that split into several strains in the Medieval period.[8] It was a work of encyclopedic complexity for which Schedel, as its compiler, gathered texts of every possible genre as sources, borrowing liberally and unapologetically.[9] Schedel's sources are as old as the genre itself and extend back to antiquity. Schedel cribbed the model for his book from the printed works of Italian humanists who divided the world into ages marked by theological turning points, his diagrammed genealogies of popes and emperors were lifted from noted recent authorities, and geographical information was borrowed from recent travel volumes.[10] Despite this influx of information from some relatively contemporary sources, Schedel still restricted the geography of the earth to the temporal organizing principle common to cosmographies: regions of the earth cued to the period of their historical founding.

Although the *Nuremberg Chronicle* preserves the structure of Christian cosmography, the edges of its theocentric universe begin to blur. One of the ways in which the *Chronicle* distances itself from the hegemony of scripture is by recounting events through historical narrative. The surge of history is not relayed by Providence alone; in this case it is scripted by multiple authors, many of them pagan. A handful of competing claims questions the legitimacy of revelation. On a formal level, the multiplicity of authorial voices makes the work look less like received wisdom and more like a reference book. While the *Chronicle* ostensibly maintains the organizational structure of scripturally ordained ages, the content of these chapters is very new. It is permeated with historical and anecdotal elements that challenge the teleology of scripture. The competing voices of antiquity also tax an orderly Christian cosmography.

The fact that Schedel begins a discussion of the Creation with antique musings on spontaneous generation is an illustrative example of the humanists' intellectual horizons.[11] Schedel's account of the world's beginnings offers a number of historical explanations for it, ultimately conceding that Ovid gives a very nice account of the early chaos.[12] As a foil to accounts provided by Plato, Aristotle, and Epicurus of life forms emerging from foul and damp puddles, Schedel poses Moses's proclamation that God created the world as a corrective to this chaos. This exposition serves to set up the victory of Mosaic prophecy, "Thus, let us abandon the errors of the Ancients and examine the Mosaic writings of the world's creation and tell of the work of the first six days."[13] Yet, even as Schedel disputes the relevance of some of the ancient authorities, the approach he takes is historiographic. Following the account of the creation, the competing perspectives that tell history through genealogies of pagan gods, popes, and emperors affirm this historiographic approach.[14] Humanists like Schedel revived the works of classical antiquity for the purpose of consultation and cross-reference, as well as for the light they shed on philological and rhetorical matters. Modes of criticism developed by humanists could hardly avoid the temptation to revive some of this content for comparison or correction.

The events and phenomena reported by the *Chronicle* were not relayed with the teleology of scripture, but were used as grist for the mill of history, natural history, and geography. The genre of the chronicle perhaps owed its resurgence in this period to a 1487 papal bull that attempted to put a moratorium on the printing of Bibles in the vernacular.[15] Most medieval German language chronicles *were* hardly ever more than vernacular translations of the Bible, updated to include more modern times. But at least some vernacular chronicles, like the *Sächsische Weltchronik* (1225–29), had already overturned the stylistic models into which most prior historical material was set. As one of the earliest works of German prose, it marked a divergence from histories of the world told in stylized rhymed couplets.[16]

Geography was another site of innovation in the *Chronicle.* The authority of the Ancients also bent under certain topographic updates, especially ones that accounted for the surprising presence of foreign nationals in unexpected places. The *Chronicle* holds an open forum on geographical queries in the shape of Homer, Strabo, Solinus, and Pliny debating the possibility of the circumnavigation of the earth.[17] According to Schedel, Strabo bases his doubts about circumnavigation on the frozen waters of the North Sea and the unbearable heat of the torrid zone;

Solinus suggests the sea route from Spain to India can be circumnavigated around Africa. Pliny decides that evidence provided by Spanish merchants who reached Ethiopia by ship weighs in favor of the possibility of circumnavigation, as does the testimony of a Roman administrator in Gaul that merchants from India had arrived in Germany, blown off course in a trading expedition. Schedel includes the report by Otto of Freising of another Indian merchant ship grounded in a German city after fighting storms in the Orient. On the strength of empirical evidence largely provided by merchants, Schedel claims that circumnavigation would not be possible if the Midnight Sea was frozen, as some maintained.[18] The last word does not rest with the Ancients; geography is improvable in the face of new testimony.

The *Chronicle* was especially susceptible to empirical evidence when renegotiating the contours of Africa, which was being reshaped by contemporary exploration. Despite the fact that the Ptolemy world map does not reflect these contours, the text of the *Chronicle* provides a contemporary picture of Africa, an area that would be of increasing ethnographic concern to the next generation of German artists. Although Schedel attributes the exploration of Africa to Henry the Navigator's desire to increase Portugal's sovereignty, in his retelling, the Germans assume a proprietary and scientific role in its discovery.[19] Schedel credits the rectification of Africa's west coast to a contemporary German geographer in the employ of the Portuguese crown, Martin Behaim, whom he praises for his diligence and fortitude in light of Ancient skepticism.[20] In this example, we can see how geography acquired a temporal dimension as well as a physical one. Behaim does not make these discoveries without the command of experience and extraordinary nautical know-how, primarily knowledge of the longitude and latitude system provided by Ptolemy. Instead of repositioning the Ancients in this debate, Schedel simply claims for Behaim that he sailed beyond the pillars of Hercules, leaving both the old world and ancient geography in his wake.[21]

Crediting new voices such as that of Behaim's introduced a new notion of authorship. In order to accurately describe the world, Schedel acknowledged the need for a variety of sources, so he opened up the *Chronicle* to a new stable of authors. No single authority dominated the discussion, but each functioned as one of many voices that spoke to categories of expertise often beyond the purview of a lone author. This challenge to the hegemony of revelation ultimately paved the way for secular history. However, tension among a host of opposing opinions ultimately diluted the authoritative positions of scripture and the Ancients alike.

The *Chronicle*'s German moniker, the *Schedelsche Weltchronik* (Schedel's Chronicle of the World), is an artifact of modern bibliophilia and one that answers a modern demand for the association of authorship with a literary property.[22] Nowhere in the text is Hartmann Schedel cited as *author*, a term that suggests the act of innovation. This is not to say that the book went without credit for its production; a lengthy colophon identifies the translator, printer, financiers, as well as artists.[23] No mention is made of the compiler himself, nor does a contract survive that reflects Schedel's fee for services.[24] Because most of the text is lifted or borrowed, with frequent citing of the antique sources, appending an entity such as an "author" would have seemed redundant. All of the authorities on whom the veracity of the information rested *were* visible in the text and present in proliferation: Isidore, Augustine, Pliny, Herodotus,

and Ptolemy. No medieval assertion was credited without the citation of one such author.

While vesting claims with authority in the medieval period was a collaborative enterprise, Foucault argues that the name dropping rampant in the Middle Ages was a discursive strategy with a classificatory function, rather than the sign of "authorship" itself.[25] The attachment of a name to a proposition marked a statement meant to be received as demonstrated truth. The textual basis of the "truth" is industriously at work in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, as it was in the preceding cosmographical literature. Often, the Ancients were consulted first, then summarized, and then the new gloss would follow, and thus proofs were forged with the refutation of the foregoing knowledge.[26] The humanists were not shy about correcting either the Ancients or their earlier translators.[27] As Schedel's example proves, their texts were full of amendments to the received wisdom.

Ptolemy was one such author whose name itself became a site of contested authority. Unlike medieval *mappaemundi* in which the outer sea defined a finite landmass, parts of Ptolemy's *oikoumene*, notably Africa, extended beyond the limits of contemporary knowledge. Some maps in later Ptolemies marked territories extending beyond the map's surface with *terra incognita secundum Ptholomeum.* This inscription of doubt may have made the model ripe for revisions. As much of Ptolemy's strategy in the *Geographia* relies on rejecting the propositions of Marinos of Tyre (AD 100–110), Ptolemy himself had already christened a methodology that welcomed adjustments.

In Hartmann Schedel's personal copy of the *Geographia* (Ulm: Lienhart Holle, 1482), he refers to the regions of the North Sea and the Baltic as *extra Ptolemaeum*.[28] The use of the addenda *extra Ptolemaeum* or *extra Ptolemaei descriptionem* in cosmographical literature became popular through Gualterus Ludd's use of the term to announce the publication of his and Martin Waldseemüller's "additions to Ptolemy," the first compendium of the discoveries printed in German, the 1507 *Cosmographia Introductio*.[29] It was the inscription of "America" on a map of what is today South America in Waldseemüller's *Cosmographia Introductio* that forever bound Vespucci's name to the new territory—an instance of one of the most tenacious acts of authorship in the early modern period, if not ever.[30] Not insignificantly, whatever lay outside the frame of Ptolemy's authorship was safely authored by someone else.

A growing skepticism about the reliability of antiquity articulated by humanist communities was itself a mark of modernity.[31] Their correspondence reveals their delight in unveiling wisdom beyond the ken of the Ancients. The Latin secretary in Antwerp Johann Kollauer, called Collaurius, also connected to the Augsburg humanist circle, overhearing Portuguese sailors in Antwerp tell of the sea-routes to the South Pole and assorted wonders, wrote to Conrad Celtis in 1503, "The other discovered world is unknown to the ancients!"[32] In Gregor Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* (Freiburg: Johann Schott, 1503), the landmass with which Ptolemy enclosed the Indian Ocean is inscribed, "Here there is not land, but ocean. In it, there are islands of extraordinary size unknown to Ptolemy."[33] Cosmography was expanding its embrace to include modern adjustments to the canon.[34]

That the jolt of discovery of the New World was felt vis à vis the Ancients shows how heavily canonical the notion of authority still was in the early sixteenth century.

The act of weighing incoming data against known authorities seems counterintuitive to a modern, positivist, post-Enlightenment audience for whom the very introduction of subjectivity unsteadies the empirical observation. Scientific pursuits of the Enlightenment, according to Michel Foucault, wrote out the idea of "authority," and the very disappearance of the author became prerequisite to the standard of verifiability set by proof.[35] The mathematical and scientific nature of cosmography permitted justification by proof to emerge. The author label still inscribed objective observations on the eve of the discoveries, but authorial trends of books like the *Nuremberg Chronicle* already exhibit a relaxing. One critical move in slackening the stranglehold of ancient authority was to demote the Ancients to the status of a loosely defined group. Many of the specific authorial voices of antiquity in the Latin *Liber Chronicarum* were simply abridged to "the learned" in the vernacular *Weltchronik*. Perhaps this testament to the monolithic nature of the "Ancients" already revealed some awareness of the distance traveled since antiquity.

Rather than asserting himself as a presence anterior to the *Chronicle,* Schedel lurks behind his opus as a shady presence. Schedel's authorial diffidence is best understood in terms of an historicized notion of the "work" itself. The *Chronicle*'s absence of an embodied author matched the stylistic and theoretical incoherence of the book's sources; a "work" in these terms, and the author, by extension, are essentially "act(s) (of discourse)…placed in the bipolar field of the sacred and the profane, the licit and the illicit, the religious and the blasphemous."[36] The fact that the *Chronicle* does not aspire to finiteness, even while it ticks off the world's ages, represents a progressive view of the book as an ongoing act, versus a circumscribed work: a passage in the Latin edition compels every reader to be his own author and leaves blank pages for the purpose of completing the story.[37]

The elusive authorial presence of Schedel is somewhat unique to the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, as many contemporary chronicles were personal accounts of events which, and even in the case of world chronicles, carried the name of the "poets" who wrote them.[38] Also setting the *Nuremberg Chronicle* apart from them is its status as an encyclopedia, a work of diverse knowledge and expertise, and whose notion of an author took a back seat to an expansive index, situated in pages preceding the text and organized by subject headings.[39] The index gave order to the many voices that pervade the text. In the index, we find the contribution of a natural philosopher next to a natural historian, next to a geographer, next to a church father. Even heretics, per the index's entry "Sabellius, ein ketzer," get equal billing. For a narrative as rambling as the *Chronicle*, structure was created by its meticulously precise index. The index belies its function as a handbook of sites, names, and objects of curiosity, unlocked by an alphabetical register.[40] The *Chronicle* was a self-conscious reference book, a map of the world searchable through an index, or navigated by way of rich pictorial chains.

The World Map and Its Precedents

The Ptolemaic map in the *Chronicle* performed double duty, as did many early modern maps; this one combined scripture with a more geographic impulse. It serves simultaneously as a world map and a pictorial chart of the dispersal of races sired by

the sons of Noah. Following the tripartite division of the world outlined in the accompanying text, the map's continents are aligned with their respective progenitor, each a son of Noah: Japhet's descendants populated Europe, Shem's Asia, and Ham's Canaan and Africa.[41] Biblical mandate is confirmed by later authors, offering a consensus of patristic and pagan writers.[42] Replacing God cradling the world in his arms as an earlier framing device, Japhet, Shem, and Ham hold up the corners of the map in a proprietary manner. Taken together, the two parts of this illustration firmly suture scriptural cause to secular effect. It is an allegorical picture, meant to be understood symbolically, not to be navigated physically. Its temporal score and geographic scope were dictated by scripture. Schedel used Ptolemy to cement geography to chronology ordained by God and thus, the sacred to the secular world. Schedel links these worlds according to their causal relationship. This map provided the geographical blueprint for the biblical division of the world as did many *mappaemundi*, but Schedel's suturing this to Ptolemaic geography was fairly novel.

A long tradition of medieval world maps sat at Schedel's disposal and were by far the most popular maps of the period; they provide a view of how the Christian cosmos was represented visually. Most medieval mappaemundi of the T-O variety divided the universe into Europe, Africa and Asia, the three continents generated by the scattering of races. This theologically oriented view of the world featured Jerusalem as the historical and spiritual nexus at its center. For instance, Giacomo Filippo Foresti's chronicle, *Supplementum chronicarum ab initio mundi usque ad anno 1482* (Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 1483), features a schematic circular chart of the world derived from the T-O model with the Mediterranean, literally the "middle of the earth," at its center. This kind of map translated the geography of Genesis into a table of nations.

A world map on a broadside printed in Augsburg about a decade before Schedel's *Chronicle* known as the map of Hans Rüst (figure. 2.2), preserved some of the schematics of the older T-O type, yet its clear vernacular purpose prepared the foundation for maps like Schedel's Ptolemy.[43] Printed around 1480, Rüst's *mappamundi* revives the *periodoi,* or type of world map originating with Herodotus and Aristotle, a circular *oikoumene* surrounded by an outside ring of water, but places it in the Christian framework. At the top of this sphere is an enclosed Garden of Eden. Four rivers flow downward from it, two of which empty into the surrounding sea. From Jerusalem at the map's center, the Mediterranean empties into the outer sea through the Straits of Gibraltar and the rocks that metaphorically mark them, the Pillars of Hercules. The Garden of Eden and the Hercules Pillars are bivalent topoi that do duty as both topographical features and metaphysical boundaries. Deploying features like these, Rüst's *mappamundi*, like the map of the *Chronicle*, preserves the simultaneity of sacred and secular space.

Rüst's *imago mundi* is a cartographic synthesis of what the *Nuremberg Chronicle* tries to convey narratively: the scriptural creation and dispersal of man along rivers, in continents and cities. Civilizations and cities dot the interior of the continents separated by the rivers like small islands. Clumps of buildings in elevation signal cities; races are indicated by representative specimens housed in island-like bubbles. Rüst's map presents close-ups of towns to represent pockets of civilization and bubbles of marvelous races where civilization lapsed. Similarly, the *Chronicle* features close-up

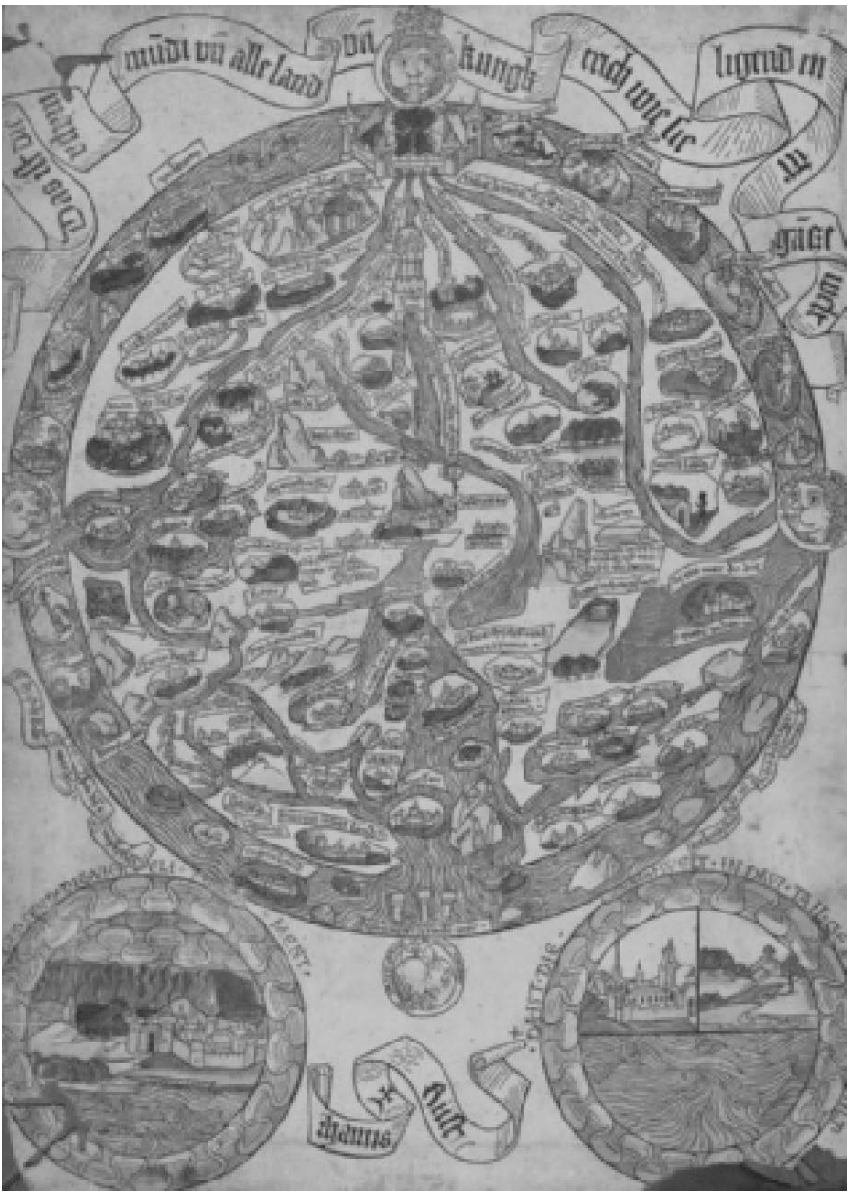


Figure 2.2 *Map of the World* (Augsburg: Hans Rüst 1482), Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 19921 (*Photo Credit*: The Pierpont Morgan Library/Art Resource, NY)

topographic views of the world's cities, but here the marvelous races are set into frames that border the world map. The circular structure of Rüst's map is echoed in the *Chronicle*'s genealogy sequences and cyclical repetitions of cities. We can hardly call the *Nuremberg Chronicle* linear in any stricter sense than that implied by pages

meant to be viewed successively and a mandate to read from left to right. Its structure of chain-linked sequences struggles against the linear format of the printed book and can be cracked only with the aid of an alphabetical register as its key. The universe of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* preserves the blueprint of Rüst's Christian cosmography, but Schedel's introduction of Ptolemy's map into a Christian cosmography is a significant act that hides a scientific program at its core.

The earliest Ptolemy manuscripts contained no maps because Ptolemy originally intended his *Geographike hyphegesis,* or *Geographia,* to be a tool for mapmakers.[44] A Byzantine copy of a second century Ptolemy manuscript arrived in Florence in 1406, but the first maps did not appear until 1427.[45] The *Geographia* first appeared in print in Vicenza in 1475, and 1477 in Bologna and Rome.[46] Schedel's personal copy of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* was a 1482 edition, printed in Ulm by Lienhart Holle. Holle's was the fourth printed edition of the Latin *Geographia*, the first to be published outside of Italy, and one of the earliest editions to include woodcut maps.[47] These included the well-known world map in which Africa appeared as the great southern subcontinent enclosing the Indian Ocean. This was the model for Schedel's map.

Like the other Ptolemaic maps of the period, Schedel's map also did not reflect contemporary or even modern re-charting of the seas.[48] By the time Bartholomeu Dias had rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1487, the new contour for the southern extremity of Africa should have raised some suspicions about Ptolemy's reliability for geographically accurate consultation. But this detail alone did not compromise its value on the market, for versions of this map remained in print for centuries afterward.[49] The Ptolemaic map formed one of the most tenacious models of the world, remaining fixed long after the map ceased to resemble the territory. Opting for Ptolemy over popular theological schemas, Schedel displaced the schematic map developed to depict the theocentric universe and brought pagan geography into the fold of Christian cosmology.

Monstrous Periphery

The marvelous races reside along the left border of world's periphery in Schedel's world map (plate 2). The cast of monsters actually begins on the previous folio, in two strips that flank textual hearsay provided by Pliny and Augustine; one of each race in fourteen discrete frames, one set above the next (figure 2.3). Merely continued from the previous folio, the floating woodcut strip of marvels along the map's border can now be seen as a visually unintegrated field. Where marvels once bordered civilization, as in the Sporer or Rüst maps that followed earlier prototypes, Schedel's strangely deracinated monsters just border the page, like a decorative afterthought.

Since antiquity, the prodigies, or marvelous races, had dressed the perimeters of the known world.[50] They served as signposts of remote geography and sketchy morality and issued from literary genres that engaged both geographical and moral considerations. The marvels served the conceptual needs of cultures reporting them, providing moral explanations of things outside of the known world or things gone awry in an upside-down universe. Marvels were marshaled into discourses of inexplicable occurrences and miraculous phenomena, in which departures from

Figure 2.3 Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, Marvelous Races, *Nuremberg Chronicle* or *Weltchronik* (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1493), fol. XII^{v} (*Photo Credit*: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

the natural order were read as signals from a divinity who masterminded the natural, as well as the moral order.[51] The medieval bestiaries in which they appear explored their allegorical associations. Other texts like Augustine's *City of God* debated the monsters' ethnography, their ancestry, and their possible descent from Adam and Eve.

Marvels also appear in natural histories where they help to explain the phenomenal world. Depictions of them become solidified and regularized in print in Konrad von Megenberg's *Buch der Natur,* which was first printed in Augsburg in 1475 and remained in print until 1540.[52] Their physical anomalies are lexicalized as Greek or Latin species names: *cynocephalos, arimaspi, cyclopedes, pigmaei, oxidrates, gymnosophistae, bragmanni, comani,* and *amazones*. With these taxonomic classifications as signifiers, Megenberg attempts to conjure the signified by way of a more objective standard than narrative description. In giving them labels, he invokes the beasts by proxy, referring the reader to an anterior reality. Like Adam naming the animals, Megenberg, via one specimen, metonymically calls the entire species into being. These taxonomic leanings in his text find full expression in the woodcut that accompanies the chapter on *Marvelous Springs and Strange People* (figure 2.4). Megenberg's marvelous races float in a compositional aspic that shows them stripped of clothing and particularities. A single pictorial field houses the group of them, most of which deviate from the norm by one aberration; none of the narrative embellishments of the text adorn any of these figures, they appear to be pared down to their lowest common denominators in order to highlight their particular irregularity. That Megenberg's main purpose is to classify is also clear from the print's almost complete denial of rational space.

Unlike Megenberg who tries to explain the phenomenal world with his monsters, Schedel accounts only for the particular instance. Schedel's text reporting the monstrous races is a jumble of attributions and sighting locations that often refer to the illustrations for clarification. Schedel's text has been freely sacrificed in favor of the visual elements; here the illustrations literally oversupply the text devoted to them and spill on to the next page. The sheer variety and profusion of monstrous races is novel, and Schedel's collection of monsters represents the most complete listing yet. One way in which this catalogue of visual images helped to clarify the world was by dispensing with all the equivocations of attributions and histories. Images did not have to credit their sources in the same way the voices of antiquity were invoked to credit truths in texts.

Schedel's monsters appear within similar pictorial spaces, with consistent scale and point of view. They form the most sophisticated catalogue yet in print—a chart of biological diversity. While probably cut by a workshop of blockcutters, these monsters originate in designs by draftsmen Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff and exhibit overwhelmingly human characteristics. They have faces instead of masks, and their aberrations are integrated into regular anatomies. By contrast, Megenberg's prodigies look primitive. Schedel's monsters do not roam the world restlessly; each is arranged neatly in its own cubicle, engaged in introspective activity. Each exists in a localized setting, to scale, and in a rational space. Thus, Schedel lets monsters signify independently of text,

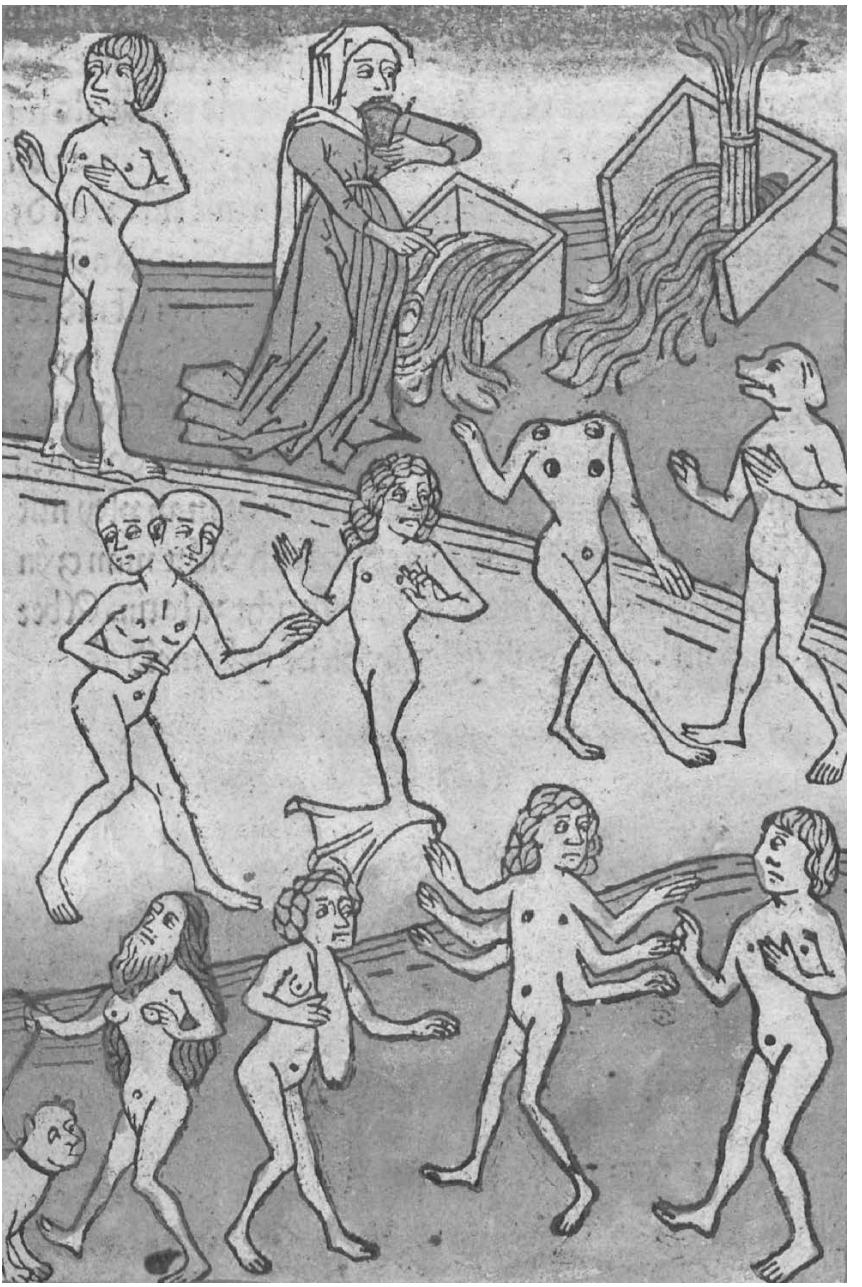


Figure 2.4 Marvelous Races, Konrad von Megenberg, *Buch der Natur* (Augsburg: Johannes Baemler, 1475), BSB 2 Inc.c.a.347, fol. 284v (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

choosing to animate their pictorial lives, and degrading their textual descriptions to superfluity. Schedel appropriates the monsters for decorative purposes, presenting them both outside his map and the system in which they previously had been embedded. Schedel divorces the monsters from the ethnographic impulses that drove the natural histories. By locating them around the rim of an ancient map, and by placing them in the second age of the world, he gives them a temporal location whose rent had long expired. Although he provides a field guide to the marvels, he inserts a prominent question mark by their real geographic location. Schedel includes them in the name of comprehensiveness, but for his purpose, the marvels are figments of ancient imaginings. Stripped of their moral and allegorical significance, the monsters were practically relegated to printed page decoration, or *Bilderschmuck*.[53] More than marvels of the world, they are marvels of book illustration.

Description of the World

The *Nuremberg Chronicle,* one of the most profusely illustrated books of its time, is remarkable for the new relationship it forges between text and image. Boasting over eighteen hundred illustrations mostly by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, it sets a precedent for the image's role in storytelling. Images had never before been licensed to function quite so independently of the text. This license manifests itself in the liberal recycling of images: one hundred and thirty-four of the illustrations were pulled from a scant nineteen blocks.[54] This practice of recycling, which contradicts modern premiums placed on invention and originality, provides interesting insight into the function and economics of early modern print workshops and text technology.

Although the *Chronicle*'s images reflect the text's crossroads of scripture and the history of the natural world, they tend to favor the natural world. The types of imagery ranged from the metaphysical, such as an illustration of the creation of the world in cutaway; the mnemonic, such as a view of Noah's ark; and the metonymic, offering a close-up of a swarm of locusts to stand in for a plague.[55] Histories and genealogies are presented schematically, as fanciful grapevines of popes, saints, and kings. Judging from the illustrative profusion of the city views, however, Schedel betrays a preoccupation with the *location* of culture. Much of the book is devoted to the depiction of the cities of the civilized world, a feature that distinguishes it most significantly from previous chronicles. If this emphasis does not seem at first to logically follow a story told by scripture, its resonance emerges in the historical description of the natural world, a natural outgrowth of cosmography. In his edition of the *Cosmographia* of Pomponious Mela, the Nuremberg humanist Johannes Cochlaeus described geography as the *sine qua non* of history.[56] According to these humanists, the geographic location of historical or scriptural action was crucial to the comprehension of classical texts, the Bible, and especially the returning reports from the newly found territories. The *Chronicle*'s emphasis on the world's cities reflects the humanists' preoccupation with geography. The topographical illustrations in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* place a premium on the "where" and the staging of geographical knowledge of the time.

What these panoramas express is a detailed description of a particular city, the illustrative counterpart to a narrative genre already coined in antiquity as chorography. Strabo, the first century Roman author of a *Geographia* in seventeen books, gave the name "chorography" to his descriptive geography.[57] Working under the patronage of statesmen and generals with links to Roman imperial ambitions, Strabo had his own theory of the usefulness of geography—he tailored the description of the world to a human (albeit imperial) scale for which the theoretical and broad aspects of cosmography were re-sized to focus on the practical and the particular. The *Nuremberg Chronicle* weaves the universal into the particular, knitting the cosmographic to the chorographic.

"Chorography" refers to the description, either written or illustrated, of a particular country, province, or territory with respect to its principal partitions. The distinction between it and geography is first addressed by Ptolemy in his *Geographia* where he introduces the term to distinguish between scales of representation. According to Ptolemy, graphic description of the world could take the form of *geography* that located places on a coordinate plane of latitude and longitude with the aid of geometry. Or the world could be described by *chorography,* a less mathematically precise, more qualitative description usually generated by artists. To these modes of representation, the Renaissance added *topography*, or the detailed description of the sites, regions, plans of cities, or specific buildings.[58] Topography later became the province of architect-engineers whose training in practical geometry allowed them to make large-scale measured representations.

Thirty-two of the *Chronicle*'s city views are among the first authentic panoramas ever produced of their subjects; this is especially surprising given the printer's penchant for recycling images. The *Chronicle*'s illustrations of cities distinguish themselves from preceding city descriptions in that they hover somewhere between chorography and a broader topographic view. Insets of city panoramas were already part of the format of Giacomo Foresti da Bergamo's *Supplementum chronicarum*, but Foresti's city views were generalized and generic. They were placeholders in the text, meant to mark the start of a description of a new town without indicating a specific one. Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff borrow the idea of the topographical view from Foresti, but retool the level on which these kinds of images function. While some of the *Chronicle*'s distant sites are recycled segments of other views, they introduce a high degree of veracity into certain *vedute*. Several of the *vedute* closer to home were more familiar and therefore, bore a higher degree of verisimilitude. Especially for the nearby prospects that could be more easily verified by his reading public, Schedel was not content to let the generic view suffice.

Schedel borrowed the substance of many panoramas from the first large-scale printed woodcuts in Bernhard von Breydenbach's recently published *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz, 1486). These prints were made from sketches of *vedute* made by Erhard Reuwich, an artist Breydenbach took along expressly for this purpose. Schedel himself sent no such far-flung emissaries out for the purpose of faithful recording of far-off prospects, but borrowed liberally from other books. Nor did he make grand claims to legitimacy in pictorial reportage. Schedel's topographic views are not meant to illustrate a specific journey nor to stake the claim that his

observations are empirically based.[59] Liberal recycling of generic *vedute* to stand in for multiple cities cannot be considered a specious tactic because the goal was neither to survey nor to inscribe verifiability.

Cities appear in the *Weltchronik* as milestones, not necessarily ones crossed by travelers, but as notches on a historical timeline. Their positions in the *Chronicle* either coincide with their appearance in the scriptural sequence or date to their historical founding. In the same way that God's hand appears as the prime mover of the first spheres of matter in the *Chronicle*'s opening pages, the gods of the Greek pantheon headline the narrative of the foibles that began the Trojan War. Then follows a panorama of Troy, not a unique one, for the same woodcut also does duty for Paris and Magdeburg. Even before we see the view repeated, we suspect that it does not represent the report of a traveler who stood before it with claims to having observed it first hand. Troy earned its renown as an historical site, one whose representation was generated by the facts provided by the poet who first sang of it. If we query the *Chronicle*'s table of contents, we find the events of the battle under the entry for the city itself, "of Troy and its builders." This chapter heading does not sum up the entire content of the text, for the following three pages are devoted to the meddling gods and bold heroes, and the dispersion of Troy's sons as the foundational act of many subsequent cities; a type of microcosm that follows the macrocosmic migration of Noah's own sons.[60] The index's entry to the city of Troy links the reader to the story of the historical founding, just as the historical foundations of other cities are linked to the geographical perambulations of Troy's heroes.

In the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, the *vedute,* rather than monstrous races, mark the signposts of the civilized world. The *Chronicle* organizes history through the location of events and geographic sites—physical situation provides some kind of anchor for events whose differing and proliferating sources might have thrown their fixity into debate. The views of cities closer to Nuremberg offered safe anchorage for the contemporary and local reader. Afloat in a sea of cosmography, scripture, and history, the recognizable topographic views of nearby places were the only depictions that approached documentary status. These were the only illustrations that carried the weight of some degree of demonstrable truth. But a printmaker could not yet document a real view, free of convention, in any way that approaches a modern notion of the term. Fifty years later, Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* ([Ger.] Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1543; [Lat.] Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1550), a book with ambitions similar to the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, would attempt to stake its credibility on the veracity of the particulars of the panorama.[61] If associating empirical observation with the *Chronicle's* topographic images is premature, it is probably not anachronistic to state that the panoramas were among the book's only pictorial elements that satisfied the visual demand of *recognition*. The constant flicker between invention and observation in the *Chronicle*'s panoramas frustrates only the modern viewer. The insertion of invented and recycled views does not seem to have disturbed the integrity of the views taken "from life." The practical effect it had, however, was to set a standard for subsequent depictions like those in Münster's *Cosmographia*.[62] His dissatisfaction with generic vistas implied that he could find a reader's market for which veracity in the depiction of the natural world would supply the edge over the competition.

Why does veracity in depiction weigh most heavily in the topographic views? Perhaps one answer lies in the fact that travel was the state of consciousness that marked significant milestones in the recognition of subjectivity in the medieval period. Petrarch's alleged ascent of Mt. Ventoux in 1336 purports to record one of the first eyewitness accounts of a landscape and cements a historic instance of authorial self-consciousness to autopsy, or seeing with one's own eye.[63] Michael Wolgemut's illustrations for the panoramas delight in Petrarch's acknowledgment that truth resides in the physical world, without his attendant anxiety.

Totius Europae umbilico*: Nuremberg, the Navel of Europe*

The *Chronicle*'s promise to deliver a description of the world up to the present moment did not have a modern reportorial mandate. Nor did it have a single authorial voice. As we have seen, Schedel's task as a compiler was to weave scriptural and antique authorities into a continuous narrative. His rich list of sources tangle cosmographic, scriptural, historical, and geographical threads. Schedel's many-layered text explores temporal and geographical dimensions; in the process of mapping scripture and history, it also builds the physical city. It provides both plan and elevation: for Troy, while the index promises to tell who "built the city," the narrative winds the reader into the web of mythological, historical, and geographical forces that put the city on the map. The history that it tells is not one embedded in perfect tenses, but a present tense "cultural" history, like the towns, which themselves are often temporal accretions. Jerusalem is still a symbolic city, a pastiche of events and ages. The views of Jerusalem present multidimensional histories with temporal narratives of either its building or its destruction that unfold themselves in a topographic view. Jerusalem had up to now always embodied the symbolic center of the world, not just in scripture, but also in cosmography, especially in T-O maps where it sat as civilization's bull's eye. One of the practical repercussions of the vernacular chronicles was to displace Jerusalem as the navel of the world on these maps. In Hans Sporer's map of 1480, a near copy of the Rüst map, a small German town was already threatening Jerusalem's pride of place. A banderole announcing the Swabian town of Augsburg, probably a tribute to the town in which the map was produced, appears just under Jerusalem, threatening to edge it out.[64] The *Nuremberg Chronicle* was one of the first books of its kind to feature a map in which Jerusalem did not sit at the dead center of its universe. Instead of placing Jerusalem at the world's center, it featured a rather detailed chorographic map of Germany, the result of recent surveying by the geographer Hieronymus Münzer.[65] The map proclaims the landmass *Germania Magna* several times and labels the North Sea and the Baltic as *Oceanus Germanicus* and *Mare Germanicum*, respectively. Germany was the map's center and also delimited its borders.

For the humanist Willibald Pirckheimer, Nuremberg represented the navel of Europe, "totius Europae umbilico," an expression of the same civic pride that spurred the production of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.[66] Schedel's contribution to historical geography was to resituate the physical center of gravity. In shifting Nuremberg to the cultural center of its world, the *Chronicle* also redefined its periphery. As the subject of the *Chronicle*'s only double folio woodcut, Nuremberg's primacy threatened

both the visual and biblical prescriptions that dictated Jerusalem reside at the center of the world (figure 2.5).[67] The labels that announce significant holy sites in the *Chronicle*'s view of Jerusalem appear again only in the prospect of Nuremberg. The designer of the Nuremberg view follows the example of Jerusalem in demarcating primary churches, by both labeling them and making them visually recognizable.

And why should Nuremberg not rival Jerusalem as the geographic center? Nuremberg *was* a major center of cartographic and astronomical research, and had long been a significant site for the production of scientific books and instruments.[68] It was also home to the astronomer and mathematician Johannes Regiomontanus during the period of his most influential activity.[69] As a cosmographer, Regiomontanus took the first publicly critical stance of the widespread Latin version of Ptolemy, Jacobus Angelus' translation from circa 1406, finding neither his Greek nor his math to be adequate to the task. This translation had served the geographical needs of the Latin-speaking public for half a century until Regiomontanus announced in 1473 that he would edit a new Ptolemy and release it with a map and commentary that would correct the imperfections of Angelus' translation. Although Regiomontanus died before he completed the project, his "Notes on the Errors committed by Jacopo Angeli in his translation" form an appendix to Pirckheimer's 1525 *Geographia* printed by Johannes Grüninger in Strassbourg.[70]

Figure 2.5 Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, View of Nuremberg, *Nuremberg Chronicle* or *Weltchronik* (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1493), fol. ICb and Ca. (*Photo credit*: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

Nuremberg was a fountainhead of geographical revisions in the early modern period. One of its own sons, the merchant Martin Behaim, had produced the first globe that reflected the dissolution of the great southern subcontinent because he had, as Schedel states, pushed beyond the pillars of Hercules.[71] The local physician and geographer Hieronymus Münzer worked, along with Behaim, on both the globe, and also as one of Schedel's geographical advisors; Münzer's map of Germany was the one Schedel included. Guided by ambition to discover more than what his travels to Spain and Portugal had already revealed, Münzer, on behalf of Maximilian I, produced a letter to the Portuguese king urging him to organize an expedition that would discover the "Oriental Cathay."[72] The so-called *German Ptolemy*, one of the first vernacular publications based on Ptolemy, was also published in Nuremberg (c. 1493). This pamphlet was a German-language geography in which sources both older and more recent than Ptolemy were credited. The map bound into it was the first world map to be printed in planiglobular projection and is crisscrossed with coordinates and meridians.[73] A few years later, two pamphlets pertaining to the India trade between Lisbon and Calicut were both issued with maps on which the only other geographic reference point given, in addition to Lisbon and Calicut, is Nuremberg.[74] According to these vernacular accounts and Schedel's *Chronicle*, it was no longer Jerusalem, but Nuremberg that stood at the forefront of discoveries, at the front of the renegotiation of not only the world's center, but also its perimeters.

The *Nuremberg Chronicle* told the history of the late medieval world through a universal cosmography. Although this genre operated on a Christian armature, Schedel compromised the authority of the Bible in his retelling. Schedel's various "contributors" produced a history with a space-time component that exploded limits set by Scripture; attempts to reconcile the biblical with the classical world produced some creative fusions in chronology and geography. The schematic world depicted in T-O maps was sufficient to illustrate the universe in texts for which the "table of nations" described in Genesis marked the outer limits of a text's involvement with geography. Schedel, rejecting the medieval *mappamundi* in favor of the Ptolemaic model, insists on a geographic backdrop for his cosmography. The improvements sixteenth-century humanists felt at liberty to append to Ptolemy were based on trust in the data accessible to them and the implicit weight of evidence that underwrote this conviction.

Dismantling the Ancients as a monolithic body of thought, Schedel's chronicle firmly grounds the description of the natural world in observation. The semi-empirically observed town views that dominate large portions of the *Chronicle* announce a confidence in self-discovery and foreshadow the observation and the systematic character of research that would later govern descriptions of the world. Autopsy required the universe to revolve around a fixed point. The *Nuremberg Chronicle*, for the first time, shows the audacity of making home the logical site from which observation could proceed.

CHAPTER 3

The Wild Man, the German Body, and the Emperor's New Clothes

A very strange image of Charlemagne appears on the title page of the *Vita et Gesta Karoli Magni,* the first printed edition of Charlemagne's biography, published 1521 in Cologne by Johann Soter (figure. 3.1). Shown next to Charles V, Charlemagne represents the oldest ancestor of the Holy Roman Emperors, unifier of the Latin and Germanic nations. Despite these impressive credentials, he is not dressed in attire appropriate either to his office or to a dignified genealogy of the German peoples. Here, Charlemagne appears in anachronistic garments, his leggings gathered loosely about his waist and ankles, and on his head, a reed-like crown so unlike the jewel-encrusted ones he was rumored to have worn.[1] With his long hair, beard, and loose tunic draping his outsized frame, Charlemagne represents an inventory of barbaric attributes that portray a figment of European lore, the wild man.

This chapter explores the iconography that defined this primitivism in early German printed materials, and then examines the underpinnings of its use in imperial imagery. The Charlemagne illustrator's use of a "wild man" to establish a connection with Charles V appears to the modern viewer as a highly unorthodox and peculiar strategy. In the visual tradition, the wild man typically represented the rejection of all affects of civilized man and embodied his alter ego. Here, Charlemagne shares characteristics of the German *wilde Mann*, a folkloric creature who lurked in the margins of civilized society and in the iconographic margins of late medieval art. While early modern audiences understood the wild man as an undomesticated, if decorative, contemporary of the late medieval European, here, personified as Charlemagne, he represents a stage in the evolution of the contemporary German. This essay argues that the rediscovery in Germany (c. 1473) of Tacitus' first-century *Germania* transformed the wild man of lore into the historical *ur*-German described in the ancient Latin text and gave him a national identity. As soon as the mold for this national character was set, its shape was threatened by a new wild man, the Amerindian. While the earliest printed representations of the Amerindian in Germany was a character who began life in the boots of the invented

Figure 3.1 Title page to Einhard, *Vita et Gesta Karoli Magni* (Cologne, 1521). Woodcut, 20.5 x 13.8 cm. Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, Sig. 127.16 Hist. (*Photo credit*: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel)

and conventional persona of the wild man, he soon developed a distinct and tenacious silhouette of this own, an exotic, simultaneously authentic and malleable enough to do double duty for the *ur*-German.

This chapter first examines the wild man as the subject of a vernacular iconographic tradition that featured him in roles ranging from an ornamental protector of coats of arms to a civic symbol on the Augsburg town hall. It then explores the conflation of this wild man with Tacitus' promotion of the early German *as* a wild man. Tacitus excavated the wild man from his liminal presence in folkloric tales and transformed him into the subject of a seminal ethnographic work. The last section explores the earliest German woodcuts of the discoveries that interpret other contemporary "wild men," namely, the inhabitants of the New World. In German humanist circles of the early sixteenth century, self-examination sparked by Tacitus' ethnography of the German peoples determined the methodological practice by which primitive peoples were investigated. Humanists spearheaded and organized the effort of examining the German past as a national one and did not shy away from the ambivalence that interpreting themselves through Tacitus entailed. I will argue that this practice of self-examination ultimately made German humanists and artists sympathetic investigators of other foreign primitives, especially the inhabitants of the New World. As the image of the New World Indian assumed center stage in the competition for the wild man's costume, the Germans, who were just getting used to seeing their ancestors as wild men, ultimately found themselves having to take a new, and more careful look at foreign natives.

The Folkloric Wild Man

The wild man was a conceptual entity that thrived during the medieval period in the German-speaking territories. His practically ubiquitous presence in Germany, even today in carnival incarnations and in restaurant advertisements promising authentic provincial cuisine, stems from his participation in several traditions. Folkloric representations of the wild man mark the intersection of a Christian tradition of hermit saints with the mythological Hercules.[2] Christian wild men, such as the Egyptian anchorite Onuphrius, were rehabilitated by Bavarian artists and Alsatian humanists. The attention Onuphrius received in works like Sebastian Brant's 1494 broadsheet, *In praise of Onuphrius and other Hermits* indicates the particular vogue enjoyed by hermit saints in humanist Germany.[3] Brant's broadsheet praised the anchorite saints for their retreat from worldliness and foreshadowed future polemical works in which other forest dwellers lamented the questionable progress made by civilization.[4]

The wild man's roots were tenaciously embedded in the Alpine regions of Germany and Switzerland. The raw and rugged mountainous habitat gave him a robust character and provided several attributes for his own survival. An indigenous denizen of the Alps, the wild man enacted his role as an appendage of nature by wielding the tree trunk he tore from the ground, his sole defense against the savage beasts. Despite his prodigious physical strength, heavy armaments, and at times menacing scowl, he posed no threat to mankind unprovoked but watchfully patrolled the borders of his world.

The wild man's graphic life reinforced the metaphor of the periphery he was believed to inhabit. He thrived in manuscript marginalia, served as an ornamental finial for vessels, and as a decorative functionary in book bindings and tapestries. He roamed quietly and slumbered peacefully in the Hercynian forest.[5] Sometimes the heraldic wild man was invoked to lend his legitimacy to more civic genealogical constructions, as he does on a stone relief on the Augsburg Rathaus (figure 3.2).[6] Made for the town hall (c. 1450), this relief features two wild men heraldically supporting the city's emblem, the *Pyr,* a modified pine cone on a pedestal.[7] Above the wild men,

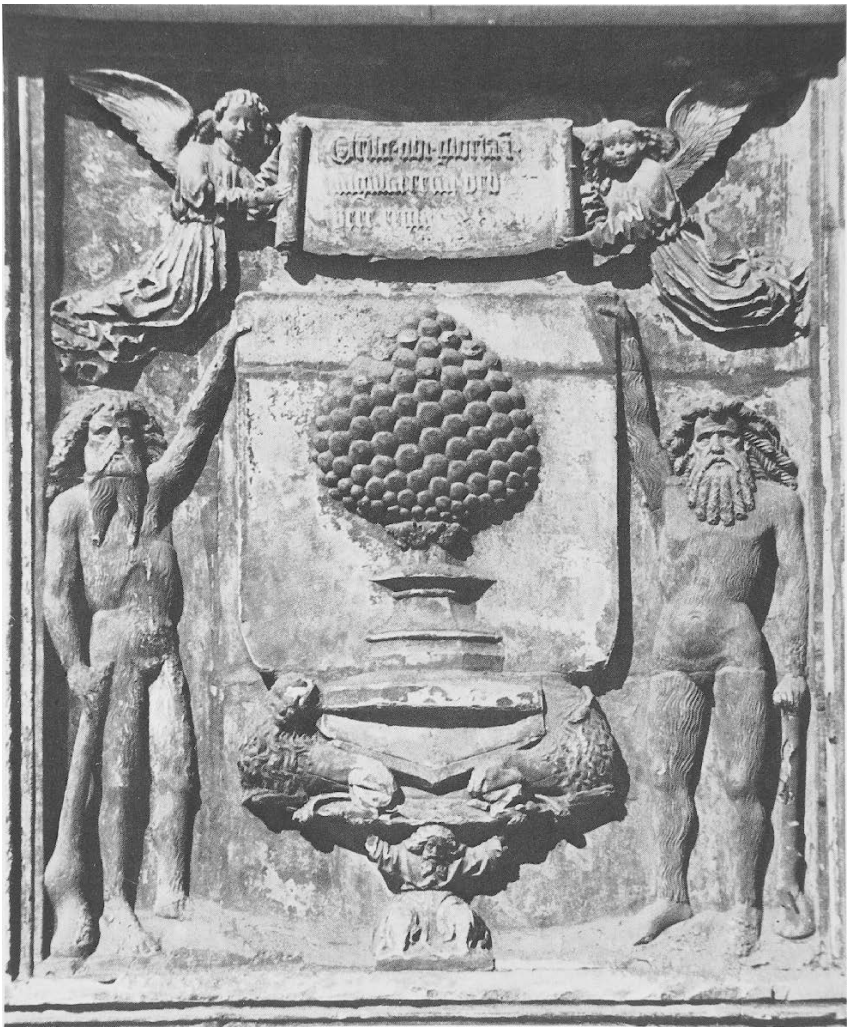


Figure 3.2 Anonymous, *Wild Men with Pyr*, c. 1450. Limestone relief. Augsburg, Rathaus. 270 cm height x 220 cm width (*Photo credit*: Reprinted from Friedrich Blendinger, et. al., *Augsburg: Geschichte in Bilddokumenten*)

angels unfurl a banderole that reads, "*Christi tibi gloria in Augusta Retia, Urbe vere Regia*."[8] This was a carefully constructed tribute to Augsburg's Roman heritage: the wild man here literally supports local claims to Roman genealogy by propping up a standard bearing the Roman symbol of the *Pyr*. By way of the *Pyr*, the provenance to which the Rathaus relief alluded was a Roman one.[9]

Archaeological finds from Roman Augsburg excavated in this period substantiated claims for the free imperial status of the city. Examples of the *Pyr* excavated in Augsburg in the 1460s inspired rapidly proliferating emblems that adorned the city gates, the armory, and other public buildings. Believed to have marked legal jurisdictions in Roman times, the *Pyr*'s power to convey sovereignty was revived in the second half of the fifteenth century when it was used by local chroniclers to argue for Augsburg's status as a *Reichsstadt*, or imperial free city of Roman origin.[10] The *Pyr*'s popularity in late medieval chronicles supported the contested independence of the city that answered directly to the Emperor, rather than to a local bishop or prince.[11] According to the German genealogy proposed by this relief, the late medieval view championed the Roman past, to which the Augusta Retia of the inscription was an unmistakable reference, and on which the Holy Roman heritage depended.

Roman ancestry was the direct grant of kinship that legitimated Augsburg's sovereign status in the Holy Roman Empire as a free imperial city.[12] The *Pyr* concretized a racial genealogy within a framework of an historical awareness of self. On the relief, the wild men, as spatial and conceptual analogues to Rome, protect the civilized center. Two distinct traditions are juxtaposed; one, a classical symbol alluding to the city's Roman past, and the other, a folkloric strain fiercely guarding it. In the late 1470s, Augsburg's uncontested Roman heritage, so carefully constructed by the relief, was complicated by the discovery of an ancient treatise in which an older Germanic past eclipsed the Roman one. Among humanists, Tacitus' recently rediscovered *Germania* promoted a new historical consciousness in which Germanic ancestry more closely resembled the wild men supporting the shield in the Augsburg relief than the Roman provenance they advertised. Long upstaged by his Roman heritage, the wild man would soon emerge from the margins and assume a central role.

Tacitus and the Nationalization of the Wild Man

The discovery of Tacitus' *Germania* linked humanist exploration of the past in the early decades of the sixteenth century to a search for the origins of the Germans themselves. The humanists' embrace of Tacitus' work forced a reconsideration of the truth of a genealogy in which Germans were imagined as reincarnated Romans and put such local legends into historical perspective. In his centralized and methodological approach to the study of primitive peoples, Tacitus offered the German humanists a tactical strategy. Rather than viewing Tacitus' ambivalent portrait of the early Germans as threatening to their modern identity, they promoted it as ethnography. According to the *Germania*, the folkloric wild man *was* the historical image of the *ur*-German. With the evidence supplied by Tacitus, humanists Conrad Celtis and Ulrich von Hutten nationalized the conceptual wild man and turned him into a German citizen nonpareil.

Although the state of German antiquity was the starting point for most medieval German chronicles, local chronicles written before the rediscovery of Tacitus provided remote myths of origin and legendary ancestors for the Germans. According to these, Germany was founded by mythological heroes who took root there after migrating from far-flung territories. Legends like the *Alexander Romance* of Pseudo-Callisthenes[13] and Guido of Columna's *Book of Troy* traced German history to the diaspora of the Trojan heroes and provided source material for early German folk chronicles.[14] The *Reimchronik* (1437–1442), a history of the founding of Augsburg in verse, traced the path of the Trojan heroes northward along the Rhine where they picked up women in Cologne, founded the city of Trier with their new brides, and gave rise to a race of Germani.[15]

According to the *Reimchronik,* one secessionist group of Germani, the Suebi, settled the area of present-day Augsburg. In 9 A.D. Augustus sent his legions under the command of the praetor Quintilius Varus, accompanied by two Macedonian legions, to conquer this barbarous tribe. The Suebi, under the Cheruscan chieftain Hermann (literally "man of the army" in German, known as Arminius in Latin), proved more mettlesome than both the Romans and the Macedonians. The heroes of the *Varrusschlacht*, as the battle became known, overwhelmed three Roman legions and massacred the Macedonians, reserving the grimmest end for the Macedonian king, whom they butchered "like a cow."[16] The *Reimchronik* portrayed Augustus despairing in an unseemly rant upon hearing the news, banging his head, tearing at his garments, and pleading with Varus to restore his lost legions to him.[17]

Sigismund Meisterlein's *Chronographia Augustensium* (c. 1456), contested this Trojan origin for Augsburg, establishing in its place an older, but equally foreign, originary myth. Meisterlein traced the true provenance of the Germans to a period before the destruction of Troy and one that predated the founding of Rome by over five-hundred years. He identified the Amazons, a race of female warriors from the Caucases, along with the Swabi and Vindeliker, as the original indigenous peoples of Bavaria.[18] Although Meisterlein's sources were predominantly Roman (such as Suetonius and Vegetius), he established an origin too far beyond their purview for their authority to contest it. Meisterlein manufactured folk etymologies in order to situate the celebrated *Varusschlacht* in Augsburg: Augustus' lost legions, *perdita legiones*, were commemorated in the name of the river "Perlach," and the site of the battle, the location of which was under dispute, was cemented to Augsburg by situating it beneath the Rathaus.[19] Hermann emerged from this battle as the true progenitor of the German peoples—his group formed the first united resistance against the Roman empire. The tightest definition of Germanic identity to date was, thus, a collective of Amazon-born "wild men" united in their ambition against Rome.[20]

Tacitus' first-century *Germania* was the first historical narrative centered on German soil. This first-century Roman ethnographic study of the *Germani* made a systematic record of their civic institutions and customs.[21] The text was based on a series of rhetorical inversions that posited Rome as the point of departure, a methodology that became known as *interpretatio romana*.[22] Tacitus contrasts the Germanic tribes with the civilized center of Rome, analyzing the differences in their lifestyles

by comparing their living spaces, such as the German field dwellings versus the urban culture of Rome; and modes of worship, such as the absence of temples and anthropomorphic deities in Germany versus their profusion in Rome. Tacitus' comparison of techniques of warfare also breaks down into opposed dualities, as do practices more difficult to quantify, such as eating and hygiene. The text of the *Germania* was lost throughout the Middle Ages, rediscovered by the persistent manuscript hunter Poggio Bracciolini in a monastery in Fulda in 1420, but did not really come to light until its arrival in Rome in 1455 when Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, soon to become Pope Pius II, epitomized it.[23] After its mid fifteenth-century rediscovery, it would become the subject of patriotic and nationalistic encomium for the next half-century.

Tacitus' *Germania* entered the consciousness of German humanists somewhat unofficially and unexpectedly in the text of Aeneas' rebuke of Martin Mayer, the Chancellor of Mainz, in August 1457. Mayer's vituperative resistance to papal taxation prompted this attack on the German character whose worst excesses, according to Aeneas, were exposed by Tacitus and whose subsequent improvements owed a substantial debt to Christianity:

> Tacitus . . . writes even more ferocious things about Germany. Indeed, the life of your ancestors in that time was scarcely different from that of beasts. Indeed, most of them were shepherds, inhabitants of forests and groves. . . . in this manner of living, there was no knowledge of letters, no discipline of laws, no study of the fine arts. Even the religion was stupid and barbarous, fosterer of idols and, in fact, tottering with illusions of demons—so that it ought not to be doubted that human enemies were often sacrificed among them (Germania IX) to obtain favorable omens. Robberies were praised. Everything was foul; everything was abominable, harsh, barbarous, and to use the proper words, savage and brutal.[24]

A transcript of this letter to Mayer was published in Leipzig in 1496 as Aeneas' *De ritu, situ, moribus et condicione Germaniae descriptio*. It is no small irony that a work of such obvious Italocentrism would become the sourcebook for numerous sixteenth-century cosmographers of Germany.[25] The second part of Aeneas' three part moral history, however, was a glowing review of modern Germany, albeit a Germany that owed its prosperity to the favor of the Church. Chorography and geography became something like a national pastime among sixteenth-century humanists in Germany whose cosmographies were among the most universal and encyclopedic.[26] German humanists drew on Aeneas, ergo Tacitus, for method, as well as form and content.[27] Although Aeneas' negative characterizations painted an unflattering portrait of the *ur*-Germans, what the cosmographers who paraphrased his *Germaniae descriptio* relied on most was the methodology he introduced.[28]

Aeneas' moral history linked the traditional coupling of history and geography to the origins and customs of peoples. He dispensed with mythological progenitors like Jove and Saturn, as well as legendary ones such as Romulus or Alexander the Great and rewrote the prehistory of the Germans on the authority of Caesar and Tacitus.[29] Implementing a historical method inherited from Strabo, Aeneas addressed matters such as types of government, laws, and the behavior of individuals, and related them

to behavior exhibited by groups. By inspecting these areas, he linked the old world to the present time and thus developed the first local picture of Germany as a unified concept. Until that time, national identity within Germany had been defined by either pan-Christian commonality that linked countrymen as subjects of a Holy Roman Empire or a tight local "Heimatsinn" that bound loyalties to a particular city.[30] With what began as a thinly veiled insult, Aeneas, in the specificity of his descriptions, unwittingly created the first instance of definitive German national consciousness on record.

By the time the *editio princeps* of Tacitus' *Germania* actually emerged from Vindelinus de Spira's Venetian press in 1470, with a Nuremberg edition following from Frederick Creussner's press in 1473, the *Germania* had already been widely cited in Germany to substantiate claims that vices were imported there from Italy.[31] Anti-papist humanist discourse proved a fertile venue for the reception of Tacitus. Humanists deployed Tacitus to defend claims that Germany's corruption postdated Roman (read papal) contact and the *Germania* became grist for the rhetorical mill of German nation building.

The charges leveled by Conrad Celtis, Germany's first national poet laureate, against Rome were numerous but nicely distilled in an epigram of 1485, written from the point of view of the corpse of a Roman girl recently discovered on the Via Appia:

> *The Body of a Girl, brought to light in Rome*
>
> A thousand years I have lain immured beneath this stone; now,
> released from the grave I will give the Romans this message:
> I see no citizens now as the Romans were, outstanding in justice
> and sense of duty, but sad at heart I look upon ruins only, now but
> a memorial to the men of the past. And if after another hundred
> years I see you again, next to nothing I think will be left of the glory
> that was Rome.[32]

Celtis was among the first to praise and widely publicize the new account of the Germans, initially as a sideline to his reproach of Rome. Appointed to the faculty of rhetoric at the University of Ingolstadt in 1492, Celtis delivered his renowned *Oratorio,* which exhorted German scholars to revive classical rhetoric, philosophy, historical, and geographical studies in order to reclaim their reputation for posterity.[33] The Germans' reputation had suffered for many centuries at the hands of Italians who not only dismissed them as barbarians, but also harbored the precise textual sources that would have presented a defense to this claim.[34]

The *Germania* also came to the aid of rhetorical nation building; humanists tried to buttress a crumbling Germany by evoking the mettle of the ancient Germans. Celtis plundered Tacitus to support then-Archduke Maximilian's campaign to quell peoples whose shaky German kinship was compromising their allegiance to the empire. Rallying around the idea of an incipient nation of wild men, Celtis declaimed, "Assume, O men of Germany, that ancient spirit of yours, with which you so often confounded and terrified the Romans, and turn your eyes to the frontiers of Germany, collect together her torn and broken territories."[35] Celtis

attributed the foreign land grabs to fraying allegiances at the borders and characterized the dissolution as a threat to national security:

> Let us be ashamed to have placed upon our nation the yoke of slavery, and to be paying tributes and taxes to foreign and barbarian kings. O free and powerful people, O noble and valiant race, plainly worthy of the Roman Empire, our famous harbor is held by the Pole and the gateway of our ocean by the Dane! In the east also powerful peoples live in slavery, the Bohemians, the Moravians, the Slovaks and the Silesians, who all live as it were separated from the body of our Germany.[36]

After Maximilian became emperor-elect in 1493, Celtis continued to patriotically shape this "body of our Germany," now in his cosmographic work. Humanist cosmography, though encyclopedic in scope and scientific in nature, had rhetorical foundations.[37] Celtis planned an ambitious work he intended to dedicate to Maximilian, *Germania illustrata,* a four-volume cosmography of Germany incorporating chronological and topographic description. Celtis would divide Germany into four quadrants and then describe customs, languages, religion, and disposition of the German tribes. The *Illustrata* was to include description of cities and reports of Maximilian's wars, solicited from civic leaders and other humanists throughout the land.

Still waiting at the close of the century for recensions of primary sources and straggling submissions of regional descriptions, Celtis shelved the project.[38] Instead, in 1500, Celtis produced the *Germania generalis*, a work that abridges his intention for the *Illustrata,* a verse description of the creation of the world and the place of a fertile and harmonious Germany.[39] As research for these projects, Celtis published two editions of Tacitus and other important recently rediscovered German works, like those of the tenth-century nun Hrosvitha von Gandersheim, repairing the gap their absence left in the curriculum of Germanic literature.[40] These works, he hoped, would tacitly make the case for German cultural autonomy.

Hoping to inaugurate a new golden age, Celtis endeavored to revive latent Tacitean qualities in contemporary Germans, seeking to temper these traits with philosophy and the study of classical literature.[41] In lectures he delivered at the University of Vienna in 1501, he championed the *ur*-German as a field and wood dweller, dressed only in animal skins, unspoiled by civilization and in search of simple joys. Celtis celebrated him for his warrior-like strength, chivalry, hospitality, and robust nature. In addition to content provided by Tacitus, Celtis also utilized the *Germania* as a textual model for relaying information about geographic detail, customs, language, conduct, and even the contours of the German body. Of the Greeks' and Romans' remarkable accuracy in interpreting the Germans, Celtis says, "and though it seems rough and wild, I imagine, in comparison with their own climate, they have expressed our customs, our emotional makeup, and our spirits as graphically as a painter might delineate our bodies," suggestively alluding to the unique potential of visual testimony to convey racial difference.[42]

Celtis borrowed the techniques of geographic and ethnographic investigation from Tacitus and made consideration of these a methodological mainstay of his other works. Celtis' tendency to elide closely observed topography with ethnography

produced some interesting, if unorthodox results. His variation on Ovid's *Amores* (1502) was a bit of geographic erotica that paid tribute to his four lovers, each a *saftig* lady who embodied one of the four German regions.[43] He inherited from Ptolemy a belief that climatic influences produced ethnic differences and was therefore especially interested in ethnographies of the various climatic zones.[44] The twin pursuits of shoring up topography and ethnography along national boundaries produced new criteria for determining German-ness. It turned the search for ancestors into a search for a German body located in a German landscape.

Indigenous Ancestry: Nationalizing Hercules

Celtis had already tapped Tacitus as the source of German autochthony, and with it, argued for the pure bloodedness of the German body.[45] Tacitus not only helped to outline that body, but also provided a specific one: Hercules, an ancestor whose historical traces were avidly pursued by Renaissance historians. Humanists not only scanned texts for citations of Hercules as an avatar of the Germans, but also sought archaeological evidence of his cult in field and forest.[46] In his *Odes,* Celtis told where old cultic sites, now Christianized by the worship of new saints, were located: a shrine to "Hercules Germanicus" had been traced to Herglesholz, a place near Regensburg on the Danube, not far from the "old oak trees (Obern und Nidern Altaich)…where our forefathers worshipped."[47] In Celtis' genealogy, Druids formed the font from which the culture of Greece and Asia issued, and Germans were merely Druids driven out of Gaul in the reign of Tiberius. Tacitus identified the rousing battle cry of the ancient Germans as an artifact of Hercules' presence there.[48] Celtis entreated contemporary Germans to "return to the ferocity of their predecessors who had caused the world to tremble."[49]

The folklorist Heinrich Bebel (1472–1518) likewise championed the autochthonic origins of the Germans in his essay "Quod Germani sunt indigenae" and substantiated Hercules' nationality with an archaeological find.[50] Bebel identified a figure excavated on the island Reichenau, the *Idolum Alemannum aureum*, as an idol of Hercules. With this material evidence in hand, he endorsed the accuracy of the accounts of Tacitus and Berosus that argued for the worship of Hercules in Germany.[51] Under Hercules, the fierce Suebi broadened their territories, subduing notably Prussia, Britain, and Spain.[52] Here, the German sources intersected with classical ones that supported a Spanish sojourn for Hercules.[53] In the course of his labors, Hercules wandered prodigiously and his commentators were as likely to find him, with his Suebi, at home as abroad.[54]

With Hercules' German itinerary secured, Maximilian, the beneficiary of this humanist research, could easily claim him as an ancestor. Capitalizing on the cachet of the legendary Hercules as the original wild man, Maximilian fashioned a tendentious and fairytale pedigree for himself in a woodcut, *Maximilian as Hercules Germanicus*, probably made in the early 1490s and within the circle of Conrad Celtis, who had directed the Herculean rhetoric of Maximilian since 1492 (figure 3.3).[55] In this emblematic image, Maximilian announces his own role as vanquisher by adopting the attributes of Hercules' labors and symbols of his victories. Clad in the lion's pelt, Hercules wears the popular crown, and carries a club in one

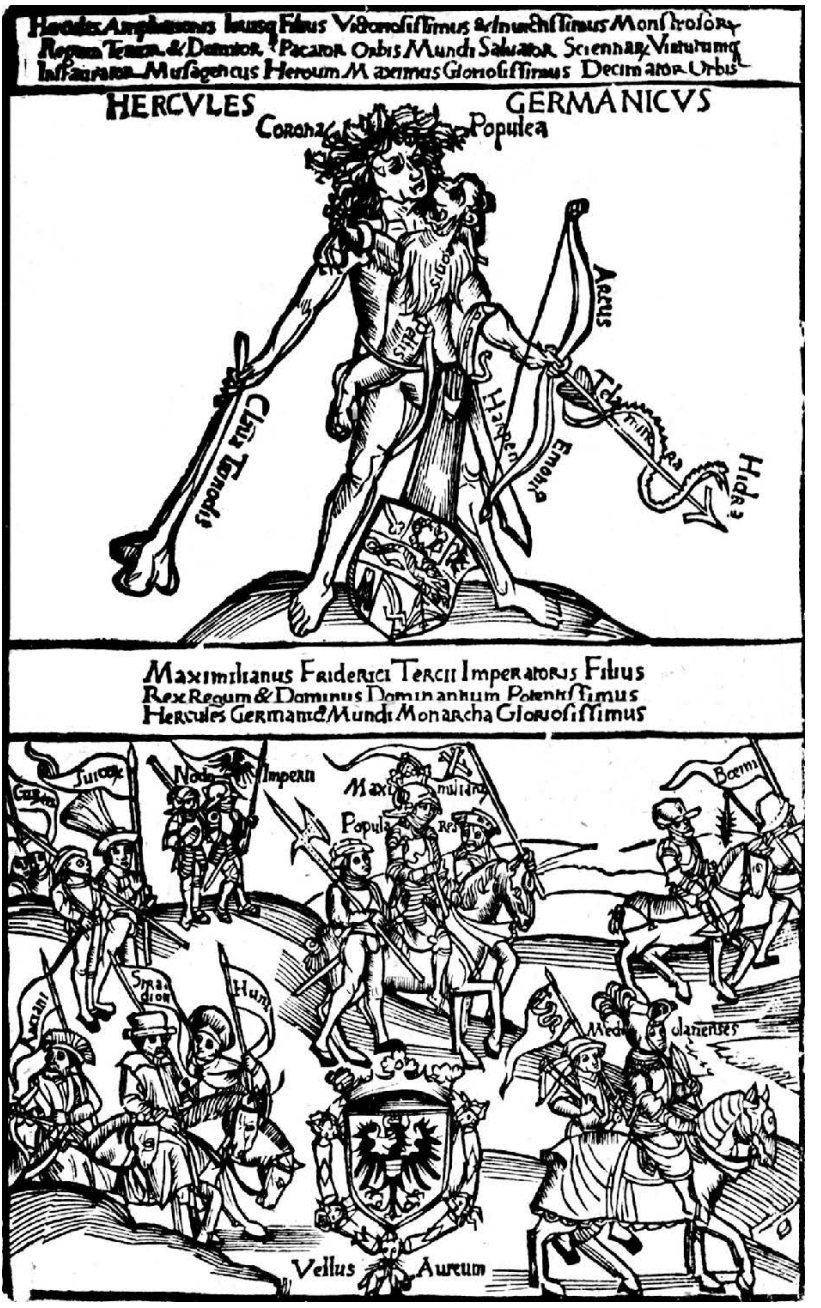


Figure 3.3 Anonymous, *Maximilian as Hercules Germanicus*, c. 1496. Woodcut, 265 x 165 mm. Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv. 1948/224 (*Photo credit*: Warburg Institute)

hand, and a bow in the other. Modeling the wild man's role in heraldry, Maximilian claims both his legendary Herculean ancestry by propping up a shield emblazoned with the hydra of Lerna in the upper part of the illustration, while the imperial eagle preserves his Hapsburg lineage in the shield below. This particular piece of propaganda might have been deployed in support of his campaign against the French King Charles VIII whose troops had entered Rome and Naples in 1494. Maximilian spearheaded this effort in response to Pope Alexander VI's call for help to drive the French out of Italy; this woodcut promotes Maximilian as *Hercules Germanicus*, distinct from *Hercules Gallicus*.[56]

Maximilian tended aggressively to his Herculean pedigree, commissioning numerous poets laureate, Heinrich Bebel, Ulrich von Hutten, in addition to Conrad Celtis, to cement and allegorize the bonds of their kinship.[57] A 1497 drama by court historian Joseph Grünpeck portrayed Maximilian in the role of Hercules at the crossroads.[58] In a dedicatory inscription to Maximilian in a tract on Cicero, Celtis calls the emperor "*alter Hercules*," a kinship Celtis revived in his panegyric drama of 1501, *Ludus Diane*.[59] With additional support provided by Tacitus, Maximilian elevated this demigod and virile barbarian to an acceptable template for any respectable German emperor.[60]

Conrad Celtis and Ulrich von Hutten broke the ground for this type of allusion; with textual justification, they turned the legendary Hercules into the historical *Hercules Germanicus*. This German Hercules was cloaked in a mythological mantle voluminous enough to also enclose the historical person of the other local hero, Arminius, or *Hermann*, the Cheruscan chieftain who decimated the Roman legions in the *Varrusschlacht.*[61] Arminius was essentially a Hercules without the allegorical trappings.

Arminius became the subject of a famous dialogue by Ulrich von Hutten, a minor knight and once itinerant poet newly inducted into humanist ranks.[62] Von Hutten was crowned with the poet's laurel in 1517 for Germanic encomium in general, but won his reputation and the attention of the Emperor from a series of earlier poems in which he alternately entreated Maximilian to true greatness and defended him when he fell short of it, cribbing mainly from Tacitus for his rhetoric. In *Ad Caesarem Maximilianum… epigrammata* of 1513, a collection of epigrams dedicated to the Emperor, von Hutten encouraged him to develop his own native strength in his skirmishes with foreigners, even cautioning him not to rest too heavily on the fame of the legendary heroes of German antiquity, as was his wont.[63] It is likely that von Hutten had to retract these words a few years later, having found inspiration in one such hero for the work that made his career, the *Arminius* dialogue, published shortly after Maximilian's death in 1519, and probably written to rally support for Charles V. In this dialogue, modeled on Lucian's *Dialogi mortuorum*, Arminius takes part in a *Totengespräch* with Minos to whom he introduces Tacitus and praises him as an esteemed witness.[64] Von Hutten had fashioned Arminius from the same cloth as Hercules, and retrofitted him to Charles V, in support of whose campaign the dialogue was written.[65]

The two heroes, Arminius and Hercules, fuse in the persona of *Hercules Germanicus*.[66] In 1519, the same year von Hutten's *Arminius* was written, the Alsatian humanist Hieronymus Gebwiler, in the patriotic work *Libertas Germaniae*,

helped to secure Hercules' German provenance by making him a direct descendant of Tuisco, the first king of the Teutons, races descended from a union of Trojan heroes and Teutonic women.[67] Hercules' feats in the pagan world did not preclude him from biblical lineages like those created by pseudo-Berosus.[68] Berosus, a Chaldean priest who wrote in Greek, was brought to light in the Renaissance by the scholar and forger, Annius of Viterbo, in his *Commentaries on Various Authors Discussing Antiquities* of 1498. Annius uses Berosus' text to displace the primacy of Greek sources in the transmission of culture in favor of those from the biblical Orient, Egypt, and Near East. Conflating Berosus with Tacitus, Annius' text featured Hercules Germanicus as the primogenitor of the Bavarians who himself descended from Tuiscon (Teutsch), a son born to Noah after the Flood.[69] The name of this ancestor, "Teutsch," provided the etymological basis for *Deutsch*, or German. Etymological cognates suggested by *Teutsch* and *Tuisco* gave rise to a cottage industry of philological speculation among humanists during this period and formed the bridge between both biblical and mythological foundations and their modern incarnations.[70]

Nationalizing Charlemagne

On the title page of the 1521 edition of Einhard's *Vita et Gesta Karoli Magni* with which we began, next to a very tailored Charles V, Charlemagne cuts a powerful yet primitive silhouette familiar from contemporary depictions of barbarous ancestors (see figure 3.1). Humanists at the helm of Renaissance mythmaking produced colorful kinship charts, tangling these legendary and historical lineages with scriptural ones. Christopher Wood has contextualized their antiquarian research within a broader program of credulity that embraced anachronism and the fluidity between fact and fiction.[71] Nationalizing mythological ancestors was part of the program and the fictive etymologies they invented emphasized the autochthonous origins of historical persons of native or indigenous genius around whom cults of hero worship developed.[72] Charlemagne, a more recent incarnation of German heroics, was styled on the ancient Hermann. In this depiction, the newly elected Holy Roman Emperor Charles V appears in contemporary dress, compared and contrasted to his more primitively attired *ur*-German ancestor. Charles V makes the same genealogical demands on Charlemagne that Maximilian exerted on Hercules. Here, Charles V traces his own lineage back to that of his own namesake, Charlemagne, alluding to the catholic grip he exercised on Christendom, an expanse unparalleled and power dormant since his reign.[73] Charles V sought sanction for his own expansionist and Christianizing ambitions in his allusions to Charlemagne—propaganda inspired by his grand chancellor Mercurino Gattinara in order to legitimate Christian imperialism, to which this 1521 printing of Charlemagne's medieval biography undoubtedly contributed.[74]

The 1521 *Vita* of Charlemagne published by Soter was the *editio princeps* of a biography by Charlemagne's courtier Einhard written shortly after the death of the emperor in 814.[75] The *Vita* was roughly modeled after Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars,* on which it relies for structure and language. In his introduction, Einhard offers his period account of Charlemagne as a corrective to the meditations on past glories

presented by those "so seduced by their love of the distant past" that they neglect to tell of the present. This warm portrait of Charlemagne praises him as modest in nature as he was moderate in drink, generous in spirit, and just in war. Einhard insists that Charlemagne took the title of emperor and *augustus* only reluctantly, his investiture the result of sly papal plotting (Chapter 28). He also dressed modestly, resisting Leo III's pleas that he wear a long tunic and assume the Greek mantle, the *chlamys*. With the exception of feast days, for which he donned the "golden gem-encrusted crown" (Chapter 23), Charlemagne's dress differed little from the attire customary of the Franks—a linen shirt and underwear, a silk fringed tunic, and stockings with his lower legs wrapped in cloth coverings.

This striking physical description of Charlemagne is reproduced in the title page of the Cologne *Vita,* an image that stands out among other contemporary depictions of Charlemagne for its primitivism. In addition to his dress, the *Vita* also speaks to his physiognomy and his great stature, textual prescriptions also followed by the artist here. The outsized Charlemagne of the title page shares the crowded stage with Charles V, whose form is slight by comparison. This juxtaposition provides visual cues for scale: Einhard tells us that Charlemagne was "tall (approximately 1.83 meters), but not disproportionately so, his height being seven times the length of his own foot. The crown of his head was round, his eyes were noticeably large and full of life, his nose was longer than average, his hair was grey and handsome, and his face was attractive and cheerful. Hence, his physical presence was (always) commanding and dignified, whether he was sitting or standing" (Chapter 22). While nothing in Charlemagne's image contradicts these prescriptions, what motivated the illustrator to opt for the primitive appearance of Charlemagne over the regal persona? Perhaps it distinguished him as embodying specifically German character.

Charlemagne's birthplace, directly in the middle of the disputed territory of Alsace, complicated an impeccable pedigree. Throughout the *Vita,* Charlemagne is referred to as a Frank of the Eastern Frankish kingdom, which encompassed a sizeable portion of Germany at the time. His native tongue was German, and similar to dialects spoken by other tribes he either abutted or conquered, like the Saxons, Bavarians, and Alemannians. Charlemagne did his part to cultivate German patriotism in deeds explicitly set forth by the text: he ordered the first collection and record of unwritten laws of people under his control, and transcribed old Germanic poems celebrating deeds of war and ancient kings. Although he operated on a pan-European scale militarily, his cultural loyalties were fiercely provincial and German; he began a grammar of his native tongue and renamed the months in order to purge Latin from the mix (Chapter 29).

Ties to Charlemagne bound the Germans in not only an auspicious legendary kinship, but also served to untangle disputed historical ones. Above and beyond merely generic imperial propaganda, ties to Charlemagne could firm up rights of succession and were brandished in territorial disputes. Both sixteenth-century French and Germans insistently staked claim to the turf that produced Charlemagne. To counter bids of a French heritage for Charlemagne, Germans revived the lineage Aeneas Silvius had already established for Charlemagne in the fifteenth century. Aeneas parsed medieval etymologies that linked the Germans to the Gauls, putting to rest Strabo's translation of *germani* as brothers.[76] Instead, Aeneas maintained,

Germani came from *germinare*—to grow or sprout—which referred to the great growth of the Germans.[77]

The Frankish or Saxon origin of the Holy Roman imperium was hotly debated among humanists as patriotism and succession came to rely on a history with clear geographic boundaries. The particulars of Charlemagne's genealogy grew increasingly significant in disputes over land claims. After Maximilian's failure in the Swiss wars and losses against France in Strasbourg, the Alsatian humanist Jakob Wimpfeling's *Germania* (Strassbourg: Johann Prüss, 1501) claimed Alsace for Germany by establishing the German descent of emperors since Charlemagne.[78] Wimpfeling argued that France could exercise no claim over Alsace, since it had been inhabited by Germans since Augustus, and supported this territorial claim by refusing to ever set foot in Italy or France proper.[79]

This sparked and sustained a lively debate among the Alsatian humanists to size up the nationality of the region. Wimpfeling asserted that all emperors from Caesar to the present Maximilian "*kein Franzoß ne dem Römischen Rich vorgewesen sey*."[80] In fact, all Roman emperors, with the exception of Charlemagne who was a German, hailed from either Italy, Thrace, Arabia, Hungary, or Windisch territories, but never Gaul.[81] Wimpfeling also relied on medieval sources that argued for Charlemagne's German nationality.[82] Bebel seconded this by christening Charlemagne a German Frank.[83] The German side of the territorial debate disputed that Gallic peoples had ever inhabited the region of Alsace. Wimpfeling attributed the fraternity he believed to be implied by *germani* to the Romans' first encounter with the Germans, whom they saw as kin, "the Rhenish people with wild disposition, upright bodies, of pleasing complexions, form, and habits which compared favorably to those who lived in our land . . . . so named them Germans, that is, our brothers."[84]

Wimpfeling's opposition came in the form of Alsatian satirist Thomas Murner's defense of Charlemagne's French origins. Murner's *Nova Germania* gave Charlemagne's birthplace as France and maintained that claims for his German heritage were anachronistic ones, as the territory only later became German.[85] Murner could not deny that Charlemagne wrote texts in German, nor that he gave his children German names, but soberly insists that he was equally proficient in French, and that language preference alone was no measure of nationality. Wimpfeling countered with the claim that Charlemagne, had he been French, would never have let his wealth stray over the Rhine to finance churches, cloisters, fortresses, and cities, and ultimately establish his final resting place in Aachen. Murner, less soberly here, finds derisible the notion that the choice of a final resting place could secure anything like national identity: it was plain enough to Charlemagne that heaven and hell were both equidistant from Germany *or* France.[86] Two decades later, this debate was revived by Hieronymus Gebweiler's *Libertas Germania* (1519), which claimed the imperium for Charlemagne, the most prominent German historical hero to whom the empire had passed directly from Roman hands. This note was picked up by Gebweiler's student, Beatus Rhenanus, in a critical commentary on Tacitus' *Germania*.[87] Rhenanus' later *Rerum Germanicorum libri tres* (1531) also argued for the Frank's Germanic origins.[88]

Thus, the Einhard illustrator's anachronistic juxtaposition of Charlemagne with Charles V can be explained by an inclusive German nationalistic kinship.

The title page forges a kinship between two emperors who bookend the Germans' stewardship of the Holy Roman Empire. Habsburg propaganda, from the time of Charles V's electoral bid in 1519 to his coronation in Aachen in 1520, rested on his endorsement as a German prince, a fact equally frustrated by his French mother tongue and his Spanish residency. Lobbying for his candidacy against the French contender, Francis I, in 1519, Charles held himself out as a "*geporner und erzogner Teutscher der auch teutscher sprach zu reden und zeschreiben beticht und geübt*," in the hopes that his victory would ensure the continuity of a *German* empire.[89] Among the Electors, Charles V was hailed as a protector of German freedom against the prospect of French servitude offered by Francis I.[90] Charles V's propagandistic bid for the imperium also depended on the continuity of an office that had remained in German hands since Charlemagne. At his 1519 coronation in Aachen, Charles was hailed as the direct successor of Charlemagne, and by 1521, Charles's own imperial ambitions were reason enough to invoke the original founder of the western empire in the shape of this primitively attired *ur*-German ancestor.

And so, the portraits that appear in the Cologne edition of the *Vita et Gesta Karoli Magni* trace Charles V's ancestry back to the beginnings of a German imperium. The mantle of *imperator* had been inherited by Charlemagne from Augustus, but from a line of descent that had since, visually at least, bifurcated from the line of Roman *kaisers*. Charlemagne, in his casual coverings, adopts neither the pallium of Caesar nor the cuirass of Augustus; he appears in the unmistakable heft and garb of the *ur*-German, in the Tacitean idiom.

As a by-product of their own propaganda, both Maximilian and Charles V nationalized the wild man. Both the depiction of *Maximilian as Hercules Germanicus*, as well as Charles V and Charlemagne in the *Vita* title page, functioned as "double portraits"—imperial analogies in which the modern descendant staked the validity of his office on a legitimate claim to kinship. Simultaneously, these two images assert their subjects' German identity. Hercules recalled the strength of the ancient German, while Charlemagne marked his genius and sovereignty. Maximilian and Charles V each stand in the shadow of legendary figures whose German ancestry was crucial. In both cases, the myth of the *imperium* was brought, not merely down to earth, but directly to Germany. This Germanic identity prided itself on containing the barbarism and the renunciative delights of the *ur*-Germans within its wild past. Simultaneously a contrast and a comparison, the Cologne portraits show the kinship of two Germans separated by historical distance. Charlemagne wears the structural undergarments that underpin the civility of Charles V's reign. The wildness of the noble *ur*-German, lurking just beneath the gossamer, could be contained by the improvements offered by Maximilian's and Charles' courts.

The illustrator of the Charlemagne image recreated the idea of Germany's primitive past by recalling the heroic qualities of the original Germans. Charlemagne has literally undergone the transformation from wild man to the original *ur*-German. The hairy pelt of the wild man has disappeared—what was left now was the sheer grandeur, robust strength and rustic naturalism of Tacitus's *ur*-German. Depictions of metamorphosed *ur*-German wild folk abound in works of the Danube school; others reflect the influence of Italian nudes that made it to Germany via the prints of Pollaiuolo, such as a woodcut of 1522 by Hans Lützelburger, which relocates

Pollaiulo's *Battle of the Naked Men* to the German *Urwald*.[91] Hans Holbein's emblem of the honorary society "Zur Hären" features such a Herculean wild man whose scant layer of fur just barely cloaks an articulated classical anatomy.[92]

The vanquishing Hercules whose nature these images recall was by this time no longer a mythic figment or a savage character. Erasmus' 1506 Latin translation of Lucian's *Heracles* had already transformed Hercules into a model of eloquence and heroism, but Tacitus naturalized him into a German citizen.[93] Hercules, nationalized by humanists in texts, was visually nationalized in the iconography of a contemporary wild man. The connection of Charles V to Charlemagne was likewise established through this ennobled wild man. Charlemagne, in the costume of a native Frank, helps to locate Charles V in a lineage of Holy Roman Emperors whose ancestry was German. Syllogistically, the collapse of the contemporary image of Maximilian on to the iconography of the *ur*-German also justified the use of the *ur*-German to represent the historical person of Charlemagne.

In the *Vita* title page, Charlemagne represents not a Roman, but a *German* emperor, as an embodiment of an inversion of civilized effects. The same principle of inversion already guided the formal representation of the German wild man, a figure whose alterity in the medieval period was marked by cultural, and later, after Tacitus' revival, by temporal difference. German humanists championing Tacitus' *ur*-German borrowed the image of the wild man, originally a cultural analogue of contemporary civilized society, to represent a German of the historical past. This program justified the illustrator's use of the wild man as an iconographic symbol to bridge the temporal distance between sixteenth-century Germans and their oldest, bravest ancestors. The familiar wild man permitted the collapse of temporal distance to forge a universal German character.

The Wild Man and the Indian

Before we turn out the lights to the costume shop that clothed the original Frank in the untailored trappings of the *ur*-German, we must consider one final fashion trend to which even a Charlemagne was not impervious. Contemporary with humanist research that was polishing the image of the naturalized wild man were reports that an even more authentic wild man had been found in the Americas. On title pages accompanying the earliest reports of Columbus and Vespucci, the Indian appeared as a formal homologue of the *ur*-German. According to reports, the uncivilized activities of the native peoples of the New World resembled the barbaric rites of early Germans. Reported behavioral parallels between these newly discovered exotics and the Germans' ancestors readily suggested the visual analogies used to construct their images in print. In their illustrations, printers of Columbus's and Vespucci's reports in the last decade of the fifteenth century established a link between a temporally distant ancestor and the contemporary exotic. The image of the wild man linked them syllogistically through shared visual "ethnography."

This part of the tale of the emperor's new clothes traces the image of the Indian circulating in print in Germany from the late 1490s to around 1510 because the iconography that develops here inflects Charlemagne's costume. The first German visual interpreters of the Indian initially recycled wild man imagery to represent

inhabitants of the New World. German illustrators refined the image of the Indian as the recovery of artifacts began to complement information about their appearance reported in eyewitness accounts. A feather skirt and headdress, the costume of Tupinamba Indians that Vespucci encountered in Brazil fixed an iconography that embodied a more precise definition of the Indian's wildness than even that offered by the wild man, and ultimately became the formal standard against which other degrees of wildness were measured. Even the popular image of the wild man/*ur*-German begins to bend under pressure from the Indian. Indeed, by the time the illustrator of Soter's Charlemagne required a model for primitivity, the more specific and veristic image of the "Indian" had already replaced the prototypical image of the wild man.

Roger Bartra argues that the reason the medieval *homines agrestes*, a fictional "exotic" entity, can so suitably fill the iconographic demands made by the representation of uncivilized cultures resides in the structure the wild man provides for mythmaking.[94] Similarly, the wild man's residence in the ambiguous outskirts of society could be narrowly or broadly construed; he could lurk just beyond city limits or entirely in the imagination. If mythology itself bridges the gap between culture and nature, then man in his wild state models the logic of the structure of myth: an intermediary between civilization and wilderness. Literally a fusion of culture and nature, the wild man acts as an agent for the continuities between them. The wild man, himself a spectral collection of fears and anxieties, could be made to order and expanded as needed. For example, the fact that the wild man was made a communal dweller by Tacitus eased his visual transition to an Indian.

The wild man reflected polar oppositions generated by a synonymy of the uncivilized with the inversion of the interpreter. The early German representations of the New World native proceed from the same oppositional model of interpretation. Early depictions of the inhabitants encountered by Columbus and Vespucci on the title pages of their reports depended heavily on recycled wild man imagery; the wild man was the representational model of choice for the Native American for as long as established oppositions were enough to define difference. The picture of this native transmitted by these reports adopted some of the wild man's traits that simply formed the inversion of European culture: he was rudely clothed, warlike in nature, observed no social rules, and spoke no recognizable tongue. The elasticity of wild man iconography easily accommodated the early representation of the Indian.

The illustrations of the inhabitants of the New World accompanying early firsthand accounts construct the unknown in terms of the known. We have seen how humanist publicity turned the *ur*-German into a familiar and favorite motif. What the Germans read in Vespucci about the warlike nature of the Native American, the commonality of possessions, the noble savage unspoiled by civilization, must have sufficiently reminded them of the picture of themselves handed down by Tacitus, so that the illustration of the one stood in for the other. The wild couple in the title page of a 1505 edition of Vespucci's *De novo mundo* (figure 3.4) (Rostock: Hermann Barkhusen) resembles the descriptions of the *ur*-Germans. Unlike the people Vespucci rumored to be clean shaven, the male sports the wild man's wooly beard.[95] In place of the swinging club, this wild man belligerently rattles arrows at his female companion.

Figure 3.4 Title-page, Vespucci, *De novo mundo* (Rostock: Hermann Barkhusen, 1505). London: British Library/shelfmark C.20.e.18 (*Photo credit*: Visual Resources, Florida State University)

The Indians of the *De novo mundo* title page are odd hybrids informed by two visual traditions. The wild man served as one precedent; iconography for the Fall of Man provided the other.[96] Adam and Eve occasionally appeared in the place of New World indigenes courtesy of print shop piracy. Imagery of the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden provided inspiration, if not direct material, for some title pages, such as Vespucci's *Van den nyge[n] Insulen und landen* (figure 3.5) of 1506, printed in the Saxon town of Magdeburg.[97] But the Rostock pair, while they adopt the general disposition of the first couple, are not the abject refugees from an Edenic oasis. Instead, they are brazen residents of a clime that looks as inhospitable and

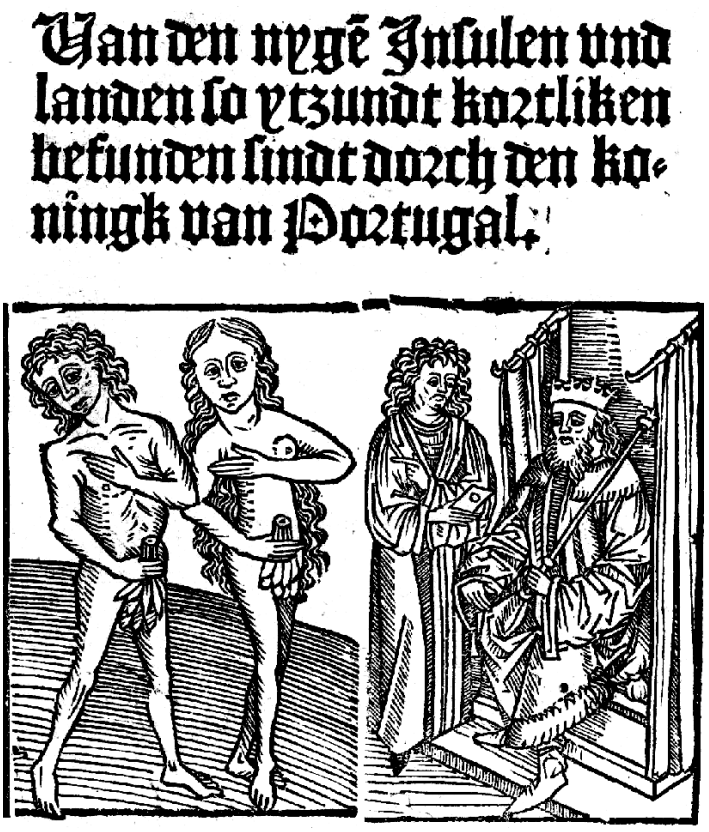


Figure 3.5 Frontispiece to Vespucci, *Van den nyge[n] Insulen und landen* (Magdeburg: Jacob Winter, 1506). Braunschweig: StB C57 4 (*Photo credit*: Stadtbibliothek Braunschweig)

forbidding as their greeting. Nor are they wild folk, per se, whom Mother Nature generally did her best to shelter. They represent an amalgam of both traditions: wild folk in a post-lapsarian world.

These Native Americans are made over "Germans" who follow sartorial and battle prescriptions derived from Tacitus. Unlike the Roman legions who went into battle fully clad and armed with iron weapons, Tacitus observes that among the Germanic tribes, "Not even iron is found in abundance, as is inferred from the character of their weapons. Very few use swords or lances of great size; they wield spears . . . the foot soldiers also hurl light weapons, each individual more than one, and they throw them a great distance, naked or lightly garbed with a cloak" (*Germania,* Chapter 6). In the *Mundus Novus* title page, the foundational wild man iconography persists but has been modified to accommodate the peculiarities of the *ur*-German, namely his hairlessness and his weapons. Vespucci's Indian did exchange the wild man's club for the accessories of *Hercules Germanicus*, but in his early illustrated appearances, it was a crude and even confusing substitution. Apparently unskilled in the finer

points of archery, the quiverless wild man/Indian of the Rostock edition awkwardly brandishes arrows as a poor substitute for his uprooted stump.

This "Indian" is clearly still a wild man, but one whose habits correspond with those of the Germans described by Tacitus. His disregard for social convention, his nudity, and his combativeness mimic the marks of alterity established for the wild man. His hairlessness ultimately puts him more in the *ur*-German camp, a trait that was to characterize a substantial difference between the wild man and the Native American. Before the viewer can positively identify him as a native of the Americas, he would recognize him as a stereotyped contrapositive of the European. While passages in the *Mundus Novus* loosely support a reading of New World inhabitants as *ur*-German wild men, they also deliver specific information about the world. This sole accompanying illustration of wild folk eludes the fundamental specificity of the information provided by Vespucci. The illustrator of the *Mundus Novus,* like many others, assumed no accountability for squaring this image with particular textual descriptions. The humans we see are not informed by even a cursory reading of the text that accompanies it. Instead, this illustration offers the wild man as a formal bridge to the Indian.

One mythic quality shared by the legendary wild man and the Indian, per Vespucci, was sexual aggression.[98] This magnification of natural reproductive drives bound the two in iconographic tandem. Lasciviousness was an especially defining characteristic of wild women. The female consort of the wild man in the Rostock *Mundus Novus* derives from wild woman iconography. As Susi Colin has convincingly argued, the wild woman *Raue Else* who enticed Wolfdietrich into the woods in *Das Heldenbuch mit synen figuren* (Strasbourg: Johann Knoblouch, 1509) forms a compositional parallel with depictions of European encounters with the New World.[99] In an illustration accompanying Vespucci's *Diß büchlin saget* (figure 3.6) printed in Strasbourg in 1509, three wild women, in a compositional vignette with origins in the Judgment of Paris, test their charms on a recently disembarked companion of Vespucci's.[100] Nearby, a wild woman brandishes a cudgel behind the man's back, alluding to the worse fate that awaits him. Sexual aggression lay just beneath the surface of wild man imagery, but it exposed itself in depictions of Native Americans who sometimes magnified dormant traits of European wild folk.

Non-German illustrations of New World inhabitants, by contrast, do not emerge from a deeply rooted visual tradition of the wild man. In illustrations that accompany early Italian publications of the Vespucci and Columbus letters, for example, no ready-made wild man precedent guides the visual interpretation of New World inhabitants. On the title page of the Florentine edition of Giuliano Dati's rhymed retelling of Columbus's journey (figure 3.7), a tribe of outsized, naked, and long-haired figures collect on the margins of the newly discovered island.[101] Moving rapidly out of the frame in an amorphous formation, they frustrate the attempts of Columbus and his shipmates to discover them, in all senses of the term. From the abbreviated profile view of their naked, undifferentiated bodies, we cannot discern very much about their habits, nature, or behavior. Italian illustrations of Amerindians lacked the German wild man's stereotypical and familiar gestalt.[102]

Figure 3.6 Anon., Vespucci, *Diß büchlin saget…* (Strasbourg: J. Grüninger, 1509). Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, Sig. 23 (*Photo credit*: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel)

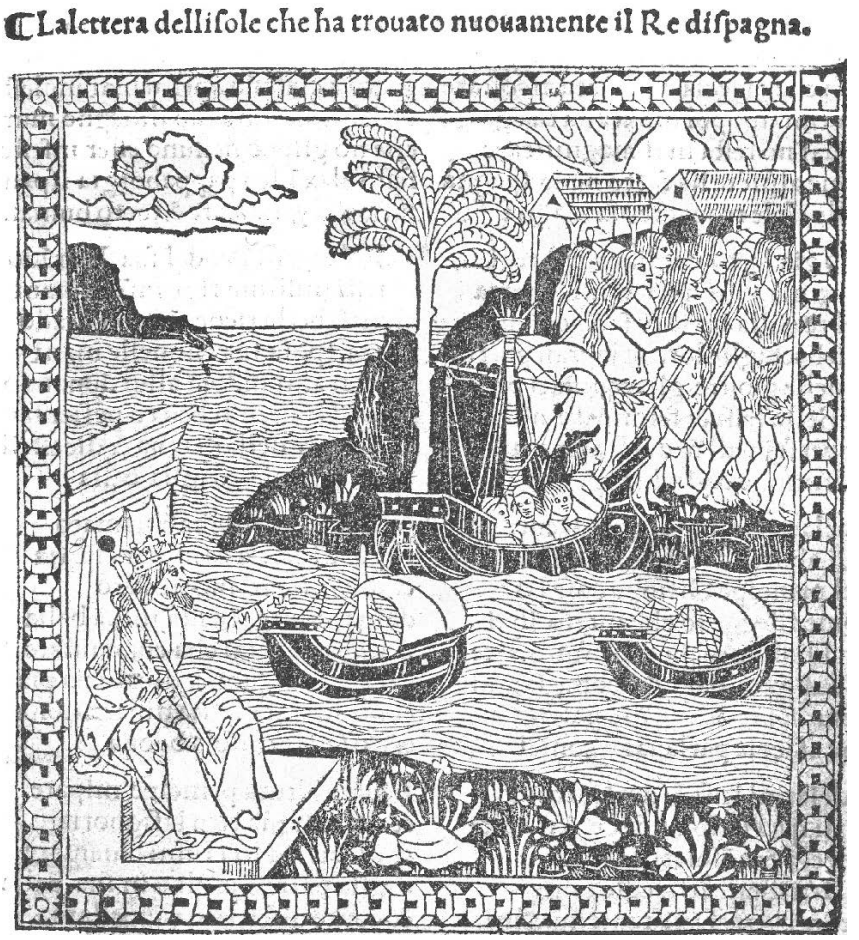


Figure 3.7 Anon., Giuliano Dati, from Columbus letter, *La lettera dellisole che ha trouata nuouamente il Re dispagna* (Florence: Laurentius de Morgianus and Johann Petri, October 26, 1493), woodcut frontispiece, image 11.7 x 11 cm. British Library, London, shelf mark, IA 27798 (*Photo credit*: Visual Resources, Florida State University)

Eventually the wild man exhausts himself as the most dependable iconographic precedent for the Indian. The transposition happened in Augsburg, the site of humanist intellectual flurry and discovery activity. The illustrated broadsheet of Vespucci's third report, *Dise Figur anzaigt uns das Folck und Insel* (plate 3) (Augsburg: Johann Froschauer, 1505)[103] introduces a real ethnographic concern; it eclipses the wild man shorthand dominant in illustrations of pamphlet versions of Vespucci's report published in Germany, evident in the Rostock example (figure 3.4). For the first time in the German printed reports, the artist follows the prescriptions in Vespucci's text to guide his illustration of a community of Indians engaged in typical pursuits.[104] A caption abridged from the text of Vespucci's report accompanies the illustration of members of the Brazilian Tupinamba tribe he encountered.[105]

In the accompanying illustration, we see a reference to the text's claims of opportunistic promiscuity: a pair of Tupinamba Indians embrace and kiss, as one holds a dismembered limb. Next to them, a lone cannibal, seemingly at table, munches contentedly on a severed arm. Severed body parts hanging from the rafters over an open flame also round out the text's reference to cannibalism. The text also cues less sensational depictions of these Indians' lives. In the far right foreground, two Indians carrying bows and spears engage each other in intimate conversation. In the center, a mother nurses an infant as another child reaches out to her. The surveying glance of an onlooker immediately to the right seems to suggest a familial relationship. The observation, made in the caption, that all things are held in common, in addition to the allusion to agriculture supplied by a stalk of maize held by a figure in the far-left corner, distinguishes these Indians from the stereotypical wild man who lived hand-to-mouth.

The artist also creates a specific setting in his diorama of the New World. The degree of description surpasses the content of prior representations, introducing elements not mentioned in the caption. Many features are products of direct observation of artifacts: the maize, the vertical crowns worn by the Tupinamba, collars, arm and ankle bands, feather skirts, as well as the rosette, a characteristic feather bustle. It is likely that the artist had either seen sketches made by eyewitnesses or the artifacts themselves, probably sent directly to Augsburg from Portugal.[106]

The Augsburg broadsheet represents the first ethnographic depictions of New World Indians to a European public. The specific observations made by the illustrator of the Vespucci broadsheet solidified into a conventional visual motif that was subsequently evoked to represent all natives of distant lands. This shorthand for the Tupinamba replaced the image of the wild man, becoming the iconographic touchstone for all races who exhibited uncivilized behavior. The specific ethnographic observations recorded in the Augsburg diorama—the feather skirt and bustle, the reedy crown, and the ankle trim—would become the attributes of barbarism generally.

The wild man's appearance in both classical and Judeo-Christian traditions gave him a broad functional role with an ambivalent relationship to meaning.[107] In a period when the wild man could simultaneously serve the representational needs of royalty and savages, the viewing and reading public grew accustomed to blanket characterizations of wildness. This, coupled with the practice of using loose textual prompting to cue the illustration, led to some unorthodox borrowing and recycling.[108] The popularity of the image of the Brazilian Indian so far outran the influence of the wild man that the Tupinamba became the iconographic touchstone for all races that exhibited uncivilized or marginally civilized behavior.

The iconography of the Brazilian Tupinamba circulating in the first decade of the sixteenth century must have inflected Charlemagne's costume featured on the title page of the 1521 *Vita* (see figure 3.1). Where the wild man had once been invoked to illustrate Germany's uncivilized beginnings, now elements introduced by Indian representations accompany the images of barbarism. Charlemagne's silhouette adopts features of Froschauer's Brazilians, such as anklets, skirt, and the feather crown. Even as he follows loose prompts from the text, the Charlemagne illustrator maps attributes of both the wild man and the Native American on to him.

After a decade of circulating imagery from the New World, the Tupinamba Indian, rather than the wild man, became the universal standard against which wildness was measured. The image of a Brazilian Tupinamba, marked by the feather crown and rosette, in fact, came to stand in for inhabitants of many territories new to Europe, including Asia, but here we see its role in also fixing a historical distance from Europe.[109] Perhaps it was the simultaneity of both the research and promotion of both historic and geographical ideas of wildness that contributed to its appropriation as a fungible marker for the earliest Germans.[110] Not surprisingly, it showed up again in a cosmography, a genre whose job it was to track both history and geography. In Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1550; 1552), Tupinamba iconography is used for the representation of the *ur*-Germans themselves. In the center of a depiction illustrating a section of the cosmography devoted to "The Goths and their Cruelty" (figure 3.8), a Brazilian Tupinamba takes his place among the other Goths.[111] As much as his weapons, shield, and beard try to camouflage him as a Goth, his feather headdress and rosette clearly derive from Amerindian iconography, by this point nearly a half-century old. This unexpected appearance of an Indian in the place of a Goth lends unique support to the idea that the discoveries of new contemporary civilizations "ended [Europe's] necessity for seeking models in a vanished antiquity."[112]

This about-face of the early German and the Tupinamba had a potentially alienating effect, especially in these German examples where the Tupi essentially redrew the contours of the earliest *ur*-German. The same alienation struck certain medieval travelers when out of sight of their homeland. Sir John Mandeville, one of the more fabulous travelers of the fourteenth century, recounts the story of one voyager who similarly confused his data from lack of critical perspective; the lesson of his anecdote helps explain what we see here. Mandeville tells the story of a certain homeward bound traveler who wandered halfway around the world, beyond India

Figure 3.8 Anon., "De Gothis & eorum saevitia" in Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia Universalis Lib. VI* (Basel: Petri, 1552), woodcut, image 5.5 x 13.5 cm. BSB, Munich, Res 2 Geo.u. 51a, fol. 262 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

even, when he arrived at a place where he heard words he recognized being spoken to oxen. Marveling at the remoteness and exoticism of a land in which the sagacity of oxen made them able to interpret his own native tongue, he pressed on toward a home he had already overshot because he no longer recognized it.[113] With this anecdote, Stephen Greenblatt shows how too much empathy can cause more than a bit of confusion and that relativism in the interpretation of other cultures comes at the price of self-estrangement.[114] The contemporary German would certainly have had a hard time distinguishing an Indian from an *ur*-German in printed representations. It was ultimately the recognition of themselves in the Indian that readied German audiences for a closer look at their neighbors and triggered a nuanced investigation that went beyond the simple inversions implied by the wild man. German printmakers, primed by Tacitus to see themselves as wild men and wild men as themselves, needed to find a new way to construe the Indian.

Humanist engagement with the cultural profile of the wild man led sixteenth-century Germans, with the help of Tacitus, to see the wild man first in themselves, and then, in the Indian. Independent from the texts they accompanied, the visual tradition of the wild man informed the interpretation of newly discovered races. Recognizing themselves as wild things awaiting rehabilitation prompted the need to take a closer and more critical look at newly discovered inhabitants of foreign lands. The next two chapters will examine Augsburg as a center for ethnographic investigation of foreign peoples. Critical perspective offered by humanist investigation and the developing skill of artists under their influence, like Hans Burgkmair and Jörg Breu, spearheaded the investigations.

CHAPTER 4

Hans Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* (1508) and the Foundations of Ethnography in Print

A broadsheet printed in the town of Augsburg in southern Germany in 1505 (plate 3) represents the initial public offering of New World Indians to a European audience.[1] The feather-skirted barbarians featured here stand in for a tribe of Brazilian Tupinamba Indians that Amerigo Vespucci saw for the first time in the New World.[2] This feisty group of wild men and women illustrate passages from his letter, *Mundus Novus,* summarized in the text beneath the image, which describe the Indians' communality, their penchant for free love, and their culinary preference for human flesh:

> No one has anything of his own, but all things are common. And the men take women who please them, regardless of whether it is their mother, sister, or friend. In this matter they make no distinction. They also fight with each other. They also eat one another and they hang and smoke the flesh of those killed. They live to be 150. And have no government.[3]

The sweeping nature of the caption's spurious claims is matched by the broad brush used to illustrate them. While the broadsheet's anonymous artist portrays these Tupinamba fantastically, in Europe these elements solidified into a conventional visual motif: the image of an Indian in a feather crown and matching skirt, an "exotic" who quickly became the prototype from which subsequent stereotypes of Indians were drawn.[4] The illustrations of newly encountered peoples accompanying the earliest printed reports by Christopher Columbus and Vespucci (which appeared between 1493 and 1505) did not reflect real cultural differences between the Europeans and indigenous people, but relied instead on recycled imagery that dwelt upon their perceived warlike nature and cannibalistic tendencies. Unruly bands of crude, cartoonish, and bloodthirsty wild men in feathered skirts quickly calcified

into the standard iconography for rendering newly discovered peoples, regardless of where they were found.[5]

Contrast this with another account of foreign peoples recently charted by Europeans, Hans Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* (see plate 1), also printed in Augsburg a short three years later in 1508. Whereas Burgkmair's subjects are the natives of coastal Africa and India, the leap from prints of Amerindians to ones of Africans and Asians is not as counter-intuitive as it may appear. To begin with, the distinction between the Americas and Asia is anachronistic for the period. Furthermore, stereotyped images of the inhabitants of both the Americas and Asia often conflated them. Artists' proclivity to costume all newly discovered peoples in the feather crown and bustle of the Brazilian Tupinamba, a phenomenon the anthropologist William Sturtevant dubbed the *tupinambization* of the world, contributed to the confusion.[6] Burgkmair's images of native peoples mark an extraordinarily early departure from stereotypes. These peoples are presented as parts of recognizable family units; their bodies are proportionately constructed, and are modeled to rotate in space using artistic vocabulary developed in the Italian Renaissance.

Unlike earlier images of newly discovered indigenes, Burgkmair's monumental printed representation of the inhabitants of coastal Africa and the Malabar Coast of India is a precocious study in human diversity.[7] This woodcut series is based on *Die Merfart und erfarung nüwer Schiffung und Wege zu viln unerkanten Inseln und Künigreichen* (The Voyage and Discoveries of New Paths to Many Unknown Islands and Kingdoms) by the Tirolese merchant Balthasar Springer, a report that records his travels in 1505 and 1506 with the mission led by Francisco Almeida that established the first Portuguese viceroyalty in India.[8]

Burgkmair translated Springer's written report into a visual account of the places and peoples encountered by the merchant, producing a multi-block woodcut, which, when set together, measures approximately seven and a half feet long. The frieze follows the journey in a series of consecutive frames showing the peoples of Guinea, the region around the Cape of Good Hope, the eastern seaboard of Africa, an assembly of assorted indigenes from India, and lastly, a procession on India's Malabar Coast. This document's emphasis on the world's peoples suggests the intervention of the local humanist Konrad Peutinger who formed the link between the merchant and the artist.

In its orderly presentation of peoples, the frieze detaches African and Indian inhabitants from their representational history in *exotica,* where they were entirely divorced from empirical observation.[9] In earlier depictions, the inhabitants of these regions and others heretofore unknown to Western Europe inherited their exotic status from both local and classical traditions.[10] Before Ferdinand Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe between 1519 and 1522, confusion was widespread about which Indians were to be found where; visual generalizations and verbal misunderstandings compounded the problem. In addition, the tendency in the early modern period to call many exotic things *Calecutish,* an adjective misapplied to all but the products of the western coast of India, also frustrated clear distinctions.[11] Remarkably, in light of these misleading conflations and this rampant pictorial nomadism, with his images of natives of Africa and India, Hans Burgkmair neither played into iconographic presets nor invented new stereotypes.

To explain the rupture that Burgkmair's images mark in the history of representation, scholars have characterized the frieze as among the earliest recordings of unfamiliar peoples based on empirical evidence. A primary reason that these images differ from earlier ones that described similar encounters is that Burgkmair worked them up from visual models, probably sketches made by an artistically inclined travel companion and brought back by Springer.[12] But a precedent in sketches alone does not fully explain this change. Burgkmair's woodcuts, more precisely, signal a turn to representational accuracy and the idea that the visual experience of Springer's encounters could be reproduced.

The artistic criteria for empiricism in the early modern period can be found in contemporary printed genres, such as travel accounts, maps, and physiognomies, that made similar claims to documentation and that give clues as to how their authority could be visually reproduced. Burgkmair's frieze adheres formally to the two genres from which it descends most directly, travel accounts and maps. Locating the coordinates of travel was the *de facto* task of each of these genres, and both were instrumental in tracking and recording some of the important novelties their authors came across. In their attempts to report experience, the travel account and the map provided both textual and visual precedents for the frieze, which is a hybrid of both.

Whereas "ethnography" as a method of investigation characterized by comparison, classification, and historical lineage, would not be applied to images or texts for centuries to come, Burgkmair's frieze invites a prescient use of that term.[13] The frieze calls into being a basic set of analytic categories that ethnography would take as its methodological foundation, including a quasi-scientific observation of nature, as well as the organizational rigor that attends it.[14] By categorizing information, Burgkmair transformed the narrative of a merchant whose task it never was to render an account of peoples seen en route into a map-like chart of the region. In doing so, he took care to distinguish one group from another by virtue of their variance in geography, appearance, and customs, and gives a relativistic rendering of these peoples with respect to their European counterparts.

Burgkmair's interest in empirical research and documentation was precipitated by humanist colleagues like Konrad Peutinger who also collected data, artifacts, written accounts, and physical evidence from both antiquity and the remote corners of the ever-expanding world. Both artist and humanist sat at the crossroads of empirical investigation, and their discoveries functioned symbiotically. Burgkmair's frieze collected information in a unique format that announces and organizes novelty. The confluence of epistemological and artistic currents that converged on Augsburg artmaking in this period equipped the print to take on the analysis of other cultures in an ethnographic fashion.

On the side of representation, Burgkmair pushed the boundaries of printmaking into the realm of verisimilitude, advanced naturalism in the form of the chiaroscuro woodcut, monitored the rediscovery of the antique, developed formulas for proportion, and made refinements in portraiture—technical evolutions that better render the empirically observed world. In the earliest stages of Burgkmair's development, some of these were still conventional—indeed, Burgkmair's primary contribution rests in deploying these conventions in more meaningful matrices. Importing ideals

and techniques of portraiture from antique coins, Burgkmair inscribed authenticity into the concept of likeness. Using familiar iconographic models, he relativized his subjects to the European viewer by bringing them into line with recognizable narratives and European pictorial traditions. He familiarized Africans and Indians by endowing them with recognizably human proportions, taking them out of the stereotypical categories of the exotic. Burgkmair represented difference by first establishing the kinship of these peoples with Western European traditions, making them commensurate. All of these similitudes constitute an early foray into the creation of analytic categories that could take stock of cultural difference in an organized fashion, the premise on which the foundation of modern ethnography is built.

The Woodcut and Travel Accounts

Printed for the first time in 1508, two years after the journey it describes, Burgkmair's frieze still enjoyed the popularity of late-breaking news. It recorded the 1505–6 voyage of Tirolese merchant Balthasar Springer to India in the path of sea-lanes newly plowed by Vasco da Gama, who, less than a decade before, had circumnavigated Africa and brought India into the commercial purview of Europe. The series of woodcuts depicts groups of natives Springer came across on his expedition around the coast of Africa to the East Indies. The frieze, made at the behest of the Welser family, who cosponsored Springer's journey, presumably entered the collection of the powerful Augsburg merchant family shortly after it was printed. In the Welser edition, the text of Springer's report forms a caption running along the top of the prints. The first four prints retain the original text; the following print supplies room for accompanying text, but no copy with the text has survived.[15]

The frieze is a curious monument in itself, and it marks a significant formal departure from earlier travel accounts. The format of the multi-block print, a woodcut pulled from eight different blocks assembled into a frieze seven and a half feet long, presents almost as strange an object to a modern viewer of Renaissance art as the information it contains must have presented for the original viewer. Hans Burgkmair set the series of woodcuts into a frieze format that now exists largely in pieces reconstructed from mostly posthumous printings. The edition discussed here, a set of eight impressions, follows the reconstruction of the frieze currently in the Welser family foundation's collection, supplemented by several impressions in print collections in Coburg and Berlin.[16] The history of the frieze is obscured by the fact that no complete edition of the set of prints has survived from the original printing. Some of the posthumous impressions that survive come from Burgkmair's original blocks but in unorthodox arrangements.[17] One scholar has recently questioned whether the extant impressions include all that were originally part of the set.[18] A later reprinting of a block that reverses the order of the figure groups has complicated the provenance of one of the images, *Indian Natives with a Herd of Animals*.[19] The contemporary reconstruction of the frieze is a consensus derived from a number of spin offs in many different media.[20]

Burgkmair divided the frieze into several sections that correspond to sites of Springer's encounters. A child jauntily balancing on one leg opens the scene carrying the inscription *IN GENNEA* (Guinea, Ivory Coast) (plate 4). Arching against the

capital A of *GENNEA*, an adult male brandishes a spear, his classical body torqued in studied *contrapposto*, arresting the attention of a seated female holding an infant balanced on her thigh. The following frame, labeled *IN ALLAGO,* features two adults, an infant and a child from the Cape region (Algoa Bay, southeast Africa). Both adults, a mother nursing and a father turned toward a male child, are seated on a hillock. This couple wears animal pelts as mantles; the woman's body is draped in a network of dried animal intestines used to support a nursing infant. They wear large flat sandals on their feet, and each is equipped with a walking stick. The next impression, *IN ARABIA* (plate 5), shows natives from the east coast of Africa, in the areas of Mozambique and Mombassa. A female and male adult, wearing woven textiles and head coverings, turn toward a child between them. The next scene, *GROS INDIA,* depicts adult inhabitants of the Malabar Coast of India, all clad in cloth waist coverings. A standing female holds a fruit in one hand and supports a parrot on the other wrist; a child runs toward her, uttering the text "mama he." After these four groups comes an impression depicting a group of Indian natives with a herd of animals (see plate 6), possibly in the setting of a market, along with native flora and fauna.[21] The terminal woodcuts (figures 4.1 and 4.2), pulled from three linked blocks, depicts the procession of the King of Cochin. The first five scenes belong together as a set; overlapping elements of the blocks themselves substantiate this sequence. The ensuing scenes of the peoples of India and the train of the King of Cochin are also united by a continuous underscoring baseline.

The merchant account that generated this frieze must be considered in the tradition of travel narratives, as well as other European reports of discovery from the 1490s to the 1510s. In their first person recordings studded with anecdote and hyperbole, Sir John Mandeville, Marco Polo, Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and Balthasar Springer shared a common thread of adventurous travel; they tracked the movement of an eyewitness from one place to the next. They each produced raw data that was widely and variously consumed, not only by humanists, but also by other adventurers. Both Marco Polo and Mandeville have been cited as sources for Columbus's route and as field guides for the wonders that he saw in the New World.[22] Columbus, using Mandeville as his model, also heeded his injunction to recognize difference. This kind of directive typically gave way to moralizing commentary that often blurred the reliability of his eyewitness claims.

By contrast, Springer's commentary is generally free from these types of judgments. In fact, we can say that, insofar as Springer's purpose seems to have been to document what he saw, his mandate was to record the similarity he recognized. Burgkmair reflects these concerns; accordingly, his illustrations mark a radical departure from those that accompanied the reports of Columbus or Vespucci. More importantly, Burgkmair's illustrations introduce another novelty to this genre: the visualization of empirical data. Previous travel accounts that had based their rhetorical claims on the authority of the eyewitness had rarely furnished images that would appear to support those assertions.[23] The depictions of monstrous beings that accompanied the earliest travel accounts never matched the findings of empirical investigation.[24]

The great travel accounts of Marco Polo and John Mandeville (early and late fourteenth century, respectively) owed their popularity to the authors' adventuresome

Figure 4.1 Hans Burgkmair, *The King of Cochin*, 1508, woodcut, printed from two blocks (27 x 70 cm). Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, Coburg, Inv. no. I 63, 32 (*Photo credit*: Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg)

Figure 4.2 Hans Burgkmair, *Natives of India with Camel and Elephant*, 1508, woodcut (25.6 x 35.8 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Inv. 1000–2 (*Photo credit*: Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

spirit and gift for hyperbole. The reliability of some of Marco Polo's reports are compromised by the number of his tales that remain unconfirmed, and John Mandeville, if there was such a man, is rumored never to have left his study. Thus, the very travel that travel literature might assume as a prerequisite to its recounting was semi-obsolete in the medieval period. Printers traded as much on their authors' personalities to sell copies as on news of their discoveries. The *sine qua non* of good travel writing was a good editor. Marco Polo dictated his recollections to a scribe fluent in literary conventions. Mandeville was primarily an editor of others' written accounts, which he appropriated liberally, but he advertised himself as the text's author, standard practice in medieval writing.[25]

To humanists who maintained and amended the books of Antiquity, whose erudition included specialized knowledge about literary conventions, fell the job of fielding reports by such merchants and sailors as Columbus, Vespucci, Nicolo de' Conti, Bartolomeu Dias, and Vasco da Gama and squaring their travel accounts with ancient literary forms.[26] As they revised the texts of classical authors, humanists began to question the "facts" that did not match empirical experience. The incorporation of new facts introduced contradictions into the wisdom of Antiquity, and the exposure of new corners of the earth about which the ancients had remained silent delivered a fatal blow.[27] Although the dismantling of the authority of classical Antiquity happened in fits and starts, Anthony Grafton has demonstrated that a good bit of the chipping away was done by humanists engaged with geographic

literature.[28] Humanists came upon geographic infelicities when amending and improving Ptolemy's *Geographia* and took seriously the reports of travelers like Springer who claimed to have seen things firsthand.[29]

The symbiosis of traveler and humanist opened the door for the kind of cross-fertilization between cosmography, travel accounts, and maps that made Burgkmair's frieze possible. Merchant accounts and route books, called rutters (from the Portuguese *roteiros*), circulated alongside the vernacular editions of the letters that Columbus and Vespucci sent to their patrons. Rutters were purely pragmatic accounts that outlined the logistics of reaching a destination and that championed the economic reasons for going, usually for trade and the quest for spices.[30] The pamphlet *Den rechten weg ausz zu faren vo[n] Liszbona gen Kallakuth* (figure 4.3), published in Nuremberg in about 1506 by a merchant who had returned from India, fell somewhere between a travel report and a rutter.[31] The pamphlet's title promises to reveal "mile by mile, the proper path from Lisbon to Calicut;" the text reports on ports along the way and raw materials to exploit and, above all, guarantees relative ease in gathering them. It is an anonymous and impersonal report without an overriding interest in geography or foreign peoples; it neither casts the inhabitants of these regions as monsters nor actively engages the trope of the exotic in trying to describe them.

If we consider the curious illustration that serves as its title page—one that shows the location of India below the horizon and perpendicular to western Europe—we observe the use of this right triangle as shorthand for a very schematic nautical marker for the galleon at sea. As the purpose of the pamphlet was to galvanize interest in the Germans' participation in the India trade, it seems an effort was made to locate India in a deceptively proximate relation to Europe, and the Indian *cum* wild man as a deceptively reductive contrapositive of the European.[32]

Sometime before it went to press, this humble merchant report developed humanist ambitions: it acquired a Ptolemy map that it lodges within its pages.[33] When mediated by humanists, merchant accounts could work symbiotically with cosmographic knowledge. The pamphlet itself was a layman's accounting of the facts of the trip, but the Ptolemy map set the local journey into a worldview. It was likely a local humanist editor with knowledge of ancient geography who supplied this more universal and cosmographic framework to the otherwise practical account. Vernacular pamphlets like these did not effortlessly make the cut into humanist collections, the shelves of which were groaning with the weight of Greek and Latin authors. The library of the town secretary of Augsburg, the humanist Konrad Peutinger, was among the first to give credibility to vernacular works, such as those of Vespucci and Vasco da Gama, whose redrawn contours of the world otherwise only gradually gave them some measure of authority. Probably sharing shelf space with these accounts was Balthasar Springer's *Merfart,* the report on which Hans Burgkmair's frieze is based.

Springer's report came to both Peutinger's and Burgkmair's attention through Peutinger's relative and Springer's patron, the Welser family. These Augsburg patricians, merchant bankers under whose auspices Springer sailed, provided the request for such a report.[34] Springer shores up his connection to the Welser in the text on the

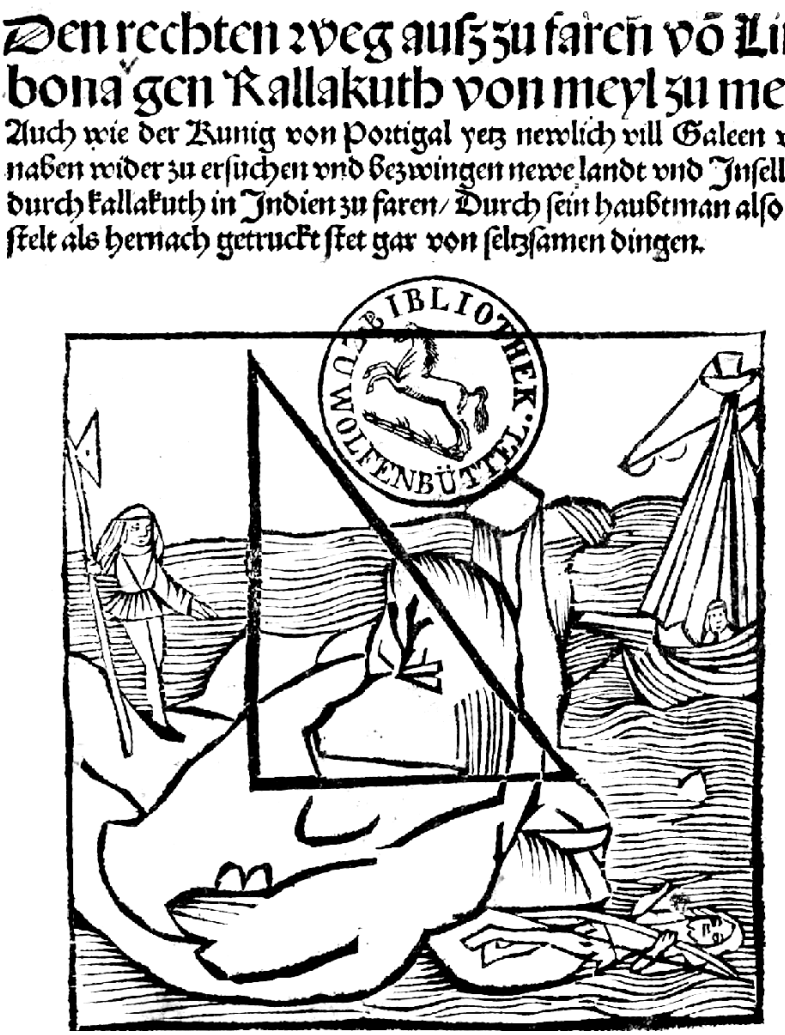


Figure 4.3 Anon., *Den rechten weg ausz zu faren von Liszbona gen Kallakuth* (Nuremberg: 1506), woodcut frontispiece, sheet (18.1 x 12.7 cm). Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Sig. 274 Quod. (4) (*Photo credit*: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel)

frieze's first block, "I, Balthasar Springer, from Vils, sent by the Welser of Augsburg, have had knowledge by sailing and experience, and gave it myself to be printed, such as it is here."[35] In addition, Springer leans on the time-honored credibility granted the eyewitness.

Balthasar Springer's *Merfart* combined the statistical information of the rutter with the occasional wide-eyed incredulousness of travel accounts. His brief report details all the major landfalls, the crew's bravado, and the novelties with which they met. As a sailor, he took notice of geography and topography, but he refrains from the

swashbuckling tone of some high seas adventures and adopted instead a sober narrative style.[36]

Springer's *Merfart* reported a merchant's observations and discoveries.[37] Submitted to his Welser patrons as a handwritten copy probably as early as 1508, Springer's whole text version appeared in print as a pamphlet in 1509 with crude woodcuts by Wolf Traut. In this unabridged version, Springer's text jumps effortlessly from the crew's tribulations to their often hostile encounters with the local populations. Passages in the pamphlet also betray the unflinching nature of Springer's mercantile eye, as he reconciles the marvelous variety of new things encountered to a gold standard. His tendency to reduce novelty to its monetary value produces some colorful *Mischwesen*: his first sighting of a dolphin describes a fish "the size of a pig worth about four gulden" attached to a bird's beak."[38]

Springer's casual observations of peoples are slipped in amid other commentary of mercantile concern, such as the region's profusion of fatty cattle, and the production of goods like cheese, sugar, and gold. A typical passage reveals that the indigenous people frequently reminded him of no more than wild animals, "In this kingdom and island, we saw both sexes of marvelous people living together without shame. While some cover only their genitals, others go about stark naked, and all are black like the Moors. Here begins the truly dark interior. Dwellings here resemble the structures that our poor villagers place over their ovens. Here, the natives carry their huts with them and set them up wherever it is convenient."[39]

When Springer's text was abridged for the purposes of captioning the woodcut, Burgkmair sifted through the anecdotal surfeit, retaining only the ethnographic information. In the frieze, the text cited above is reduced to, "The so-called land of the Moors is 1400 miles wide; there the inhabitants go naked and wear golden rings around their arms and feet."[40] (See plate 4, text block.) The frieze's text-blocks paraphrase relevant and abridged sections of Springer's original account to direct the reader's attention to the images. Inserted here as captions, they distill only the passages that pertain to the habits of these foreign peoples.

Burgkmair's collaboration with Peutinger redirected the frieze's emphasis to one of peoples. With a humanist's penchant for organization and taxonomic recording, Konrad Peutinger probably helped select the passages destined for the woodcuts, favoring customs over the report's monetary and mercantile concentration. Accordingly, Burgkmair's illustrations applied organizational rigor to the random assortment of information from Springer's text, dividing the continuum into distinct geographic regions announced by titles that identify each grouping as peoples discovered there. By placing the natives into equal sized and legible sections, Burgkmair fashioned an anthropological chart of these regions. He assigned each group of natives to a compartment containing a familial unit established by two adults and one or more offspring.

In this graphic format, Burgkmair transformed Springer's account into another kind of document entirely, one that reins in the peripatetic randomness of text and whose illustrations assert an eyewitness alert to ethnographic differences among peoples. The new legibility of the peoples of Africa and India arose as a confluence of data secured through Springer's observations, faithful recordings by an artist, and Burgkmair's ethnographic eye. The latter was sharply focused by the intellectual pursuits of humanists like Peutinger.

Germans in India and Indians in Germany

Konrad Peutinger, the Augsburg civic secretary, provided the physical as well as the intellectual link that connected the merchant Springer to Hans Burgkmair.[41] In humanist libraries like that maintained by Peutinger, who amassed the largest book collection north of the Alps, merchant accounts of amateur eyewitnesses to foreign peoples such as Springer's first rubbed spines with the canon established by the ancients Pliny and Herodotus.[42] Thus were the observations of the merchant's roving eye added to humanist data. Peutinger's library was the intellectual laboratory in which Burgkmair's Africans and Indians were discovered, and it was most likely Peutinger who brokered Burgkmair's involvement in the project.[43]

Through his contacts in Lisbon, Peutinger was uniquely privy to the latest news on the India front. Valentin Fernandes, a notary, translator, and book printer active in Lisbon, represented the Welser interests at the Portuguese court of Don Manuel as the Germans' trade agent. As official broker between the Portuguese crown and the German merchants, Fernandes was instrumental in securing trade privileges for the Welser, as well as the participation of agents like Springer in the Almeida mission.[44] Peutinger, representing the legal and political interests of the Welser in Augsburg, was Fernandes's contact in Germany. This relationship served as the crucial conduit for the flow of mercantile information into learned circles. Perhaps the most notable bridge Fernandes spanned to print culture was his transmission of the sketch that Albrecht Dürer used as a study for his 1515 print of a rhinoceros. This sketch, perhaps through Peutinger, also found its way to Burgkmair for his own woodcut of that animal.[45]

Peutinger's library preserves a little-known clue as to how Burgkmair might have obtained a firsthand view of Malabar Indians presented in the woodcut frieze. The humanist's library housed a collection of manuscripts relating to the contemporary exploration of India that constituted the most precise documentation of the Germans' trade activity, as well as reports of recent peregrinations to India. Peutinger kept painstaking track of the German presence in India and also had the only extant record of the presence of Indians in early sixteenth-century Germany. A note written in Peutinger's own hand in his copy of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* announces the purchase of Indian natives by Peutinger's father-in-law, Anton Welser, as well as by Ambrosius Höchstetter and Konrad Vöhlin, members of other Augsburg patrician families.[46] Burgkmair almost certainly saw these Indian natives, reported by Peutinger to be alive and well and living in Swabia, and used them as models for his frieze.

But Peutinger offered Burgkmair more than just an opportunity to study living specimens. He furnished the humanist framework in which they were to be understood—not as monsters or exotics but as a contribution to a new chapter in cosmographic knowledge. It is of no small significance that Peutinger noted these Indian newcomers to Augsburg in his copy of Ptolemy; to Peutinger the arrival of Indians in Germany betokened a geographic anomaly, and possibly, an amendment. As the *Cosmographia* had been designed to accommodate future discoveries, it seemed fitting that the revisions to the Ptolemaic world picture that these new peoples implied be noted there. In Peutinger's library, new facts came into meaningful contact with the substrate of Antiquity.

Peutinger's broad enthusiasm for India reveals itself in a survey of his records on the topic; these range from anecdotal to notarial and humanistic. In his collection of informal humanist tabletalk that was printed in 1506, the *Sermones Convivales,* Peutinger optimistically anticipated the participation of the Augsburg merchants and humanists in the India trade.[47] The *Sermones* demonstrate the very early proprietary interest Augsburgers had in India, as well as great expectations for the return on their investment. Hopes ran high during the 1506–7 mission in which Springer participated as the Welser's agent. Peutinger hoped for more than just commercial returns, however. He eagerly awaited firsthand accounts of the geographic and anthropological discoveries from Fernandes.[48]

In addition to these accounts of Portuguese maritime activity, Peutinger meticulously collected and catalogued vernacular reports pertaining specifically to the India trade. Peutinger assembled fragments of letters concerning Welser company business in the India trade into a codex, as well as handwritten reports of the "discovery" of India from 1501–1505, including the accounts of Vespucci, Vasco da Gama, Pedro Cabral, Francisco Alberquerque, and Francisco Almeida.[49] Peutinger's personal stake in the Welser family's commercial ventures seems almost a front for his cosmographic interests. Peutinger may well have valued Springer's report more for its addition to cosmographic knowledge than for its account of company business.

Peutinger shaped a political program out of the Welser family's commercial involvement. He coaxed Maximilian I, Holy Roman emperor-elect, to support the Welser venture as the protector of a national fact-finding mission. Fashioning Maximilian as a Maecenas to "the first Germans to search for India," Peutinger also flattered him as the first King of the Romans to send a search party to India.[50] In the heat of nascent national awareness spurred by the rediscovery of Tacitus's *Germania,* a first-century ethnography of the German peoples, Maximilian promoted the ancestral *ur*-German after much textual and archaeological excavation.[51] Humanists with anthropological interests had set in motion the rediscovery of this Roman text, and the emperor co-opted it for nationalistic purposes.[52] Because Maximilian had already unequivocally embraced the wildness of the early Germans as a national point of pride, Peutinger was correct in surmising that German participation in the discovery of another possibly primitive people was both an idea and an enterprise that Maximilian would support.

Mapping Peoples and Customs

Collecting practices such as Peutinger's brought travel and ethnography into the realm of cosmography, pairing the particularity of the first two with the universality of the latter. Peutinger's inscription of the citation regarding Indians in Germany within the pages of his copy of Ptolemy could not have happened in the absence of an epistemic shift that made this the logical place to deposit such ephemeral information. The Indian visitors to Augsburg stand in relief against the backdrop of the world picture of antiquity, living, breathing examples of the carefully tallied vernacular facts by which the moderns would amend the wisdom of the Ancients. Pliny

once reported Indians to be races without nostrils who breathed only with great difficulty; by contrast, these reported Indians could register a pulse in Swabia.

The novelty of the frieze's representations of Indians, however, resides not simply in the likelihood that Burgkmair saw these natives noted in Peutinger's Ptolemy. Illustrated accompaniment was part of printed travel accounts from their earliest editions, but never before had illustrations claimed to reproduce seen peoples after life; instead they merely recycled age-old myths of monsters and cannibals. Although Springer sailed to the opposite hemisphere, Burgkmair's illustrated account of his voyage must also be considered in the context of contemporary iconography of travel to the Americas. This iconography is relevant for two reasons: one, because the modern distinction between the two Indies is largely anachronistic for the period; and second, because Columbus's and Vespucci's letters formed the printed milieu in which Springer's report would have circulated, and their illustrations would have provided viable iconographic precedents and models for it.

The use of uncredited recyclings was endemic to the early print trade and determined iconographic ready-mades used to illustrate New World natives. The tradition of the Wild Man guided the earliest German title pages of the printed voyages of discovery.[53] The wild man was an easily accessible primitive with a long history of embodying life on the margins of civilization and, as such, was an obvious iconographic surrogate for the illustration of newly discovered beings of dubious civility. Publishers active in other parts of Europe also used other recycled iconography for travel accounts of the New World. The title page of an Italian edition of a Columbus letter printed in Florence in 1493, which accompanied Giuliano Dati's *ottava rima*, a rhymed retelling of Columbus's journey in a form employed for chivalrous epics (see figure 3.7,[54] shows peoples with featureless faces and bodies for whom nudity is the distinguishing mark of otherness. Even when the newly encountered Caribs secured a compositionally more central position, nudity remained the mark of their difference. In the 1509 Strassbourg edition of Vespucci's *Mundus Novus*, the contrast of the natives' nudity is heightened by their juxtaposition to overdressed Europeans, whose features are hidden by hats and back views. These were typical ways of asserting the alterity of the natives without explicitly defining it.

A crucial development in the depictions of New World inhabitants emerges around the same time in the same ambient as Burgkmair's frieze. The anonymous artist of the Vespucci broadsheet from the press of Johann Froschauer in Augsburg in 1505 found visual parallels for Vespucci's descriptive detail of the natives' appearance, for which recycled stereotypes no longer sufficed (see plate 3).[55] The Augsburg broadsheet is the only woodcut predating Burgkmair's frieze that displays curiosity about the appearance and customs of the depicted inhabitants who have been identified as Brazilian Tupinambas. These natives follow the prescriptions of Vespucci's text: they congregate, interact socially, and appear in characteristic feather ornamentation and body piercing—particularities and details that document claims announced in the caption. To this novelty, Burgkmair added the documentary strategies employed by contemporary navigation charts, finding in maps a sensible model because he was similarly concerned to reveal the coordinates of travel while simultaneously portraying inhabitants of these lands.

The representation of travel always taxed compositional conventions when it tried to render two places at once. Most illustrations that accompany the Columbus and Vespucci reports collapsed the moment of departure and arrival into a single scene so that Europe and the New World occupied opposite ends of the image, giving pride of place to a vast empty sea between them. The strange symbol on the title page of the aforementioned merchant pamphlet *Den rechten weg* (see figure 4.3) reverses this formula. This triangular notional map of Europe and India argues for the continuity of the world—an India relative to Europe.

Broad schematic formulations work in tension with the kind of minor compositional unities and naturalisms that Burgkmair endows in the individual groupings. The peoples depicted in the first part of the frieze (see plate 4 and 5) stand as fixed groups of family units, distilled into a series of linear comparisons that do not strive for overall compositional unity. Invoking painting's compositional and narrative unities only in local sections of the frieze, Burgkmair's composition primarily invites comparison to other genres, like sculptural friezes and maps.

Considered as a whole, the schematic nature of the frieze's composition mirrors techniques used in mapmaking, the other print genre that also presented information in a similarly formulaic manner. Maps had a similar mandate to spatialize, organize, and schematize quantifiable material; travel accounts, given their symbiotic relationship with maps, borrowed similar conventions. By placing inhabitants in parceled and contiguous spatial coordinates, Burgkmair called on maps to certify his frieze as a space for the documentation of geographic knowledge. Like the cartographer, Burgkmair structured the empirical experience of an eyewitness traveler into data. Because the twin concerns of geographic orientation and topographic description also lie at the heart of Burgkmair's frieze, contemporary cartographic renderings of the world stand as compelling formal precedents from which to begin to untangle its visual complexities and structural anomalies.

Burgkmair's frieze shares compositional traits with early sea charts, or portolans. Whereas humanists settled down with Ptolemy maps in speculative contemplation, mariners made and used portolans as practical aids. Portolans can be considered visual counterparts to merchant reports, as they were composed by first person eyewitnesses and based on empirical experience. Although constructed according to systems of conventions, to those who mastered their abstract functionality, portolans were extremely useful and highly accurate.

Portolans constituted the most precise cartographic depictions of Africa, Asia and the New World in the early modern period.[56] These sea charts, despite their conventional nature, make claims of internal coherence that vouch for their accuracy.[57] Originally produced by Mediterranean sailors who made local measurements to chart the shapes of harbors, portolans took very specific account of coastlines and harbors, on whose visibility all of premodern navigational methods depended.[58] The usefulness of the portolan depended on the reliability of the shapes of its coastlines, whose contours are visually emphasized. Rhumb lines charted distances and directions of given voyages and knit landmasses together. In their absence of an absolute directionality, an orienting grid, and an omniscient point of view, portolans abstractly schematized the world.

The coastline is the feature that orients and "magnetizes" the portolan and fixes the line as a means of representation. Edward Casey argues for the bivalent nature of this line, one that forms both literal and discursive boundaries. The line marks the real and literal border of the land, as well as the site of the imaginary schematized sign of this termination—a line around which the pictorial and landscape features congregate.[59] Burgkmair's baseline similarly knits together sections of the merchant's map.

Burgkmair's frieze adopts analogous configurations of space, synthesizes a group of spatial coordinates and draws characteristic topographic features at the coastline. Here organized on a linear grid, it makes geographic sense of Springer's chaotically narrated journey by compartmentalizing it regionally. As in maps, sections are marked off with topographic features. Trees, used illusionistically in local instances, also function schematically within the frieze as a compositional whole—part of the visual formula to mark divisions and distances. Burgkmair thus melded groupings that might well delineate moments of experienced reality with pictorial elements meant to function schematically. These "pictographs" work in tandem with the blocks of text, which dwindle into ever briefer captions in later editions of Burgkmair's frieze.[60] The headlining toponym IN GENNEA mimics the discursive space of mappaemundi that simultaneously accommodate titular logographs as well as pictographs. The very low horizons of the shallowly sketched backdrops of the frieze suggest a two-dimensional surface onto which the regional toponyms IN GENNEA, IN ALLAGO, IN ARABIA, GROS INDIA (Greater India) and the KUNIG ZU GUTZIN (King of Cochin) are inscribed.[61] The frieze shifts between two-dimensional cartographic projection and three-dimensional Albertian projection, like many contemporary sea charts.

By segmenting and parceling peoples into groups without regard for narrative coherence, the frieze also borrows maps' organizational strategies. The regions of Africa and India are divided into sections not unlike the original accordion-style mounting of portolan sea charts and the atlases that were made from the Ptolemaic model.[62] Clearly demarcated segments orient the viewer, present information in a successively ordered fashion, and inscribe the direction of travel. Maritime portolans were more or less linear, meant to be viewed one section at a time, and for ease of use at sea were probably mounted on firm and hinged supports that could collapse like an accordion.

From a formal standpoint, Burgkmair's frieze functions in a similar way. Burgkmair certainly would have been exposed to Peutinger's map collection, which contained some examples in unusual formats. A surviving copy of a late antique Roman road map, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, laid out the world linearly like a scroll and indicates that the linear scale of late antique mapping was as much a convention as spherical projection.[63] The fact that the *Tabula* was in Peutinger's collection by early 1508 raises intriguing possibilities for its potential ancestry as a formal model for Burgkmair's frieze. It is also tempting to suppose that the reference to an *indianische Mappa* included in an inventory of Konrad Peutinger's print collection may have designated Burgkmair's frieze.[64] After all, maps were among the few other contemporary multiblock prints; they were similarly pulled from several blocks and usually required arranging and mounting for the sake of coherence.[65] The fact that

another sixteenth-century collector mounted Burgkmair's frieze in precisely this scroll-like, or *rótulo* manner, strengthens the case that Burgkmair's frieze could very well have been considered a map.[66]

Among the quantifiable information that maps presented and on which Burgkmair expanded, was the location of "races." In maps from antiquity to the early modern period, geographic space was often construed as a function of the bodies that resided in it. Exotics and prodigies historically made their homes on maps, sometimes in the midst of vast continents where they were said to roam. The headless acephali inhabited the East, and the sciapods of the Torrid Zone shaded themselves with their umbrella-like feet to escape the subequatorial heat. At other times, the monstrous races stood as lonely sentinels on the rim of the known world. A new strategy emerged in the strip format border of the map in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493 (see plate 2), which organized the Marvels of the East into a neat taxonomy of species located in a detached frame. Valerie Traub has shown that the cartographer's act of drawing lines around regionally distinct social groups was a *de facto* means of signifying racial difference.[67] In these marginal frames, the marvels, disorganized for generations, have been neatly organized into flattened compartments that keep them discrete, their physical anomalies providing the grounds for their separation. These divisions tag them as metonymic representatives of their races.

Broadsheets announcing news of the discoveries also shared compositional qualities with contemporary maps. A Vespucci broadsheet produced in Leipzig in 1505 similarly depicts landmasses as dramatized sites of discovery (plate 7).[68] Although these Indians depicted on it have been given conventional traits, such as bearing, dress, and characteristic props, there are no particularities to suggest that they are the product of observation from life. Like figures on a map, they eternally stand guard. In the repetition of defining characteristics in each exemplum, like the front line of an infantry formation, they invite synecdochism by their European guests.

Burgkmair's frieze provides a discursive space for the portrayal of "race." His natives do not function as marginalized or singular heralds for an exotic populace. Burgkmair's peoples are observed particulars placed into systematic categories. The illustrations transform the accidents of Springer's report into a series of encounters with particular groups of peoples. The frieze is a map of the journey in which distance and difference is conceived geographically and by custom.

Customized Races

The early modern construction of race distinguished people geographically from each other, seeing them as distinct in terms of culture, habit, and customs.[69] Burgkmair expresses customary difference by elaborating dress and habit on repeating family units. Whereas Springer's accompanying text generically describes the inhabitants of western Africa as a group of dark skinned nomadic dwellers, Burgkmair maps these particulars onto units of nuclear families. Burgkmair repeats this convention for each of the distinct groups Springer encountered throughout his journey, thus giving his frieze a prescient ethnographic aspect.

For the Khoisanid peoples of Algoa Bay on the southeastern tip of Africa (see plate 4),[70] Burgkmair maps customs and dress on a heterosexual unit of an adult

man and woman. He shows them in their customary dress, marking gender distinctions; the adults are clad in mantles of skin and fur, the woman shown with her head veiled in sheepskin, and the male with a fur loincloth.[71] Burgkmair elaborates other regional practices, such as the custom of binding young boys' genitals and adorning their hair with pitch and precious stones.[72] Burgkmair extrapolated other customs not mentioned in the text from artifacts that returned with merchants like Springer and may have circulated in Augsburg, but he imported only those customs that could be disposed on the armature of a nuclear family.[73]

Burgkmair's focus on native peoples was generated from outside the text. Whether he engineered this emphasis himself, was gently guided by a humanist hand, or was inspired to do so by the types of artifacts at his disposal is difficult to say. Springer's text indulges in tales of plunder and activities that exact commercial gain and dominion over the land's peoples. We can see this even in the abridged versions that caption the frieze; each site along the coast of modern day Mozambique, Tanzania, and Kenya ("In Arabia") serves merely as a coordinate of plunder and destruction, "As we entered Arabia we saw people dressed as they are pictured here and this is the territory whence came one of the three kings/ this is where they bind the horns and ears of the oxen in Arabian gold/ . . . one mile from Sofala is a city by the name of Quiloa which we took and killed many of the people and then plundered the city . . . /Seventy miles from Quiloa is the city of Mombassa which we burned and where we murdered many and brilliantly plundered." (see plate 5, text block).[74] For this section, Burgkmair unexpectedly concentrated on a precise description of the dress of these Islamic east Africans.

Picking through Springer's unremitting and ruthlessly cavalier references to murder, destruction, and commercial gain, Burgkmair tries to make sense of the journey's encounters with peoples. Whereas Springer relied on legendary and biblical lineages ("whence came one of the three kings"), Burgkmair sensitively rendered and precisely classified these peoples' habits. Springer's account of India, the voyage's commercial destination, details commodities to be found there.[75] By contrast, Burgkmair specifies peoples and habitat, depicting native fruits and birds and integrating the local flora into the comparative pictorial pattern he had already established.

By "customizing" these races, Burgkmair established coherence in their depiction. The images begin to replace the text as a site for organizational cues in later reprints of this woodcut series that circulated without the accompanying text.[76] Within discrete spatial compartments that correspond to geographic sites, Burgkmair recorded the dress and customs of inhabitants assigned to these regions. Although his visualization of regions as sites of customary practice was inspired by mapping impulses, interestingly, it is Burgkmair who helps to refine a program followed by later maps.

The "mapping impulse," a phrase Svetlana Alpers used to express the kinship between practices of recording the observed world in Northern Europe and local cartographic traditions, helped to formalize visual technology in the early modern period.[77] The visual technology of mapping has also been called to task for its role in obscuring the link between collecting knowledge and taking possession. Maps, by way of the scientific authority that accrued to them, risk suggesting a transparency between the ethnographic subject and recordings of them based on visual

experience. In *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object,* Johannes Fabian cautions his fellow anthropologists to acknowledge maps as part of the critical apparatus used to atomize and quantify cultures they take as their subjects.[78] Burgkmair's frieze, I believe, serves as a type of ethnographic map, one whose possible impact on subsequent imperialistic programs it is not my aim to exonerate. I can only argue for the novelty of this project as an instance in which cartographic aims begin to collide with ethnographic ones.

As the first image to chart the appearance, types, and customs of the natives of coastal Africa and India, the frieze is a collection of facts that relies on cartographic organization to authorize it. Maps functioned as bearers of quantifiable data, charts in which features and boundaries were explored primarily in relation to like types. Employing this same logic, Burgkmair used both text and image to square off relationships between geographically distinct entities. Locations in Africa and India, for example, are cordoned off by trees that signal the distance, both physical and conceptual, between them.

Burgkmair's strip format became a graphic formula handily employed in delineating peoples and a standard used for future representations of peoples where ethnographic distinction is implied. For example, the woodcut frieze of *The Goths and their Cruelty* in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* introduces a section on peoples and customs (see figure. 3.8); it employs the syntax of the "ethnographic frieze" even after spatial divisions disappeared.[79] This image shows various pairings of peoples meant, in this context, to portray Goths. With its display of the various races Springer described placed in commensurable, calculable, and repetitious groupings, Burgkmair's method is driven by contemporary forms of inquiry that connected phenomena separated by space and time by means of similitude.[80]

These groupings of anatomically modeled bodies, depicted with characteristic customs and set within the unique comparative format of the frieze, establish the pictorial conditions for ethnography. In documenting a range of peoples in this manner, Burgkmair creates a comparative primer, a tool that, on the macroscopic level (considered in its entirety), weighs and considers information schematically. On the microscopic level (within the individual scenes), however, particularities invite its use as a field guide. By constructing a modular format that invites comparison of the peoples he presents, Burgkmair invented a visual forum for the exploration of sympathies and similitude among groups of peoples—"customized races," or a visual expression of the types of comparisons on which ethnography relies.

Burgkmair based at least some of his illustrations on visual studies made by others; the crude woodcuts made by Wolf Traut for Springer's pamphlet version of 1509 suggest a common model.[81] These studies probably differed greatly from one another; nonetheless, in the frieze, Burgkmair shaped whatever irregularities he came across into standard groupings. He supplemented these source sketches with close observation of artifacts and details distilled from Springer's text for the sake of regularity. Burgkmair's frieze reconciles each group to a comparative horizon, advertising all of them as ethnographic *comparanda*.

Considered together, these two sheets of the four groups use comparative methods to establish difference, but a difference rooted in a program of resemblances. Modern ethnography depends on the articulation of difference through formal

conceptual structures and takes for granted the underlying kinship among subjects and these structures. As the kinship of European and non-European peoples was not assumed in the sixteenth century, it would be folly to look for a systematic study of racial or cultural difference. But because Burgkmair's illustrations methodologically anticipate ethnography, it is necessary to view his contributions in light of a historicized scientific method.

In the early modern period, the type of reasoning that would eventually underlie the later development of a science like ethnography was driven by the recognition of similarities, rather than acknowledgments of difference. Taking the world's people as his subject, Burgkmair acknowledged the fact of human variation and understood that a method of systematic comparison was needed to parse it. This variation was expressed according to period structures of similitude. Methods for acquiring knowledge in the sixteenth century, according to Michel Foucault, were guided by principles of analogy.[82] Investigators searched for resemblances by uncovering underlying equivalences. Resemblances were established by weighing the unfamiliar with the familiar, subjecting seemingly unrelated items to a series of evaluations for different types of likeness, such as *convenientia*, the physical adjacencies of things in the world; or *aemulatio*, a more conceptual connection without proximity that permits the comparison of things operating at a distance.[83]

Foucault's epistemology has been fruitfully brought to bear on New World discoveries by the classicist and anthropologist Peter Mason who, extending Foucault's similitudes to include empirical investigation, argues that it was precisely these correspondences that permitted the methodological consideration of peoples far-flung over space, and even over time.[84] To this, I would add that Burgkmair anticipated comparisons that would later underwrite comparative ethnography by using the doctrine of resemblances *in order to show difference.* Burgkmair's frieze encourages anthropological cross-referencing. In a frieze format of a monumental scale that had no precedent in northern European art-making, Burgkmair established a schema for the visual conditions of systematic comparison. Burgkmair's "ethnography" resides in the frieze as a forum for the study of anatomical similarities and differences, as well as the cultural sympathies of diverse peoples.

The frieze imposes a linear and modular arrangement on the structure of empirical experience. This linearity also holds in check the binary system of opposition seen in models that define the Other as an antipodal inversion of the self and interprets the New World as the world turned upside-down. Its modular form militates against a positioned viewer.[85] Directing the viewer to consider phenomena side by side, the frieze encourages comparison versus pure opposition; it permits cross-referencing. This ultimately promotes a study of the diversity of peoples as a function of their similarity, rather than of analogically construed differences.[86]

The use of organizing principles, such as nuclear family units and the trees that divide each group, reinforces these peoples' significance as *comparanda.* The familial groupings are part of the construction of legibility that allows us to read these natives as commensurable, a familiar group through which differences and similarities can be read.[87] As Valerie Traub has shown in similarly configured groupings in the margins of later maps, "there is nothing self-evident about representing the world's people as mature adults and in terms that explicitly situate them . . . as 'man

and wife.' "[88] Nothing in Springer's text prescribes or even suggests such groupings; the artist has imposed them from outside the text. The imposition of this "fictive kinship" reveals how easily some of these conventions could absorb the exotic.[89]

Burgkmair's frieze may indeed form the missing link between individually contained monsters in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*'s marginal strips and later maps that use heterosexual pairings in order to describe a region's peoples—for example, the 1630 map of Africa made by Willem Janszoon Blaeu (figure 4.4). Bernard Klein maintains that this shift in the categorization of cartographic marginalia drove the Eurocentric projection of the natural social order as one of heterosexual pairing (figure 4.5).[90] Kinship is one of the conventions Burgkmair adopted to define *habit,* an overarching category that synthesizes "costume and custom, manners, and morals."[91] Habit included traits like outward appearance, comportment, character, and disposition—characteristics emphasized by the division of peoples into familiar kinship and civil groupings.

Harnessing elements of the strange New World to familiar iconographic models such as recognizable kinship units, as well as formal comparisons of "types" and "customs," Burgkmair structured powerful models of similitude for the cultures these natives represent. In this highly controlled universe, Hans Burgkmair begins the organization of the cultural space of what once had been the chaotic living quarters of the Other.

Another method of relativizing the space of the Other was to place him into familiar compositional and iconographic paradigms. The scene that forms the coda to this woodcut series, the procession of the *King of Cochin* (see figures 4.1 and 4.2) invokes decorative models such as the sculptural frieze. The format of Roman triumphal imagery has often been cited as the closest ancestor to Burgkmair's frieze, via contemporary Italian engravings of imperial imagery, and as the likely source from which Burgkmair's multi-block woodcut actually adopted its moniker "frieze."[92]

Exposed to this format through his Italian influences, and a trip to northern Italy in 1507 during which he visited Venice, and possibly Florence and Milan, Burgkmair may have found a precedent for the king of Cochin in printed editions of Andrea Mantegna's designs for the *Triumph of Caesar,* a set of canvases then in the Ducal Palace in Mantua.[93] A series of twelve woodcuts inspired by Mantegna's engraved *Triumph of Caesar* was printed in Venice between 1503 and 1504 (figure 4.6), with designs drawn by the Venetian illuminator Benedetto Bordon, and cut by Jacob of Strasbourg, a block-cutter from Alsace who settled in Venice.[94]

What recommends Bordon's woodcuts as a precedent for Burgkmair's frieze is primarily formal ancestry. The impressions of Bordon's multiblock *Triumph of Caesar*, when set end-to-end, form a unified visual field almost 15 feet (4.5 meters) in length. The procession is conceived in linear format and shallow relief like a sculptural frieze, with block capitals and text. Bordon's *Triumph of Caesar* relies on highly conventional forms and is universally noted for its crude linearity when compared with engravings made directly from Mantegna's series. While Bordon rendered the procession and architecture in the antique style, he did not develop a corresponding sophistication for his figures; his characters are marked by flattened, static poses and stereotypical visages.[95] Bordon's version has been noted as

Figure 4.4 Willem Janszoon Blaeu, map of Africa, *Nova Africa descriptio*, 1630, 40 x 55 cm. BSB, Munich, Mapp. XX, 2 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

Figure 4.5 Willem Janszoon Blaeu, detail from map of Africa, *Nova Africa descriptio*, 1630. BSB, Munich, Mapp. XX, 2 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

Figure 4.6 Benedetto Bordon, designer and Jacob of Strasbourg, block-cutter, *Triumph of Caesar*, 1503–4, woodcut, 30 x 40 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (*Photo credit*: Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

the only easily accessible model of a classical triumph in the period for artists north of the Alps, and it was probably the iteration with which Burgkmair would have been familiar.[96]

By choosing this familiar iconography of triumphal processions, Burgkmair incorporated previously unknown peoples into a syntax that the Western viewer would understand.[97] Where the Italian precedents feature a victorious Caesar along with a train of loyalists, booty, and captives, Burgkmair's procession maps a similar event onto Malabar Indians.[98] He uses this familiar iconography to explore persons with unique physiognomic features and distinct roles.

Four trumpeters, cheeks filled with air, noisily open Burgkmair's procession at right. Several spearmen ahead of them attempt to maintain an official pace for the procession; one of them encourages a recalcitrant elephant, while another tries to offer his assistance to the straining mahout. Four seemingly unflappable litter bearers continue the march forward. The archers and shield bearers in the rear guard tussle with their weaponry. Only the proud camel at the head of the line seems to keep step with the dignity of a triumphal procession. A percussionist arrests his drumming mid-stride and turns back to face a half-naked man on a palaquin who gestures toward him. From the inscription we are to understand that this jumble represents an outing of the king of Cochin, a potentate on the Malabar Coast of India. Although Burgkmair borrows some recognizable iconography from triumphal processions, the *King of Cochin* does not depict a conventional triumph at all; Burgkmair's specificity subverts it.

For, after all, Burgkmair's Indians are not a band of first-century Romans, but a host of newly discovered peoples. In contrast to Caesar, this king is not preceded by bombast or cartloads of booty. Native species take the place of booty: a feral dog trots alongside the elephant, a macaque on a leash accompanies the march forward. What this procession lacks in discipline, it makes up for in specificity. In addition to Springer's description, Burgkmair must also have borrowed from other visual or textual sources, evident in the carefully depicted weapons and hairstyles used by the Nair, a Hindu caste in Kerala.

In Burgkmair's rendition of this episode, particularity reveals itself in the variety of tasks he assigned the participants. The artist outdid himself in the delineation of tasks, extrapolated only partly from Springer's text. The very aimlessness of the activity betrays the artist's intention to show precisely the profusion of it. The division of labor seems to celebrate variety for its own sake, giving us a broad slice of life as ebullient as it is turbulent. An entire repertoire of roles is on display here—a troupe of musicians, litter bearers for the king on the palanquin, a mahout to drive the elephant, and an attendant whose job it is to protect the king from the sun with a shade.[99] These characters also exhibit a range of emotions: some half-dressed natives abandon themselves to music making, while others let their unpredictable tempers flare, permitting accidents to give rise to skirmishes.

In the segment of the frieze devoted to natives of India with a herd of animals (see plate 6), narrative threads knit together an array of individuals of both genders and a range of ages. The leftmost figure group, which includes a man grabbing the breast of a woman suggests iconography of pre-lapsarian Adam and Eve. We know Burgkmair to have borrowed standard iconography for the purposes of setting his characters into familiar narrative contexts, such as the rest on the flight into Egypt for "In Allago," or the Garden of Eden here. But as he imported these motifs, he created new contexts. This market scene features the fauna of Africa and India; in the thicket a monkey sits in a tree, while cows look around and fat tailed sheep (a breed found in Africa, the Middle East, and Northern India) graze. He contextualized these peoples within the particularity and range of their habits, as diverse and specific as those of Europeans.

Burgkmair's natives of Africa and India are no longer monsters in the margins, winking at us remotely, daring us to believe in them. Nor are they wild men or a race of savages, wielding the drumsticks of half-eaten body parts. The accumulation of detail and the focus on this particular group of humans, especially evident in the attention to physiognomy, betrays an engagement with human subjects that Burgkmair would have had the privilege to observe—in the case of Indians, locally, and in the case of Africans, in Venice. Burgkmair's frieze reflects the most diverse view of African and Indian natives that a European artist had produced to date: a panoply of activities, a profusion of peoples and perspectives into their humanity.

Elements of Style

The comparisons structured by the frieze's composition indicate that Burgkmair's purpose was to record and organize information, but the style in which he fashioned these natives announces another documentary claim, one that sought its legitimacy

in the reproduction of life derived from empirical observation of nature. The degree of observation Burgkmair brought to African and Indian indigenes entails a new practice for the representation of the "exotic races." As we have already seen in the case of travel reports, the print market did not demand that exotics be closely observed at all.

What accounts for the new standard of observation to which Burgkmair holds himself? In one instance, original sketches made by an artist companion of Springer's from firsthand observations could answer for the specificity of customs and draperies. Local collectors were already amassing artifacts from Africa and India, and Burgkmair surely had occasion to view them.[100] Burgkmair also had opportunity to observe the Indians mentioned in Peutinger's marginal note, as these human subjects circulated in his own milieu.

But to assert the claim of empirical observation runs the risk of suggesting an uninspected equivalence between Burgkmair's illustrations and what he saw. What we call naturalism refers not to a one-to-one correspondence between depiction and reality, but to a set of pictorial conventions designed to situate the viewer in a space that mimics reality. The Renaissance idea of the "world seen through a window" signifies a stylistic consensus on advantages gained through a study of perspective, scale and proportion.

In order to accommodate empirical observation, there had to be visual formulas into which it could be translated. The frieze exhibits the sum of technical refinements that transcribed empirically observed phenomena in the Renaissance: anatomical proportion, portraiture, and physiognomy. Burgkmair's contribution to verisimilitude also includes the inscription of a draftsman's hand into the print process. To assert that nature could be reproduced was a novel claim for the medium of print to sustain circa 1508, and a rarer one still for non-European subjects. The period of Burgkmair's activity in Augsburg is concurrent with a growing sophistication in composition and design, the result of an emergent group of block cutters who could successfully execute the designer's intentions.[101]

Independent woodcuts did not develop in tandem with book illustration, which they predated, nor did they closely monitor their progress. The 1509 illustrated pamphlet version of Springer's journey printed after Burgkmair's frieze appeared provides an excellent case study of the relation between independent woodcuts and book illustrations.[102] Although probably based on source material identical to that used for Burgkmair's frieze, the illustrations attributed to Wolf Traut are universally considered crude and inferior. Traut's man from Algoa wears a long groin covering and awkwardly clutches a loose mantle of indistinct fabric (figure 4.7). Many of Traut's artistic gestures lack Burgkmair's specificity; for example, where Burgkmair depicted the custom of binding young boys' genitals with intestines, Traut pictured the boy wearing simply a pair of small briefs. Following textual prescriptions or sketches, or both, Traut outfitted the adult with a walking stick and broad pancake-like sandals and showed his hair and beard to be knotted up with small stones. However, because no study of classical anatomy or proportions underlies this figure, these artifacts drape him as on a mannequin. This reminds us that what we see as stylistic refinement in printmaking did not constitute the kind of progress by which book illustration measured itself.

Figure 4.7 Wolf Traut, *Man and Child of Algoa*, woodcut illustration for Springer's *Die Merfart*, 1509, woodcut (17.5 x 11.3 cm). BSB, Munich, Rar. 470, fol. Viii (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

The draftsmanship Burgkmair brought to his early woodcut designs was guided by pictorial impulses that came from his training as a painter. Burgkmair's exercises in painterly modeling led to revolutionary advances in printmaking and contributed to naturalism in his printed oeuvre. His experiments with tones and tinted paper resulted in the *chiaroscuro* woodcut that simulated the quality of a finished drawing.[103] These crossover experiments freed Burgkmair's hand and catapulted the woodcut into a more refined artistic category.[104]

Stylistic experiments with proportion also contributed to the development of naturalism. Critics have called Springer's account dispassionate because he avoided the exaggerations that characterized the subsequent European obsession with the Khoisanid tribes of the Cape region, later known as Hottentots.[105] Marking Springer's "dispassion" is the blind eye the merchant turned toward anatomical anomalies like the steatopygous swelling of the buttocks and the prematurely wrinkled skin that later travelers were to exaggerate and exploit.[106] The "dispassion" of Springer's text, runs the suggestion, permitted a more scientific report. I maintain that we owe the report's dispassion, rather, to Burgkmair's attention to detail and proportion. These stylistic choices kept his images from entering the realm of exaggeration.

Systematization of proportion and perspective can in large part be ascribed to what gave Renaissance naturalism its characteristic "style." A trip to Italy between 1506 and 1507 brought Burgkmair into orbit with these innovations, as well as with antiquarian excavation and the revival of classical tradition. It was this and his likely familiarity with the experiments in proportion and anatomy made by contemporary German artists, notably Dürer, that led Burgkmair to reconcile forms to their proportional relations.

Dürer's influence on Burgkmair is palpable in a later variation on the inhabitants of Algoa, in which the two adults seated in the frieze version instead stand (figure 4.8).[107] This woodcut demonstrates Burgkmair's acquaintance with classical heritage transmitted through Dürer's 1504 engraving, the *Fall of Man* (figure 4.9).[108] Dürer was an ardent student of the human body and, since his earliest studies from around 1500, the systematic translation of its anatomy into artistic vocabulary. Perfecting these technical skills allowed artists to better forge naturalistic impressions of figures in motion and to rationalize the conditions under which organic movement and adjustments for the beholder were made. Burgkmair's own interest in anatomy was awakened by prints like Dürer's and by his own knowledge of northern Italian techniques.

In this version of *In Allago,* Burgkmair carefully articulated the anatomy and musculature of the figures, adjusting limbs to locate bodies in rational space. The foreshortening involved in rendering the acrobatic balance of this child, as well as the Guinean child who opens the frieze, reveals virtuoso exploration of movement for its own sake that goes beyond the demands of *contrapposto* weight shifts. It is precisely the complex modifications required by such a figure in motion that calls out for a proportional formula to render it. Applying these sculptural and artistic techniques, first to a graphic medium, and then extending them to exotic peoples, constitutes a great forward stride in relativizing these peoples with respect to their European counterparts.

Adapting the ideal proportions of Dürer's pre-lapsarian couple to his model, Burgkmair uses the body of the Algoan native to highlight the particularity of that culture's customs. These upright poses provide a better view of the sartorial details suggested by the frieze version, such as the prominent wildcat or foxtail girdles, and the coils of animal intestines wound around torsos, as well as such accessories as the clay pots and wooden staffs. By establishing an affinity with the European body through the type of resemblance offered by a study in proportion,

Figure 4.8 Hans Burgkmair, *In Allago*, 1508 (?), woodcut on paper, (22.8 x 15.3 cm). British Museum, London, Inv. 1856–6–14–105 (*Photo credit*: The Warburg Institute)

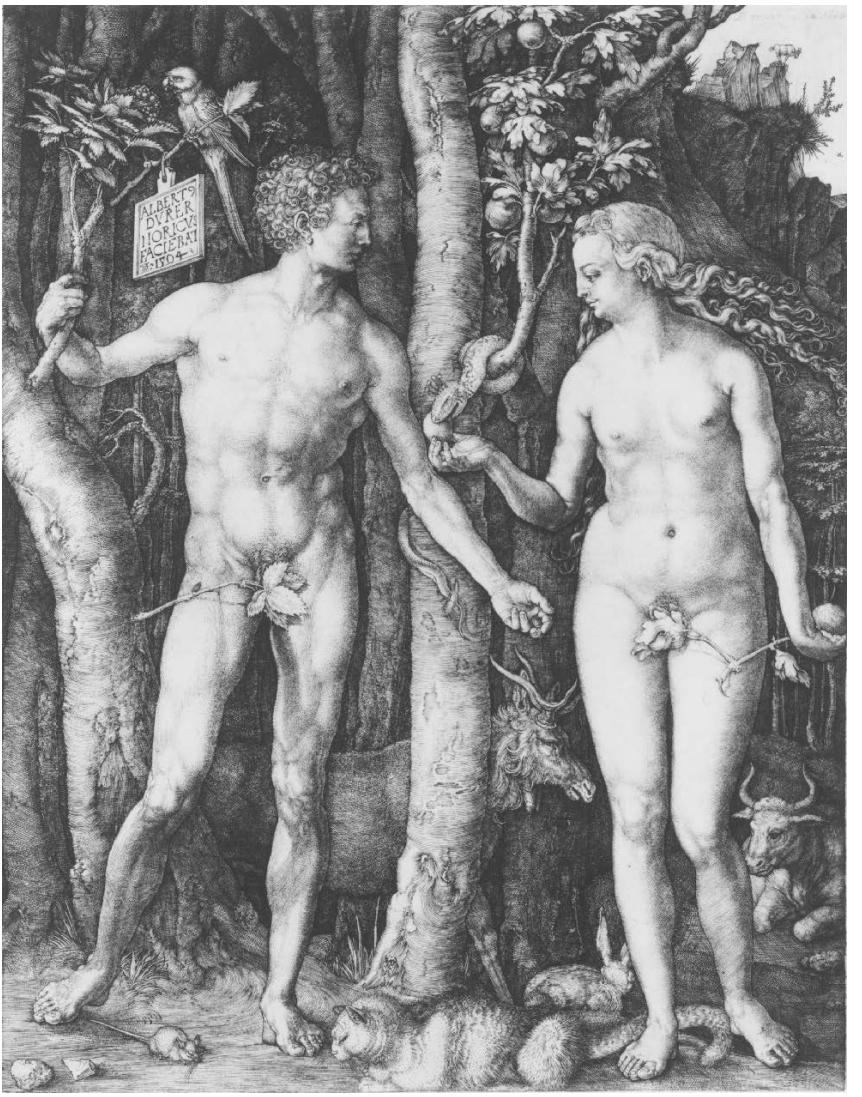


Figure 4.9 Albrecht Dürer, *Fall of Man*, 1504, engraving, 9 13/16 x 7 11/16 inches (24.9 x 19.5 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, purchased with the Lisa Norris Elkins Fund, 1951 1951–96–4. (*Photo credit*: The Philadelphia Museum of Art/ Art Resource, NY)

Burgkmair could then explore the body as a site for specifying custom, portraiture, and physiognomy.

Burgkmair's early experiments with portraiture also anticipate the specificity with which he would later render ethnographic portraits. In the frieze, Burgkmair's formulae for torsion and proportion met the empirical practice of copying artifacts

and incorporating sketches made from life. These empiricisms coincided with experimental forays Burgkmair had already made in bringing portraiture, one of the first genres to be born of closely observed nature, into the embrace of the graphic medium. The close observation critical to portraiture was a prerequisite for the ethnographic study of peoples.

Portraiture took its impetus from both the cult of personality central to northern European Humanists, as well as the antiquarianism that was their sport. Among the first print projects in the North to demonstrate that the medium of woodblock printing could support the weight of portraiture, was Peutinger's *Imperatorum Augustorum et tyrranorum quorundam Romani imperii gestorum annotatio.*[109] Known in German as the *Kaiserbuch,* Peutinger's anticipated chronicle of emperors from Caesar to Maximilian, was never published. Nevertheless, before 1505 Burgkmair produced twenty-odd surviving portraits, the "vera effigies," or true images, of the Caesars (figure 4.10). Consistent with the humanist interest in authenticity,

Figure 4.10 Hans Burgkmair, designs for Peutinger's *Kaiserbuch*, c. 1500–1505, woodcut 9.6 x 6.2 cm. Studienbibliothek Dillingen, Dillingen an der Donau, Sig. V, 1462 (*Photo credit*: Studienbibliothek, Dillingen an der Donau)

Peutinger's accompanying text *vitae* of the Caesars were the product of original research from primary sources, including documentary, epigraphic, and numismatic specimens.

Burgkmair's portraits reflect the new empirical nature of antiquarian research, and the *Kaiserbuch* would have marked the first illustrated humanistic *vitae* produced in Germany. Burgkmair's portraits, made from coins, represent strides in concern for specificity over the "character portraits" featured in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* which, just a decade earlier, had liberally and haphazardly recycled a group of about a dozen portraits to stand in for a vast succession of popes, emperors, and biblical characters numbering in the hundreds. The exercise of copying numismatic portraits put Burgkmair into contact with the material remains of antiquity, as well as acquainting him with humanist antiquarianism. These humanists' location of authenticity in the minting of a coin is evident in the fact that their own portrait medals often carried inscriptions, like *vera effigies,* designating them as objects that could carry mimetic weight.[110]

Artists in Renaissance humanist circles co-opted the mimetic guarantee believed to be ensured by coins to produce portraits in the form of medals and used numismatic conventions to testify to their authenticity.[111] The idea that authenticity was guaranteed by these medal portraits was reinforced by Burgkmair's artistic method; for the *Kaiserbuch* portraits, he was inclined to copy and kept artistic invention to a minimum. Even in profile, Burgkmair's heads carry features of individuals, giving definition to noses, foreheads, necks, eyes, and to some degree, hairstyles. Some chins are strong, others weakly droop or bulge; mouths and noses are subject to the same unflattering scrutiny characteristic of Roman portraiture of the Republican period. These aesthetic infelicities help us remember that the coin's primary function was not aesthetic, but documentary.[112]

Burgkmair's consultation of Peutinger's coin collection for the *Kaiserbuch* portrait heads provides an enlightening example of how humanists' antiquarian interests put the material remains of the ancient world at the disposal of artists, along with a new understanding of what it meant to consult them.[113] Access to these artifacts shaped the revival of classicism by Renaissance artists, but as important as the evolution of new stylistic techniques was the admission of such material evidence into the artistic canon.[114]

The desire of contemporary art patrons for recognition was both the cause and effect of portraits launched into print. Maximilian I was one of the first easily recognizable emperors, owing as much to his distinct profile as to the popularity of his circulating image in *Theuerdank* and the *Weisskunig,* the elaborate narrative woodcut projects that featured him. From the ranks of artists and humanists engaged in his printed projects, as well as by the frequent exercise of his veto power over images, we know that Maximilian made a career out of tending to his portrait.[115]

We suspect that Maximilian also had a hand in Burgkmair's alteration of a woodcut originally made by Dürer in order to portray the emperor more accurately. By 1504 Hans Burgkmair had in his possession the woodblock that Dürer had originally carved for a dedication title page to the 1502 printing of Konrad Celtis's *Quatuor libri amorum* (figure 4.11).[116] Leaving most of the composition unmolested, Burgkmair surgically removed the portrait heads of Celtis and Maximilian from

Figure 4.11 Albrecht Dürer, title-page to Konrad Celtis's *Quatuor libri amorum*, 1502, woodcut, 21.5 x 14.5 cm. BSB, Munich, Rar. 585, 9v (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

the block itself and replaced them with new designs of his own (figures 4.12 and 4.13), which display greater sensitivity than Dürer's. Burgkmair recut Dürer's stylized heads to bring them closer into line with reality, eliminating the curls from Celtis' head and refining facial characteristics of both subjects.[117] The unequivocal superiority of Burgkmair's version is echoed by Tilman Falk's judgment that only in Burgkmair's version do the heads distinguish themselves from the coiled ornament.[118] Larry Silver concurs that Burgkmair transformed Dürer's rather generic faces into portrait likenesses.[119] Burgkmair brought painterly qualities to these faces with lines that are more functional, dynamic, and economical, and that lend his figures greater organic unity. Projects such as these in the years directly preceding his work on the frieze were critical to Burgkmair's maturity as a portraitist.[120]

Burgkmair's depictions of African natives in the frieze, as well as in a few watercolor studies, depart radically from conventions that had previously articulated race; these studies approach portraiture.[121] Perhaps this specificity resulted from encounters with Africans in Venice, a place where Burgkmair acquired general knowledge of African physiognomy and habit.[122] In more canonical contemporary depictions of Africans such as the black Magus in Adoration scenes, racial distinctions were noted by physiognomic particularities, but they were generally not founded on observation. Morphological distinctions in complexions can be found in the Moor's head emblazoned on European heraldry.[123] This conventional heraldic "Moor" carried generalized Negroid features that had passed down for centuries without change (figure 4.14). These faces were morphologically distinct, yet still stereotypical. For his frieze portraits, Burgkmair studied specific, and in some cases individual, physiognomies. As we can see, the natives of Guinea are not simply stereotypical heraldic heads attached to otherwise classically-conceived bodies. In the frieze, Burgkmair weds physiognomy to ethnography—he evokes the particular within the general—and in so doing, he gives a prescient view of organized human diversity.

Burgkmair's engagement with physiognomic particularity reflected a concern shared by experimental sciences like physiognomy. Contemporary printed physiognomies processed data collected from the physical world and circulated that data as useable information. Physiognomies depended on close scrutiny of facial features and capitalized on the recognition of the variance in physical traits of individuals. Bartholomaeus Cocles boasted that his extremely popular physiognomy, *Book of Complexions,* had outdone those of his predecessors by the sheer abundance of individual cases he observed.[124] This claim to observational prodigiousness was not a hollow one in experimental science. The practice of physiognomy relied on a pursuit of particularities, and, as Cocles would have us believe, a systematic observation of phenomena. Curiously, certain editions of Cocles' *Book of Complexions* advertise the text as a practical aid to predicting the character of a slave from the sum of his physiognomic parts. According to the author, merchants engaged in the slave trade use it for this purpose.[125] Burgkmair surely would have found a more nuanced application for a book like this, possibly as a resource that encouraged the systematic observation of faces.[126] Artists might have recognized the physiognomist's quest for particularity as a kindred one.

Figure 4.12 Hans Burgkmair, recut woodcut for Johannes Cuspinianus and Hans Burgkmair, *Cuspinianus Celti Ultimum Vale*, 1504–8?, woodcut, 21.5 x 14.5 cm. BSB, Munich, Rar. 585, 3r (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

Figure 4.13 Hans Burgkmair, *Cuspinianus Celti Ultimum Vale*, woodcut, detail of Fig. 4.16. Munich, BSB, Rar. 585, 3r (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

Figure 4.14 Anon., Hartmann Schedel's ex-libris from his personal copy of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 29.6 x 24.7 cm. Munich, BSB, Rar. 287, fol. 5v (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

The similar nature of the artist and the physiognomist's mandate to observe may help explain the curious appearance of Burgkmair's self-portrait (figure 4.15) on the title page of an edition of *Book of Complexions* printed by Hans Schönsperger the Younger in Augsburg in 1515.[127] The woodcut roundel carries initials that identify the profile as Burgkmair's and is inscribed "Hanc Propriam Pinxerat Eff(i)giem:" "He depicted this *particular* (or *his own*) likeness."[128] Perhaps the editor who chose this image recognized in it a program compatible with contemporary physiognomies: an engagement with likenesses beyond the general, as well as beyond the ideal.[129]

The printed physiognomy was a genre that probably did much to spur the move toward verisimilitude of portrait features in print. Particularity under investigation in experimental sciences like physiognomy required the scrutiny of direct observation and data collection. In this respect, the printed physiognomy shared many of the same demands of portraiture, which likewise required observation and careful recording. Portraiture insisted on specificity for which dependence on conventional models no longer sufficed; in the process, it provided a fleet-footed impetus in moving art in a proto-scientific direction.

In conclusion, Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* invites the use of the term "ethnographic" on many fronts. In the first place, the frieze calls into being a basic set of analytical categories that ethnography would take as its methodological foundation. Burgkmair transformed a merchant's account whose task never was to render an account of peoples encountered *en route* into a map of the region. In doing so, he has also taken care to distinguish one group from another by virtue of their variance in geography, appearance, and customs, fashioning peoples categorized along racial lines. Burgkmair invoked the authority of maps in his documentation of categories of information.

The artist Burgkmair and the humanist Peutinger both sat at the crossroads of empirical investigation, and their discoveries functioned symbiotically. Peutinger collected data, artifacts, written accounts, and physical evidence from both antiquity

Figure 4.15 Hans Burgkmair, self-portrait medallion, c. 1500–1505, frontispiece to B. Cocles, *In disem biechlein wirt erfunden von Complexion der menschen* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1515), woodcut, sheet, 14 cm x 19 cm. BSB, Munich, Res. 4 Anthr. 8 *(Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

and the remote corners of the ever-expanding world. Burgkmair's frieze collected all of this information in a unique format that announces the novelty, as well as collects and organizes it for posterity.

Like his humanist consultant, Burgkmair was also engaged in empirical research. In the name of artistic discovery, he pushed the boundaries of printmaking into the realm of verisimilitude, advanced naturalism in the form of developing the chiaroscuro woodcut, monitored the rediscovery of the antique, developed formulae for proportion, and made refinements in portraiture—techniques developed to better render the empirically observed world. In the earliest stages of Burgkmair's development, some of these were still conventional—indeed Burgkmair's primary contribution rests in deploying these conventions into more meaningful matrices. Using ideals and techniques of portraiture from antique coins, Burgkmair inscribes authenticity into the concept of likeness. Using familiar iconographic models, he relativizes his subjects to the European viewer by bringing them into line with recognizable narratives and European pictorial traditions. He familiarizes Africans and Indians by endowing them with recognizably human proportions, taking them out of the conventional categories of the exotic. Burgkmair represents difference by first establishing kinship of these peoples with western traditions, making them commensurate. All of these similitudes represent an early foray into the creation of analytical categories that could take stock of cultural difference in an organized fashion, the premise on which the foundation of modern ethnography is built.

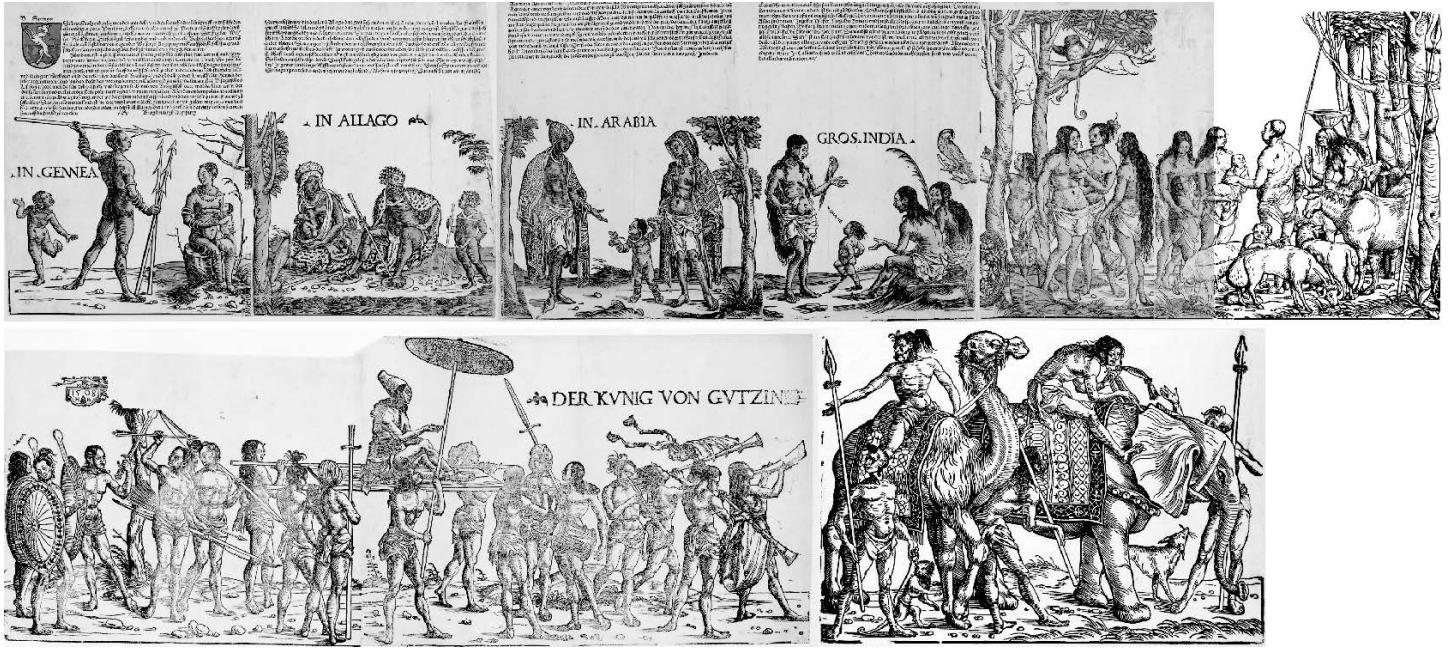


Plate 1 Hans Burgkmair, *Peoples of Africa and India*, 1508, handcolored woodcut (28.5 x 230.6 cm) Freiherrlich von Welsersche Familienstiftung, Neunhof (*Photo credit*: copyright Freiherrlich v. Welsersche Familienstiftung)

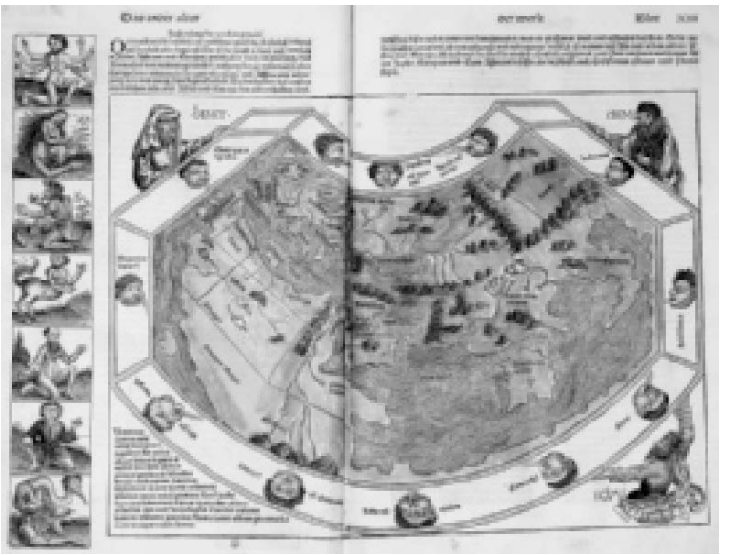


Plate 2 Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, Map of World, *Nuremberg Chronicle* or *Weltchronik* (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1493), handcolored woodcut, image 38 x 49 cm. BSB, Munich, Rar. 287, fol. XIIv & XIIIr (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

Plate 3 Anon., broadsheet with text from Vespucci, *Dise Figur anzaigt uns das Folck und Insel* (Augsburg: Froschauer, 1505), handcolored woodcut, (25.5 x 35 cm). BSB, Munich, Einbl. V, 2 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

Plate 4 Hans Burgkmair, *Natives of Guinea and Algoa*, 1508, handcolored woodcut (28.5 x 42.4 cm). Freiherrlich von Welsersche Familienstiftung, Neunhof (*Photo credit*: copyright Freiherrlich v. Welsersche Familienstiftung)

Plate 5 Hans Burgkmair, *Natives of Arabia and India*, 1508, handcolored woodcut (27.2 x 41.2 cm). Freiherrlich von Welsersche Familienstiftung, Neunhof (*Photo credit*: copyright Freiherrlich v. Welsersche Familienstiftung)

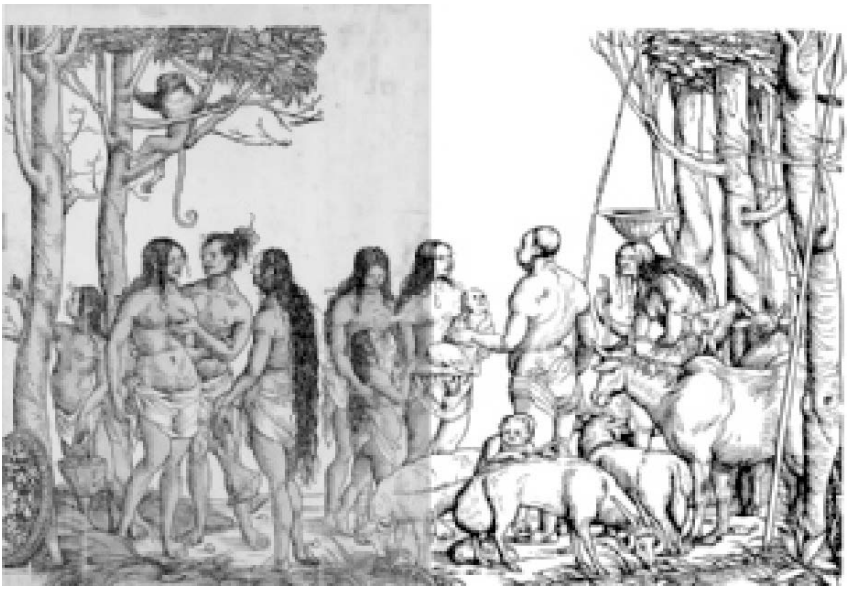


Plate 6 Hans Burgkmair, *Natives with a Herd of Animals*, 1508, woodcut (26.5 x 39.9 cm). Freiherrlich von Welsersche Familienstiftung, Neunhof (*Photo credit*: copyright Freiherrlich v. Welsersche Familienstiftung)

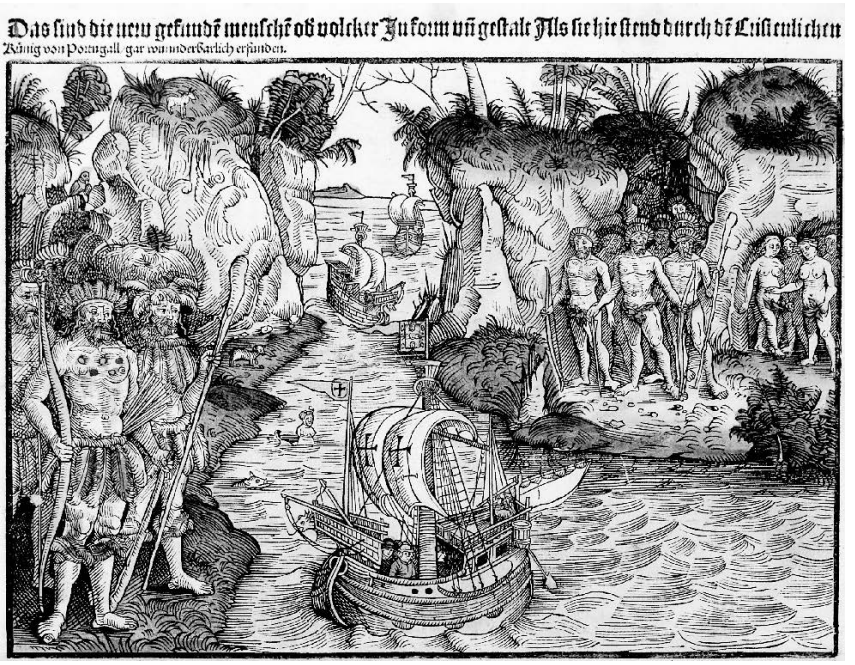


Plate 7 Anon., Vespucci *Das sind die new gefunde[n] mensche[n] od[er] Volcker In form un[d] gestalt Als sie hie stend durch de[n] Cristenlichen Künig von Portugall/ gar wunnderbarlich erfunden* (Leipzig: Stuchs (?), 1505), handcolored woodcut broadsheet, 29.2 x 40.5 cm. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Sig. QuH 26 (5) (*Photo credit*: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel)

Plate 8 Daniel Volkert, *Indian as Personification of "America*," design for a cylinder mirror anamorphosis, 1726, pen and watercolor, 30.4 x 37.5 cm. Nuremberg, GNM, Graphische Sammlung, HB 25736 (*Photo credit*: Graphische Sammlung, Germanisches National Museum, Nürnberg)

Plate 9 Peter Flötner, *King of Bells*, playing card (Nuremberg: Franz Christoph Zell, 1540). Nuremberg, GNM, Graphische Sammlung, Inv. SPK 7418(47) (*Photo credit*: Graphische Sammlung, Germanisches National Museum, Nürnberg)

CHAPTER 5

Recuperating the Eyewitness: Jörg Breu's Images of Islamic and Hindu Culture in Ludovico de Varthema's *Travels* (Augsburg: 1515)

Early sixteenth-century European travelers venturing beyond the borders of Christendom shared a mandate to report on the lifestyles, customs, and habits of the peoples they encountered. Little data from this loose assortment of observations, however, could satisfy a reader in search of systematic information. In German print culture of this period, we see nascent attempts to fasten these observations about new peoples onto sturdier scaffolding. Whereas the description of peoples new to western Europeans was not yet concretized as a subject of systematic or anthropological investigation, a discursive system began to take shape within an amorphous network of travelers, merchants, printers, and illustrators whose documentation of a common subject eventually formed the armature of a critical inquiry resembling ethnography.[1] Although the manners and customs of the world's peoples peppered the pages of chivalric fiction, crusader, and pilgrim narratives, and were summarized with increasing coherence by cosmographers, the first organized study of the world's peoples to announce itself as such was Johannes Boemus' *The Manner, Laws, and Customs of All Peoples*, printed in 1520.[2] This chapter considers the illustrated 1515 German edition of Ludovico de Varthema's travels to the Holy Land and southeast Asia, *Die Ritterlich vñ lobwirdig rayß* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) as a visual precursor to Boemus' pursuit of organized comparison.[3] Endorsing the merits of the traveler's "systematic curiosity," this chapter argues that the illustrator, Jörg Breu, formalized that curiosity in his visual records.[4] The earliest visual forms of ethnographic recording appeared in encounters that were not shaped by the agendas of crusade or pilgrimage, but ones in which a relativistic analysis of the world's diversity emerged as a growing concern.

As we have seen in Chapters 3 and 4, artists in early modern Germany were grappling with how to translate into print the new peoples who came into their field

of view.[5] One bold experiment also came from Jörg Breu, an artist who probably did not come into contact with foreign humanity, but who was quietly painting altarpieces and drafting glass roundel designs in his native town of Augsburg. Breu's contribution to a relativistic look at these peoples was based largely on his dependence on iconographic models already circulating in Europe. His activity in virtually all media and in collaborative work gave him exposure to a wide range of motifs. Active in Augsburg as a painter and draftsman, he served an apprenticeship in the workshop of Ulrich Apt the Elder in 1493. As a journeyman, Breu traveled through Bavaria and the Tyrol producing several altarpieces in lower Austria. Upon his return to Augsburg, he joined the painters' guild and opened his own workshop in 1502. Among his important civic commissions was the Augsburg town hall fresco, completed in conjunction with the painters Ulrich Apt and Ulrich Mauermüller. He won commissions as a painter from the Augsburg town authorities and local patrician families and designed several series of painted glass roundels. While he was recognized as a keen draftsman, his printed output is small. Responsible for only one other woodcut cycle for a book, *Fortunatus* (1509), Breu contributed a few woodcuts to collaborations that brought him into association with other notable artists, all of whom are believed to have mastered the medium better than he.[6] Rather than look at the stylistic contribution of his woodcuts, this chapter asks if it were not Breu's chameleon-like identity and his jack-of-all-trades approach to art that prompted him to borrow with impunity, to work in the absence of a sophisticated stylistic standard, and consequently, to produce a relativistic view of the peoples in his scope.[7] Breu's importance as an artisan has hinged on his activity during a critical historical moment in Reformation Augsburg. A chronicle Breu kept between 1512 and 1536 offers us a first hand view of an artist with evangelical sympathies compromised by the demands of producing for Catholic patrons.[8] Perhaps Breu's need to skillfully negotiate two confessional worlds gave him pause when he found a third and fourth, Islam and Hinduism, at the center of his work.

Moonlighting as a graphic artist, Breu curiously produced a sustained treatment of peoples from the Middle East, India, and Indonesia in a forty-six woodcut cycle that accompanies *Die Ritterlich vñ lobwirdig rayß* (1515), henceforth noted as the *Travels*.[9] Never having traveled to these places himself, Breu's task was to submit a visual record that followed the peripatetic eye of the volume's author, Ludovico Varthema. Crucial to Breu's program was his mandate to tell apart the various peoples Varthema encountered. I will argue that an organizational schema precipitated from Breu's solutions to formal problems such as these.

Breu, the illustrator, had to parse a text dense with typical agendas; Varthema's account of his near-decade stay in the Middle East and India indulges in the high adventures and heroics closer to chivalric romances than to more traditional travel literature. Travel accounts and chivalric fiction both set their themes of conquest and plunder in exotic locales with obligatory but cursory nods to the peoples of these places. Favoring conventional reports of these people's customs over empirical investigation matched the European shorthand for characterizing non-Christian cultures in terms of religious difference. Simple conceptual binaries like Christian versus heathen, and ritual versus demonology historically governed the expressions of difference. Varthema's mostly hostile view of Islam and his aversion to Hindu "demonology" were part of the interpretive baggage he brought with him.

The accompanying illustrations by Breu, an artist who had not witnessed these events and peoples himself, represented yet another remove from empirical investigation.[10] Borrowing the agency of the eyewitness from travel literature, Jörg Breu supplements Varthema's rhetorical claim to observation by endowing the viewer with this perspective. However remote from actual autopsy, Breu's designs did present an early relativistic view of Muslims and Hindus to western European audiences. This perspective on other cultures did not belong to the narrator, but it was a view entirely mediated by the illustrator. By positing the narrator as an observing spectator, by employing visual imagery from other circulating accounts, and by rearranging compositional groupings into familiar narrative contexts, Breu transforms the strangeness of the customs that Varthema recounts into plausible ones. Showing the kinship of Muslim and Hindu ritual to western European practice, unlike the reports that had previously demonized these realms, Breu asserts an early relativism that straddles the line between reportage and proto-ethnography. Breu posits a documentary claim for his subjects, and does this by fashioning Varthema as an empirically *observing* spectator.

Jörg Breu's illustrations for the German-language edition of Varthema's *Travels* visually recoup the credibility of the eyewitness, a claim that previous travel accounts had rendered all but bankrupt by indiscriminate and unchecked use. The earlier visual retellings also did not hold up to scrutiny: what travelers like Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville claimed to have seen in the East was really a catalogue of monstrous races in circulation since antiquity. In the late medieval period, eye witnessing had lost its currency even as a rhetorical device because armchair travelers, encyclopedists, and epitomizers alike asserted it, too.[11] Breu revives eye witnessing as a trope, but fashions it as a *visual* device. This chapter seeks to show the role of Breu's Varthema cycle in establishing a framework for ethnographic knowledge of India.

Varthema's itinerary was first printed in Italian in Rome in 1510, with a Latin edition following closely in 1511 in Milan. For a long while, it was almost the only text available about Europeans in the Near East and the only modern piece on India.[12] While Varthema's account continued to be printed every few decades until about 1625, the most influential edition was the quarto volume printed by Hans Miller in Augsburg on June 16, 1515; there it acquired Breu's cycle of forty-six woodcut illustrations.

Varthema, a Bolognese by birth who made his reputation from fearless traveling, departed Venice in 1502 for Alexandria *en route* to Cairo where he learned Arabic and acquired the disguises necessary to ensure safe passage through the Middle East.[13] He then made his way into India. After several years of journeying and a year and a half as a factor in Cochin, he was knighted for his service in the new Portuguese viceroyalty of Goa. When he returned home in 1508, the Portuguese sovereign Dom Manuel I honored him for services rendered during the Portuguese campaign in India.[14]

Varthema initially set out as a free agent, simply a roving adventurer, a fact lost in his grandiosely titled tract:

> The noble and praiseworthy journey of the strong and vast experienced knight and overland traveler Ludowico Vartomans from Bologna/ tells of the lands of/ Egypt/ Syria of both Arabias Persia India and Ethiopia, of the forms, customs of

> human life and beliefs/ Also of many animals, birds and much else strange and wonderful in the same lands, which he experienced himself and saw with his own person.

On the dedicatory page of the German edition, Varthema, laden with fur and gold chains, stands before his dedicatee, Agnesina Feltria Colonna, the Countess of Albi and the Duchess of Tagliacozzo, who points to a passage in Varthema's itinerary as if to request elaboration (figure 5.1). With his arm outstretched, Varthema dramatically delivers a firsthand testimony before the ears of an eager and luxurious Italian court. Varthema exaggerated not only his bravery and the scope of his travels to create the personality of an intrepid traveler, but also his claims of empirical observation.[15] Even for places he did visit, Varthema, heartily borrowed material from earlier travelers.[16] Although Varthema probably witnessed only a small proportion of the practices he recounted, Breu unequivocally reports them all as though he did.

In contrast to the spectral presence of armchair travelers, Varthema assumed a distinctly new self-conscious authorial position in the text, as well as in the images. Not only did he foreground himself as a narrator, Varthema also mutated into a spy or a ventriloquist as the occasion demanded. It was precisely by ceding his position as an outsider that he brought credibility to his claims. Jörg Breu's illustrations, by recording the details of costumes and customs, languages, and connotations of what Varthema saw, transcended the binary opposition of center and periphery that had guided the illustrations of earlier travel literature. Breu transformed Varthema into a plausible eyewitness by giving him a unique purchase behind the lens, giving the reader a distinct sense of being there. The German edition of Varthema's account, one of the first printed books with illustrations produced by an artist specifically for the text, exhibits a coherent point of view. Breu's illustrations unequivocally assert that an actual pair of eyes did the observing.

Certainly, one of the innovations of Varthema's itinerary is the degree to which the narrator remains front and center. Not only is this account relayed in the first person, it is also self-consciously told from this perspective. Marco Polo's authorial presence fades in and out of the *Description of the World* circa 1300, giving way to large "unauthorized" sections of the text. By contrast, Varthema's story recounts the pitfalls of an indefatigable author who inspects hostile climates and survives hostile encounters, and who surveys them via a persona with whom the reader is encouraged to identify. This literary device imposes structure on a temporally and geographically complex narrative, giving the reader a common thread to follow.

Varthema's centrality as the protagonist also manifests itself in Breu's illustrations in which the author is sometimes present, unlike the persons of Marco Polo, Sir John Mandeville, and Bernhard von Breydenbach, who typically remained shapeless and beyond the frame of the illustrations that accompanied their accounts. Breu frames his edition with illustrations that feature the narrator Varthema, a device that secures and bookends the reader's identification with him. We recognize Varthema first as the bearded character in travel gear, rolled hat, and slouch boots.

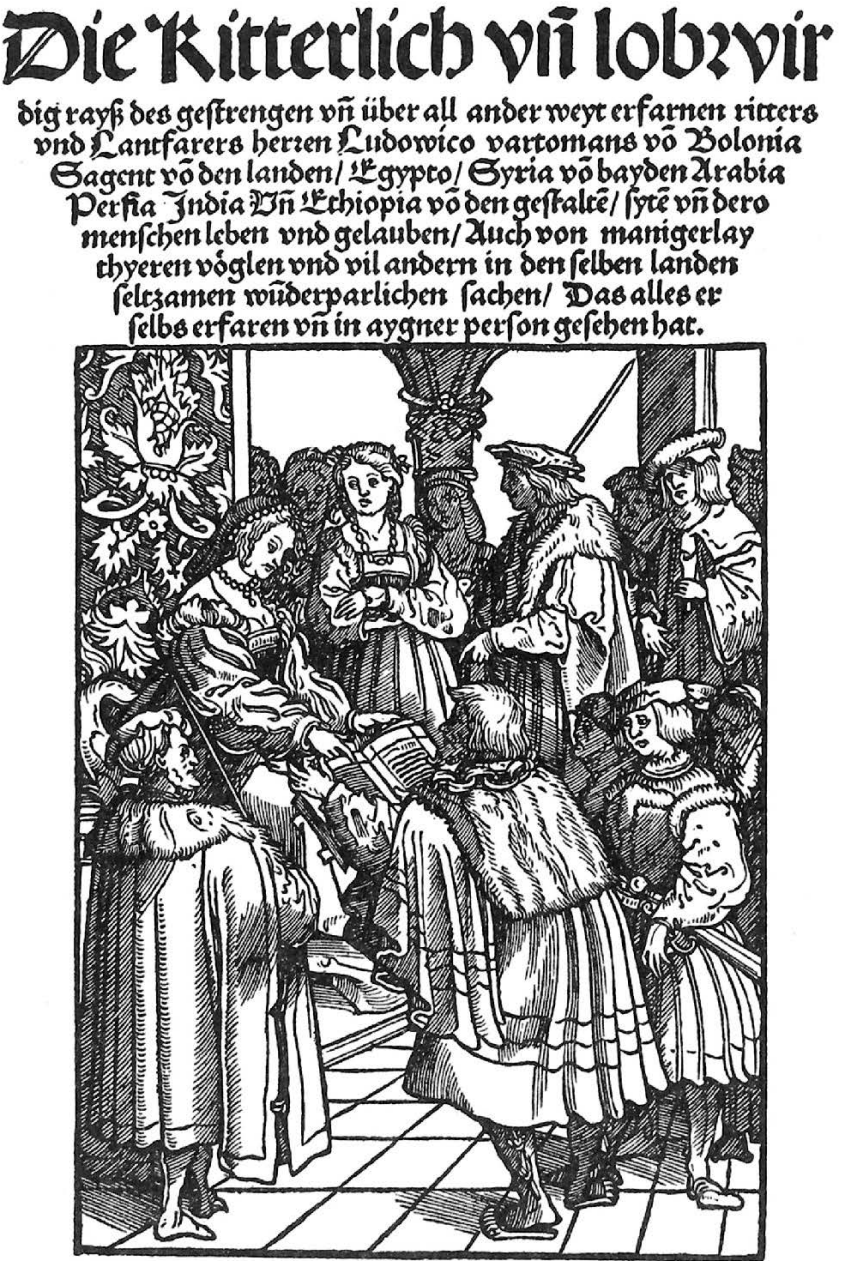


Figure 5.1 Jörg Breu, title-page, Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Breu deploys him to help tell the story, overhauling the omniscient narrator into a specific traveler.

Varthema goes to certain lengths to shore up claims to autopsy, or eyewitnessing, by claiming an uncontaminated and unmediated view. Varthema's infiltration of Muslim pilgrimage sites requires disguises that give him an unrestricted access. He assumes the guise of a Mamluk on the road from Damascus toward Mecca, probably not far from the site of the biblical Saul's own fabled conversion. This costume permits him, as a Christian, to infiltrate the Muslim pilgrimage sites and makes him privy to classified information. The dangers of travel and conducting business in the sixteenth century compelled merchants and travelers to frequent costume changes. This mercurial climate of shifting cultural, political, and religious identities must have been a familiar one to Varthema from his time in the Veneto.[17] With the many disguises he assumes *en route*, Varthema successively transforms himself into an artillery engineer, a madman, a poor Moorish beggar, a physician, a saintly Muslim, a reformed Christian renegade, and a military spy.[18] Varthema undertakes these conversions in order to give himself a rhetorically unobstructed view.

At Damascus, he joined the hajj *en route* to Medina and Mecca. His Mamluk disguise, coupled with his training in several of the local languages, allowed him to interact productively with the peoples he encountered. Varthema's multilingual ability cements the plausibility of his various disguises. These assets and the narrator's "ventriloquism," a term I use to describe untranslated passages in which Varthema reports direct speech, lend a high degree of credibility to the narrator's eyewitness claims. Varthema quotes entire passages in Arabic and various Indian dialects in the body of the text and then translates them into the language of his narrative.[19] Relaying the speech of others in their native tongues rhetorically suggests a collapse between facts and their delivery; it announces to the reader that, although the reported speech might be impenetrable to the *reader*, the author can communicate seamlessly with foreign others. This transparency shores us the truth of what he relates.

Breu's images also reproduce the truth claims that Varthema rhetorically asserts in the text. Just as disguise and ventriloquism help the narrator earn the credibility of his readers, arguing for authenticity in his report of the customs, clothing, and rituals of peoples encountered, Breu's illustrations support these claims by revealing a landscape of peoples in regional costumes engaged in local customs, unfolding from the point of view of a traveler with uncensored vision.

The View from Varthema's Spectacles

The shifting points of view expressed by early book illustration resulted from the contingencies of workshop economics where invention was generally subordinated to the expediency of recycling. Seldom the artistic product of a single illustrator, most illustrations appearing in incunables and other early printed works rarely represented a single intellectual venture. Accordingly, these early woodcuts almost never express a consistent, unified, or seamless point of view. Early printed travel accounts reported novelty as if it were revealed to an omniscient observer. In contrast to this, woodcuts based on firsthand observation made by the Utrecht artist

Erhard Reuwich for Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz, 1486), the first printed travel account we know to have been illustrated by an artist underway with the author, represents a new degree of specificity.[20] While Reuwich's illustrations reproduce places and peoples "from life," they do so in broad encyclopedic views that challenge a literal claim to eyewitness. Reuwich fashions prospects nearly impossible to have been seen from a single vantage point—double folio or even larger foldout topographic views of cities, many of which seem to have been recorded at the widest angle from a high point opposite. Reuwich's cities are perfectly centered between their borders and neatly contained; scales are regular and most cities are populated by ant-sized stick figures. Wide-angle topographic views such as these, a genre that reached its apogee in Jacopo de'Barbari's *View of Venice* from 1500, tax a literal interpretation of what it meant to view firsthand in the days before high vantages offered by helicopters and skyscrapers.[21]

Also challenging the literal claim of eyewitness in early printed book illustration was the generality implied by the repetitious use of the same illustration within the text to stand for several different things. Contemporary books, such as Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle,* reused certain images indiscriminately to gesture vaguely at a subject such as an emperor, an ancient philosopher, a temple, or a city. Recycled illustrations, cogently explored by Stephen Orgel as a mainstay of early modern print culture, function as "textual icons" that fulfilled their mandate not by describing the particularity of their subjects, but instead by demonstrating a completeness that attests to the authority of the enterprise.[22] It is to this end that the *Nuremberg Chronicle*'s compiler lets generic cities and historical figures stand in as imprecise referents for specifically captioned subjects. Whereas the generic quality of the same woodcut view that simultaneously represented Damascus, Ferrara, and Mantua sufficed for the encyclopedic *Nuremberg Chronicle,*[23] Varthema's report demanded another level of description. Repetitive illustrations functioning as descriptive placeholders in chronicles and travel accounts did not assert an author's claim to eyewitness observation.

In contrast to these pervasive generalities, Breu's original illustrations for Varthema's account confidently declared the immediacy of experience. Breu's prints posit Varthema as a protagonist with glasses, a seeing eye who takes in views and scenarios through realistic and plausible angles of perception. In short, what distinguishes Breu's enterprise is the level of specificity his illustrations attain. Breu documents what Varthema *saw* by inscribing his powers of observation from an eyewitness point of view. Without reducing his experiences to cliché or to stock motifs, Breu confirms Varthema's presence in south and southeast Asia by establishing the narrator as an embodied presence, by giving him a distinct point of view, and by disposing these foreign peoples as subjects before Varthema's very eyes. Breu reproduces the authority that Varthema established in the text, an authorial presence who interprets what he sees in an unmediated fashion. Varthema's efforts to master native languages to eliminate hearsay find a parallel in the disguises he assumes to make true eyewitnessing possible.[24] Two different points of view govern Breu's cycle for the *Travels*: one includes Varthema as an embodied presence at both the beginning and at the end as a type of framing device; the second establishes the view from his own eyes. The illustrations in the middle of the account reproduce the narrator's point of view.

The illustrations that predominate in the first part of the *Travels* picture an anthropomorphized Varthema as our guide, introducing the reader to sights along the way. For example, in the woodcut that illustrates Mohammed's tomb in Medina, Varthema appears, far left, as an embodied fingerpost (figure 5.2). With his pointing gesture, Varthema signals his refusal to be duped by an extortionist claiming that the flames emerging from the sepulcher indicate the presence of the prophet's body there. The priest proposes to a skeptical Varthema that his failure to see the supernatural light proceeding from Mohammed's tomb proves that he is a pretender to the faith. With an ironic gesture to the viewer probably equivalent to a knowing wink, Varthema shows he is unmoved by the trick and indicates that this scene reproduces someone else's vision, not his own. Theatrical asides and knowing winks were sophisticated maneuvers to convey dramatic irony to the audience and not usually the stuff of crude book illustration. Breu's illustration reveals his conviction that representation can mimic the reality of perception. In this illustration, Varthema reveals himself as the reader's guide, showing us when we can trust our eyes.

For the bulk of the narrative, however, when Varthema reaches India, Breu dispenses with him as a physical chaperone and deposits the reader in Varthema's shoes. Breu turns the events in India into a collection of social practices and customs that Varthema observed with a concomitant switch in vantage. Beginning with his arrival in India, Varthema's narrative abandons many of the picaresque elements that carried it to this point, such as the tall tales, romantic adventure, and episodes showcasing his own bravado. Autobiographical adventure gives way to description

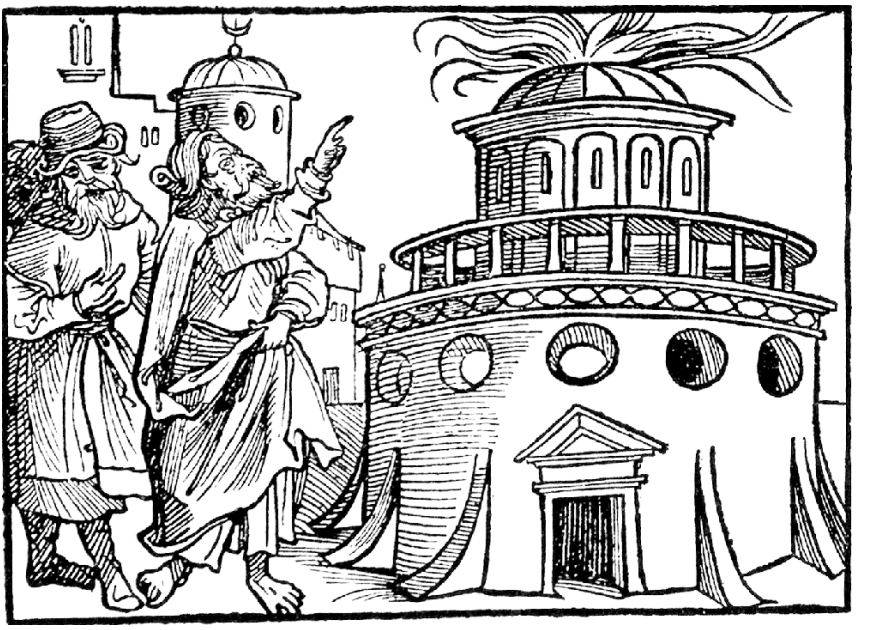


Figure 5.2 Jörg Breu, Mohammed's tomb in Medina, Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

of cultural practices and local customary oddities that the author encounters firsthand. As these snapshots of cultural and customary practice come to the forefront, Breu's focus shifts to the task of relaying customs that Varthema witnessed. Breu removes Varthema's corporeal presence from his illustrations, shifting the point of view to that of a roving protagonist.

Breu's compositional strategies posit a subjective point of view, partly by emphasizing movement. Although Breu borrows heavily from several circulating sources for his content, his compositional reworkings of these motifs point up his purpose to suggest an ambulant observer. For example, although he borrows parts of Reuwich's skylines for various Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cities, Breu never records an entire city for its topographic detail. Significantly, Breu reproduces only that portion of a view that Varthema might have seen—a spit of land spied from a ship's deck, half of a city's gate viewed from camelback, or the remnant of a coastline as a ship slips out of view. As a result, Breu's oblique views constitute new practice for book illustration—they suggest a specific viewer and the movement of that viewer against a fixed backdrop.

Breu adjusts recycled content into compositions that establish Varthema's sight lines, his eye taking in parts of cities, segments of harbors, and views of people. Breu illustrates moments of lived experience by positing a viewer with a circumscribed field of vision. Unlike Reuwich's omnisciently observed compositions, Breu presents sites as empirically observed locations and peoples as encountered specimens. A look at Breu's borrowings for his depiction of the *Natives of Calicut* (figure 5.3) gives

Figure 5.3 Jörg Breu, Natives of Calicut, Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

us a clue to how he stitches them together to suggest that a composition is viewed firsthand.

In the 1486 edition of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio,* Reuwich's woodcuts show distinct ethnic groups encountered in Jerusalem with letterpress captions that demarcate them as explicit specimens: Jews, Saracens, Abyssinians, Syrians, and Greeks. For example, the Abyssinians depicted in the first edition are labeled *figura indianorum sacerdotum* and *forma indianorum secularum.* The German translation, Breydenbach's *Reise ins Heilige Land* (Anton Sorg, 1488) printed in Breu's native Augsburg, reprints copies of the original woodcuts representing the foreign peoples but removes the captions that identified the ethnic groups in the earlier Mainz edition.[25] The same ethnic groups in the Augsburg edition are reproduced without their identifying labels, making them look less like specimens and more like peoples gesturing to each other and whose grouping is narratively motivated (figure 5.4). In the copy, we read these figures as purposefully disposed in relation to each other. The need for similar content (peoples of the Middle East) provided the impetus for Breu to appropriate Reuwich's motifs, but Breu often sought inspiration from other models in order to transform these static designs into more dynamic compositions.

Breu's compositions suggest transitory states. Recycling Reuwich's Indian priest as the model for the right-most figure in his illustration of *Natives of Calicut* (see

Figure 5.4 Copy after Erhard Reuwich, Abyssinians, Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Reise ins Heilige Land* (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1488) Munich, BSB 2 Inc.c.a.2022 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

figure 5.3), Breu integrates the figure of the priest into a narrative scene, loosening the starched drapery folds of Reuwich's standing figure into a Calicut native resting in the shade.[26] Breu borrowed this composition from circulating prints, lifting tableaux with exemplary compositions. Reuwich's image of Syrians (figure 5.5) may have served as Breu's direct precedent, or it may have come via Marcantonio Raimondi's engravings, whose broad circulation make it plausible that Breu sourced them as models for his own work. Two in particular suggest loose precedents for Breu's *Natives of Calicut*. Marcantonio's *Three Doctors* (figure 5.6), generally given the date of 1513–15, shows a group of robed doctors locked in disputation in an idyllic landscape.[27] Both the figures' robes and the rhetorical gesturing suggest the look and activity of Breu's figures, and the trees provide axes for Breu's vertical elements. Although the engraving's date provides a plausible timeline for Breu's copying in 1515, another possibility is the trio of posed river gods from Raphael's sketches of a Roman sarcophagus relief made popular in Europe by Marcantonio's *Judgment of Paris* whose date is less secure but usually given 1510–20.[28] If not as leisurely as Marcantonio's languid river gods, Breu's figures sit in the hot sun, viewed here by a transient observer. Breu's appropriation of compositional and figural models from the tradition of European printmaking betrays his ambition for compositional complexity.

Breu's taste for visually inscribing a transitory angle suggests the moment and movement of Varthema's eyewitnessing. Rarely neatly contained within their

Figure 5.5 Copy after Reuwich, Syrians, Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Reise ins Heilige Land* (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1488) Munich, BSB 2 Inc.c.a.2022 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

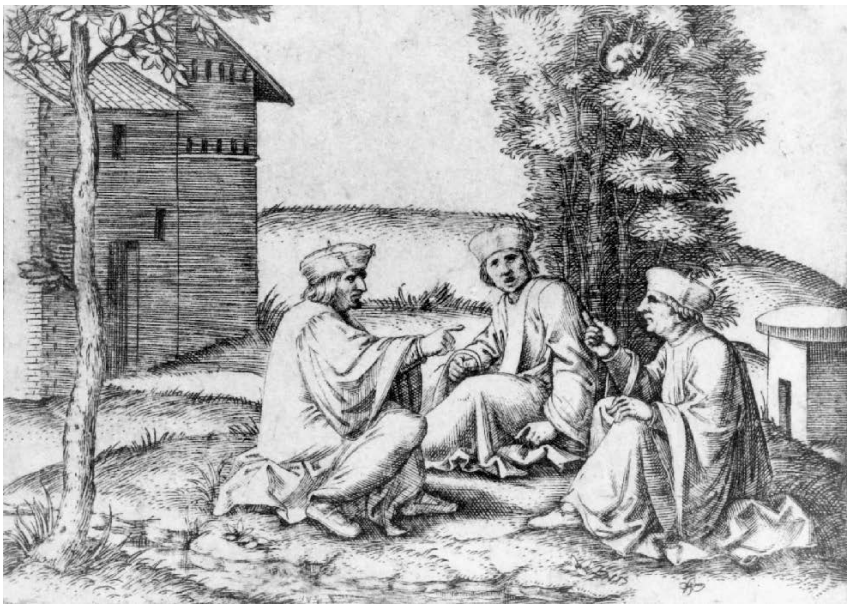


Figure 5.6 Marcantonio Raimondi, *Three Doctors*, engraving, c. 1513–15, 74 x 102 mm (*Photo credit*: The Warburg Institute)

boundaries, Breu's compositions reflect the point of view of someone who has tripped on the scene almost accidentally. From the point of view of Varthema, the viewer alights on a gathering of Indian and Arab traders on the shore just off Calicut (figure 5.7). Here, the viewer greets the stiff partner of Reuwich's Abyssinian (see figure 5.4), now animated with the narrative gestures of a man bargaining. Furthermore, the cropped composition suggests a temporally bound scene—the viewer's angle of approach truncates the galleon. The viewer's vantage unveils this perspective of the shore and the ship. Radically cropped sailors adjusting the rigging reinforce the temporality of this glimpsed scene.

Through unorthodox framing and shifting point of views, Breu implies a mobile spectator at a specific moment, rather than a perfectly situated omniscient viewer. A woodcut demonstrating how rice is sown in Calicut (figure 5.8) provides an example of the compositional changes Breu introduced into book illustration. In contrast to an earlier illustration of a similar scene in Virgil's *Opera* showing the season's labors (Strasbourg: Grüninger, 1502) (figure 5.9), Breu models his bodies, shading them with cross-hatchings—suggesting the sun's angle at a particular time of day. Furthermore, Breu's image does not constrain his subject within the bounds of a frame. The cropped tree in the background and the even more dramatically cropped foreground oxen are truncated to suggest that they flash past an observer's line of sight—a prospect that will have altered within the space of a few seconds when the sower and his plow move out of view.

Figure 5.7 Jörg Breu, Traders in Calicut, Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515). Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Figure 5.8 Jörg Breu, Sowing Rice in Calicut, Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Figure 5.9 Virgil, *Opera* (Strasbourg: Grüninger, 1502). Princeton: Junius Morgan Collection, 2945.1502.4q (*Photo credit*: Princeton University Library)

Breu had already explored strategies for creating dynamic movement through radical cropping in an earlier woodcut cycle for *Fortunatus* (Augsburg: Hans Otmar, 1509). This chivalric tale, considered the first prose novel in the German vernacular, follows the travels of the protagonist Fortunatus to the Near and Far East. Breu's early experiments with inscribing temporality in the *Fortunatus* illustrations often result in awkward compositions. Breu frequently subverts the compositional weight of the center—a place viewers traditionally looked for emphasis. For example, in his woodcut of a man carting off a dead body, the figure's placement at the far left to suggest movement, leaves a strange void in the center (figure 5.10). Breu sacrifices traditional compositional models for narrative concerns, such as depicting quick action. The dramatically cropped foreman at the prow of the ship in an illustration of Fortunatus's departure to Alexandria (figure 5.11) serves as a compositional solution for the ship's rapid movement out of the scene.[29]

Breu's unorthodox cropping is emblematic of the new perspectives that Varthema brought home from India; he treats the prow of the skiff that pokes into view on the shore at Calicut in a similar way in a woodcut for the Varthema cycle, positing a viewer at a specific moment (figure 5.12) and thus privileges the immediacy of experience. Never before had a foreign locale such as India, so given over to legend and fantasy, been rendered as a function of a viewer's direct and temporally bound experience. Breu's illustration of the Middle East and India represents the first printed treatment of these places to reproduce a traveler's movements and moments of perception, revealed to the reader as the author's visual impressions. Breu elevated the casual glimpse to the level of descriptive authority in order to establish the perspective of the eyewitness.

Figure 5.10 Jörg Breu, Andrean with the body of a dead man, *Fortunatus* (Augsburg: Hans Otmar, 1509) BSB, Rar. 480 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

Figure 5.11 Jörg Breu, Fortunatus departing for Alexandria, *Fortunatus* (Augsburg: Hans Otmar, 1509) BSB, Rar. 480 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

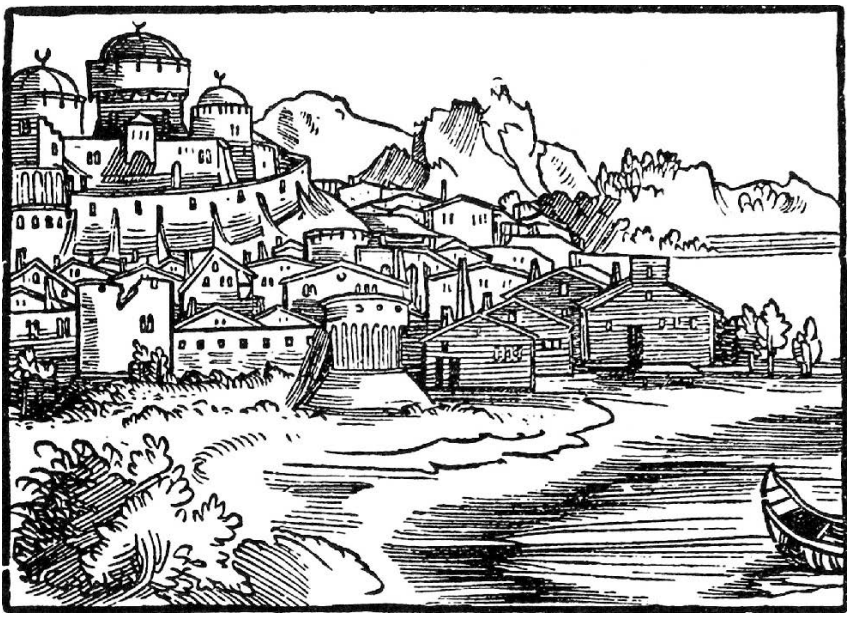


Figure 5.12 Jörg Breu, Arrival in Calicut, Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Charting Costumes, Castes, and Customs

Breu's strategy of representing firsthand observation, coupled with his new human subjects, lays the groundwork for what later becomes ethnography. Topographic description of the world had been the illustrative mainstay of travel accounts. As we have seen, earlier illustrated travel accounts of pilgrims' journeys through the Holy Land, like Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio,* expressed the journey through highly detailed topographical views and prospects of exotic architecture. Breu might also have concentrated his artistic efforts on landscape, as Varthema's journey passes through very palpably described topographies. Through Varthema, the reader learns of the agricultural splendors of Damascus and the profusion of local fruits and nuts due to the comparative abundance of water; he tells of the architectural anomalies that make the city worth visiting and the holy sites of interest to Christian pilgrims. Breu's illustrations take another focus; instead of describing topography, they concentrate on the narrator's episodes of contact with his foreign hosts and different cultures.

But how to untangle and clearly express the variety of peoples Varthema encountered? One mode of characterizing this contact with foreign others was to map their distinctiveness on their bodies. The attention given to dress in the description of far away peoples, especially in the degree to which Western Europeans perceived their eastern counterparts to be elaborately covered, established the body as a site of difference and, therefore, dress as a category of curiosity. Printed costume books

that chronicled and pictured indigenous dress on pairs of men and women of the world's regions, started to circulate in the mid-sixteenth century, although earlier ethnographic attention paid to dress can be found in other sources.[30] By the second half of the sixteenth century, a preoccupation with distinguishing costume fed a fascination with geographical classification.[31] This was particularly the case in large urban centers like Venice where costume books became handy field guides for referencing national identities. In early modern cities thick with foreign communities, the guide could be both useful in terms of distinguishing peoples from each other but could also encourage xenophobia by ridiculing foreign fashion that threatened the local character.[32] The notional jurisdictions or imagined communities created by costumes in metropolitan centers, according to Bronwen Wilson, formed more stable contours than the shifting national geographical boundaries of early modern Europe. Diagrams of dress become increasingly standardized, purposefully so, to promote comparison, to mark differences, and to call attention to similarities.[33] From here, it was a small step to then attach emblems of moral values to costume.

While Breu's Varthema cycle cannot be considered a costume book in the strict sense, the artist certainly operated with a similar mandate as the costume book illustrator: to untangle the panoply of people and places observed. Because Breu himself was not privy to firsthand views, Breu constructs his own images of their identities. In his travels, Varthema came across Mamluks, Arabs, Bedouins, Hindus, as well as Southeast Asians. Breu's need to distinguish among them discouraged the use of simple formulaic inversions of European cultural norms to depict these non-Europeans. His solution was to construct a visual system by which to organize his subjects, a system that edited Varthema's impressions for clarity and consistency. His illustrations expressed and distinguished cultural difference, first and foremost, through costume.

Breu finds in costume a way to visually chart human variety, but also a method of categorizing cultural difference. In depicting the Mamluks, a dynasty of converted Christian soldiers Varthema encountered in Cairo and Damascus, Breu uses ornate and orientalizing dress. He depicts a Mamluk sultan of Cairo surrounded by courtiers wrapped in voluminous robes and turbans carrying swords (figure 5.13).[34] This dress is repeated in an illustration that introduces Mamluks in Damascus (figure 5.14). Despite the fact that Varthema lavishes one of his more descriptive explanations on the dress of the Mamluks in Damascus,[35] Breu disregards Varthema's prescription in favor of a visual source that claimed to reproduce Levantine inhabitants faithfully: again, the illustrations the Utrecht artist Erhard Reuwich made for Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*. Breu lifts both the turbaned male and his female consort directly from Reuwich's depictions of Saracens living in Jerusalem (figure 5.15). Although these Saracens provided a culturally imprecise prototype for Breu's Damascene Mamluks, Breu borrows costumes he assumed to be representative.[36]

Costume is the local variable that shepherds the reader through the diverse cultures and social groups that Varthema encounters. Costume changes propel the narrative through space and through time, distinguishing enemy territory, marking alliances, and signaling geographic shifts. Once Varthema reaches India, however,

Figure 5.13 Jörg Breu, Sultan of Cairo, Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Figure 5.14 Jörg Breu, Mamluks in Damascus, Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Figure 5.15 Copy after Erhard Reuwich, Saracens, Bernard von Breydenbach, *Reise ins Heilige Land* (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1488). Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.c.a.2022 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

Breu distinguishes dress more systematically in order to parse finer differences. Whereas Varthema's narrative reveals a sophisticated familiarity with the stratifications of the caste system in Calicut, he provides the artist few clues about how to distinguish them pictorially.[37] Breu's illustrations assume the initiative to untangle Varthema's pictorial journey through India's complex caste system, differentiating among Brahman, Nair, Tiva, Poliar, and Hirava.

For the many peoples Varthema encountered in India, Breu develops a visual taxonomy of costumes whose individual elements were borrowed from familiar iconographic precedents. He casts a wide net in his selection of images for depicting India's array of social castes; among these are motifs that encode frequently misplaced, but more importantly, authentic, ethnographic information. Although Breu frequently cloaks the peoples of India in geographically inaccurate garb, more than anything, dress attempts to articulate and order the socioeconomic complexities of the Hindu caste system through a series of sartorial prescriptions.

In order to parse social strata, Breu defines types broadly. For example, two differently attired groups of figures attend a fire altar in the king's palace (figure 5.16). Bearded attendants in wide-sleeved long robes, presumably Brahmans, stand opposite three men in feathered skirts, capes, and headdresses on the right. Breu uses the feather-skirted costumes to signify a different order of society from the

Figure 5.16 Jörg Breu, Fire Altar in the Palace of the King of Calicut, Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

robed attendants. With these differences in dress, Breu pictures this court with the classificatory markings and labor divisions endemic to a European court. Clothes inform the viewer that social, cultural or economic distinction characterizes their difference. By making these distinctions, Breu structures a system with internal consistency.

Breu's hierarchy of Indian castes incorporates—indeed relies on—ethnographic data. His appropriation of the stereotypical feather skirt and cape motif exposes the logic of his broad taxonomic thinking. Popularized in Europe after its initial introduction in a broadsheet first printed in Augsburg in 1505, the feather costume was originally used to depict a tribe of Tupinamba Indians that Vespucci encountered in Brazil (see plate 3). Artifacts such as skirts, feather capes, clubs, and shields circulating in Augsburg had led to modified forms of the skirt and cape in artistic representation.[38] The feather costume was subsequently used by German illustrators throughout the first decades of the sixteenth century as shorthand to designate the inhabitants of the New World, or for natives of many distant lands more generally, a symptom of the "tupinambization" of all of these foreign types.[39] Varthema's claim that India was populated by scantily-clad inhabitants apparently recommended the costume's use in this context.

Breu applies the feather costume selectively in order to refine caste distinctions. A scene illustrating a creditor trying to collect from his debtor shows a man outfitted in Tupinamba garb trapped in a circle inscribed on the ground (figure 5.17). A similarly attired figure appears in the procession of King of Ioghe (figure 5.18).

Figure 5.17 Jörg Breu, Crime and Punishment in Calicut Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Figure 5.18 Jörg Breu, King of Ioghe. Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Variation in each appearance of the costume, created by the array of headdress types and selective inclusion of feather anklets, frustrates a precise correlation of this costume to a specific caste. Therefore, the relationship of the wearer of the costume to other figures seems to be a flexible and relative one, distinguishing one social group when multiple ones inhabit the same space.

Breu uses costume in conjunction with assigned divisions of labor to complete his definition of caste. Lower castes, such as the Poliar (Pulayan), a caste of cultivators and day laborers, and the Hirava (see Fig 5.8), are designated by simple waist coverings and the work in which they are engaged, such as sowing rice.[40] Breu both designs and assigns dress to appropriate occupation or status. For example, Brahman temple attendants appear as bearded figures draped in robes; the warrior class, the Nairs, appear as defense units clad in helmets, cuirasses with lances, and halberds (figure 5.19). Breu's illustrations organize the peoples Varthema encountered into a social hierarchy, subordinating their individual identities to the larger socioeconomic constellation that contained them.

Designs whose express purpose is to illustrate a variety of social types provide the best evidence we have that Breu's costumes function as caste markers. In a print headlining Varthema's return to Calicut, variation in dress permits us to identify this scene as a collection of various natives of Calicut (see figure 5.3). This composition is a pastiche of models drawn from different sources, but the reader now understands that this array of costumes alludes to castes. The feather-caped figure is now familiar from other illustrations and probably represents a member of a caste

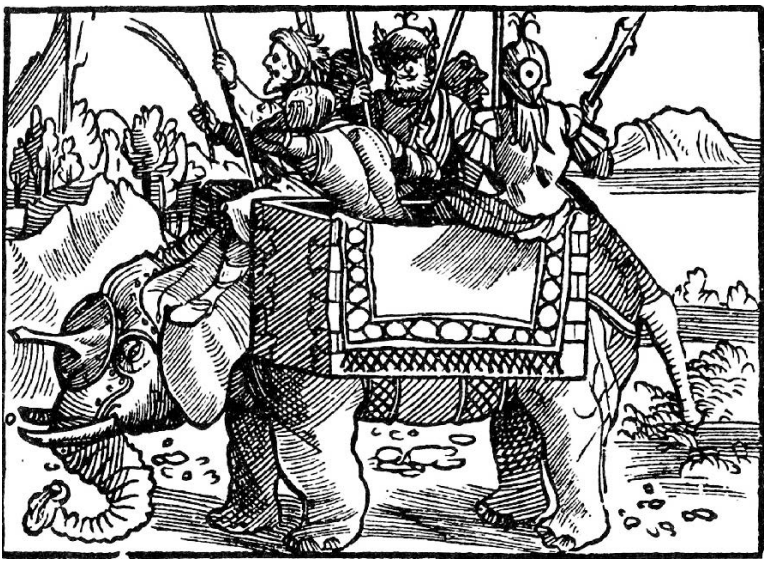


Figure 5.19 Jörg Breu, Nairs and the War Elephant. Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

that attends Brahmans. The Brahman sitting beneath the thatched umbrella, or *chattra,* borrows a mantle from Reuwich's Abyssinian "priest" (see figure 5.4).[41] Perhaps the dress of this higher-ranking figure was motivated by the label that originally accompanied it, *figura indianorum sacerdotum*; thus, Breu uses it to suggest a priestly Brahman. Appropriating familiar costumed types from pilgrim and merchant accounts, as well as popular broadsheets, Breu forges a cross section of the population while alluding to class difference among them.[42]

Employing these different costumes to mark class and social divisions, Breu's images begin to configure an ennunciative field of the type that Foucault says articulates an area of discourse. Breu's artistic choices are informed by intellectual queries about the structure of these foreign societies, and his images testify to his proto-ethnographic visual thinking. India's caste system was a classification for which European observers had only their own social ordering as an interpretive point of departure. It was the artist's job to establish the logic needed to organize the socioeconomic hierarchy that India's caste system entailed. Breu captures the visual complexity of a highly stratified society, identifying the various strata by dress and distinguishing occupation of its members. Because visual cues that might identify a specific caste sometimes appear in jumbled combinations frustrating a one-to-one correspondence, it appears as though Breu uses costumes not so much to refer to a specific external reality but in order to mark differences in his own taxonomy. Confusion arises when Breu subordinates consistency in his depictions to the immediate demands of the narrative. Resulting inconsistencies are best seen as expediencies forged by the strains of new demands—for instance, when the need for a feather costume to represent a specific caste is trumped by the demand to distinguish among mixed castes.

Of course, we cannot say that Breu was attempting anything like systematic ethnography with the numerous images of people he appropriated to populate the region of the Indian Ocean, but it is equally clear that he was attempting to make sense of the many social divisions into which Varthema's text had splintered India. The customary types he borrowed allowed Breu to develop internal structural distinctions in which fidelity to a specific external reality was not the point.[43] In this way, Breu acknowledged the heterogeneity of a culturally complex society.

To early modern Europe, India was a corner of the world not overrun with the footprints of pilgrims or crusaders bound for the Holy Land, and, therefore, a territory ripe for visual explication. Correspondingly, Breu devoted the majority of his prints to this segment of Varthema's journey. As India was the site of much local enthusiasm in Augsburg, mercantile as well as intellectual, it is easy to see how a local artist like Breu might have been similarly preoccupied with its description.[44] The commodities that Europeans sought in this agricultural *entrepôt* drove its reputation for excess; India was a place whose profusion of raw materials held the promise of extraordinary profit. In spite of legendary exaggeration of India's abundance by German merchants and agents in the early sixteenth century, as Christine Johnson argues, it was calculable and held "accountable."[45] Artists, perhaps prompted by mercantile communities, also tried to account for it. Instead of dignifying reports of fabulous wealth, Breu contextualized the peoples of India by establishing their relationship to their natural resources and their customs.[46]

Varthema's record of the vast array of India's regional customs notes things of obvious interest to a European merchant, such as methods of shipbuilding, trade and exchange, raw materials, and exports. In addition to India's agricultural products, however, he also notes the manner of sowing and harvesting, food preparation, eating habits, details of royal succession, and mourning the dead. Although Varthema also records local peculiarities such as polygamy and polyandry, in the main, Breu avoids depicting events whose iconography would have been remote to European viewers in favor of recognizable ones.[47]

Breu's illustrations condense Varthema's rambling observations into a disciplined catalogue of regional particularities and peculiarities. In a chapter on the elephants of Vijayanagar, Varthema reports many things that would seem alien to a European reader: the sheer number of them (the king alone owns four hundred!), their dimensions, their birthing practices, their enemies, how to tame them, their eating habits, their incredible strength, their value and function as gifts, and even their intelligence and moral character. The one commensurable detail that Varthema provides is the clue to iconographic familiarity that Breu seeks: the way Indian elephants are armed for war mimics the fashion in which mules are outfitted in the kingdom of Naples. In the accompanying illustration of how the locals marshal their resources for war, Breu shows an elephant domesticated by the warrior caste in Narsinga (see figure 5.19). Breu depicts the elephant armoured as a tank with saddle-like harnesses that provide platforms for attacking. Varthema's praise of the fine-tuned channels of communication the warriors maintain with the elephant finds a visual equivalent in Breu's tractable elephant.[48] Breu's elephant stands as a testament to the ingenuity and invention of the Narsingans, as well as showing a characteristic arm of their war machinery.

Breu tempers the oddities that Varthema encounters in India by expressing them to the viewer in familiar terms. The sixteenth-century German reader already had ideas of what an elephant looked like, even if he had never seen one outfitted as a war machine *per se*. Images of harnessed elephants were not uncommon in Europe, familiar from earlier printed travel accounts, and the print series *Triumph of Caesar* (Venice, 1504) by Benedetto Bordon and Jacobus Argentorantensis (see figure 4.6), and, of course, Hans Burgkmair's woodcut of the *Natives of India with Camel and Elephant* (see figure 4.2). Breu inserts this elephant into its cultural context. Unlike the isolated wonder of the East familiar from travel accounts or a token of imperial display, Breu's elephant is a natural resource *in situ*. Laden with the weight of lances and halberds, Breu's elephant aids an indigenous population preparing for war. By creating a natural and cultural habitat for previously remote and exotic species, Breu's illustrations unburden India as a land of marvelous beasts and exotic peoples.

The economic prospects of sea-trade with India, however, merely strengthened the idea of an essentialized India in Europe. This was a place whose hoards of precious minerals and spices would be exploited and hyperbolized by European commentators.[49] Varthema, too, spills much ink on prosaic, factual accounting of natural resources he encountered in India. Breu, however, creates a context for India's natural resources by expressing these novelties in terms of their cultural function. Breu naturalizes the foreign aspect of Indian cultures by emphasizing their

similarity to European practice and especially by demonstrating human agency over natural resources.

Often overriding emphasis provided by the text, Breu puts a human face on India and inserts customary practice into his illustrations. For example, Varthema's chapter devoted to the coconut tree reads as encomium to the fruit: *Chapter of the most useful tree that I believe exists on earth* (42r). Varthema abruptly interrupts the narrative flow of his own adventure to segue into a discrete, informational, almost encyclopedic, entry on the coconut tree. In recounting the myriad uses that are made of it, Varthema appreciatively hyperbolizes its merits, explaining its growth pattern and the high cultural esteem accorded it. In contrast to this, Breu's illustration embeds the coconut tree in the context of the local custom in Calicut (see figure 5.20). In its native habitat, Breu's coconut palm appears morphologically distinct from its surrounding flora. A native harvester from the Poliar caste in the act of splitting the fruit provides a visual explanation of how this resource fits into its cultural context.

Breu shows native flora as part of a local scene, while other contemporary printed illustrations of exotic plant life from these regions presented them as isolated specimens. Contemporary depictions of similar subjects pointed to a different set of concerns. Compare, for example, Wolf Traut's illustration of a tree for Balthasar Springer's 1509 pamphlet version of *Die Merfart* (figure 5.21). The tree first appears in the text opposite passages about the area around Africa's cape, described as a land of sweet-smelling herbs.[50] The same illustration appears two pages later, this

Figure 5.20 Jörg Breu, Coconut Harvest in Calicut. Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Figure 5.21 Wolf Traut, Coconut palm, for Balthasar Springer, *Die Merfart* (Augsburg, 1509). BSB, Munich, Rar. 470 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

time to accompany passages about palms that grow near Mombassa. Repeated use of the tree in Springer's pamphlet suggests that it synecdotally refers to agricultural abundance rather than to a specific type of tree. Traut has provided scant visual cues that might give scale or distinguish this flora as an herb variety, a palm, or even a low-growing pepperbush. The geographical and species ambiguity served the economic imperatives of the printer well, allowing him to reuse it for convenience, a strategy employed by many of the early printed herbals of the mid sixteenth century.[51] While Traut provides no point of reference, Breu situates botanical and ethnographic novelty against its localized and customary backdrop. Rather than a specimen divorced from its habitat, Breu's coconut tree thrives only within the context of local custom and labor practice.

In effect, Breu's illustrations of local customs in India knit together and unify Varthema's somewhat freely associated chapters. The illustration accompanying the chapter on harvesting cloves in the Moluccas (figure 5.22) contextualizes this custom. While Varthema's text discourses on the particulars of the stature of the clove tree and the shape of its leaves, Breu records the custom of spreading sheets out beneath the trees to gather the buds after they have been beaten from the leaves with sticks. Varthema frequently announces that he is recording local practice. For example, one chapter promises to illuminate the "custom" by which rice is sown in Calicut (see figure 5.8). Breu's illustration incorporates the text's references to local customary practice—in this case, showing men dressed as demons chanting loudly to stimulate the harvest. Overall, Breu visually cements the analogies between India and Europe asserted by Varthema's claim that the locals "till the land or harvest with oxen, after our own practice."[52] What better

Figure 5.22 Jörg Breu, Clove Harvest in the Moluccas. Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

way to shore up this association than by using motifs of farming familiar from circulating prints, such as those from Virgil's *Opera* (see figure 5.9)? Varthema's declarations of commensurability set the bar for a parity that Breu must establish in his illustrations.

Relativizing Cultural Practice

Contemporary collectors of the world's manners and customs called upon familiar paradigms in order to describe foreign customs. Cosmographers engaged in critical inquiry about the world's cultures and societies assembled and processed information about ritual, religion, food, political organization, regulations, and customs of diet, dress, and shelter from various regions and collected them into systematic paradigms.[53] In the category of religion, the cosmographer recorded what he could infer about belief systems from rituals and ceremonies. Customs noteworthy to European observers included ceremonies and kinship structures associated with marriage and the raising of families; and the rituals, superstitions, and beliefs associated with the disposal of the dead. Frequently relying on merchants and other adventurers for their raw data, the collectors of these customs had to make organizational and visual sense of the chaos of cosmographic and ethnological information.[54]

Certain customs described by Varthema, such as *suttee*, idolatry, and cannibalism, were sensational practices by which India's distance from western culture had been

measured since antiquity. To these customs, previously singled out for their harshness and cruelty, Breu brings a new aspect of cultural investigation distinct from vilifying moral judgments. Breu embedded these rituals into the context of other cultural practice generally and avoided the iconographic flourishes that historically served to disparage them as signs of abject difference. As a result, the proximity to Western custom suggested by Breu's illustrations relativized Varthema's interpretations of these practices.

Breu's record of penal customs in India shows how justice is executed in Calicut (see figure 5.17). Breu's illustration of how a creditor seeks reparations compresses both the charge against the debtor and retribution in the same compositional space. After the creditor has announced the debt to a Brahman acting as a judge, he can attempt to seek justice himself. Breu's illustration records this custom: the creditor draws a circle on the ground around his debtor with a tree branch—a ritual that mandates the settlement of the debt within its confines—or the defaulter may risk his fate outside the circle. Next to this, Breu provides an example of punishment for a more serious crime: murder; in the right half of the same illustration, the limp bodies of two offenders hang from stakes. Although this impaling seems brutal, Breu employs terms familiar to European readers to illustrate local customs, as his motif recalls the two thieves in Crucifixion scenes.

Other ethnographic practices that were routinely recorded in India since antiquity, such as in Herodotus' *Histories* (c. 431–425 BCE), were rituals of marriage and funeral rites. The description of the Hindu practice of *suttee,* the ritual self-immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre, spoke to both of these categories of ethnographic inquiry. While historians are almost certain that Varthema did not witness an instance of *suttee,* the fact that he does not omit it suggests that tradition put certain expectations on eyewitness reports.[55] Varthema's inclusion of *suttee* next to many other detailed and empirically observed practices testifies to the tenacity of the rhetoric of what the eyewitness expected to see in India. Breu's depiction of the ritual shows a woman consumed by a fiery blaze, whose death is hastened by two helpers, as both a demon and a king look on (figure 5.23). Breu's search for a familiar iconographic parallel led him to a European custom that may have suggested to him an equally barbarous act: witch burning.

When Strabo recorded the custom of *suttee* for the Western world at the end of first century BCE, it was a ritual of limited practice observed primarily by widows of the *ksatriya* (warrior) class.[56] Through the centuries, accounts of *suttee* proliferated, began to apply more universally to the entire region of India, and grew into a headlining marker of India's alterity. At a significant cultural remove from European custom, *suttee* invited exaggerations in accounts reporting it that were intended to shock their European readers. The sources most significant for Varthema's account were probably the reports of Pedro Alvares Cabral and Nicolo dei Conti. Cabral recorded the mass immolation of the many wives of a "great and powerful king who is called Naramega [Narasimha], and they are idolaters . . . the day he dies, they burn him and all of his (200–300) wives with him. And this custom prevails for nearly all the others who are married when they die."[57] The attribution of this practice to idolaters, per accounts like Cabral's, probably invested the *suttee* with a valence of human sacrifice.

Figure 5.23 Jörg Breu, Suttee. Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Nicolo dei Conti's *India Recognita*, on the other hand, tempered *suttee*'s otherness and brutality by ascribing free will to its practitioners; Conti describes *suttee* as a fate voluntarily chosen by its participants.[58] Conti's ascription of the widow's free will was an attempt to mitigate the alienation that historically characterized the practice. Varthema's account also refers to "the woman who wishes to immolate herself thus," and ascribes her good natured preparations for the event to an anticipation of salvation that sounds suspiciously Christian: "the woman executes this with fearless composure together with joy, which she would not do if she did not believe from that moment that she would be assumed into heaven."[59] The recognition of this free will in anthropological discourse, according to Rubiés, and the "acceptance of diverse beliefs in diverse social contexts raises (at least potentially) the possibility of relativism."[60]

Eschewing the hyperbole of Cabral's account, Breu's print of *suttee* restricts the spectatorship to a few bystanders who encourage a reluctant widow into the flames. Breu's representation includes the incidental staffage mentioned in Varthema's text, iconography that he directly cribs from contemporary circulating depictions of witch burning. Ulrich Tengler's *Der neü Layenspiegel* (Augsburg: M. Hupfuff, 1511) was a contemporary German text that compiled for the layman all relevant writings on local laws in the civil, penal, and public arena that would allow him to defend himself in court without representation.[61] This would have been a provocative source for Breu to consult on juridical policy and ideas of crime and punishment. Hans Schäufelein's illustration accompanies sections of the manual that relate to

Figure 5.24 Hans Schäufelein, Ulrich Tengler, *Der neü Layenspiegel* (Augsburg, 1511) Augsburg, SuSTB, 2 Rw 628 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

heresy (*ketzerei*) and shows a host of atrocities. These scenes of magic and witchcraft offered prospective iconographic possibilities for Breu for both witch burning and the demons associated with the practice of sorcery (figure 5.24).[62] Homegrown images of witches, especially ones like Schäufelein's, sometimes compressed representations of witch burnings and the preternatural demons that guided their actions into the same composition. In his own illustration, Breu elided several elements of the witch trial, including the demon and the flame pit.[63]

Breu's reuse of recognizable iconography reconstructed the Hindu widow burning ritual along the lines of a European practice, and, in doing so, reconciled *suttee* to a European horizon of experience.[64] From the perspective of the reader, whatever his or her opinion of the misogyny that drove witch hunts or widow burning, Breu's illustrations show these rituals as no more alien than certain barbaric traditions closer to home. As a result, they would not have seemed so foreign, or as reprehensible. It would be difficult for European viewers to assert a moral high ground to *suttee* when faced with an image that reflected the cruelties of witch hunts back to them. In fact, it would have made life in India seem very much like life at home.

Varthema's account of the *suttee* divorces the custom from the religious idolatry with which it was historically linked in earlier accounts like Cabral's. Varthema files his record of *suttee* between other practices; nestled in his travel account, it figures as part of a larger discussion of local Hindu rituals, coming on the heels of a description of the cremation of the dead in urban centers and preceding a chapter dealing with the region's juridical practice. *Suttee* was portrayed without any obvious connections to religious customs. Breu produced a view of a local custom that he neither endorses nor excoriates. In any event, it is no more loaded than the *auto da fé* that served as its iconographic precedent.

Religious Diversity

Varthema's contribution to ethnographic reportage, argues Joan-Pau Rubiés, resides in his role as a vernacular traveler who shifted the burden of interpretation away from defining cultures in terms of religion. We find evidence of this in the ease with which Varthema ceded his own religious identity in order to be able to observe new ones. Early modern European response to Islamic religions in south Asia reduced the sum of Islamic cultural practice to religious difference. This dialectic was indebted to Crusader rhetoric that drove the view of Islamic alterity as heathen, or per its early modern etymology, non-Christian.

Hinduism presented interpretive problems of a different order, as Indian religions were more often characterized as gentile, or non-Islamic. In fact, the first European eyewitness accounts of Indian religions willfully mistook what they found there for Christianity. Blinded by his fervent search for Christians, Vasco da Gama remained convinced that the Hindus he encountered on the Malabar coast *were* in fact Christians, if a bit less firm in the faith, and held Hinduism for a deviant strain of Christianity.[65] Expressed through the lens of earlier European reports, critiques of Hindu practice focused on the idolatry of its practitioners. While Varthema would agree that idolatry could broadly be said to distinguish these gentiles from their European counterparts, nonetheless Varthema found in the strains of Hinduism

in Vigayanagara a religious diversity of too great a complexity to be contained by the essentializing model by which Islam's departure from Christianity was made manifest. Breu's depictions were accordingly far more nuanced than the simple opposition implied by a religion dominated by idolaters and echoed the complexity of what Varthema found there.[66]

Breu showcases diverse practices in Indian religions, and in this vein, he echoes Varthema's recognition of numerous sects in India. Varthema describes the various sects he encounters as distinct groups with particular sets of practices, for instance, the Jainists, whom he does not dismiss as irredeemable, "The Gujarati (who at this time are living in Cambay) are neither Moors, nor Jews, nor Christians and I think that if they had been baptized, they would be very holy people."[67] Commensurability expressed through passages such as these militate against Breu's understanding of cultures as the binary inversion of the interpreter, a claim implicit in the epithet heathen.

Varthema, unlike da Gama, recognized the heterogeneity implicit in the Hindu customs of the Malabar Coast. Varthema's chapter title, *Of the King of Calicut and the spirituality of his peoples and their beliefs*, is a revealingly unbiased introduction to passages that discuss Hindu spirituality. Varthema did not view Hinduism as a heterodoxy that governed secular practice, but as a part of a hierarchical culture shaped by complex ritual and social practices. Although the Indian religions were remote from Christianity, according to Breu's illustrations, religion was just one among many social practices that distinguished Indians from Europeans. Rather than using religion to define absolute alterity, Breu used it instead to parse the heterogeneities present in Hindu culture.

Many of Breu's illustrations of Indian gods descend directly from the iconographic tradition of Western demons; some critics say that his images were cued by certain binary inversions that characterized Varthema's response to these cultures.[68] According to Varthema, the *deumo* to whom the people of Calicut pray is an evocation of a devil sent by the creator into the world to administer justice. Breu's woodcut features a claw-footed demon, a *Mischwesen* with hairy arms and feathery thighs. Horns protrude from a head topped by a triple crown (figure 5.25). The beast maneuvers one of the many miniature, naked souls beneath him into his maw with the left claw, while snatching another with his right. An altar of flames smokes on one side, and an attendant swings an incense burner before him on the other.

Searching for recognizable prototypes, Breu, as he regularly did, dipped into the European iconographic repertoire. In order to furnish this Indian god with the gestalt of a typical demon, Breu appropriated motifs from temptations of St. Anthony or from Last Judgment imagery. Breu also crowns the *deumo* with the triple tiara similar to that worn by the Pope and parodied by contemporary antipapal propaganda.[69] Similarly crowned demons later appeared in Reformation broadsheets that satirize the Pope by transforming him into in the body of dragons, wolves, or foxes, such as we see on the title page of the polemical pamphlet, *Das Wolffgesang* (figure 5.26).[70] Therefore Breu's motif of a crowned beast was ambiguous even in Europe, shifting shapes between demons and the spiritual head of the Christian church; beasts frequently surfaced in the diet of images they were fed

Figure 5.25 Jörg Breu, The *deumo* in Calicut. Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

and viewers were taught that they had to puzzle out these meanings. Breu routinely based his illustrations on familiar visual models fact checked against Varthema's descriptions—it should not surprise us that Breu also cobbled together Indian idols from local sources that described demonic behavior; after all, images of portents and prodigies were abundant in pre-Reformation Augsburg.

The Western models by which Varthema was bound, according to Joan-Pau Rubiés, made interpretive inversions of his own religion inevitable and explain Breu's presentation of Hindu gods in terms of Christian demonology.[71] But an interpretive move that stresses Indian veneration of "idols" as a strict ideological inversion of Christian worship fails to consider it within the contemporary religious climate in Europe, or even within European print culture. Although Marco Polo and Mandeville characterized these peoples as idolaters who worship the first thing they see in the morning, how much and what kind of alterity would this express to Christendom's practitioners of superstitions that involved similar acts? The spiritual life of Breu's own community and culture was bolstered by such superstitions and a variety of visual media were designed to ward off evil and prevent bad luck. Breu himself, in the capacity of a painter of religious images, was responsible for one of the colossal representations of St. Christopher that decorated the walls of Augsburg churches—an effigy often painted on the nave's rear wall in support of a popular belief that a daily glimpse of the saint would stave off sudden illness or unredeemed death.[72] Why should Breu's depictions of Hinduism avoid this sympathy?

Figure 5.26 Anon., Joachim Vadianus, *Das Wolffgesang* (Augsburg: Ulhart, 1522). Augsburg, SuSTB 4 Th H 2785 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Figure 5.27 Jörg Breu, Pilgrimage to the *deumo* in Calicut. Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Breu's illustrations also recognize a complexity of structure and a context for these Hindu gods. Breu, rather than pointing up unequivocal differences, builds analogical bridges between Indian culture and his own.

Breu cements cultural similarities in images that stress likeness rather than difference. Another image of the *deumo* accompanies a chapter entitled *Pilgrimage the people of Calicut make for pardon and for indulgences* (figure 5.27). Varthema's account of this rite characterizes the procession as a pilgrimage and likens the host temple to S. Giovanni in Laterno in Rome, aligning this Hindu ritual with a Christian one by comparing it to a popular European pilgrim destination. Breu's illustration of this annual religious rite depicts a robed figure kneeling before a demon seated on a dais. Varthema's descriptions of ritual cleansing, sacrifice, and supplicants hurling themselves in the dust would easily have lent themselves to more overt expressions of difference, but Breu's illustrations remain squarely within European pictorial convention. Breu chooses, instead, a quiet moment of prayer before an animated idol.

A scene of worship such as this would have been familiar to most European viewers in the shape of one of the most popular devotional images of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the image of the Mass of St. Gregory (Dürer's from 1511, for example), whose vision of an apparition of the crucified savior sealed his belief in Christ's real presence in the Eucharist.[73] Broadsheets from the first few decades of the sixteenth century, years fraught with the debate over the power of images, show a number of people entering into affective personal relationships with devotional

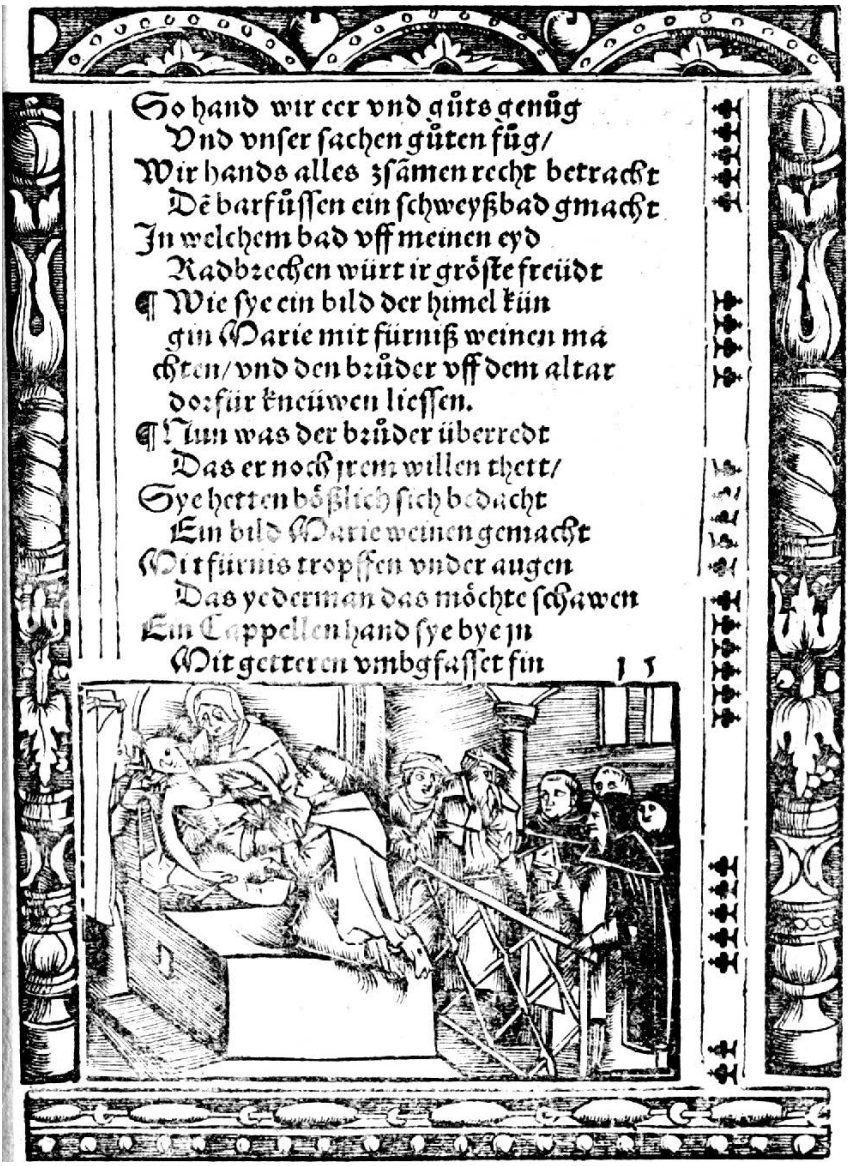


Figure 5.28 Thomas Murner, *History von den fier Ketzren* (Strassbourg, 1509), pamphlet. Munich, BSB, Res/4 P.o.germ.145.ap (1521), fol. 53r (Photo credit: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

images.[74] In 1508, a group of Swiss Dominicans in Berne notoriously sought to capitalize on the devotee's credulity for fraudulent miracles by outfitting a sculptural pietà with tubes through which the Virgin appeared to sob over Christ's body (figure 5.28). The woodcut that accompanies Thomas Murner's exposé of this

fraud, perpetrated to skim audiences from a nearby Franciscan shrine, shows a pilgrim supplicating himself before the rigged statue as three Dominican accomplices look on.[75] Printed injunctions against mistaking the image for its prototype and the other pitfalls of idolatry were circulating in Jörg Breu's home of Augsburg as early as 1484. Stephan von Landskron's "Die hymel strasz" claims "it is against the commandment to worship carved, engraved, painted or other images . . . no one else can help us except through him."[76] That large German audiences were deaf to these pleas is illustrated by a depiction of an episode in the legend of St. Kümernus, or St. Uncumber (figure 5.29). This broadsheet designed by Hans Burgkmair in 1507 tells the story of a sculpture of this saint that came to life in order to toss a golden slipper to an unfortunate musician, and it provides a familiar example of an animated sculpture that might have inspired Breu's pilgrimage to the *deumo*.[77] Breu did not have to look far for a formal model when Burgkmair's woodcut gave him such a ready precedent. European supplicants who were using images to galvanize devotional sluggishness could not have maligned Hindus for doing the same.

Breu depicts the social phenomenon of the pilgrimage in India, as well as tribute to the idol. Breu reserves as much emphasis for the background group of supplicants as for the seated demon. The illustration breaks down the social castes that attend this pilgrimage in robes, loincloths, and feathers—to represent literally priests, nobles and commoners: a cross section of society that Breu expressed through sartorial equivalents.[78] He shows that a stratified layer of society partakes in this pilgrimage and their rituals of worship are similar to ones familiar to Varthema's readers. The charge that Breu expressed Indian religious ritual in terms of European demonology, the litmus test used to suggest that the artist condemned Hindus as unmitigated idolaters, is, therefore, an oversimplified and incomplete look at a set of images that characterized religion as only a part of a complex social and economic constellation.

One practice that marked the alterity of South Asia more keenly than any other was cannibalism. Reports of cannibalism in both the New World and India were partially responsible for the iconographic conflation of motifs used to represent the inhabitants of both places. Since the introduction of the Tupinamba iconography into Europe via the 1505 Augsburg broadsheet, cannibalism was a moveable feast and the roasting flesh and gnawed bones tended to follow the Tupinamba's feather costume wherever it went. Breu's illustration of the inhabitants of Sumatra takes its inspiration from this iconography, borrowing the costume minus the accompanying acts of cannibalism to which the feathered skirt and headdress had all but been cemented (figure 5.30). Although Varthema's account of anthropophagy in Southeast Asia was modeled after reports of ritual cannibalism of the Batak in Sumatra, he locates it in Java instead.[79] Breu subordinates the typically sensationalized practice of cannibalism to his generally measured view of this culture's customs. Where storied outlandish practice had driven reports to sensationalize cannibalism, Breu tempered circulating representations of cannibalism in order to represent euthanasia in Java, borrowing iconographic elements but leaving behind the moral tinge.

Unlike the naked barbarians wielding dismembered body parts marked on maps of Southeast Asia, Breu's "cannibals" support Varthema's novel take on this practice (figure 5.31). Varthema introduces Javanese anthropophagy as an efficient method of disposal of infirm members of society.[80] According to Varthema's report, when a

Figure 5.29 Hans Burgkmair, *St. Kümernus*, 1507. Munich, BSB, Einbl. VII, 19q, 21 x 15 cm (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

person reaches an age of diminished social productivity, or in the event of sickness, but only after "several reasonable opinions" have voiced doubt of a possible recovery, he is butchered by his next of kin.[81] After the sufferer has been euthanized, the remaining limbs are then brought to market to be publicly sold as food. Varthema's account

Figure 5.30 Jörg Breu, Inhabitants of Sumatra. Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Figure 5.31 Jörg Breu, Cannibals in Java. Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

inoculates Javanese "cannibalism" by distinguishing it from the conventional forms of cannibalism in two important respects: first, the remaining body parts are consumed by people outside the immediate family; second, the human flesh is cooked before it is consumed.[82] Nonetheless, Varthema reproaches the Javanese for this practice that is considered inhuman in his country. His Javanese hosts wonder why the Europeans permit such good meat to decay—a rationale for which he has no ready rebuttal. This debate marks a novel exchange of opinion on a topic whose ethics had historically characterized the divide between civilized and "uncivilized" cultures.[83]

Breu domesticates cannibalism into socially rationalized euthanasia; his illustration gives the reader a technical look at the process. For his composition, Breu has rearranged formal elements of a woodcut included in the Strasbourg edition of Vespucci's *Diß büchlin saget* (Strasbourg: Grüninger, 1509) (figure 5.32). Breu has borrowed the butcher block and smokehouse from the Vespucci edition, as well as the staffage. Tempering the cleaver-brandishing bloodthirstiness of Vespucci's executioner, Breu provides a rear view of a butcher going about his work. The collection of able-bodied natives in Vespucci's edition has been transformed into old and infirm candidates patiently waiting their turn. The posture of the nude figure sitting pensively on a stone suggests an afflicted yet patient Job, complete with a lengthy beard that alludes to his years.[84] His look of resignation indicates his lack of resistance. There is no sign of brutality perpetrated on unwilling victims. There is almost no blood—the head from the victim on the table has already been carefully, if not surgically, removed. A figure holding an already dismembered leg patiently waits to collect additional limbs. Breu's butcher seems more purposeful and surgical in his endeavor. Breu's detached depiction of "cannibalism"—a rite traditionally characterized by the robust enjoyment of human flesh—gives us perhaps the first European depiction of euthanasia.

Power structures and expressions of centralized authority, especially those that could rival European counterparts, were obvious places for Europeans to look for analogues to their own culture. Breu likewise recognized in wealth and courtly rituals categories with which he could try to familiarize Indian customs to a European audience. A significant group of the region's potentates are seen through Breu's mirror of courtly rituals, ones that demonstrate the region's diversity and cultural heterogeneity. Wealth was a telling barometer of power for the European traveler. Among the important economic and political centers whose wealth Varthema noted were Calicut and Bisinagar, the latter a fertile city in the independent Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara. As we have seen, Varthema's encomium to the king of Narsinga praises his accumulation of soldiers, horses, elephants, and his military might: a mettle not compromised by his alleged idolatry.[85] Rubiés maintains that Varthema interpreted these institutional attachments and symbolic displays as significant clues to the presence of centralized order.[86]

Far from disparaging these potentates, Varthema, by a series of miscalculations, overestimates the extent of the Samorin of Calicut's political influence. This ruler's Malayalam title *Samutiri* (Lord of the Sea) was bowdlerized by the Portuguese and misunderstood by Varthema to mean "God on Earth."[87] Vasco da Gama, who arrived in Goa in the previous decade in 1498, records his own surprise at finding unanticipated grandeur at the Calicut court. After his reception by the court's envoy, da Gama

Figure 5.32 Anon., Vespucci, *Diß büchlin saget…*(Strasbourg: Grüninger, 1509). Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, Sig. 23 (*Photo credit*: Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel)

paraded through the town borne aloft on a palanquin before being met at the palace with a display of drums, bagpipes, and matchlocks: "in conducting the captain they showed us much respect, more than is shown in Spain to a king."[88] As da Gama would learn from the inadequate gifts he brought with him, the Raja of Calicut was a force to be reckoned with.[89] With such a reputation preceding him, it is then small wonder that Varthema was disposed to paint the King of Calicut with such regal aplomb.

The symbolic flourishes of Indian courtly ritual were mechanisms that Europeans interpreted as familiar signs—ones that lent themselves to comparison with their counterparts back home. Visitors to India, such as Varthema, Vasco da Gama, and Balthasar Springer, sought meaning in these displays of power. As we have already seen, Breu frequently parsed the conventions of familiar devotional ritual for interpreting foreign ones. European artistic practice also guided his hand in the visual choreography of regal and courtly hierarchical display: Breu's use of existing European iconography suggested these activities as commensurable ones.

Breu interpreted Indian processions with pomp and pageantry and attempted to distinguish one potentate's pageant from another. The various heads of state whom Breu portrays are distinguished through their attendants and entourage. Thus, Breu maps heterogenous representations of Indian authority on to European courtly prototypes. Breu depicts the King of Deccan, a powerful Muslim rival of the King of Narsinga, surrounded by the regalia of nobility familiar to Europeans (figure 5.33). A coronet rings the head of the sovereign whose kingdom abounds in diamonds; he and his several bowing attendants have covered feet and are dressed sumptuously in robes of silk. He holds a familiar implement, one that, at first glance, appears to be a sceptre. Only small nods to subversion, such as a sceptre that upon closer inspection reveals itself to be a tree branch, identify him as an oriental potentate and not a western one.

Breu's Sultan of Cambay, also Muslim, bears the trappings of European monarch wrapped in robes, jewels, and a crown (figure 5.34). He is seated at a table with a European place setting. Only the fact that the ends of his moustache are tied above his head in a fashion that militates against the gravitas implied by the crown suggests something slightly subversive. The Sultan is greeted by mounted fanfare including a harpist. The motif of musicians on elephants and camel may be an amalgamation of images derived from Hans Burgkmair's woodcut frieze that features mounted officials on exotic animals followed by a band of musicians. Cued by textual and visual prompts, Breu used circulating European sources to create this image.

Breu's King of Ioghe, cloaked, bearded and crowned like a European dignitary, carries a sceptre and processes barefoot (see figure 5.18). Tribute follows in tow: a local variety of instruments and fauna, as well as a nude child. An underfoot monkey and an exotic quadruped, possibly a leopard, accompany the robed king. This truncated procession illustrates a pilgrimage this king undertakes once every few years throughout India with a three- to four-thousand-man entourage. Varthema reports conflict between the Sultan of Cambay and the King of Ioghe, both of whom possess poisonous spit, in addition to other cruel and unusual weapons.[90] None of these atrocities gains purchase in Breu's illustration, which instead borrows the composition from the Caesarian triumphs. Breu's quest to find comparable visual metaphors to establish various heads of state in India simultaneously destroys the notion of debased, homogenous, or incommensurate power structures there.[91]

Figure 5.33 Jörg Breu, King of Deccan, Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

Figure 5.34 Jörg Breu, Sultan of Cambay, Ludovico Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515) Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Sig. 4 Th L92 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

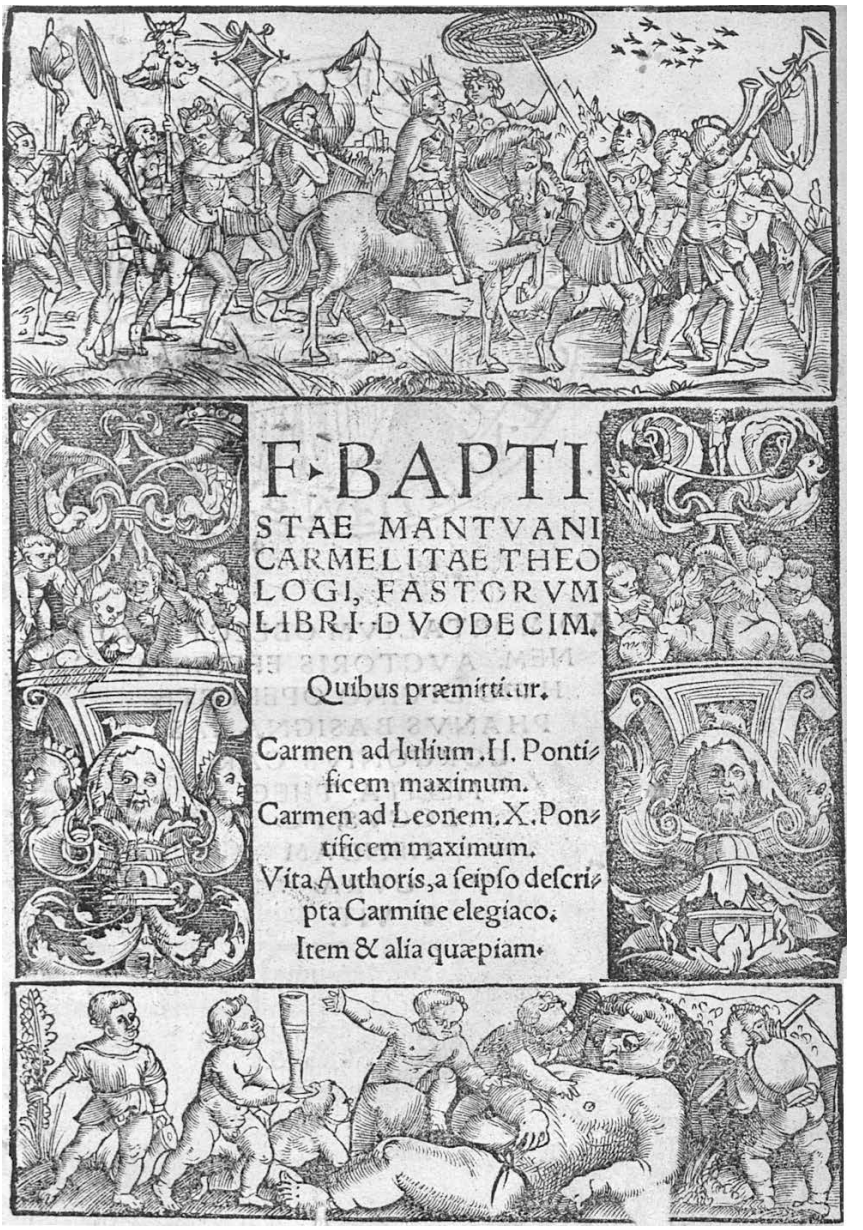


Figure 5.35 Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli (Batista Mantuanus), *Fastorum Libri duodecim. Carmen ad Julium II ad Leonem X* (Strasbourg: Matthias Schürer, 1518). Munich, BSB, 4 P.lat.852 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

Breu, by placing them into pictorial contexts that emphasized internal hierarchy, sharpened these eastern potentates' identities as foreign dignitaries. These gestures of iconographic similitude sealed their resemblance to their western counterparts. Breu's success in establishing these similitudes can be measured in a later woodcut that unequivocally depicts a group of barbarians as civilization's equals. Breu's procession of the King of Ioghe followed by tribute bearing attendants in feathered skirts seems to have contributed to the development of the title page to Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli's (called Batista Mantuanus) *Fastorum Libri Duodecim* (Strasbourg: Matthias Schurer, 1518) (figure 5.35). While motifs from Hans Burgkmair's 1508 woodcut of the King of Cochin,[92] such as the *chattra,* the fanfare, and procession, also appear in this print of a barbarian king, I suspect that the dignity of the procession originates in Breu's precedent. Without taming the bacchic ambivalences of Hans Burgkmair's procession, this barbarian king with a coronet and regal bearing rides a tractable and high stepping horse. The expressions of tribute have been turned into spoils in the Mantuanus print, aligning it with a more traditional triumphal march. The resulting procession shows the collision of specificity that Burgkmair makes manifest and the similarity to European custom that Breu suggests.

This chapter argues for Jörg Breu's role in the creation of a newly positioned eyewitness through whose eyes India was made palpable for European audiences around 1515. Narrative innovations in Ludovico Varthema's *Travels* posit a new protagonist for secular travel literature. The claims to autopsy made by this distinctly embodied presence rest on his new vantage point: a shape shifter and trickster who studies languages, perfects his disguises, infiltrates local populations, learns their culture, and painstakingly records their customs. Jörg Breu makes profuse visual record of the customs and peoples Varthema reports. The many ways in which Breu actually suggests Varthema's presence through the eyes of a mobile observer taking in glances collapse atop his interaction with live versions of these peoples. Breu animates the people of India who had been, according to the visual tradition that directly preceded his, alternately straight-jacketed monsters or perfectly polished stereotypes. Through sartorial specificity and by particularity in the rendering of their customs, Breu acknowledges these Indians as complex and diverse. He records their dress, their social divisions, their ethnic and religious heterogeneity, their labor structures and their socioeconomic complexities. Breu locates exhibitions of difference such as *suttee*, idolatry, and cannibalism—practices historically viewed by Western Europeans with aversion—within a larger catalogue of their customs.

Breu's brisk trade in borrowed conventional, but stylistically updated, iconography, serves to relativize Varthema's peoples through identification with European customs, rituals, and power structures. These techniques of accommodation encouraged the reader to recognize in previously taboo rituals a complexity and ambiguity that approximated those of his own culture. Varthema's contact with these culturally complex ethnic groups, as pictorially told by Breu, organized what he saw by his western taxonomic impulses. According to Breu's illustrations, Varthema looked for what he recognized, thus bringing Indian culture into a European purview. Breu's attempt to position a viewer along the narrator's own sight lines opened up a whole vista for the European viewer, a vantage that was, quite literally, the next best thing to being there.

CHAPTER 6

The Amerindian's Moveable Feast: From Cannibal Roast to Fools' Fete

Writing from his native Bordeaux about the forays of his fellow countrymen Jean de Léry and Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon into Brazil in 1557, the essayist Michel de Montaigne concedes that the early modern diet for novelty lacked the catalysts required for digestion and left him in a state of symbolic indigestion, "This discovery of a boundless country seems worthy of consideration. I don't know if I can guarantee that some other such discovery will not be made in the future, so many personages greater than ourselves having been mistaken about this one. I am afraid that we have eyes bigger than our stomachs, and more curiosity than capacity."[1] Montaigne chastises his contemporaries for their appetite for greed in the New World, their ignorance, as well as for their failures in interpretation. One persistent misapprehension was the idea that the newly discovered lands were crawling with remorseless cannibals.[2] Montaigne's essay "Of Cannibals" (1578–1580) delivers an antidote to tenacious misconceptions about the New World. The picture of the Brazilian that Montaigne's famously unstudied, and therefore reliable, witness paints was one that tracks closely a dramatic shift in the visual representation of the New World Indian between the years 1510 and 1550: through a series of rhetorical turns, the cannibals metamorphosed from bloodthirsty savages into children learning their ABCs.[3]

In the course of a few short decades following the initial reports of Columbus and Vespucci, European depictions of New World savages were transformed by childish foolery. By the time Montaigne begins to use Indians as exemplars, these inhabitants of the Americas had already been stripped of their ferocity and infantilized in print culture, and portrayed as familiar decorative types, such as rambunctious putti and innocent fools. This chapter explores the shift in interpretation of the New World Indian in the realm of German print culture between 1520 and 1550 in which the stereotypical cannibal roast was replaced by a feast of fools. This discussion embeds a case study of early modern text technology that tracks the visual dismantling of one especially popular motif, Hans Burgkmair's procession of

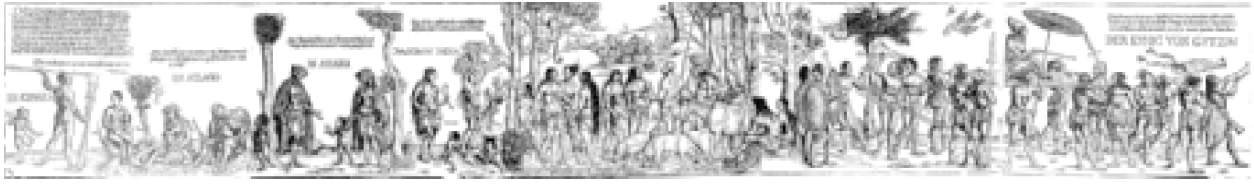


Figure 6.1 Georg Glockendon, *Peoples of Africa and India*, 1511, near copy of Hans Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India*, 1508. Coburg, Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, Inv. Nr. I, 63, 33 (*Photo credit*: Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg)

the King of Cochin (figure 4.1), as it was picked apart, literally cannibalized, and recombined piecemeal for a variety of new iconographies. The destabilization of the motif of the Amerindian in this process followed the course of a debate that rhetorically threatened the solidity of European norms.

The view of newly discovered peoples launched in a woodcut frieze by the Augsburg printmaker Hans Burgkmair of the *Peoples of Africa and India* (plate 1) in 1508 was an ethnographically rigorous one, insofar as his treatment of these peoples squared them to European norms.[4] The appearance of a seemingly unbiased, even ethnographic, reading of Europe's Others in a visual discourse that had previously described the inhabitants of these regions as stereotypically monstrous is as anomalous as it was brief. Although it spawned numerous copies with varying degrees of fidelity to the original, the print's contributions to ethnography were studiously ignored, and its images were quickly pirated by designers of printed book marginalia. Burgkmair's carefully described natives new to Europe were sacrificed to the demands of print shop economics.

Burgkmair's woodcut frieze representing the events of the merchant Balthasar Springer's journey to Goa in 1506 and 1507 was a locally printed merchant's travel account, a genre for which conventional representations of exotics had historically sufficed. Burgkmair fused close observation and new artistic syntax in an unprecedented effort to produce accurate renderings of natives of Africa and India, but the synthesis of observation and scientific scrutiny that he inaugurated dissociated in later appropriations of his work, when the exotic reappears. Later depictions of Indians based on this source ultimately resisted this turn to ethnographic description and regressed into essentialized models.

One instance of this occurred a few short years later, when, in 1511, the Nuremberg printer Georg Glockendon not only pirated Burgkmair's design for a new version of the frieze (figure 6.1), but also transformed the background of a particular impression on one of its constituent blocks into a mise-en-scène of cannibalism.[5] By inserting the motif of the camel and elephant from the first impression of Burgkmair's original print (figure 4.2) into the background of the scene of natives with a herd of animals (figure 6.2), Glockendon rearranged Burgkmair's motifs in order to print the frieze more economically. To this reworked composition, Glockendon added a scene of a cannibal roast probably borrowed from a broadsheet printed in Augsburg in 1505 (see plate 3) that reported Vespucci's findings. Guided by the bottom line of his print shop, undoubtedly hoping he could increase sales of this already popular composition by including sensational references to blood-thirsty cannibals, Glockendon distorted Burgkmair's image of natives of India's Malabar Coast by positing New World cannibals there.

The expedience of recombining woodblocks to form new images or simply attaching old ones to new referents was endemic to early printmaking.[6] The illustrative desiderata of many early printed texts often outweighed the print shop's financial means to satisfy an appetite for pictorial novelty. Books like the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493) and Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (1486) remind us that recycling of images was rampant in a culture of print that did not consider pictures as protected property, and repetition was rarely eschewed in favor of artistic originality.[7] Appropriation and recycling were legitimate practices

Figure 6.2 Georg Glockendon, *Peoples of Africa and India*, detail from woodcut frieze, 1511. Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, Inv. Nr. I, 63, 33 (*Photo credit*: Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg)

in early modern text technology and printers recombined images with impunity, and without regard to resulting iconographic infelicities. Glockendon's conflating Burgkmair's imagery with allusions to sensational reports of cannibalistic activity represented a completely sound, even savvy, way to do business.

A by-product of Glockendon's positing Amerindian cannibals on India's Malabar Coast was the tenacious suturing of almost any newly discovered indigene with a diet of human flesh.[8] Glockendon's "cannibalized" image inspired a later edition of Springer's report, a Flemish text printed in Antwerp in 1520 and considered garbled by modern standards of authorship. In fact, the printer granted himself the same license with texts as he did with images in this period, appropriating and recombining portions of texts into new entities. This particular report was advertised as, and indeed begins with, the account of Vespucci's voyage, *De Novo Mondo* (figure 6.3).[9] Jan van Doesborch, the printer of the Antwerp broadsheet, appropriated Burgkmair's original designs for marginal representations of peoples Springer met, to which he added a depiction of Brazilian cannibals encountered by Vespucci. Again, the source for these cannibals is the Augsburg broadsheet that fixed the feather skirt to cannibalistic activity, a formula that permitted the Tupinamba's silhouette to function as an ersatz for all newly discovered wild people.[10] Conflating the events of Springer's journey to mainland India with Vespucci's trip to the New World plunged the whereabouts of the Indian into further confusion. This uprooted Indian supports Peter Mason's contention that, through a series of decontextualizations and endless recontextualizations, the peripatetic exotic is never at home, at least not comfortably so.[11] An image of a bacchanalian procession at the bottom

Figure 6.3 Anon., Amerigo Vespucci/ Balthasar Springer, *De Novo Mondo* (Antwerp: Jan van Doesborch, 1520), woodcut broadsheet, Rostock UB, Qi-39 (*Photo credit*: Universitätsbibliothek Rostock)

right of Doesborch's broadsheet, displaced from the original context of Burgkmair's impression (figure 4.1), features several music makers and attendants who carry a king on a litter. This wandering of a previously fixed image to the margins allowed it to roam freely to other printed pastures.

The margin as a liminal space shared a kinship with the itinerant and displaced exotic; when demand for title page decoration increased, printers cribbed designs from other margins, like those of manuscripts and maps.[12] The fanciful decorative book borders became a space for antiquarian as well as exotic encounters. Because the mandate of the border designer was not to illustrate the text, but to adorn the title page, he frequently privileged decorative function over content.[13] Ornamental borders of sixteenth-century books were often generated from fragmented strips, not cut from a single block, which allowed expeditious printers to recombine and resize their borders for a variety of titles. Pictorial borders were frequently spliced together without regard for narrative or even decorative unity.[14] Like the unmoored and continuously recombined marginal blocks, exotics were fugitives of a similar sort. Placed and replaced at the typesetter's whim, exotics met some strange bedfellows in book borders where they encountered the humanist taste for motifs *all'antiqua*.

Triumphal processions and exotics proved to be two of the most popular motifs for printed book borders in the first half of the sixteenth century, both in continental Europe and in England. The title pages of humanist texts were logical venues for decorative antique processions. A scene from the title page borders for Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli's (called Batista Mantuanus) *Fasti* from 1518 features a triumphal procession with classical elements (see figure 5.35),[15] possibly inspired by Andrea Mantegna's engraved series of the *Triumph of Caesar,* copies of which were probably circulating north of the Alps by 1504.[16] These copies were formally similar but spiritually estranged from Mantegna's original canvases; these representations of triumphs were ideologically distinct from the restagings of classical triumphs that, according to Stephen Campbell, showed "a great festive movement of warriors, prisoners, weapons, and plundered treasure . . . in order to signify the unrelenting and annihilating progress of Roman imperialism."[17] Another visual tradition has clearly informed it: the "classical" procession has been contaminated by the exotic. The *Fasti*'s procession is clearly a pastiche of both Burgkmair and Glockendon's processions; it appropriates the *chattra,* or umbrella that shades the king at its center, the auspicious birds that take flight before the procession, as well as the chaotic merriment of the event suggested by the trumpeters.[18] This illustrator cribbed motifs from these two processions for a parade of stereotypes in exotic dress and exaggerated poses.[19]

Another example of a northern triumph which, despite its genesis in the Italian traffic in imperial processions, bent under northern artistic climate, was the Emperor Maximilian I's own *Triumphal Procession,* a paper pageant produced between 1512 and 1519. It, like its printed pendant *Arch of Honor* (c. 1515), was to occupy the minds and hands of a coterie of artists and humanists shaping a complex iconographic program in service of Maximilian's lasting reputation, or his *Gedechtnus.*[20] The *Triumphal Procession* took the classical triumphs as a model for the lavish conquest it implied, its hyperbolic genealogical and territorial claims, as well as for the captives it enchained, along with military allies, jesters, and other court officials.

The contribution of the project's designer, Hans Burgkmair, included three blocks devoted to peoples from far-off lands brought under Maximilian's yoke—chaotic assemblies of peoples from India, the Americas, and Africa. Natives from India introduce the section, one of whom sits atop an elephant with a standard.[21] The next rank is led by an Indian from Calicut, followed by a group of Tupinamba Indians mostly armed with war clubs, a few with bows and quivers of arrows, and one with a battle axe (figure 6.4). Bringing up the rear are hybrids of the first and second groups: a mix of peoples that we can identify from Burgkmair's 1508 woodcut frieze as natives from India's Malabar coast clad in scant waist coverings, peoples from the Cape region of Africa draped in animal skins, east Africans wearing worked armbands, and Tupinamba Indians from Brazil costumed in feather skirts and headdresses and carrying stalks of maize. Accompanying this group are animals indigenous to these lands including cows, parrots, goats, fat-tailed sheep, and parrots. The produce that they carry suggests the abundance of the lands from which they were sourced (figure 6.5). From the carefully tagged regional distinctions of his earlier work (plates 4–6), Burgkmair randomly appropriates costumes and attributes.

Burgkmair choreographed an imaginary ballet for the emperor with peoples and signs stockpiled from three continents. It is difficult to know if Burgkmair intended these peoples to represent actual subjects, per the dictates of the inscription. These natives do not seem like subjugated peoples, if we weigh them against the iconography established for captives in the *Triumph's* other tableaux. They do not march obsequiously in file, nor are they in chains like captives—they borrow the parsed

Figure 6.4 Hans Burgkmair, Rank of Tupinambas, from *The Triumph of Maximilian*, 1512–19, woodcut (*Photo credit*: The Warburg Institute)

Figure 6.5 Hans Burgkmair, Rank of Indians, Amerindians, and Africans, from *The Triumph of Maximilian*, 1512–19, woodcut (*Photo credit*: The Warburg Institute)

distinctions made by his early ethnographic recording, merely transposed here into triumphal rhetoric. Burgkmair's main nod to the imperial instructions for his design was to ring the heads of these subjects with laurel crowns. A procession manned by exotics marches to the beat of its own drummer; for his rank of Tupinamba, their own native radial feather crowns suffice.

Classical triumphs arrived in the German speaking territories via humanist book borders and quickly made their way into Reformation pamphlets. A border designed by Hans Holbein the Younger for Desiderius Erasmus' *Querela Pacis* (Basel: Froben, 1517) (figure 6.6) represents a variation on the theme: a triumphal motif borrowed from Hans Burgkmair's procession of the King of Cochin (see figure 4.1), natives from India's Malabar coast now recast as antique putti.[22] Antique and exotic triumphal processions frequently accompanied Reformation pamphlets. Decorative vignettes that bordered title pages of printed books in the Renaissance rarely had explicit denotative connections to the texts they accompanied.[23] Perhaps it was the cross-referencing of content in these popular texts that invited continuity in the visual imagery, or it may have been the repetition of the design that helped inspire the serial appearance of these pamphlets. Many Reformation pamphlets were generated in response to one another; as such, a familiar border design would have reinforced the continuity of the debate. As a result, the visual representation that quite literally framed these debates became mouthpieces for Reformation concerns.

Reformation propaganda in general relied on the reiteration of familiar imagery, recycling images of marvelous occurrences or monstrous births that portended disaster found in misbegotten hybrids like monk calves and papal asses. Reformers built their polemic on the dialectic of thesis and antithesis, an opposition that sharpened

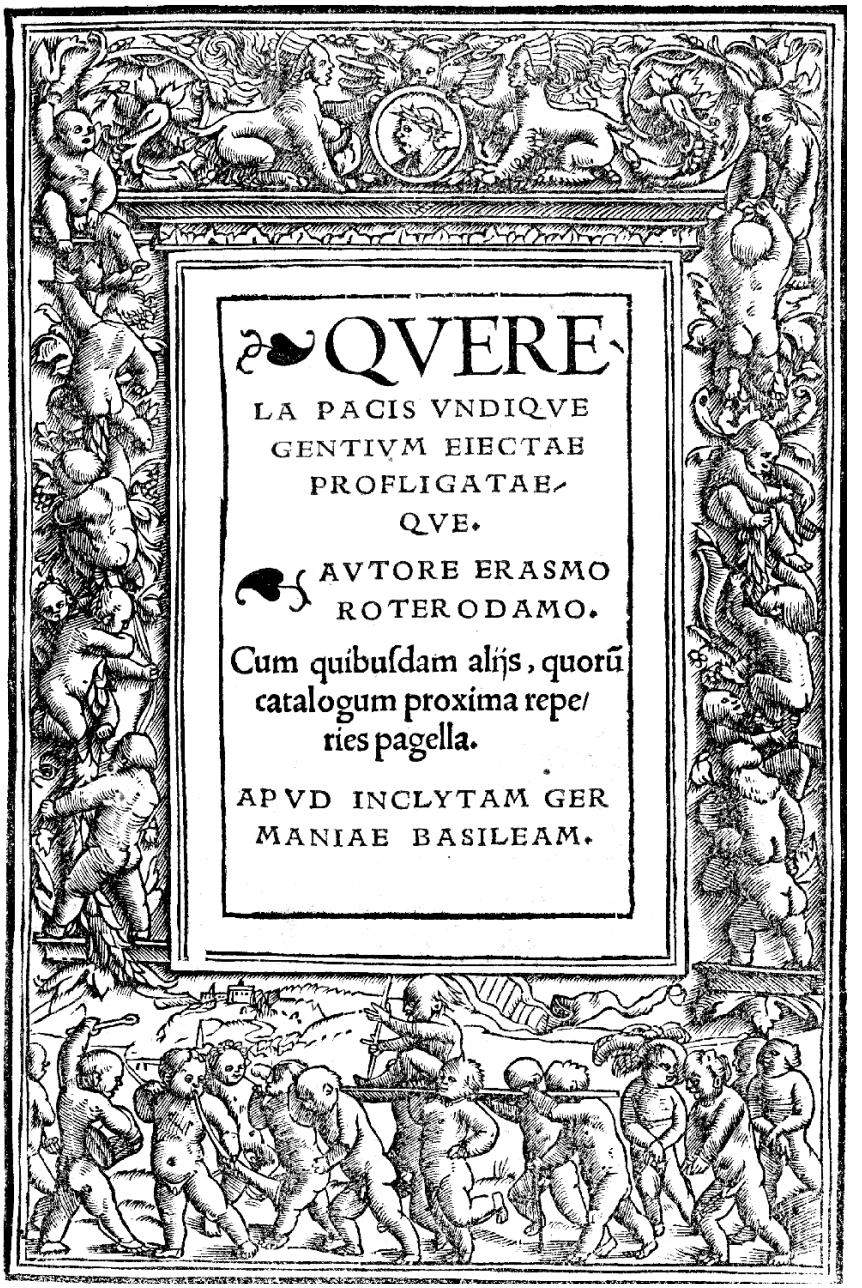


Figure 6.6 Hans Holbein, title-page, Desiderius Erasmus, *Querela Pacis* (Basel: Johann Froben, 1517), San Marino, Huntington Library 32796 (*Photo credit*: Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California)

as the conflict between Rome and the Reformers intensified.[24] Visual polemic also relied heavily on the rhetoric of antithesis, such as Lucas Cranach's *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (Wittenberg: Johannes Rhau-Grunenberg, 1521), which contrasted Christ with the Antichrist Pope in thirteen meticulously constructed pairs of type and antitype.[25] Cranach's workshop was also responsible for apocalyptic propaganda, and for the illustration of polemical pamphlets that launched many of the *Streitbilder* in the Reformation.[26] While lacking the dialectical sophistication of the *Passional*, the pamphlet borders created by his workshop were more expediently produced and, as such, traded in stereotypes and broad derision.

One debate that showed this nicely was in the borders that were produced in response to Henry VIII's *Libello Huic Regio Insunt* (London: Pynson, 1521), an early treatise written against Martin Luther and in support of Rome's dogmatic defense of the sacraments, and the polemic for which Henry received the title Defender of the Faith. Martin Luther's response to this, *Contra Henricum Regem Angliae* (Wittenberg: Johannes Rau-Grunenberg, 1522), was an obstreperous epistle that pictured the king of England, as well as Luther's other opponents, as fools kowtowing to Roman idols and the monstrous body of the papacy. The woodcut border designs to Luther's *Contra Henricum Regem Angliae* (figure 6.7), made use of two allegorical types that would embody the simple dialectic of Luther's tilt against Rome.[27] The shawm-playing peasant, a symbol of Luther's popular base, stands atop a decorative candelabra.[28] Across from him stands the Papist monk calf clothing, in this case, a travesty of a monk, or all who speak for the church in Christ's name.[29] The monk calf fingers a rosary, while his tongue wags, making a mockery of hypocritical clerics with inflated egos.[30]

Cranach's polemical figures capitalized on the continuity of man and animal nature that would frequently be used to personify reformers, resulting in *mischwesen* and grotesques, like the horned exotic—a satyr in a Brazilian skirt—on the frontispiece of *Rationis Latomianae pro Incendiariis Louaniensis Scholae Sophistis redditae Lutheriana Confutatio* (Wittenberg: Melchior Lotter the younger, 1521) (figure 6.8).[31] These familiar figures in the borders became relevant to the polemic, if not precisely aligned to the pamphlet's content. Polemical pamphlets spurred marginal space to carry direct commentary on the text and provided an impetus to making the borders relevant to the text's content.

Shrewd printers made borders that could be slightly modified, recycled for multiple use, and designs broad enough to embrace a generality of subjects. The world turned upside down proved itself a good generic motif for Reformation bickering. For example, printers used the ludic procession as an analogue to the classical triumphal procession, an instance of folly that serendipitously foreshadowed the inverted world that portents forecasted and the Reformers anticipated. Book title pages, although they previously maintained neither a unique nor exclusive relationship with the text, found themselves starting to allude to contents tucked within. While borders began to forge connotative connections to the texts they accompanied, both Evangelicals and Catholics often relied on similar or borrowed imagery for their invective, blurring the clear direction of the parody and making it increasingly difficult to distinguish a book by its cover.

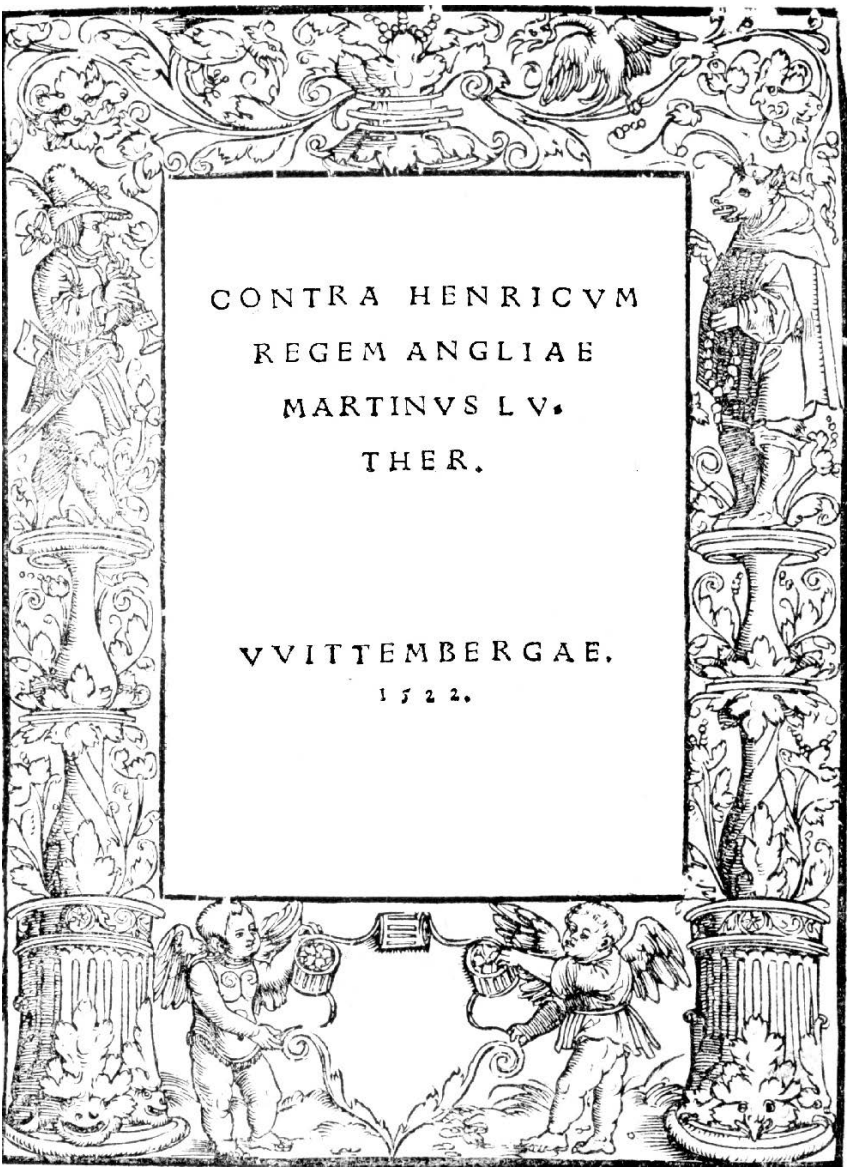


Figure 6.7 Workshop of Lucas Cranach, Martin Luther, *Contra Henricum Regem Angliae* (Wittenberg: Johannes Rau-Grunenberg, 1522). Princeton, Scheide Library, 11.3.16 (*Photo credit*: Princeton University Library)

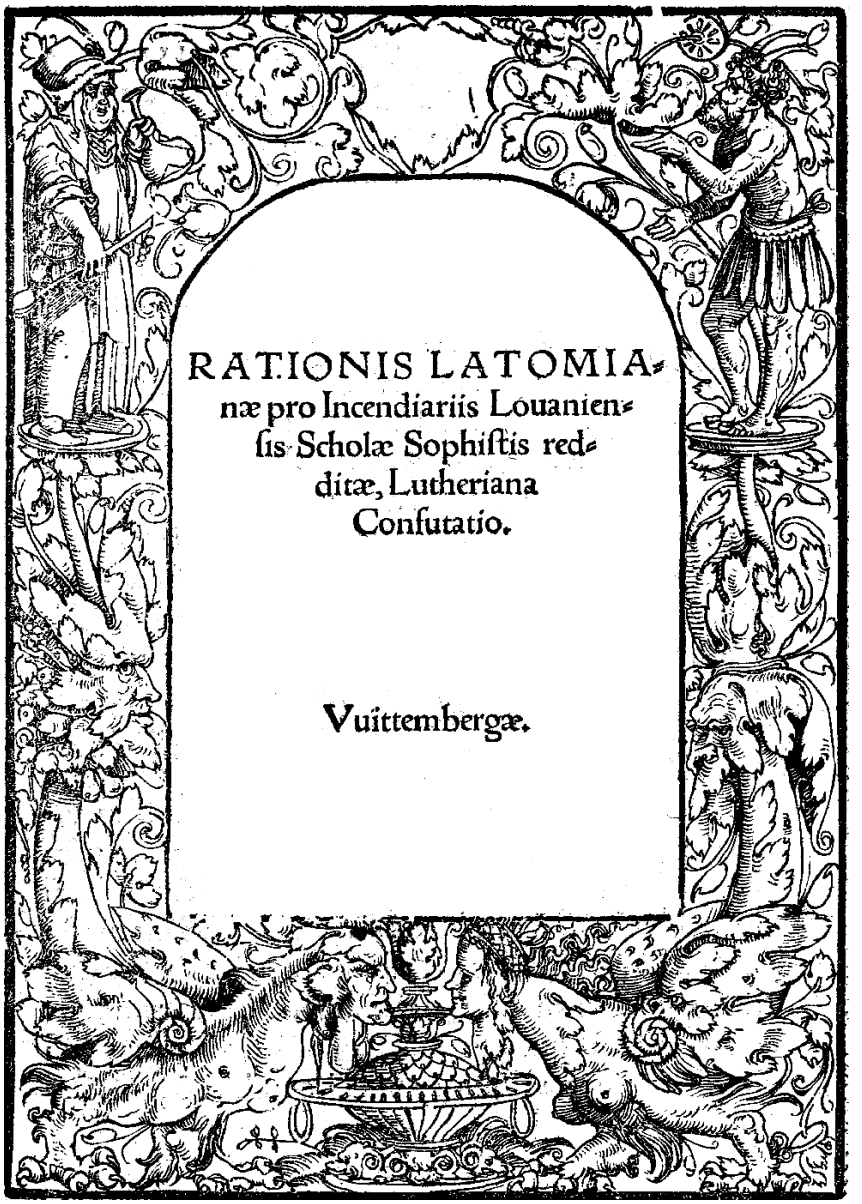


Figure 6.8 Workshop of Lucas Cranach, Martin Luther, *Rationis Latomianae pro incendiaries Lovaniensis scholae sophisis redditae confutatio* (Wittenberg: Melchior Lotter the younger, 1521). Augsburg SuStB, 4° Th H 1700, Nr. 214 (*Photo credit*: Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg)

The World Upside Down

Like the trope of the world upside down, the image of the triumphal procession also demonstrated tenacity in the bipartisan rhetoric during the Reformation. Religious processions on feast days were familiar features of the sixteenth-century landscape and expressed the kind of Catholic collective solidarity that Protestants found highly suspect.[32] This suspicion could only have been enhanced by the ambivalence of mock processions staged during Carnival in medieval Europe; Catholics engaged in self-mocking charivaris and fool's feasts, urban festivals sponsored by clerics which involved role playing, making burlesques of masses, and leading asses around churches. In her documentation of these customs of the "Abbeys of Misrule" in early modern France and Switzerland, Natalie Zemon Davis has shown that in some cities, participants in some of these charivaris became the early supporters of Protestantism.[33] During the first few decades of the sixteenth century in the German-speaking lands, evangelicals mocked Catholic processional pomp with satiric processions of their own during carnival, deploying antithesis as the controlling rhetoric of Reformation parody.[34] Protestants considered Catholic processions ready-made forms of irreverence and easy targets, but embraced them for the structure they provided for parody.[35] In the context of carnival, bacchic parodies of religious processions were staffed by carnival goers dressed as nuns, monks, and fools who carried satirical props such as reliquaries for bogus relics, banners, and books.[36] Mockery of Catholics in public processions between 1520 and 1543 satirized the clergy in almost every instance.[37] Protestant mockery trafficked in travesty, impersonation, and mimicry, of the type expressed in a broadsheet of a satiric procession, *The Monks' Kermis* (or The Monks' Parish Fair), printed by Peter Flötner probably around 1535 (figure 6.9).[38] In this image, nuns sing from gaming boards instead of sheet music, friars process while imbibing and vomiting, an abbot is borne aloft on a litter carried by two fools, and a nun carries a spit rife with sausages. This mock procession echoed grievances with Catholic excess and hypocrisy, some of which had been in circulation for over a century at that point. In Cologne in 1441, for example, carnival participants processed through the streets with a bogus reliquary, fake banners, and carnival puppets in mockery of a Catholic procession. In Nuremberg, episodes of unbridled mockery forced the city council to ban carnival between 1525 and 1538 in an attempt to repress it.[39] When papists were not portrayed as savages by radical Protestants, they were painted as fools.

Printed Catholic rebuttals likewise employed ludic processions to sharpen their attack on evangelical hypocrisy. King Henry VIII's *Libello Huic Regio Insunt* (London: Richard Pynson, 1521) features a mock procession on the title page (figure 6.10), as well as on several other pages, including the overleaf that offers a papal indulgence to the reader.[40] A group of putti, some with laurel wreaths, some with feather crowns, process with a standard on which the text of the title appears. Here, in the pages of Henry's apologia for the seven sacraments, a defense of papal prerogative about a decade before Henry's break with Rome circa 1533, perhaps these putti reiterate the author's charge of a special brand of evangelical idolatry: "Lutherans now carry Luther's image in solemn procession and offer it their veneration."[41] For both Protestants and Catholics, mock processions figured the transgressions of a world

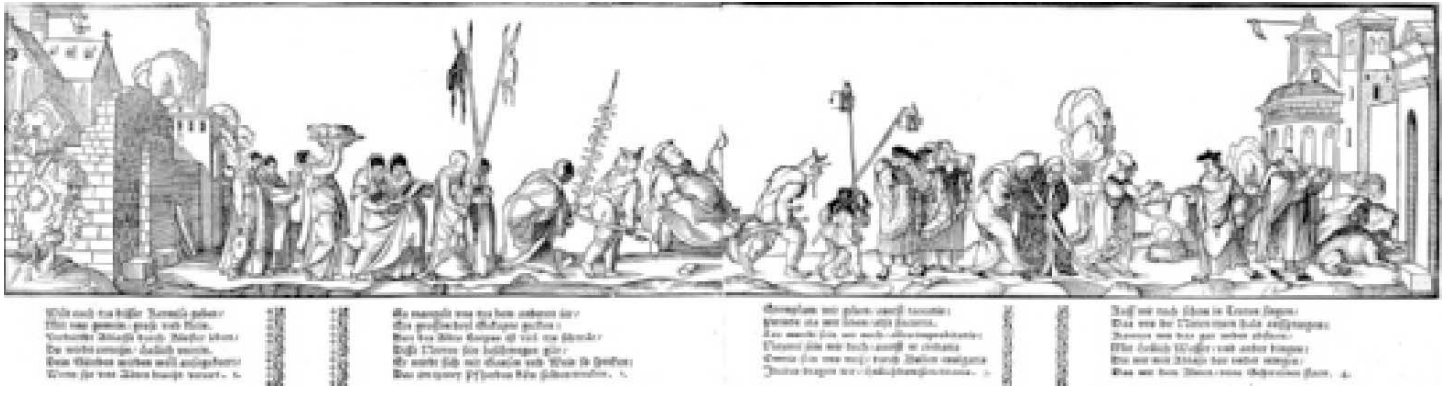


Figure 6.9 Peter Flötner, *The Monk's Kermis* (Nuremberg, 1535). Nuremberg, Germanisches National Museum, Graphische Sammlung, H 7320 (*Photo Credit*: Graphische Sammlung, Germanisches National Museum Nürnberg)

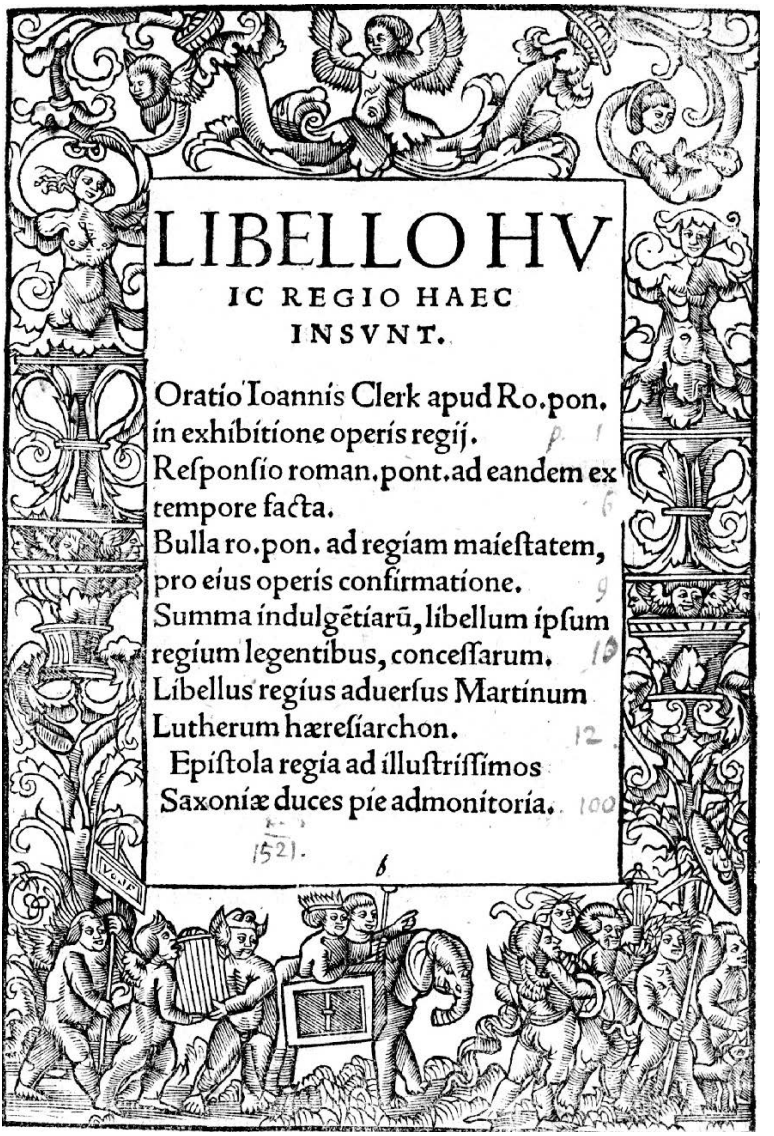


Figure 6.10 Anon., Henry VIII, *Libello Huic Regio Haec Insunt* (London: Richard Pynson, 1521). New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Mhc5 H396 L5 (*Photo credit*: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

turned upside down. Prints of these transgressive processions visually shaped the caustic debate among King Henry VIII, Martin Luther, and Thomas More in a series of pamphlets published in response to one another c. 1520. A common title page design undoubtedly helped readers to track this debate.

The title pages of these polemical pamphlets exposed all'antiqua motifs to the ludic side of carnival, featuring mock processions, mostly staffed by triumphant putti engaged in role reversal. A mock procession established the flagship iconography for a set of Reformation pamphlets printed in the Rhineland between 1518 and 1524.[42] One of the best preserved examples of the border was printed in Basel in 1521 for the title page of Philipp Melanchthon's *Compendiaria Dialectices Ratio* (figure. 6.11).[43] Like many contemporary border designs from which it drew, it marshals putti into the parade. The period reader found rambunctious putti frequently deployed on texts that engage the theme of chaos and peace, for instance in Erasmus' *Querela Pacis,* or *Complaint of Peace* (figure 6.12) (Schlettstadt: Matthias Schürer, 1520),[44] and also *Dulce Bellum Inexpertis,* or *War is Sweet to Those Who Have Not Tried It*, a work in which Erasmus harangues pope Julius II for his role in a war torn Europe.[45] This border accompanies polemic that either warns of or describes up-ended worlds, illustrating positions on both sides of the Reformation debate.

The imagery of the lower border inverts the typical elements of triumphal processions. Ludic putti subvert the sites of authority typically invoked by triumphal processions. Putti wearing feathered headdresses unsuccessfully mimic the form of these triumphal processions. They rambunctiously mount exotic animals, ones that typically but resolutely, headlined triumphs. Here, however, the camel and the elephant face off, unsure of where next to go. Other putti confusedly blow into the tails of elephants, which they mistake for horns. Although elements of a triumph are recognizable here, this one has ground to a dead halt. In its lack of order and focus, it seems almost a parody of a triumphal procession. This parade is not even functional, let alone imperial or triumphant. Whereas booty was a centerpiece of antique triumphs, here booty is carted off from the parade. An ornately-clad figure, apparently taking advantage of the chaos, retreats at the right, slinking off with a valuable vessel. Although the precise narrative remains elusive, a deception seems to be perpetrated on the feathered putti.

The upper border amplifies the iconography of the upside down world. The leftmost putto teeters on a single leg and inverts the orb of the world, cueing the viewer into the iconographic program, *die verkerte Welt,* or the world turned upside down.[46] The preceding putto bears a caduceus-like object.[47] Another figure in a feather skirt and collar holds both a mask and an ornately decorated vessel. They approach a figure we see from the rear—barefoot but outfitted with an elaborate headdress—who reaches into a vessel presumably offered as tribute. With a hand hidden from the view of the approaching Indians, he plants a shield as if to claim dominion, surreptitiously performing the convolutions of conquest. These putti enact their own ceremonies of tribute and possession, mimicking the imagined choreography of "the repertoire of the dominant culture" that Mikhail Bahktin suggests the Other parodied in carnival.[48] The play-acting of carnival, complete with masks, seems to be out in force.

In this image, the upside down world meets the iconography of carnival, a theme announced by the presence of masks. The grotesques found in the vertical border strips recall masques, as does the item carried on a stick, a head with feathered sides. In the iconography of the old world, objects borne in procession suggest a parading of spoils, as in the 1518 Spagnuoli border (see figure 5.35), but in this

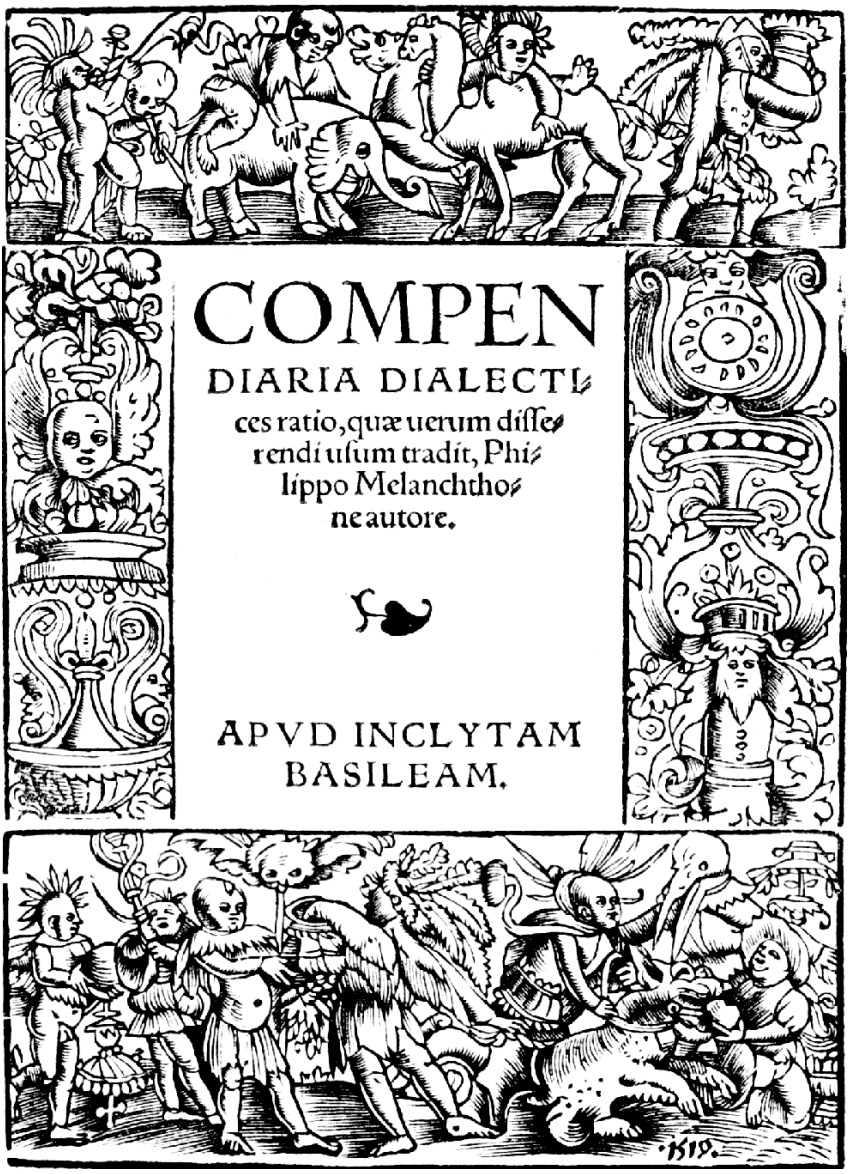


Figure 6.11 Anon., title-page, Philipp Melanchthon, *Compendiaria dialectices ratio* (Basel: Valentin Curio, 1521). Munich, BSB, 4° P.lat. 851a/6 (*Photo credit*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

New World context, it seems to allude to a ceremony of tribute. A tableau at right features three figures, some with feathered headdresses, who surround a beast with a long, coiling tail. A figure wearing a bird-like mask stands behind the group with his arms outstretched and with his left hand grasps round objects from a bowl full

Figure 6.12 Anon., title-page, Desiderius Erasmus, *Querela Pacis* (Schlettstadt(?): Lazerus Schürer (?), c.1520 (?)) Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg. (*Photo credit*: Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg)

of the same. This birdman would again be sutured to New World iconography in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* in 1552 (see figure 3.8)—providing evidence that this setting was thought to be the New World.[49]

Multiple inversions can be detected here, all of which imply the subversions that regularly attend carnival.[50] The first is the inversion of the formal triumphal

procession, and secondly, the subversive role of putti, who here enact something more than simply ludic relief. Lastly, allusions to masquerade that appear in both the side borders and in the tribute procession suggest that these putti are costumed as Native Americans, some of whom wear the feather skirt, cape and headdress of circulating depictions of the Tupinamba Indians. The inverted orb that introduces the woodcut forecasts these inversions. The setting chosen for this is the New World, a place perhaps more than any other in recent European memory, seemed an appropriately topsy-turvy locus. The narrative convolutions of the border illustrations match the complexity of other more pointed polemic whose title page designs clearly articulated the text's position. These images of Amerindian putti, however, resist unequivocable interpretation—perhaps from greater nuancing, or from multiple layers of meaning, or from an iconographic conflation from a variety of sources that appeared here together for the first time.

Perhaps the pamphlets on which they appear can shed some light on meaning. The core collection of extant impressions of the Indian borders belong to the title pages of a series of well-publicized Reformation debates begun in Leipzig in 1519 and formed their own discourse on the role of images on eve of the Reformation. The disputation between the conservative theologian Johannes Eck, on one side, and Martin Luther and Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt on the other, took place in the summer of 1519, and ultimately resulted in Eck bringing the papal bull of excommunication *Exsurge Domine* against Luther the following year. The debate was instigated by Eck, the vice chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, who accused Luther of heresy after an in depth examination of his *95 Theses.* The connection between the three and the continuity of their dialogue was made manifest in the border designs used to illustrate their tracts.[51] The spirited invective of these debates might have signaled the impossibility of centralized order in an upside-down age and invited the idea for such a border.

The Indian border appears on the title page of the 1519 edition of *Eccius Dedolatus*, a work in which Luther took aim against Johannes Eck.[52] In this dialogue, Luther beats his adversary into shape by removing his rough corners and edges, a pun suggested by the title, *Eck* (or corner) *planed down*. Luther removes Eck's vices by a process of flaying; a pointed allusion to a popular carnival stunt, *Narrenschneiden,* an operation that excises folly from the fool.[53] In the name of Luther, the text's author Willibald Pirckheimer lampoons Eck with classical poetry mixed with obscenity and scatology.[54] Avoiding lofty theological sparring, this satire hits below the belt; its main objective is to expose Eck as a fool. Reformation satires, according to Erwin Doernberg, were excessively rude, ones whose "slogans and abusive verbosity . . . [were] frequently childishly primitive."[55] Abusive puns were typical, such as Luther calling Dr. Eck *Dreck*, German for dirt, in the vocabulary of Mikhail Bakhtin's *grammatica jocose*, in which syntactical inversions produce "materially satisfying counter-meaning."[56] In the dialogue, Eck vomits up Aristotle's *Commentaries* and excretes indulgences.[57] Satires like these illuminate Reformation assaults on elite culture, and reflect the complete upending of social divisions that the Reformation helped to engineer.[58]

If the texts of these polemical pamphlets carried a unique mix of stridency and insobriety, their title pages flashed warnings and offered advice. The Indian border was also used for several of Luther's texts, including his *Admonition of Peace*

(Tübingen: Ulrich Morhart the elder, 1525), a response to the *Twelve Articles* (1525) written by revolting peasants in Swabia proposing an assault on the established order.[59] Luther vehemently opposed the peasants' threats to abolish serfdom, adamant that social order should be maintained for fear that "authority, government, law, and order would disappear from the world; there would be nothing but murder and bloodshed."[60] Perhaps Luther's premonition of this up-ended world dictated the chaos described in the title page. This design certainly stimulated thinking about the viability of social orders outside of already known quantities, even when Luther's point here was to caution against topsy-turveydom—his arguments were already pushing at the seams of established order.

Perhaps the most radical assault on the social order, and indeed on the visual order, was made by Andreas Karlstadt, some of whose contemporary pamphlets also carry the Indian border.[61] Receiving his doctorate in theology at Wittenberg in 1510, Karlstadt wrote early pamphlets in support of his colleague Martin Luther. After openly advocating the removal of images from local churches, his text *On the Removal of Images* (Strasbourg: Ulrich Morhart the Elder, 1522) (figure 6.13) formalized his radical support of iconoclasm and articulated an impassioned plea for the destruction of images.[62] Karlstadt's tract followed closely on the heels of ordinances by the Wittenberg city council, which acted at the behest of Karlstadt and radical colleagues to remove images from the churches. *On the Removal of Images* was a hastily compiled justification of these actions, and Karlstadt's support of them marked his formal separation from Martin Luther.[63] Joseph Leo Koerner sees in this border Karlstadt's critique of pernicious images, arguing that it illustrates inhabitants of the New World bearing idolatrous props.[64] In linking this image to the text's comment on the origins of idolatry in heathen populations, Koerner makes a strong case for the correlation of title page's design to the text's content.

While we have seen here that these borders were by no means used exclusively, rarely designed with a specific text in mind, and floated freely amongst printers, certain themes would have recommended the use of one particular design over another. Despite the fact that these borders were set to press by printers whose bottom line dictated expedient production, the uneasy valence of these vignettes could not have escaped their audience. A balanced reading of the image considers the beholder's share in interpretation. The exigencies of print shop recycling and economics would have had little effect on the viewer's reception of these images. From the perspective of a viewer, these images of exotics inhabiting an upside down world help express the serial continuity of Reformation debates and would have suggested an alignment of the image with the text's content. That content was of a general, hypothetical, carnivalesque up-ended world, but one now sutured to an actual antipode: the New World.

Locating idolatry in the New World was one way of displacing European anxieties about the practice. The ambiguity of moralizing designs such as these suited a debate whose ostensible tussle over idolatry was only the tip of the iceberg of social change lurking and slowly splintering below. As Claire Farago and Carol Komadina Parenteau argue in "The Grotesque Idol," the eradication of idols offered as a panacea to religious reform was inseparable from Reformation concerns about public welfare; Karlstadt's radical position on images fueled not only iconoclasms from the

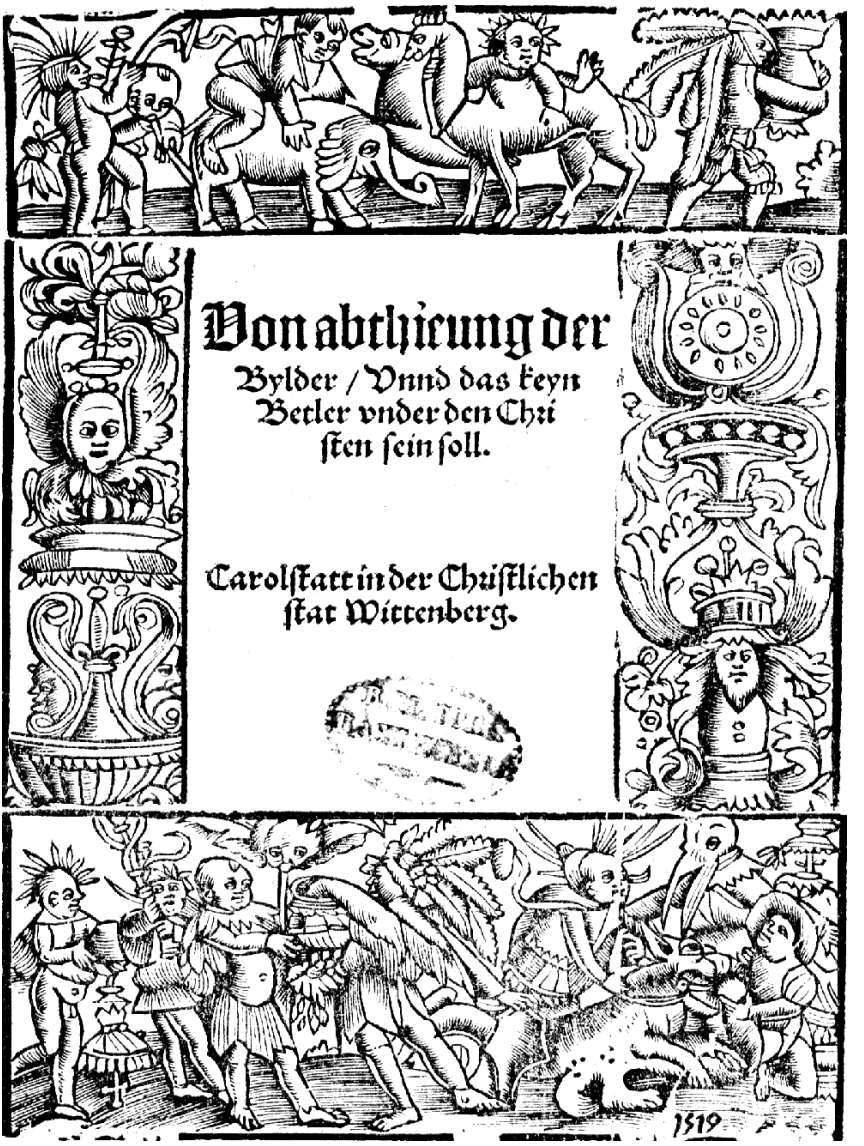


Figure 6.13 Anon., Andreas Karlstadt, *Von Abthieung der Bylder* (Strasbourg: Ulrich Morhart the Elder, 1522). Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, FP IX 5:3 (*Photo credit*: Universitätsbibliothek Basel)

1520s to the 1560s in Northern Europe, but also widespread civic unrest.[65] Europe's fixation on the topic of idolatry, like their grievances against cannibalism, embodied a whole set of concerns about the status quo, bundled into one issue.[66] Rhetorical projection of Europe's own fears on to the blank canvas of the new world, a fictive space which readily absorbed legends of alterity and splendor, afforded a closer look

at Reformers' own anxieties. By historicizing idolatry, fears could be displaced on to populations rumored to have started it. Even texts that opposed the substance of Karlstadt's charge, such as Johannes Eck's *On not Removing Images of Christ and the Saints* (Ingolstadt: Andreas Lutz, 1522) which endorsed the continued use of images in devotional practice but took a position against idolatry, per se, by arguing that idolatry was firmly a thing of the past, could have supported the old world/new world dialectic.[67]

Interestingly, the period interpretations of these borders were not sufficiently politically polarized to have solely represented one side of the debate. In their bipartisan ambiguity, the borders suggests a host of slippery meanings. The Amerindian border clearly alluded to the riches that were to be found there and the ease of their procurement, as Europe's encounter with the Americas "presupposed idolatry as an essential, defining element of America's cultural and social nature."[68] Therefore, one binary at work in the image suggests the power struggle between Europe and the New World.

Are the indigenes depicted laying their idolatrous props at the feet of their European conquerors? Will this act rectify their upside-down world? Does the image critique the conquistatorial exploits of the Europeans? Are Europeans swindling these innocent peoples, who would later be described by Montaigne as babes in the woods, still learning their alphabet?[69] Could it allude to Karlstadt's admonitions against images borrowed from Ezekiel: "You have made for yourself images in the shape of men and have been impure with them (Ezekiel 6:9). The gold and silver which I have given to you for your ornament you have used to make images and have whored with them. You have taken your clothes and clothed those same images with them (Ezekiel 16: 17–18). We do that in the case of [Carnival] clowns whom we certainly have no intention of regarding as alien gods, much less being told that they are our gods. However we are open in word and deed before the world to the charge that we take images for gods and give them names and venerate them."[70] Alternately, do all of the characters portrayed represent New World inhabitants? Are the feathered putti paying tribute to a local cacique? If so, could this distance from Europe be construed as a utopian world? Or does it represent a fools' paradise waiting for Christian redemption? That begged the question if the fool could be recognized without his cap.

Feast of Fools

Fools, another marginal group who, like new world inhabitants were "socially peripheral… [but] symbolically central," informed this Indian iconography.[71] By the time the Indian borders were published, the character of the fool had already cut a wide swath through the literary pastures of the Rhineland.[72] Since the publication of Sebastian Brant's immensely popular *Ship of Fools* (Basel: Johann Bergmann von Olpe) in 1494, there was ample room on board for fools of every stripe.[73] Brant's work held a mirror up to society and thematized the reversible world, a world where wise council misses the mark and professors admit their ignorance. Jesters and simpletons, simultaneously the butts of jokes and the purveyors of wisdom, embody the multi-valence of the fool and his iconography.[74]

After Brant democratized the notion of the fool, the bells in the jester's cap resonated even more sonorously, and one could argue especially, in the company of intelligent men. So liberally had Brant distributed fool's caps throughout the various strata of society that hardly anyone escaped wearing it, however temporarily. The many contemporary treatises that similarly developed the ambiguity of the nature of folly made wisdom that much harder to pinpoint. Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (*Moriae Encomium*, 1511) used the trope of folly satirically, a female personification who taught wisdom in paradoxes. Like Erasmus's Folly, Thomas More's protagonist of *Utopia* (Louvain: 1516), who discovers the virtues of reason in the inverted world Utopia, is himself, per his Greek name Raphael Hythloday, "a dispenser of nonsense."

The discovery of the New World inflected the character of folly, by virtue of a few vocal humanists like Thomas More who began to ask if the Old World itself was quite the right way around. The discovery of new peoples on new continents with new customs offered humanist Europe a chance to view itself in a different light, if not relativistically. Columbus and Vespucci reported a workable universe in the new lands in the Atlantic, if not exactly a terrestrial paradise. More's Hythloday, an ex-sailing mate of Vespucci's who bumped into Utopia on his return from the New World, described that island to be not unlike the world Vespucci discovered. Certainly what Vespucci himself had reported was grist enough for the Utopian mill: new lands that encouraged "dreams of rural and urban transformation."[75]

More's *Utopia* is not a paradise of ruined revelers, but a culture so far outside the purview of Europe that it escaped its lessons. This stance actually gave the Utopians a moral high ground from which to view Europe. Thomas More frequently uses a form of literary anamorphosis to suggest that a view through the eyes of the Utopians could more accurately reflect the societal and moral structure of Europe itself. Following the logic of anamorphic images popular at the time, Europe is seen by Utopians from an oblique angle and only comes into focus when the perspective from which it had traditionally been seen drops away. More's literary kinship with images like these that exposed the ambivalence of reality and the contingency of perception has been expertly parsed by Stephen Greenblatt. According to Greenblatt, *Utopia*'s "subtle displacements, distortions, and shifts of perspective" mimic those of perspectivally manipulated visual representations that threw both vision and interpretation out of joint.[76] The new perspicacity that readers gained as a result of the view from Utopia shone a direct light on some societal follies back home.

Many of the customs that Hythloday found and praised in Utopia contradicted the mores of contemporary England. Hythloday uses the Utopian examples to mount rhetorical arguments for religious tolerance, common property, common ownership of land, and food production—these follow closely reports of newly discovered peoples.[77] Other commendable attributes of Utopians follow New World reports less literally, but extrapolate moral code from them. Certain Utopian customs make European social codes almost unrecognizable, or throw the folly of them into relief. More's not so thinly-veiled plug for sumptuary regulations back home takes the form of a cautionary tale. Utopians misrecognize the social status accorded to dress elsewhere because of a local mandate to dress plainly; viewing the newly arrived and sumptuously dressed ambassadors from Anemolia, the Utopians mistake him for

the ambassador's *fool*.[78] One man's fool is another man's ambassador; such anamorphic inversions are typical in Utopia.[79] Tzvetan Todorov characterizes More's critical obliqueness as "a fascinating play of mirrors, in which the misunderstandings of interpretation motivate the transformation of society."[80]

The new world native's instability as a signifier persisted in visual anamorphic games that literally required the use of a mirror to right perceived wrongs, such as in this wash drawing of female personification of *America* from 1726 (plate 8).[81] The design by Daniel Volkert, a maker of mirror anamorphoses active in Augsburg, reveals an inchoate and indistinguishable figure disposed around a sphere.[82] Only with the aid of a cylindrical mirror placed on the sphere's center does the figure come into focus: an Indian in feathered finery (figure 6.14). Amerindians figured in the traffic of conversation pieces, becoming the subjects of visual puns and parodies, one part of a trend for mirror anamorphoses that gained a foothold in Augsburg between 1700 and 1800. The practice of making pictures not governed by conventional viewpoints was part of a larger philosophical investigation into the instability of images and the optics that helped produce them, and their very bivalency

Figure 6.14 Daniel Volkert, *Indian as Personification of "America*," with cylinder mirror (*Photo credit*: Graphische Sammlung, Germanisches National Museum, Nürnberg)

ultimately argued for relativism in the world view at large.[83] The Indian, pictorially amorphous in Daniel Volkert's rendering, was equally adrift in the inscription that accompanied it: "AMERICA. An Italian by birth, the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci, gave this part of the world his name, even though the Genoan Christopher Columbus discovered it before him. Made by Daniel Volckert, 1726."[84] Trapped in the inscription, this young Amerindian was a pawn in the rhetorical conundrum about the two competing claims to the discovery of and naming of America, whose visual instability matched the instability of claims to "authorship." This riddle was silenced when the mirror was placed on top of the inscription and the image could be seen clearly in the mirror's reflection—then, again, the Amerindian became a thing of wonder.[85]

Early modern Europeans regularly received new reflections of themselves through the mediation of a shifting and at times amorphous Other, some quite local. The omniscient fool frequently peeked out of the margins to hold up a mirror to society to enable better views of its own follies. Another printed venue that contributed to the fool's ubiquity was the decoration of playing cards. The range of characters depicted in playing cards followed the hierarchy of court structure: kings and queens, and jesters and fools, their iconography invited the players to consider both the chalice and the whip of fortune.[86] While fools usually designated the lowest of the marked cards, they also had the rhetorical pride of place as emblems of the vicissitudes of fortune: any player left holding the fool was mocked not only by the jester in his hands, but also by the reminder of the more valuable cards he had just let go.[87] The Nuremberg playing card designer Peter Flötner printed an array of card designs that examined the ethnography of real and "incipient" fools, showing how foolish travesty was not fixed, but could evolve.[88]

In an edition of a deck of cards that carried jesters' bells as suit markers, Flötner presents the *King of Bells* (*Schellenkönig*), which featured two exotics mapped seamlessly on to fools: one regal figure in an ornate robe with a scepter, paired with a half-naked figure carrying a bow and arrow, seen from the rear (plate 9).[89] The foreground figure torques in an awkward *contrapposto* weight shift, a pose almost directly borrowed from a watercolor sketch attributed to Hans Burgkmair of an exotic patched together with mismatched artifacts (figure 6.15): a youth with African physiognomy, dressed in a costume of Brazilian origins and holding an Aztec shield.[90] The cultural fluidity despite the ethnographic exactitude of the artifacts evident in this sketch is typical of several hybrid figures expressed in renderings by German artists c. 1515–1520, some of whom were working close to actual artifacts, such as Albrecht Dürer, whose Amerindian appears in Maximilian's *Book of Hours* from 1515. These new world peoples' cultural identity came to be defined via those artifacts.[91] The *contrapposto* stance of Burgkmair's hybrid African-Amerindian, as well as his attributes, were techniques of artistic accommodation that try to make over peoples new to Europe using the vocabulary and syntax of types already known to Europeans. In Flötner's playing card, the same fragments of Amerindian *spolia* are mapped onto a yet another appropriated Other, the body of the fool. The wreath belonging to the Indian seen here, while it mimics his traditional feather crown, is virtually indistinguishable from the laurel wreath that ringed the head of the "natural" fool.[92]

Figure 6.15 Hans Burgkmair, *African Youth in Native American Featherwork*, Pen and black ink, with brown, black and grey wash, 23.5 x 16 cm. British Museum, 5218–128, Sloane bequest (*Photo credit*: The Warburg Institute)

The *King of Bells* whom we see frontally is swathed in an ornate robe, from below which a feather apron peeks. He wears identical gold bands around his ankles and just below the knee, and he carries a parrot perched on his left arm.[93] Both figures are arrayed with colorful exotic accessories from a geographically untraceable Indies. A seamless identification of these figures with Amerindians, per the colorful feather costumes and parrots associated with Brazil, is frustrated by the background elephant which would situate this scene in India. But to see this embattled exotic locked in a tug of war of identity is an anachronistic concern for distinction. This very ambivalence seems appropriate to the foolery they announce. Not only are these two fools geographically displaced, their lavish costumes, fussy and complicated, seem also out of place in the idyll that surrounds them.

These two playing card exotics have been transformed into fools. The *King of the Bells,* personified as an Indian overlord, or perhaps a cacique, seems ridiculously out of place in his ornate robe in this rustic setting, and his elaborate high crown rises to the elevation of a jester's cap. The baubles on this cap, coupled with the string of

bells around his neck, align him very closely to jester iconography. The ceremonial staff he carries references the jester's scepter. These two new world figures stand on display in their inextricable incarnation as both Indians and Fools; their refusal to respect boundaries is reminiscent of the fluidities between More's Utopia and England, which the reader can "neither separate . . . entirely, nor bring into accord."[94] In fact, the cacique's finery conjures the image of the "sumptuously dressed fool" whom Thomas More's modestly dressed correspondents in Utopia inform his protagonist Hythloday was actually an ambassador mistaken for his jester. The suit marker of jesters' bells that decorates the upper corners shores up the association with folly.[95] But as the anamorphosis doubles back on itself, we are ultimately looking at a deeply ambivalent image.

Cannibalism Spoiled

World upside-down inversions that governed foolish feather-costumed putti on Reformation pamphlets, and playing card Indians in equally foolish trappings, ultimately forced the Native American into the role of a decorative, exotic, and foolish Other. A fierce cannibal in the early years of his introduction into Europe, the Indian was sidelined into exotic marginalia by the 1540s. He became a carnival hallmark, parading under the fool's suit marker, in a deck of cards, shuffled amongst a stack of society's other caricatures. We can also track this interpretative shift in Jean de Léry's "Bodily Description of the Brazilians," included in his 1578 *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil,* a passage which requires the reader to supply a familiar European carnival figure as *ersatz* for a hypothetical model of a Brazilian Tupinamba. Léry demands that his European reader accompany a native Brazilian through a series of costume changes, beginning with the mental picture of an Indian as "well-formed with well-proportioned limbs"—a noble savage. He then asks his reader to mentally dress and undress this Brazilian, much like a paper doll. Léry's later descriptions devolve into ones of increasing absurdity and alterity. In one incarnation, the fictive Tupinamba is rubbed with glutinous gum and furry down, so that "you can," says Léry with tongue in cheek, "imagine what a fine fellow he is." In the next costume change, Léry's Indian is covered with brightly colored feathers. And in the final instance, Léry costumes the Tupinamba in a European jacket and breeches, and thus attired, he tells the reader, "you will judge that he no longer needs anything but a fool's bauble."[96]

Jean de Léry, the French Calvinist whose 1556 mission to Brazil returned these impressions, picked up a trend in the description of the Amerindian already prevalent in the visual material. In these passages, Léry's Brazilian is an emblematic figure, an exotic figment of the European imagination, and a symbolic warning against the perils of making Amerindian culture commensurable with Europe's. Léry does not by any means see the Brazilians as foolish, but he does argue that the Indian will necessarily seem foolish to European eyes when dressed in his clothes and brought under the yoke of European mores. Léry concedes his utter inability to interpret this culture by standards of his own, in stark contrast to blunders made by Catholics in assuming the transparency of Amerindian culture. Léry's record of an Other so patently irreconcilable to his cultural mores forces him to abandon

any hope of conversion; the acknowledgement of this irreparable rift is what allows Léry's account to be called ethnographic.[97]

Léry deploys innocence abroad as a mirror for European selfreflection, using it to his own anti-Catholic polemical ends: Léry describes the Indian in his ritual feathered garb, as if clothed "in full Papal splendor."[98] Indeed, the crown of Flötner's playing card Indian does suggest the papal tiara, a metonymic emblem of the pope and already a highly charged object of much ridicule in Reformation polemic. Léry argues against this forced commensurability and shows the pernicious effect it produces, as Anthony Pagden interprets him: "Indians decked out in European clothes and made to ape European habits become nothing more than figures from a European carnival."[99] With these carnival abominations clearly in mind, Léry mourns the loss of the Indian's identity, while he acknowledges the Indian "not as a prodigy of nature but as a product of culture."[100]

Instead of irredeemable savagery, Léry finds evidence of culture in the lives of the Brazilians he encountered. He mitigates the barbarity of Brazilian cannibalism by portraying Tupinamba feasts in the context of their own rituals. The degree to which he relativizes practices like cannibalism with those of his own world and the extent to which he seeks resemblances earns Léry his status as ethnographer.[101] Léry's descriptions of Tupinamba expressions of valor and vengeance, civil order, and hospitality have suggested the influence of both medieval traditions of chivalry and pre-Christian ritual behavior; Léry spanned the gulf in cultures of his subject and his audience by describing rituals that were socially interpretable.[102] In Léry's model, even cannibalism falls into the category of ritual practice. Instead of dismissing cannibalism as abject alterity, Léry inspects its nuances. Using it as a polemical foil to Catholicism, he shows how Tupinamba ritual cannibalism pales in comparison to Catholic transubstantiation that proposes to "eat the flesh of Jesus Christ raw."[103] In the process of translating the host, the Catholics have become the true cannibals, and the cannibal roast has become as benign as the feast of fools.

Michel de Montaigne, if he did not have firsthand knowledge of the report of his contemporary and fellow Frenchman Léry, was clearly familiar with its content. Although he follows Léry in cancelling out abject difference, Montaigne even more vociferously argues for a paradigm shift in lessons to be learned from the New World. While Léry matches Thomas More's attempts to show the relativism of cultures through a series of anamorphic gestures, Montaigne uses the same principles not only to relativize, but ultimately to understand cannibalism. Instead of expiating the sins of the cannibals, Montaigne presents this custom in relation to home-grown barbarity. Montaigne condemns the spuriousness of European censure of cannibalism in the absence of comparative material, a judgment that misses the mark because of the blind-spot provided by the familiar; he criticizes a society blind to its own ethical contradictions. Montaigne now calls for cannibalism, previously an unquantifiable atrocity, to be gauged by a yardstick calibrated to European barbarity. By arguing for the Tupinambas' nobility of spirit and integrity in conduct; by extolling their virtuous habits, their just and valorous battles, and their moderate persuasions, Montaigne shows cannibalism as a mark of constancy in war. Montaigne has retooled cannibalism, once the rough pinnacle of Otherness, into the worked shape of ancient valor, in the words of Michel de Certeau, "the finest gold tradition has to offer is used to forge a halo for the cannibals."[104]

But Montaigne's crowning the cannibal with laurels was not unequivocal encomium, according to David Quint's compelling angle on the essay which attributes Montaigne's praise for the cannibal, less for the purposes of fashioning a noble savage out of him than to use the trope of barbarity to disclose the savagery of the French nobility. Quint rereads "Of Cannibals" in light of a general indictment of cruelty woven throughout the *Essays*, with which Montaigne articulates a critique of French aristocracy whose stoic and obdurate adherence to outdated prerogatives fueled the fires of the Wars of Religion.[105] Whether we read Montaigne's essay as unreserved admiration for the New World Indians, or accept their cruelty as a cipher of a cautionary strike against tradition, Montaigne unequivocally brings in a mirror to reflect on follies back home, a perspective that holds social transformation as its goal.

Montaigne has so thoroughly diffused the act of cannibalism that the accusation of savagery becomes totally unstable. By the end of his essay, savagery not only drops out as a useful indicator of cannibalism, but, more importantly, is used instead to reflect negatively on the artificiality, frivolity, and ultimately hypocrisy of the Europeans. Montaigne shifts the interpretation of non-European peoples governed by binary oppositions to ones that relativize them through identification with European customs, rituals and power structures—ones that ultimately force a reconsideration of European practice and, ultimately, conscience. Montaigne promotes this by a starkly modern appeal to a code of ethics produced from a relativistic and sustained eyewitness look at other cultures, rather than an appeal to either righteousness or antiquity.

Another effort in this direction, Montaigne's essay "Of Coaches" (1585–88) chronicles the European deception, treachery, ransom and defeat of both the Inca and Aztec empires. Holding his fellow continentals responsible for capsizing the world of the Native Americans, he declaims, "So many cities razed, so many nations exterminated, so many millions of people put to the sword, and the richest and most beautiful part of the world turned upside down, for the traffic in pearls and pepper?[106] A scathing indictment of Spanish abuses in the New World, this essay also serves as a moral allegory of the decency, royal bearing and gravitas of the Inca lord Atahualpa. Montaigne isolates the moment of Spanish treachery in Atahualpa's deception in a popular visual image of an emblematic moment: the Inca on his litter after the faithful payment of his ransom, and just before the Spanish cut him down for blaspheming a book whose meaning he did not understand.[107] Atahualpa's rejection of the friar's breviary after it was offered to him was willfully misinterpreted by the Spaniards as a deliberate act of defiance, after which it was used as just cause for the conquest in the New World.[108] This emblem of the emperor's interpretive breakdown had already appeared on the title page of the *Conquista del Peru* (Seville: Casa de Bartolome Perez, 1534); confronting Francisco Pizarro and the Dominican friar Vicente Valverde, Atahualpa holds the book aloft, just before he discards it and sets into motion a chain of events that end with his execution.[109] Indeed it seems that Montaigne has considered the humanity of this king and his litter bearers, possibly revealed to him through this print in Seville or one of the many iterations of Hans Burgkmair's image of the *King of Cochin* (figure 4.4). The nobility of this mode of transport has guided his pen through the essay, and he uses it as the dias of the Inca's former glory and the site of his martyrdom.[110] Montaigne argues that the savage

camp has been displaced by an upside down world of lies and betrayal. Rather than look for the savage in the other, Montaigne suggests that his readers look for it in themselves. Although he valorizes the betrayed Amerindian lord, he uses the Inca's martyrdom as a foil for the savagery of the perpetrators.

By the 1590s, savagery and cannibalism were already back in full swing as the dominant stereotype for the New World native, now wrapped in a plan of propaganda masterminded by the Huguenot family of Theodor de Bry for the *Grand Voyages*, the anthologies of travel and conquest in the New World printed in Frankfurt between 1590 and 1634.[111] But de Bry's use of barbarism is refracted through Montaigne—not the unapologetic cannibalism that accompanied the Indian's earliest identity, but a savagery that was rhetorically deployed as a trope by which to criticize Catholic greed in the New World and to shape an Other that, in De Bry's paradigm, is more Spanish Catholic than Indian. Within De Bry's volumes, cannibalism pales in comparison to the tortures endured by the Indians at the hands of Spaniards barbarity.[112] Michael Schreffler has argued that other contemporary visual images also express an anxiety about asserting cannibalism as America's predominant alterity.[113]

Although Amerindian cannibalism and idolatry would figure starkly in Spanish justification of conquest, these tropes would also serve the de Bry enterprise equally well in their own agenda to indict the Spanish for their greed for gold in the Indies.[114] But images of Amerindians made between 1520 and 1580 gave the Indian a brief reprieve from his diet of human flesh, images in which the cannibal was rebranded as an innocuous innocent, even a fool. Perhaps it was these polemical texts that first encouraged a tolerance brought about by the religious and ethical inversions of the Reformers' own world, a skepticism of status quo and contemporary order sounded by Sebastian Brant, Martin Luther, and Andreas Karlstadt, and seconded by Thomas More's Hythloday, and further explored in the margins of inversion not previously contemplated by Europeans. In Montaigne's paradigm, Europeans upend the world. *Die verkerte Welt,* that famously agentless state of inversion, acquired an agent—the savage European self, while the Indian, trivialized by his encounter with folly, lost his place at the table.

Epilogue

Despite the fact that they did not yet count themselves among the European powers vying for conquest and control of either India, Africa, or the Americas, Renaissance Germans demonstrated a tenacious interest in the peoples of these regions. Columbus' and Vespucci's reports found their broadest circulation in Germany, and German artists, as this study argues, created an early European picture of newly discovered natives of Africa and India. The iconography of these New World inhabitants in German prints in the first few decades of the sixteenth century was bound to contemporary explorations of the self and a variety of Others. Hans Burgkmair and Jörg Breu contributed to a conquest of the observable world and its peoples in print.

If the novelty of newly discovered peoples in the late fifteenth century impressed their earliest European observers, it is hardly evident in their printed representations of these encounters. Normalizing conventions governed the Indian's debut in reports of the discoveries that cribbed text from Marvels of the East long in circulation, as well as tried and true iconography. Yet, the fact that the earliest printed images of Indians in Germany solidified into visual models already established for familiar folkloric types such as the wild man, this betokened a tendency to classify the novel within familiar categories.

After emerging from the wild man's shadow, the Indian's silhouette was tailored from rough specifications taken from returning reports that prescribed an exotic costume consisting of a feather skirt and headdress. The pictorial relationship between the Indian and the German of antiquity followed the propositions of a visual syllogism, in the logical completion of which this exotic Indian became a substitute for the early *ur*-German. The conflation of the image of the Indian with that of the newly emergent *ur*-German in the beginning of the sixteenth century introduced the imperative to decouple this Other from the self. Perhaps it was precisely because the *ur*-German had collapsed atop the Indian that this shorthand for an exotic wild man ceased to be a workable or plausible model for newly discovered peoples.

Despite their innovations, these German artists negotiating the image of the foreign Other had a hand in enforcing categories in which the terms of anthropological query were driven by similitudes that assumed European customs as a point of departure. Notwithstanding the unavoidable Europocentrism of an artistic and intellectual ambient preoccupied with situating and parsing the self, Burgkmair and

Breu introduced a different strategy from wholesale othering, but one based on a study of particularity instead.[1] Hans Burgkmair's woodcut frieze of 1508 pictorially distinguished African and Indian peoples by charting them in discrete geographical zones and endowing them with specific customs and physiognomy based on firsthand observation. In order to plot the ethnographic turn Burgkmair forged in representations of newly discovered indigenes in sixteenth-century Europe, this study considered the *means* by which his graphic depictions convey the difference represented. Not insignificantly, these newly constituted subjects made their debut within a new visual mode of recording observation. The visual technology and styles Burgkmair used to express these particularities also reflect the markers that tagged other contemporary expressions of empirical investigation. This style also established the rhetoric of empirical observation—even for circumstances where this was not the case. His mixture of empirically observed and non-empirically observed particulars suggests the makings of a visual technology that applied across the board.

Hans Burgkmair's frieze reflected developments in a host of media that differently absorbed pictorial ideas of recording empirical data. The period's print technology was informed by the technical shorthand and schematic packaging of recording practices that rhetorically vouched for precision, such as the abstractions required by mapmaking, while simultaneously answering to the verisimilitude demanded by numismatics and portraiture. The observational mode of Burgkmair's contemporary, Jörg Breu, ratified textual claims to empirical observation and helped to establish the visual conceit of the eyewitness. In addition, Breu's recognition of India as a place of social and cultural heterogeneity, as well as his desire to make a comprehensive cultural map of the region, argue for proto-ethnographic sensibilities. Burgkmair's and Breu's prints reflected contemporary artists' engagement with the humanists' faith in the knowability of the world and their systematic attempts to organize, study, preserve, and reproduce it.

Europocentrism still bound the artists to a conceptual map that situated Europe at its center, in both a geographical and artistic sense. While Nuremberg and Augsburg replaced the theological hub of Jerusalem, these cities also redefined the center as the point from which trade, mercantilism, cartography, and other intellectual and scientific investigations would flow. Perhaps unavoidable for craftsmen surrounded by communities engaged in the development and refinement of scientific instrumentation, it is clear that these artists thought of their images as visual tools and therefore, pushed the boundaries of their own technology, printmaking, to accommodate their research.

Burgkmair and Breu structured a framework for Renaissance visual consideration of other cultures that was unique to their humanist milieu. Their observations of humanity on Europe's edge shaped reciprocal relationships in the service of anthropological and arguably, even humanitarian, ends. They weighed the foreign cultures arresting their attention on a scale relativistically calibrated. Their ethnographic renderings could offer compelling visual evidence to support claims that locate revolutionary ideas about human equality in the Renaissance, claims that later stalled in the course of imperial conquest and political absolutism.[2] Their research encouraged a flight from geographical, anthropological, and doctrinal definitions that fixed a normative center in both Europe and Christianity.

Among the things that these printmakers dismantled was a map with a fixed core, the idea that human dignity was hierarchically disposed, a Rome centered theological model, and a stereotypical view of non-European peoples. Research that I hope this study will encourage might suture the strands of this early and brief expression of cultural relativism together with Reformation impulses toward tolerance and confessional multiplicity. The period witnessed a proliferation of rhetorical strategies of inversion that placed theoretical question marks after nearly everything heretofore accepted as received wisdom, a strategy typified by Thomas More's *Utopia*. It seems unlikely that artists busy with their own projects of rediscovery and who had ambivalent relationships to the recent artistic past, would not have been intrigued by the idea of new, uncharted, but perhaps commensurate, humanity.

By the first half of the sixteenth century, the printing press had created furrows in the social landscape of Europe, giving a loudspeaker to the common man, decentralizing religious authority, changing the borders of confession, and sowing the seeds of tolerance. The deep tracks left by Reformation polemic obscure the subjects and impact of secular prints made in the years prior. Both humanist and popular reconsideration of northern Europe, its place in the world, and the world itself in this period is unthinkable without the visual accompaniment by German printmakers. This study finds that they considered others outside this world with the same interest and acuity, and they slotted their findings into rigorous intellectual categories. Is it possible that these new peoples helped spark with pluralism some of those theological fires that razed the European landscape? The Indians' dalliance as an embattled neighbor in the borders of Reformation polemic suggests some flickering at the edges.

Notes

Acknowledgements

1. The tenacity of Karl May, the great chronicler of American Indian fiction of the GDR period, whose works about the Apache Winnetou would seem to suggest that it is required reading for German schoolchildren. For the Karl May Museum near Dresden, the first museum in Europe exclusively devoted to North American Indians, see Christian F. Feest, "European Collecting of American Indian Artefacts and Art," *Journal of the History of Collections* 5:1 (1993), 8. For German Amerindian enthusiast groups in the twentieth century, see Peter Bolz, "Life among the 'Hunkpapas': A Case Study in German Indian Lore," and Rudolf Conrad, "Mutual Fascination: Indians in Dresden and Leipzig," both in Christian F. Feest, ed., *Indians and Europe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 455–475–491. For other German Indian hobbyists, see the Native American Association of Germany e.V., http://www.naaog.de/. The ethnographic efforts of these groups are typical of the work of German hobbyist Alex Biber who, in his studies of the Lakota, has "perfected his obsessive search for authenticity over thirty years, now says his work could fool a modern-day ethnographer, not to mention Sitting Bull or Crazy Horse…like the German language, Lakota is filled with hissing and throat-clearing sounds. 'It's not so hard for us to speak it,' he said." See James Hagengruber, "Germany's Weekend Warriors," January 12, 2003, *Billings Gazette,* also http://dir.salon.com/story/mwt/feature/2002/11/27/indians/print.html. For photographers Max Becher and Andrea Robbins who produced a series entitled *German Indians* (1997–98) in which they explore German enthusiasts of Native America and some of the other cultural dislocations to which some modern Germans migrations have given rise, see Andrea Robbins, Max Becher, Maurice Berger, and Lucy R. Lippard, *The Transportation of Place* (New York: Aperture, 2006), 14–25.

1. Wonder and the Working Print: An Introduction

1. "I saw the things which have been brought to the King from the new land of gold, a sun all of gold a whole fathom broad, and a moon all of silver of the same size, also two rooms full of the armour of the people there, and all manner of wondrous weapons of theirs, harnesses and darts, very strange clothing, beds and all kinds of wonderful objects of human use, much better worth seeing than prodigies. These things are all so precious that they are valued at a hundred thousand florins. All the days of my life I have seen nothing that rejoiced my heart so much as these things, for I saw amongst them wonderful works of art, and I marveled at the subtle *ingenia* of people in foreign lands. Indeed I cannot express

all that I thought there." As quoted in Jean Michel Massing, "Early European Images of America: the Ethnographic Approach," in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, Jay A. Levenson, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 515. I use Massing's translation of "prodigy" to express Dürer's term *Wunderding.* For the original German, see *Dürers Schriftlicher Nachlass*, Konrad Lange and Franz Fuhse, eds. (Halle a.S.: Niemeyer, 1893), 123, "das do viel schöner anzusehen ist dann Wunderding;" and Hans Rupprich's edition: "viel schöner an zu sehen ist dan wunderding" in *Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass*, 3 vols., Hans Rupprich, ed. (Berlin: Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956–69), 1:155. For the etymology of *wunder*, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 16. English translations have rendered *Wunderding[e]* as prodigies, or marvels, or marvelous things, but most use prodigies: "much more beautiful to behold than prodigies," in Hugh Honor, *New Golden Land* (New York: Pantheon, 1975), 28; "more beautiful to behold than prodigies," in Harold Jantz, "Images of America in the German Renaissance," in Fredi Chiappelli, et al. *First Images of America: the Impact of the New World on the Old* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 94. Marvels, or prodigies, from Antiquity to the medieval period, were beings that represented the upside-down map of the moral universe, see Mary Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic Travel Writing 400–1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), 53. Travelers to the Americas also used the discourse of marvels to reconcile what they saw there with the wonders and prodigies Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville found in the Indies. The wonder that Columbus experienced was a felicitous meeting of the "wonders" he anticipated finding in the territories and the adjectival form of "wondrous" or "marvelous." See Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: the Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 73ff.

2. For Dürer's admiration of the artistic ingenuity of the producers of the Aztec objects, and for his 1520–21 visit to the Netherlands, see Massing, "Early European Images of America: the Ethnographic Approach," 515–520; "The Quest for the Exotic: Albrecht Dürer in the Netherlands," 115–119, in Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1991); also Claire Farago, ed., *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450–1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 1. See also M. Kopplin, H. Jantz, F. Anders and J. Elliott, as quoted in Christian F. Feest " 'Selzam ding von gold vill ze schreiben were': Bewertungen amerikanischer Handwerkskunst im Europa des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch für Renaissance- und Humanismusforschung* 7 (1992), 105–120. Christian F. Feest believes the prescience given to Dürer for his appreciation of the Mexican treasures to be overstated in the secondary literature. A properly contextualized translation would show that Dürer, in fact, found much of what he saw in Brussels on the afternoon of August 27, 1520 worthy of note. Feest claims that Dürer's aesthetic evaluation of the Aztec artifacts as "art" in the modern sense would have been anachronistic, and renders Dürer's ineffability before them as "a very common expression of surprise at the technical quality and the otherness of the exotic works, which defied easy verbalization." When Dürer sketched a new world indigene in the pages of a prayer book dedicated to Maximilian, he produced an exotic, a miniature displayed on a half-shell, a figure with European physiognomy and clothed in Indian feathers. For folio 41r in Maximilian's Book of Hours, see Walter L. Strauss, ed., *The Book of Hours of the Emperor Maximilian the First: Decorated by Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, Jörg Breu, Albrecht Altdorfer, and Other Artists.* Printed in 1513 by Johannes Schoensperger at Augsburg (New York: Abaris Books, 1974), 81. For bibliography on the iconography of the Native American, see William Sturtevant, "First Visual Images of Native America," *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old,* Fredi

Chiapelli, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 423, and Jean Michel Massing, *Circa 1492,* 515.

3. As Stephen Greenblatt does, see *Marvelous Possessions,* 14.
4. Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 195. A host of Renaissance commentators claim speechlessness when confronted with wonder in art, as was the case when the Italian visitor Antonio de Beatis encountered Hieronymus Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights* at the residence of Henry III of Nassau between 1516–17, "And then there are some panels on which bizarre things have been painted…birds, animals of all kinds, executed very naturally, things that are so delightful and fantastic that it is impossible to describe them properly to those who have not seen them," as quoted in Keith Moxey, *The Practice of Theory: Poststructuralism, Cultural Politics, and Art History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 122.
5. Edward Said considers the pure and complete scholarly Orientalism produced by eighteenth-century commentators Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schlegel, whose *Westöstlicher Diwan* and *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* were sourced in their imperialist neighbors, to belie the Germans' own lack of colonial possessions. They cannot be seen as heirs to the sixteenth-century humanists whom this study engages, who chose a different set of registers with which to contemplate the world outside of Europe. See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994 reprint), 19.
6. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
7. Benedict Anderson's "imagined community" informs my notion of an early modern Germanic nation whose conceptual borders were determined by humanist research into their own antiquity. Germany at the time explored here was only a collection of loosely assembled regions with common linguistic ties, not a sovereign entity. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991 [1983]).
8. Many scholars have celebrated their accomplishments, see, for example, Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: the Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991) and *New Worlds, Ancient Texts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1992). Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Scarith of Scornello: A Tale of Renaissance Forgery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), and *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. For German humanism, see Dieter Wuttke, *Humanismus als integrative Kraft. Die Philosophia des deutschen "Erzhumanisten" Conrad Celtis: eine ikonologische Studie zu programmatischer Graphik Dürers und Burgkmairs* (Nuremberg: H. Carl, 1985), Peter Luh, *Kaiser Maximilian gewidmet: die unvollendete Werkausgabe des Conrad Celtis und ihre Holzschnitte* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001), and most recently, Christine Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008) and Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
9. *"Hodie Socero nostro sunt Serui Indi coempti duo/ consangineo nostro Ambrosio Hochstetter unus/ Conrado Vehlin cognato nostro unus qui sani in Sueuia degunt,"* in Ptolemy, *Cosmographia* (Rome, 1490), fol. A3v, today preserved in the Bodleian, Oxford (Gough Gen. top. 225). See Hans-Jörg Künast and Helmut Zäh, *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers: Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände,* vol. 1, *Die autographen*

Kataloge Peutingers: Der nicht-juristische Bibliotheksteil (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), no. 697.

10. For how humanists processed the raw data, see Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1992) and *Bring out your Dead: the Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).
11. Joan-Pau Rubiés justifies the role of sixteenth-century travel literature in ethnographic discourse. Rather than emphasizing novelty, travel writers insisted on the idea of a plurality of worlds and considered non-Europeans as more than simply a justification of Empire. See Rubiés, "New Worlds and Renaissance Ethnology," in *History and Anthropology* 6:2–3 (1993), 158, 167–172.
12. This was especially true for cartography and archaeology, see Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950), 285–315. For the intersection of scientific categories and art-making, see Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). For a look at nineteenth-century descendants of sixteenth-century humanism, see Suzanne Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). Marchand shows how the collection and organization of archaeological evidence by nineteenth-century German neo-Humanists presented a broadside to the study of antiquity through philological analysis.
13. Prints as scientific instruments could be mounted into books as volvelles for astronomic charts, or cut out along dotted lines and assembled into tools, paper versions of compasses, or sundials, see Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday, eds., *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the first Age of Print* (New York: Routledge, 2000), and Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, *Book Use, Book Theory 1500–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005); see also Suzanne Kathleen Karr Schmidt, *Art—A User's Guide: Interactive and Sculptural Printmaking in the Renaissance* (Yale: Ph.D. Dissertation, 2006).
14. For recent studies that have engaged the technology of seeing, see Pamela H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan*, also Pamela H. Smith and Benjamin Schmidt, eds., *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects, and Texts 1400–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
15. See Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
16. See Pliny, *Natural History,* XXXV.xxxvi.64, and Ovid, *Metamorphosis.*
17. See Claudia Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques de Gheyn (1565–1629)* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 36 ff., and Swan, "*Ad vivum, naer het leven,* From the Life: Defining a Mode of Representation," in *Word & Image* 11:4 (October–December 1995), 353–372. See also Peter Parshall, "Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16:4 (December 1993), 554–579. For "counterfeit," see also Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 141–142.
18. This strategy authorizes descriptions with the eye of a witness, "an eye speaking without mediation," see François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: the Representation of the Other in the Writing of History,* Janet Lloyd, trans. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 249. See also Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 50ff.
19. See Jean Michel Massing in *Circa 1492,* 115, 300 with references. Also Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 1–25.

20. The pen and ink wash drawing *Hydra Valued at 6,000 Ducats* is preserved in Munich's *Graphische Sammlung*. Among the printed editions is Conrad Gessner, *Nomenclator aquatilium animantium. Icones animalium aquatilium* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1560). See Paula Findlen, "Inventing Nature: Commerce, Art, and Science in the Early Modern Cabinet of Curiosities," in *Merchants and Marvels,* 308ff.
21. Only Margaret Hodgen has made an explicit and supported claim for it, locating the beginnings of anthropology in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travel literature and cultural geography. See Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 1964. Peter Mason finds a useful construct in Edmundo Magaña's term ethno-ethnology or "the study of the way in which man has implicitly or explicitly defined himself in all of his cultural settings and as the anthropological approach to the conditions determining what is 'possible' and what is not in man's conception of himself in any given culture." Mason uses this term to explore representations of man in which the distinction between "real" and "imaginary" need not be made, thus, particularly useful for images not grounded in empirical observation. See Peter Mason, "Classical Ethnography and its Influence on the European Perception of the Peoples of the New World," in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold, eds. (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 161. See John Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," *The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 30 (Spring 1964). See Rowe for the Renaissance use of terms relating to ethnography. Although "ethnography" and "ethnology" were not coined until the late eighteenth century, *anthropologia,* during the Renaissance, implied the study of man, and "moral history" embraced the study of life and customs. By and large, ethnographic observations and artifacts were often made and collected by amateurs and, if published, they were usually for the purpose of relaying curiosities, rather than collecting systematic information.
22. Ivins calls many of the early schematic and generalized images "little more than travesties of the objects they purported to represent," but reserves his praise for their role in standardizing knowledge. Ivins's classic study addresses printmaking at the nexus of technological and scientific knowledge, see *Prints and Visual Communication* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 39–46 especially.
23. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology,* 23 ff. "The sixteenth and seventeenth century precursors to modern anthropological texts, cultural geographies and travel literature organized by nations, cities, and continents according to ancient categories such as customs, religious rites, forms of government, costumes, language, and artistic products, provide an important and frequently visual record of emerging 'europocentric' attitudes," see Claire Farago, ed., *Reframing the Renaissance,* 74.
24. For example, Henrik Rantzau's *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes & arces, & quid singulis locis praecipue in peregrinationibus homines nobiles ac docti animadvertere, observare et annotare debeant* was edited by Albrecht Meier and published in Helmstadt in 1587, with an English version, probably made at the request of Richard Hakluyt, following closely: *Certain briefe, and speciall instructions for gentlemen, merchants, students, souldiers, marriners, etc* (London: John Woolfe, 1589). See Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800*, Studies in anthropology and history, v. 13 (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), 127 ff.; Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology,* 187. For literature on the methods of travel, see also Joan-Pau Rubiés, "New Worlds and Renaissance Ethnology," in *History and Anthropology* 6:2–3, 1993, 168, n. 37. For the role of merchants in mediating new knowledge generally, see Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels.*
25. Columbus's description of his first encounter with native peoples on the island of Guanahaní embeds the rhetoric of calculation familiar from his experience in the

Genoese trade. Early ethnography inquiry followed computational models, calculating distinctiveness, and differences for which merchants were on the lookout. See Peter Hulme, "Tales of Distinction: European Ethnography and the Caribbean," in Stuart Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 159.

26. Thomas More, *Utopia,* Clarence H. Miller, trans. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 94. Thomas More also shows engagement with cosmographic literature and cartography, see Romuald Lakowski, "Utopia and the 'Pacific Rim': The Cartographical Evidence, in *Early Modern Literary Studies* 5:3 (January 2000), 5:1–19.
27. The ubiquity of de Bry illustrations has been mistaken for ethnography; for the overexposure of de Bry's engravings in the modern media, see Henry Keazor, "Theodore de Bry's Images for *America,*" in *Print Quarterly,* 15:2 (1998), 131. For the publications of the de Bry firm, see Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590–1634)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 389ff.
28. André Thevet's account of the Tupinamba Indians qualifies as the first ethnography, according to Lestrigant, because the Franciscan recognized in cannibalism "fully human activities, part of a code of conduct, endowed with meaning." Frank Lestrigant, *Cannibals,* Rosemary Morris, trans. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 58.
29. Lévi-Strauss dubbed it a "masterpiece of anthropological literature," see Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, trans. John and Doreen Weightman (New York: Atheneum, 1974), 83. For further references to Léry's ethnography, see Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, otherwise called America*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), xv, xvii. See also Claire Farago, "Jean de Léry's Anatomy Lesson: The Persuasive Power of Word and Image in Framing the Ethnographic Subject," in *European Iconography East and West,* ed. György E. Szönyi (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 109–127.
30. While some of de Bry's engravings were based on earlier first-hand studies, such as Jacques Le Moyne (1564) and John White's sketches (1585–87), de Bry "freely altered and 'improved' the originals. Thus while White's copies retain unmistakably Indian features, the faces and figures in de Bry's prints are no less unmistakably European, however strange their hair styles and painted ornaments," see Hugh Honor, *New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon, 1975), 70.
31. For example, used in the sense of ethno and graphein, or the description of man. See Peter Hulme, "Tales of Distinction: European Ethnography in the Caribbean," in Stuart Schwartz, Stuart, ed. *Implicit Understandings,* 161. Michael Gaudio cleverly exposes their debt to European standards, not least of which was the technical craft of printmaking itself, see Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).
32. To assume transparency in the term ethnography also obscures the artist's role in its construction. See for example *Welt im Umbruch: Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock,* exh. cat. (Augsburg: Augsburger Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1980), vol. I, 236; Jean Michel Massing, "Hans Burgkmair's depiction of native Africans," in *Res* 27, Spring, 1995, 41; Isolde Hausberger and Rolf Biedermann, eds., *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*. (Augsburg: Städtische Kunstsammlungen, 1973), cat. no. 26. See also Tilman Falk, "Frühe Rezeption der Neuen Welt in der graphischen Kunst," in *Humanismus und Neue Welt*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Bonn: Acta Humaniora, 1987), 49; and Mark P. McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector* (London:

British Museum Press, 2005), 169. While many of these authors use the term ethnographic, none of them justify the anachronistic use of the term.

33. Valerie Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," in *Early Modern Visual Culture,* ed. Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 44–97. For early modern racial thinking, see Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800–1960* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1982); and Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); and Margo Hendricks and Patricia A. Parker, *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (London: Routledge, 1994).
34. Dürer's study of measurements and mechanics in human anatomy represented the broader milieu in which Burgkmair's work developed. The anatomical studies that he offers are spiritually akin to what Dürer tries to do in his technical examination of human proportions, *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* (1528) and *Unterweysung der Messung* (1525), studies that try to establish a rational basis for beauty.
35. Horst Bredekamp's classic study of the *Kunst* and *Wunderkammer* argues that they presage "pre-Cartesian form[s] of organization," see *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstkammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art, and Technology.* (Princeton: M. Wiener Publishers, 1995), 34.
36. As quoted in Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft*, 97. Aldrovandi's organization, as inferred from a 1595 inventory, was also morphological. For Aldrovandi's eighty-three volume of the *Pandechion Epistemoticon,* see Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 64ff.
37. Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity,* 35.
38. In this system "hermeneutics and semiology are superimposed in the shape of ceaselessly recursive similitudes," see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), 29.
39. For the Habsburg Kunst and Wunderkammer, as well as humanist print collections, see Peter Parshall, "The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 78 (1982), 139–184.
40. Swan, *Art, Science, and Witchcraft,* 96.
41. Apothecary gardens were planted with empirical purposes in mind, to help the botanist recognize plants, to help him memorize forms, to differentiate among closely related species, and with this, to ensure accurate communication within a community of other naturalists. See Brian W Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 139–208.
42. As opposed to previous attention paid to non-visual elements such as tactile qualities, smell, taste, and curative properties. See Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing,* 169.
43. Joan-Pau Rubiés, "New Worlds and Renaissance Ethnology," *History and Anthropology* 6:2–3 (1993), 160.
44. Findlen, *Possessing Nature,* 65.
45. One such revisionist study suggests ways to undercut these artificial boundaries that obscure networks of sixteenth-century artistic interaction, see Claire J. Farago, ed., *Reframing the Renaissance*, 6. See also Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse, eds., *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).
46. By collaboration, I mean the artists' engagement with an intellectual circle that included Konrad Peutinger, as well as local printers. From their own collaborations, from which, though frequent, I have discerned few occasions of particular intimacy. They are mainly large commissions for Maximilian, such as work for his *Prayerbook*, the

Theuerdank, The Nine Worthies, and the *Triumphal Procession,* as well as several panels made for Maximilian's nephew, Duke Wilhelm IV (Wittelsbach) of Bavaria. For the Prayerbook, see Walter L. Strauss, ed. *The Book of Hours of the Emperor Maximilian the First* (New York: Abaris Books, 1974). For their collaborations generally, see Pia Cuneo, *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity c. 1475–1536*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, vol. 67 (Boston: Brill, 1998), especially 98ff. For the imperial projects of Maximilian, see Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

47. Burgkmair's woodcut frieze of the *Peoples of Africa and India* has garnered some recent attention from a study of the inventory of the print collection of Ferdinand Columbus, as well as an accompanying print exhibition at the British Museum. The copy of Burgkmair's frieze recorded in Ferdinand Columbus's inventory has provided textual clues hinting at the presence of now lost segments of the frieze. See Mark P. McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India," *Print Quarterly* 20 (2003), 3; see also McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector (1488–1539)* (London: British Museum Press, 2005). Otherwise, Burgkmair studies have been isolated, dominated by the former longtime print keeper of Munich's Graphische Sammlung, Tilman Falk.
48. For example, the *Teuerdank, Weisskunig,* the *Triumphal Arch,* and the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian.* See Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
49. Burgkmair shares the credit for this invention with Augsburg-based Antwerp block cutter Jost de Negker, see Isolde Hausberger and Rolf Biedermann, eds., *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531,* 1.
50. See the dissertation by Ashley West, *Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531) and the Visualization of Knowledge* (Philadelphia: Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2006), which also repairs the gap on Burgkmair in the English-speaking scholarship.
51. Key for these trends in German art is the rift that Joseph Leo Koerner asserts for artistic self-fashioning that Dürer's self-portraiture forged around 1500. Joseph Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 32. Printed art in this ambient has also been recently explored by Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
52. Breu has acquired some renown from a personal chronicle he kept during the fervent years of the Reformation, which makes him a valuable eyewitness to a historical event, and from which it seems his Protestant confessional sympathies did not interfere with continued production for Catholic clients. See Pia Cuneo, *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity c. 1475–1536*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, vol. 67 (Boston: Brill, 1998); and also "Propriety, Property and Politics: Jörg Breu the Elder and Issues of Iconoclasm in Reformation Augsburg," in *German History* 14:1 (1996). See also Andrew Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder: Art, Culture and Belief in Reformation Augsburg* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001).
53. See, for example, Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press As an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975); Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, Cambridge studies in oral and literate culture, 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 1981); David Kunzle, *The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from c. 1450 to 1825* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Keith P. F. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); and Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

54. See Rubiés, "New Worlds and Renaissance Ethnology," 157. The distinction was not even made in the period literature; by 1606, the *Grand Voyages* anthology also included *Oriental India*, with editions issued in Latin and German. See George Watson Cole, ed., *A Catalogue of Books relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1907), vol. 2, 504ff.
55. See John Elliott, "Renaissance Europe and America: A Blunted Impact?" in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old,* vol. 1, Fredi Chiapelli, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 17.
56. Exhibitions are often the first place to challenge previous cataloguing practices. See, for example, the Folger Library's *New World of Wonders* (1992) and the Smithsonian's quincentenary exhibition *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (1991); *Amerika 1492–1992: Neue Welt—Neue Wirklichkeiten*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Dietrich Briesemeister, et al., ed. (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1992), 122–123; see also Kim Sloan et al., *A New World: England's First View of America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
57. Farago, *Reframing the Renaissance*, 76–81. Farago assigns the beginning of cultural relativism in historiography to the Vienna School's Alois Riegl who engaged products of other cultures without wielding the normative yardstick of Greco-Roman civilization. Tom Kaufmann reconsiders historiography's periodized and nationalized boundaries that artistic diffusion and exchange defy and urges scholars to re-map accordingly. See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

2. Centering the Self: Mapping the Nuremberg Chronicle and the Limits of the World

1. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1493), BSB Rar. 287, this is Schedel's personal copy; *Weltchronik* (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1493) BSB 2°Inc.c.a. 2921. The colophon of the Latin edition reflects the date June 12, 1493, and the German edition, December 23, 1493. The most direct precedent for the map was the Ptolemy map included in the 1488 edition of Pomponius Mela's *Cosmographia* printed by Erhard Ratdolt in Venice. See Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*, 115. For a recent facsimile of the 1493 German *Weltchronik,* see Hartmann Schedel and Stephan Füssel, *Chronicle of the World: the Complete and Annotated Nuremberg Chronicle of 1493* (Cologne: Taschen, 2001).
2. The map of the world in published editions of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* did not reflect changes introduced by the discoveries until 1507. The first printed Ptolemies to take new lands into consideration were two Roman editions (1507 and 1508), and one printed in Venice in 1511. Emendations to the vernacular Ptolemies were slower to appear. The German-language Ptolemies were primarily printed in Strasbourg between 1513 and 1522. See Angelika Wingen-Trennhaus, " 'Geographia' von Ptolemaeus zu Pirckheimer. Die Editionsgeschichte eines geographischen Werkes" in *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1991), 1991, 66. In 1498, Hartmann Schedel catalogued his library and made a list of his cosmographical and geographical holdings. The Columbus letter, frequently reproduced by this time, does not appear on the

list. Klaus Vogel questions the impact of such a letter that contained no exact information about the islands' whereabouts and no precise navigational information. See Klaus A. Vogel, "Neue Horizonte der Kosmographie: Die kosmographischen Bücherlisten Hartmann Schedels (um 1498) und Konrad Peutingers (1523)," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1991), 78.

3. Psalter World Map, British Library, Additional Ms. 28681, fol. 9r (map circa 9 cm in diameter). For bibliography on the Psalter Map, see P.D.A. Harvey, *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context* (London: British Library, 2006), 15–19.
4. For the various hands involved in this production, the printer Anton Koberger; the financiers Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister; as well as the two designers Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, see David Landau and Peter W. Parshall. *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 39.
5. See Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984) [second edition Philadephia, PA: University of Philadelphia Press, 1989], 5, 103. Minnis points out that thirteenth-century exegesis shifted the focus from a divine *auctor* to the human authors of Scripture, with a concomitant emphasis on the literal and historical portions of the Bible.
6. The text's Latin title *Liber Chronicarum* translates as the Book of Chronicles, its German moniker *Weltchronik* is rendered as Chronicle of the World. Fortuitously, its title in the English-speaking world, the *Nuremberg Chronicle,* has captured the important novelty of this book by locating its genesis in Nuremberg.
7. The job of Renaissance cosmography was to "map . . . the entire world . . . (by means of a) framework of celestially derived circles . . . as a backdrop for explaining the order and creation of the world in metaphysical terms," see David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance,* The Panizzi Lectures (London: British Library, 1996), 13.
8. Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Die lateinische Weltchronik" in Alexander Randa, ed. *Mensch und Weltgeschichte. Zur Geschichte der Universalgeschichtsschreibung* (Pustet: Munich, 1969). She has subdivided the genre into three types: "series temporum," which records the events in linear sequence, the "mare historiarum," where events appear as stories, and the "imago mundi," which,in addition to history and geography, encompasses other disciplines to create a world image that can be both experienced and learned. As quoted in Christoph Reske, *Die Produktion der Schedelschen Weltchronik in Nürnberg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 151.
9. The *compilator* organized and arranged the statements of other men, but added nothing of his own, see Minnis, *Medieval Theory*, 94.
10. The book's closest undisputed stylistic relative is [lat.: Jacobus Philippus de Bergamo] Giacomo Filippo Foresti's *Supplementum chronicarum ab initio mundi usque ad anno 1482* (Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 1483), which laid out a similar conceptual program of dividing the world into temporal zones. Schedel's world is divided into six ages marked by theological turning points. Despite Schedel's inclusion of the contemporary era, this parceling of the world into finite ages reveals the boundedness of the late medieval universe. Schedel interpolated into Foresti's template genealogies of the popes which he borrowed from Bartholomaeus Platina's *Vitae Pontificum* (Trevisio: Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, 1485); genealogies of the emperors, borrowed from Flavius Blondus, *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades* (Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 1483); and German history and imperial lineages from Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica* (Rome: Johannes Schurener and Johannes Nicolai Hanheymer, 1475) and *In Europam* (Memmingen: Albrecht Kunne, not after March 1491]). From Piccolomini's works and from Bernhard of Breydenbach's great travel volume of his

pilgrimage to the Holy Land, *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz: [Peter Schöffer] and Erhard Reuwich, 1486), Schedel culled knowledge about local geography.

11. See Klaus A. Vogel, "Schedel als Kompilator," *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch* 9 (1994), 84.
12. Fol. IIr: "Da von auch Ovidius der poet in seinem gedicht gar schön meldung thut; the poet Ovid also told of this in his poem."
13. Fol. Ir: "so wollen wir doch die alten irrthum verlassen und beschawen die verporgen mosayische schriften von der werlt geschöpff und von den wercke der sechs tag sagende."
14. See Minnis, *Medieval Theory*, 158. Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum*, for example, outlines the hierarchy of authority: first Scripture, then the decretals and canons with papal approval, patristic writings, and lastly, the works of pagan philosophers and poets.
15. David Cushing Duniway argues that the *Chronicle*'s printer Anton Koberger was able to obey the letter of the law while continuing to publish books that managed to circumvent the injunction against printing the Bible while still being prototypically biblical. See David Cushing Duniway, "A Study of the Nuremberg Chronicle" in *The Papers of the Biographical Society of America* (New York, 1941), 32.
16. Kurt Gärtner, "Die Tradition der volkssprachigen Weltchronistik" in *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch* 9 (1994), 65.
17. Fol. VIIIr. Homer maintains that all the earth is enclosed by sea, island-like, Strabo says that the southern seas cannot be navigated because of the great heat, the northern seas, because of the cold; Solinus maintains that all waters beyond Africa were navigable from India to Spain; Pliny cites merchants who have traveled from Spain to Ethiopia. Pliny also refers to a testimony that Cornelius (a Roman administrator in Gaul) was given by the King of Swabia about some Indian traders who, because of stormy weather, were brought to Germany. Otto, the historian, says that under the German king, an Indian merchant ship was taken in a German city and that they had come from an inclement wind from the Orient. . . . this would not have been in any way possible if the midnight sea was frozen, as some believe it to be.
18. Fol. VIIIr: *"das doch in keyne weg het mugen beschehen wo das mitternachtlich meer unbeschiflich und gefroren wer als etlich mayenen."*
19. Fol. CCLXXXVr&v.
20. Fol. CCLXXXI: "Darnach im jar 1483 hat Koenig Johannes zu Portugalia ein man gar hoher synn ettlich galeen mit allen zu leben notturftigen dingen angerichtet und hinder die seulen herculs gegen mittemtage wartz Ethiopain zeerfroschen außgeschickt und den selben schiffen oder galeen zwen patron gesetzt. Nemlich Jacobum canum einen Portugalier und Martin beheym einen teutschen von Nurmberg auss einem guten geschlecht daselbst geporn in erkanntnus des gelegers der erden hoherfarn und dess meres wol geduldlich. der dann die lenge und prayte in dem occident auß erfarnus und langer schiffung gar aigentlich waißt und nach volbringung solcher schiffung sind sie in dem sechzehenden monat widerumb gein Portugalia komen und haben doch vil irer mitgeferten von des uberhitzigen luffts wegen tod hinder inen gelassen." A much more complete report of this discovery is provided in the Latin *Liber Chronicarum* than in the German *Weltchronik*, with also a greater emphasis on the "new and incredible." See Dieter Wuttke, "Humanismus in den deutschsprachigen Ländern und Entdeckungsgeschichte 1493–1534," *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch* 7 (1992), 20.
21. Behaim produced his famous globe, the oldest surviving terrestrial orb, in 1492 in the service of the Nuremberg town council. This globe, drawn by Georg Glockedon, was based on empirical and commercial discovery; gone were the theological determinants that situated locations like Jerusalem, or even more nebulous entities like Paradise, at the map's center. The commercial interests of some of its investors, however, may have

been responsible for the globe's residual references to Pliny, Isidore, Strabo and Vincent of Beauvais; their reports of India's legendary mineral wealth nicely complemented the German merchants' incentive for duty-free spices. For this reason, Frey considers Behaim a mediator between the old wisdom and the new. See Winfried Frey, "Montis auri pollicens. Mittelalterliche Weltanschauung und die Entdeckung Amerikas," *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* 37 (1987), 9. For the Behaim globe, see Wolfgang Pühlhorn and Grzegorz Leszczynski, eds., *Focus Behaim Globus*, 2 vols. (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1992); see also Evelyn Edson, *The World Map, 1300–1492* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007), 220–226.

22. For the surfacing of the concept of authority in textual studies, see Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?" in *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism,* Josué V. Harari, ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 141–161.
23. Hartmann Schedel, *Chronicle of the World,* 15. Schedel's personal copy was also furnished with his portrait.
24. Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print,* 40.
25. Foucault, "What Is an Author?" 147.
26. Johannes Werner's edition of Ptolemy (Nurnberg: Johann Stuchs, 1514) proceeded by way of a three-part analysis. The original text was stated, then summarized, then glossed with additional information. See Christine Johnson, *Bringing the World Home: Germany and the Age of Discovery* (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2000), 77. Johannes Werner was a Nuremberg mathematician and astronomer and a colleague of Willibald Pirckheimer. Dismayed by the mistakes perpetuated by Jacopo d'Angelo's Ptolemy, Werner re-issued a retranslation of the original Greek into Latin (Johann Stuchs, 1514) to which he proposed new projections for the original twenty-six maps. See Franz Machilek, "Kartographie, Welt- und Landesbeschreibung in Nürnberg um 1500" in *Landesbeschreibungen Mitteleuropas vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert,* ed. Hans-Bernd Harder (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1980), 5.
27. On the verso of the world map in his copy of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (Rome: Pietro della Torre, 1490), the Augsburg humanist Konrad Peutinger excerpts Regiomontanus' "Disputationes contra Cremonensia in planetarum theorica deliramenta" regarding the shortcoming of Jacopo d' Angelo's translation of the first Latin Ptolemy. See Hans-Jörg Künast and Helmut Zäh, *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers: Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände,* vol. 1, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers: Der nicht-juristische Bibliotheksteil* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003), 578.
28. Munich BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 1251. This inclusion was made circa 1490. Uta Lindgren, "Die 'Geographie' des Claudius Ptolemaeus in München: Beschreibung der gedruckten Exemplare in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek" in *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 35 (1985), 163ff.
29. In Gautier Lud's [lat. Gualterus Ludd] *Speculi Orbis succinctiss.[ima] sed neque poenitenda neque inelegans Declaratio et Canon. Renato Siciliae Regi etc. dicatum* (Strasbourg: Johannes Grüninger, 1507); a German translation, *Erclarnis und usslegung der Figur und Spiegels der Welt* (Strasburg, 1507), followed shortly. See Dieter Wuttke, "Humanismus in den deutschsprachigen Ländern," 49.
30. Wuttke, ibid. For the events surrounding the attachment of Vespucci's given name to America, see Klaus A. Vogel, "Amerigo Vespucci und die Humanisten in Wien," in *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch* 7 (1992), 64ff; and Christine R. Johnson, "Renaissance German Cosmographers and the Naming of America," *Past and Present* 191:1 (May 2006), 3–43. See also Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of Its History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961).

31. Elizabeth Eisenstein assigns the "crystallization of the cult of literary originality" to the mid-eighteenth century but acknowledges that a rift was already felt in late sixteenth-century cartography when Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* became the ersatz authority to Ptolemy. See Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 193. Non-Ptolemaic cosmographies and geographic manuals, such as Peter Apian's *Cosmographicus Liber* (Landshut: Peter Apian, 1525) (Antwerp: Bollaert, 1529) and Martin Waldeseemüller's *Geographia* (Strasbourg: Johann Schott, 1513) already reflected structural independence from Ptolemy. See James Akerman, "From Books with Maps to Books as Maps" in *Editing Early and Historical Atlases*, ed. Joan Winearls (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 11. According to Eisenstein, these early, self-conscious emendations to Ptolemy prepared the way for the overhaul of antique spatial and temporal orientation.
32. "Alius orbis repertus est priscis ignotus!" This is included in the May 4, 1503 letter from Collaurius, the royal Latin secretary active in Antwerp, to Celtis, cf. Hans Rupprich, *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*, 1934, 530, as quoted in Wuttke, "Humanismus in den deutschsprachigen Ländern," 23. "Applicuiumus in hanc patriam, ubi nulla dies praeterlabitur, qua non te milies vocem. Vidisses hic praeter alia multa scitu digna Lusitanos nautas, qui cum stupenda referunt, et admireris priscorum scriptorum omnium inepta, qui asseruerint ea non esse in humana natura, quae tamen illi non repperuerunt et viderunt: vidisses hic aliam cartam navigandi ad polum antarcticum et homines, qui tibi retulissent mira et inaudita. Dominus praepositus noster Mathaeus Lang depinxit illam tabulam, quam videbis subito, cum nobiscum futurus sis. Ego non possum ea omnia scribere, quae vidimus et audivimus. Alius orbis repertus est priscis ignotus! Tantum te hortor, quoniam temporis brevitas non permittit esse [longiorem] epistolam, ut quantocius ad nos acceleres, ubi et fruaris ea oblectatione, ut colloquaris cum his, qui viderunt; quod ut quam citissime facias, cupio mirum in modum." See Klaus A. Vogel, "Amerigo Vespucci und die Humanisten in Wien," for translation, 23, note 28. See also L. W. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis, the German Arch-Humanist* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), 103–104.
33. Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1992), 57.
34. Peutinger's catalogue of cosmographical literature included not only the old authorities but gave equal weight to their modern commentators. See Vogel, "Neue Horizonte der Kosmographie," 82.
35. Foucault, "What Is an Author?" 149.
36. Ibid., 148. This seems an apt characterization of an "act" that takes on both pagan and Christian views of the Creation, and one that embeds stories of Pope Joan and Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz, in an otherwise "licit" lineage of ecclesiastics.
37. The German *Weltchronik* is supplied with the text, "Zu beschreibung mer geschihten oder künftiger ding sinn hernach ettliche pletter lere gelassen; Hereafter follow several pages that are left blank for the description of additional stories or future events," fol. CCLVIIIv. While the text promises to supply several pages, there follows only a half page of blank space for these additions. In the Latin exemplar, words to this effect appear as a postscript to a colophon that was not ultimately the terminal one. A belatedly planned section of the Seventh Age of the World begins after the three blank leaves and the postscript that reads, "It is deemed useful to add a few blank leaves to those already devoted to the sixth era of the world on which emendations and additions may be made of deeds of princes and other events which may take place. For none of us can do everything. Even the good Homer nods sometimes. Shining gold is sought for in the mud of the beds of rivers. Even the river Pactolus had in it more than gold. Various

marvelous events occur day by day, which require new books in which they may be related. However, a few events of these later times have been added at the end of this work, so that it may be complete." See Adrian Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1977), 157.

38. Kurt Gärtner, "Die Tradition der volkssprachigen Weltchronistik," in *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch* 9 (1994), 65. In his thirteenth-century "Chronicle of the World," Rudolf von Ems's own name displaces Adam's in the prologue where acrostics for Noah, Abraham, Moses, and David announce the title players in the age of the world.
39. For indexing practices, see Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 99–102. Also, *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the first age of Print,* Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2000). See also Kathleen Biddick, *The Typological Imaginary: Circumcision, Technology, History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
40. Gärtner, "Die Tradition," 70.
41. The first printed T-O map was that in Isidore of Seville's *Etymolgiae* ([Augsburg]: Günther Zainer, 1472), whose manuscript antecedents extend back to 700 AD. See Gerald Danzer, *Images of the Earth on Three Early Italian Woodcuts: Candidates for the Earliest Printed Maps in the West,* Occasional Publication of the Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography 5 (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1991), 18.
42. Fol. XIIIr: "also haben sie die sun Noe nach der sintfluts ausgetaylt und Sem mit seinen nachkomen Asiam. Japhet Europam und Cham Affricam besessen als die Schrifft auch Crisostomus. Ysidorus unnd Plinius sagen; After the Flood, the sons of Noah dispersed; Shem and his descendants went to Asia, Japhet's to Europe, and Ham's descendants possessed Africa, per the texts of John Chrysostom, Isidore of Seville, and Pliny."
43. The only extant copy of the Rüst map, known by the name printed on the banderole at the map's base, preserved in a copy of Strabo's *Geographia* printed in 1472, is today in the Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 19921. See Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World*, 7; Gerald Danzer, *Images of the Earth*, 29 and fig. 7; and Klaus Stopp, "The Relation between the Circular Maps of Hans Rüst and Hans Sporer," in *Imago Mundi* 18 (1964), 81. The Rüst map, the text of which was printed in vernacular German, sought a larger audience than most "academic" Ptolemy maps. Like the Rüst map, the map of Erhard Etzlaub, the *Rom Weg*, a route map designed to carry local pilgrims to Rome in 1500, also displayed text in German; in this map, Nuremberg was at the dead center. See Wuttke, *Humanismus als integrative Kunst* (1985), 6.
44. The statistics Ptolemy provided were to be used by them to construct a mathematical view of the world, using distances between points and geometry to plot the *oikoumene* on a grid of longitude and latitude. The world map was constructed on a graticule, a grid composed of parallels and meridians. Because Ptolemy conceived the earth as a sphere, the planar maps following his prescriptions were actually projections of three-dimensional space and the maps bulged accordingly. See J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones, *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 31.
45. In 1506, Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia translated it into Latin, the first manuscript version in the West. Reconstructions of maps worked up from the text are first dated to a 1427 version of a Ms. belonging to a French cardinal and these maps are copied from a Greek exemplar. Donnus Nicolas Germanus, active in Florence, standardized the trapezoidal projection of the world map in a manuscript from 1466 and added some new ones. The printed Ptolemies follow his recension and projections. For a history of the reception of Ptolemy's *Geography* in Europe, see N. M. Swerdlow, "The Recovery of the Exact Sciences in Antiquity: Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography" in *Rome Reborn:*

The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture, ed. Anthony Grafton (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1993), esp. 157–165.

46. Oswald A. W. Dilke and Margaret S. Dilke, "Ptolemy's Geography and the New World" in *Early Images of the Americas: Transfer and Invention*, eds. Jerry M. Williams and Robert E. Lewis (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1993), 267. The standard maps included one of the world and twenty-six regional maps: ten of Europe, four of Africa, followed by twelve of Asia.
47. Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Cosmographia* (Ulm: Leonardus Hol, 1482), Munich BSB 2 Inc.c.a. 1249–1250. Schedel also owned another Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* (Bologna: Dominicus de Lapis et al., 1462 [actually: 1477]), Munich BSB, Rar. 124.
48. Although both the Behaim globe (see note 21) and the *Chronicle*'s text incorporated data that Hieronymus Münzer and Martin Behaim provided up to 1485, the *Chronicle*'s Ptolemy map did not reflect this. See *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*, exh. cat., ed. Béatrice Hernad (Munich: Prestel, 1990), 99–102. Henricus Martellus' world map of c. 1490 also records the changes brought about by Dias and Cao. For Martellus's map, see R.W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472–1700* (London: Holland Press Cartographic, 1984), xxii.
49. For the continuity of the antique geographic tradition in later cartography, see Walter A. Goffart, "Breaking the Ortelian Pattern: Historical Atlases with a New Program, 1747–1830," in *Editing Early and Historical Atlases: Papers given at the 29th Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 5–6 November 1993*, Joan Winearls, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 49–81.
50. See Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942). For a catalogue and situation of the Plinian races, see Peter Mason, "Classical Ethnography and Its Influence on the European Perception of the Peoples of the New World," in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold, eds. (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 147–148.
51. See Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature: 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 14–15, 39. In the medieval period, monsters were catalogued in the *Liber monstrorum* and the *Tractatus monstrorum,* both eighth-century, see 26.
52. Konrad von Megenberg, *Buch der Natur* (Augsburg: Johannes Baemler, 1475), BSB 2 Inc.c.a. 347.
53. The printed text for this section reflects several departures from the original manuscript exemplar, preserved in the hand of its German translator, Georg Alt. The exemplars were essentially the layout copy used for the *Chronicle*'s sophisticated design. They contain not only text but also the rapidly sketched designs for most of the woodcuts. For the final designs, the artists Wolgemut and Pleydenwurff would flesh out the exemplar's rough sketches; when the artist meant to refer to a block that already existed, the sketch would indicate what block was to be used. In the blueprint for the folios featuring borders containing the marvels, the exemplars simply show the text block with two empty ladder-like strips. Adrian Wilson's investigation of the lay-out schema for the book reveals that each double page spread represents one of about nine different lay-out plans. The printers' priority was to create perfect full pages out of standard text rectangles and woodcut illustration, doing his best to avoid blanks or white spaces. The account of the monstrous races and the Ptolemy map somewhat abruptly interrupt the sequence around Noah's genealogy for just this reason—to insert a recto, verso, recto sequence so that Noah's story could begin on a verso. Wilson suspects that the third monster strip was simply added to fill out the page where the existing Ptolemy map would go. See Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle,* 115 and 123. Perhaps

this extra monster strip was originally intended to border the monster text of fol. XIv, the preceding page. This reading is supported by the arrangement of the Latin edition printed in Augsburg in 1497 in which the printer Johann Schönsperger the elder imposed another layout. Here the monster strips border only the text concerning them and the Ptolemy map sits by itself on the following page.

54. According to Stephen Orgel, 645 blocks were used 1809 times. See "Textual Icons," in *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*, Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday, eds. (London: Routledge, 2000), 63.
55. Other events worthy of note include astronomical observances, insect pestilences, church councils, illustrations of biblical and mythological scenes, panels of the monstrous races, as well as ornamental and decorative elements to divide portions of the text.
56. Johann Cochlaeus's letter to Antonius Kreß (October 10, 1511) was printed as the introductory dedication letter in his *Cosmographia Pomponius Mele* ([Nuremberg: Johann Weissenburger],1512), fol. A1v: *"Credo equidem Geographiam id esse historiis quod Sol est mundo,"* as quoted in Vogel, "Neue Horizonte der Kosmographie," 85, n. 19. Johannes Cochlaeus, the Rector of St. Lorenz's Latin school in Nuremberg, added his *Brevis Germaniae descriptio* to Mela's *Cosmographia* of 1512; a student primer published as the first "textbook" of German geography. See Machileck, "Kartographie," 4. Fellow humanist and Augsburg city secretary Konrad Peutinger essentially collapsed the two categories: the catalogue of his own cosmographic library was excerpted from a list of his holdings "ad Historias." See Vogel, "Neue Horizonte der Kosmographie," 81.
57. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, third revised edition, Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1447.
58. David Woodward, *Maps as Prints*. This definition of topography comes from 1561.
59. The *Chronicle*'s illustrations do not seek to reproduce the visual testimony of a direct witness, distinct from the claims that Peter Parshall makes for the act of *contrafacere*. See Peter Parshall, "Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance" in *Art History* 16:4 (December, 1993), 564.
60. An illustration of Ulysses's taking leave of Circe accompanies the discussion of Ulysses's travels. Schedel ends this section by linking Ulysses's perambulations with the historical founding of Lisbon, or Ulixbona.
61. "Alle diese Ansichten sind in Italia *contrafehtet* und recht in grund gelegt, in großer Form gedruckt; All of these views were counterfeited in Italy . . . and printed here in large format," see Elizabeth Rücker, *Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1988), 116.
62. As well as for the landscapes of Hans Lautensack from 1550, including his topographical view of Nuremberg from 1552. See Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 345–348.
63. See Beate Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Sprenger und der frühneuzeitliche Reisebericht* (Munich: Iudicium, 1999), 14. Rudolf Agricola's 1477 biography of Petrarch attributes his philosophical might to his great travels. See Dieter Wuttke, "*Humanismus in den deutschsprächigen Ländern*," 17. See also Jesús Carrillo, "From Mt. Ventoux to Mt. Masaya: The Rise and Fall of Subjectivity in Early Modern Travel Narratives," in *Voyages and Visions,* Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, eds. (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 57–73.
64. See the Map of Hans Sporer, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Rosenwald Collection, 1943.3.645. Other German towns were inserted with an equal disregard for geographical accuracy. See Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps*, 82. For the Sporer map, see Peter W. Parshall and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, in association

with Yale University Press, New Haven, 2005), 202–204; Klaus Stopp, "The Relation between the Circular Maps of Hans Rüst and Hans Sporer," *Imago Mundi* 18 (1964), 81; Leo Bagrow, "Rüst's and Sporer's World Maps," *Imago Mundi* 17 (1950), 32–36.

65. Hieronymus Münzer, a local doctor and geographer who advised Behaim on the production of his 1492 globe, revised and edited sections of the *Weltchronik* dealing with European geography and created this map, the first map of "Germany" to circulate in print. See Machilek, "Kartographie," 2.
66. Carlos Alberto Campos, "Martin Behaim and the Scientific Attitudes of the Nürnberg Intellectual Milieu," in *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1991), 50.
67. In the Augsburg edition, the depiction of Nuremberg reverts to half-page status, like all other cities in Schönsperger's 1496 edition, but in the original Koberger version, there was no doubt about Nuremberg's prominence at the navel of the world.
68. See Wingen-Trennhaus, "Geographia," 69. Also Martha Tedeschi, "Publish and Perish: The Career of Lienhart Holle in Ulm," in *Printing the Written Word,* Sandra Hindman, ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 55. Globes, measuring tools, compasses, Hellenistic and Arabic scientific treatises proliferated in Nuremberg.
69. See Machilek, "Kartographie," 1–12; Paul Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus* (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1968), 88.
70. See Wingen-Trennhaus, "Geographia," 62.
71. It is through Schedel that Münzer's report (c. 1498) has come down to us, along with the separate report of the discovery of Guinea written in his own hand. See Vogel, "Neue Horizonte," 80, note 11.
72. See Campos, "Martin Behaim," 53, and note 52. Münzer's letter of July 14, 1493 urged King Joao II to organize an expedition, led by Behaim, to find a path to the "Oriental Cathay." According to Campos, the nexus of scientific activity and belief in the perfectibility in human knowledge in Renaissance Nuremberg gave rise to a framework where personal observation could co-exist with, or even rival, the weight of theoretical speculation.
73. *Der deutsche Ptolemaeus* [Nürnberg: Georg Stuchs, c. 1493]. Munich BSB, Rar. 559. A digital copy of this edition, along with transcription and the map can be found at: http://www8.informatik.uni-erlangen.de/IMMD8/Services/textfarm/edition/html/index.html. See also "Der 'Deutsche Ptolemäus' (um 1495?)," in Michael Herkenhoff, *Die Darstellung außereuropäischer Welten in Drucken deutscher Offizien des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 133–143. The "German Ptolemy" is divided into two parts; the first is a general geography in fifteen sections that located places by parallel and degree, the path of the sun and the influence of the zodiac on people's health. The second part is a specialized geography borrowing heavily from the Ptolemy printed in Ulm in 1486, giving continental divisions and oceans. For an explanation of how the map was constructed, see Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps,* 139–141.
74. Printed by Georg Stuchs and Johann Weissenburger. See Irmgard Bezzel, "News from Portugal in 1506 and 1507, as printed by Johann Weissenburger in Nuremberg," in *The German Book 1450–1750,* eds. John L. Flood and William A. Kelly (London: The British Library, 1995); also John Parker, ed., *From Lisbon to Calicut,* Alvin E. Prottengeier, trans. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956).

3. The Wild Man, the German Body, and the Emperor's New Clothes

1. See, for example, Albrecht Dürer's panel painting of Charlemagne (c. 1510) now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; see Figure 1 in Larry Silver, "Prints for

a Prince: Maximilian, Nuremberg, and the Woodcut" in *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg*, Jeffrey Chipps Smith, ed. (Austin, TX: Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, 1985), 6. This depiction is also wholly at odds with the description of the primogenitor of the Germans articulated by the celebrated 19th century historian of Germany Leopold von Ranke: "the purple of a Caesar passed to the Teutonic races in the person of Charlemagne." In Leopold von Ranke, trans. G.R. Dennis, *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1909), 1.

2. Such as the one Holbein made for the emblem of the honorary society "Zur Hären," see John Rowlands, *Drawings by German artists and artists from German-speaking regions of Europe in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 316. On the wild man tradition, see Roger Bartra, *Wild Men in the Lookinglass: the mythic Origins of European Otherness*, trans. Carl T. Berrisford (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994); Timothy Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1980); and Richard Bernheimer, *The Wild Man in the Middle Ages* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970).
3. Larry Silver, "Forest Primeval: Albrecht Altdorfer and the German Wilderness Landscape," *Simiolus* 13:1 (1983), 31. See also Hans Schaüfelein's panel from 1515 to 1520, which localizes Onuphrius in Bavaria.
4. See Larry Silver, "Forest Primeval," 31. This concern is likewise articulated by Hans Sach's *Klag der Wilden Holtzleut*, a 1545 broadsheet illustrated by Hans Schäufelein in which wild men complain about the perfidy of the civilized world. Silver notes that the makeover of the wild man from a violent savage to a noble one coincides with the resurfacing of Tacitus.
5. See Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), especially 128–160.
6. Anonymous, *Wild Men with Pyr* (c. 1450), 220 x 270 cm., limestone relief on the Rathaus, Augsburg. The Rathaus relief remained on the east face of the building until the Gothic structure was destroyed in 1614. From 1615 until 1890, it adorned the façade of the old Stadtbibliothek in the Anna-Hof, after which it was placed on the rear of the new Rathaus.
7. Representations of these pine cones proliferated in Roman territories—surviving examples crowd the Roman Museum in Augsburg and a colossal brass example is still mounted in the Belvedere Cortile in the Vatican. The pine cone was also a symbol of the classical god Attis, a Phrygian shepherd worshipped in a cult shared with the the vegetation goddess Cybele (Magna Mater). See *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*, Hubert Cancik et al., eds. (Boston: Brill, 2002–), 327ff. Attis is sometimes depicted with vegetal attributes such as a wheat shaft, pinecone, and pomegranate. See *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. 3 (Munich and Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1986), 28ff. The misidentification of the woman's head on the capital on which it is now mounted as the pre-Roman goddess Cisa, protectress of Augsburg, caused the emblem to be read as a "berry" (Beere = Per, Pyr), a symbol of growth and fertility. See Wolfgang Kuhoff, "Markus Welser als Erforscher des römischen Augsburg" in *Die Welser: Neue Forschung zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses*, Mark Häberlein and J. Burkhardt, eds. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 600. Antiquarians like Markus Welser rejected the "berry" reading in favor of a pinecone and with it, Cisa. Markus Welser endorsed instead a local provenance for the town civilized by the Romans, for whom, he supposed, it represented the profusion of conifers in Raetia. An interpretation offered by humanists saw the ubiquitous Pyr as the Roman symbol for the city of Augsburg, a notion which enjoyed popularity until recent times. See Kuhoff, "Markus Welser," 602 and *Augsburger Stadtlexicon*, Günther Grünsteudel et al., eds. (Augsburg: Perlach, 1998), 729.

8. "Glory be to you lord in the imperial city Augusta Retia."
9. The *Pyr* was the copious artifact left by the Romans after their settlement of Augsburg (c. 15 B.C.), following the conquests of Drusus and Tiberius. The Roman settlement was situated fortuitously between the Lech and Perlach rivers, a safe distance from the *limes* that marked the northern border of the empire. In this auspicious setting, Augsburg became the capital of the province Raetia, an area that included the Tyrol, as well as parts of Switzerland and Bavaria. The name the conquering Romans gave to the site, *Augusta Vindelicum*, indicated the incorporation of the native tribe, the Vindeliker, into a municipality carrying and commemorating the emperor Augustus' title. See *Augsburg: Geschichte in Bilddokumenten*, Friedrich Blendinger et al. (Munich: Beck, 1976), 25.
10. Hektor Mülich, a chronicler of the 1480s, interrupts a work otherwise restricting its historical narration to the Middle Ages in order to highlight a foundational episode in Augsburg's Roman antiquity. Mülich states that Drusus, stepson of Augustus, gives the city its emblem, the *Per* or *Pir,* a symbol reproduced on Drusus' own funerary monument in Mainz. Mülich frames his historical narrative with a grant of genealogy: Drusus bestows the *Pyr* on Augsburg, as a pagan christening of German Augsburg from the font of the Romans. Hektor Mülich, as quoted in Peter Johanek, "Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsüberlieferung in Augsburg am Ausgang des Mittelalters," in *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp, eds. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 164.
11. Between the years 1450 and 1456, the local government of the city of Augsburg prevailed in jurisdictional quarrels with the bishopric. The resolution substantially stripped the bishop of his legal advantage and influence in Augsburg proper and forced him to relocate his seat outside the city to Dillingen in 1486. Johanek, "Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsüberlieferung,"163–166.
12. For the formation of the early modern state, see Eugene F. Rice and Anthony Grafton, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe 1460–1559* (2nd ed.) (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), especially 128–132.
13. See Husband, *Wild Man*, 51.
14. Paul Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus* (1968 [1910]), 42.
15. Peter Egen, an Augsburg patrician, was indirectly responsible for the vernacular *Reimchronik*, for he had presented the author, "der Küchlin," with the Book of Troy, one of its major sources. He also commissioned Jörg Ammann to fresco his house with a depiction of the "Varusschlacht bei Augsburg." See Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 42. See also *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg*, Gunther Gottlieb et al. (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1985), 232. In addition to the Varrusschlacht, Amman also included an image of the bare-breasted pre-Roman goddess Cisa. See also Johanek, "Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsüberlieferung," 166–167.
16. See Frank Borchardt, *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 58.
17. Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 59. "Er schrei: ach Rom und Macedon, Varre gib wieder die legion!" This was amusing doggerel next to the official Latin version that appeared in countless other texts: "Quintili Vare legiones redde!" Küchlin derives the etymologies of nearby rivers and cities from this battle: in commemoration of the victory, the Swabians named the city after Vindelica, a stream which served them well in the battle. Drusus rechristened the city Augsburg, after the emperor Augustus, and it remained a Roman city until the advent of Christianity in 241 A.D.
18. Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 43. Certain Roman sources consulted by Meisterlein confirmed this such as Horace's Odes which mentions the Amazonian battle axe wielded by the Vindelicier in the context of Drusus' victory siege, as well as Porphyrio's

commentary. Meisterlin was printed in Augsburg by Ramminger in 1522. See also Hans Tiedemann, *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein der deutschen Humanisten* (Berlin: E. Ebering, 1913), 40.

19. Johanek, "Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsüberlieferung," 168.
20. Walter Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, a.d. 418–584: the Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 13.
21. Historian Publius Cornelius Tacitus (b. 55 A.D.) had a public career under Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. This led to the praetorship (c. 88 A.D.) in Rome and later, he held the post of consul with Pliny the Younger for the province of Africa. Tacitus may have held a legionary command in Germany from 89–93 A.D., during an absence from Rome, but this is not certain.
22. This phrase was distilled from the text and later lexicalized. Walter Goffart, "Two Notes on Germanic Antiquity Today," *Traditio* 50 (1995), 16. See also Florike Egmond and Peter Mason, *Mammoth and the Mouse: Microhistory and Morphology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 161, 167.
23. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–64), Pope Pius II from 1458.
24. Kenneth Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 33.
25. Gerald Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany: Its Topography and Topographers* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 12.
26. Moral geography, which formally linked geography to a moral history of peoples, was a Greek invention. Adopted by the Italians in the late medieval period, Germans quickly made moral geography their own. In the hands of the German humanists, cosmography became the site of a formal union of history and topography, informed by the descriptive urge to illustrate and the rhetorical mandate to instruct with an eye to reform. Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 11. Christine Johnson suggests that the profusion of geographic and chorographic texts produced by sixteenth-century German humanists could have answered a need on the part of German scholars to specify and demarcate their Germany, perhaps responding to the region's relative neglect by ancient cosmographers. For sixteenth-century German cosmographers, see Christine R. Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and the Marvelous* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 47–87, 55. For English efforts in this period, see Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001).
27. Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493, the cosmography par excellence for the fifteenth-century, lifted much of the geographic and ethnographic description of Asia and Europe from Aeneas' own cosmographic works. While Schedel ultimately derived the form of his chronicle most directly from Italians like Aeneas and Flavio Biondo, links between the genres of history and geography would continue to tighten in Germany. Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 46.
28. For Aeneas, geography served the ends of precision in universal history and he used it to gain a more perfect understanding of contemporary events. His *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* was a historical-geographical work "motivated by the desire to prepare the crusade against the Turks on a more empirical basis." See Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 91.
29. Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 34ff.
30. See *Albrecht Dürer 1471–1971,* exh. cat. Germanische Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, May 21–August 1, 1971 (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1971), 161.
31. While the first German-language edition did not appear until 1526, there were numerous Latin editions between these. See Tacitus, *Germania*, trans. Herbert Benario

(Warminster: Aris & Phillips, Ldt., 1999), 7. Also Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 15, and Tiedemann, *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein*, 82. Vindelinus de Spira printed the first Latin editions of all Tacitus' available works in Venice in 1470. Aeneas' essay *De ritu . . .* appeared in 1473 (Nuremberg: Frederick Creussner); Aeneas' *De Ritu. Situ. Moribus et Condicione theutonie descriptio* in 1496 (Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel); and Celtis' recension, *De origine et situ germanorum* (Vienna: Johannes Winterburger, c. 1498). The first German translation was printed by Johann Eberlin von Günzburg in 1526 (based on Rhenanus' 1519 commentary); the fifth complete edition by Andrea Alciato in Milan, 1517; Basel, 1519; Venice, 1535 and 1554. The sixth edition by Beatus Rhenanus comprised a revision beyond the philological ones made by Alciato, and produced the best *Germania*, according to Schellhase, to date (Basel, 1533; Frankfurt, 1542).

32. For the text and translation, see Leonard Forster, *Selections from Conrad Celtis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 35.
33. Forster, *Conrad Celtis*, 36–65.
34. For example, Tacitus' original text and Pliny's twenty lost books on Germany. See Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 9.
35. Celtis' *Oratio*, quoted in Forster, *Conrad Celtis*, 47. "Induite veteres illos animos, viri Germani, quibus totiens Romanis terrori et formidini fuistis, et ad angulos Germaniae oculos convertite limitesque eius laceros et distractos colligite!" Here Celtis recalls Tacitus' report of the Harii, a Suebic tribe, who "produced terror by mere appearance, terrifying and shadowy, of a ghostly army," (*Germania*, chp. 43) calling them strange and diabolical. All quotes from Tacitus come from Benario, 1999.
36. Forster, *Conrad Celtis*, 47. Pudeat, pudeat, nationi nostrae iugum et servitutem imposuisse externisque et barbaris regibus tributa et vectigalia pendere. O liberum et robustum populum, o nobilem et fortem gentem et plane dignam Romano imperio, cuius inclitum maris portum et claustra Oceani nostri Sarmata et Dacus possident! Ab oriente autem valentissimae gentes serviunt, Marcomanni, Quadi, Bastarnae et Peucini et quasi a corpore Germaniae nostrae separatae vivunt.
37. Wolfgang Neuber, *Fremde Welt in europaeischen Horizont* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1991), 41.
38. In preparation, Celtis solicited submissions from many other civic leaders and humanists on the subject of regional descriptions which were slow to arrive. Celtis impatiently made several hopeful advance dedications of the work to Maximilian before re-conceiving the project. For *Germania illustrata*, see Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 155–167, also Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 106–109, Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 35–40, Lewis William Spitz, *Conrad Celtis, the German Arch-humanist* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), Chapter 10.
39. Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 24. *Germania illustrata* was to be based on Flavio Biondo's Italia illustrata. Celtis' *Norimberga* (1495) and *Amores* (1502) served as preludes to *Germania illustrata*.
40. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis*, 96 also 104. With his discovery and publishing of lost works by Hrosvitha von Gandersheim whose six dramas put an original and spiritual twist on the comedies of Terence, Celtis argued that German culture persisted throughout the medieval period. See also *Albrecht Dürer 1471–1971*, exh. cat., 1971, 163.
41. See Larry Silver, "German Patriotism in the Age of Dürer" in D. Eichenberger and C. Zika, eds., *Dürer and his Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 41 ff. The tension between Celtis' advocacy of Latin learning over the barbarian tongue of vernacular culture and his simultaneous embrace of German patriotism is explored by David Price, "Desiring the Barbarian: Latin, German and Women in the Poetry of Conrad Celtis" in *The German Quarterly* 65:2 (Spring 1992), 159–168.

42. "asperam et crudam prae illa, puto, siderum conversione perlustraverint moresque nostros, affectus et animos verbis tanquam picturis et lineamentis corporum expresserint," quoted in Forster, *Conrad Celtis*, 45.
43. Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 23. These four lovers were Hasilina Sarmatica, Elsula Norica, Ursula Gallica and Barbara Codonea.
44. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis*, 103.
45. Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 100. Celtis elaborates on Tacitus by knitting the German's pure-bred identity right back into legendary antiquity in which the Germans were products of the creation by the Demogorgon.
46. For the challenge that material evidence began to present to medieval chronicles and lore, including Maximlian's search for the bones of Siegfried, see Christopher S. Wood, "Maximilian as Archeologist," in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 58:4 (Winter 2005), especially 1130. For Celtis's antiquarian research generally, also see Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 1–24.
47. Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 162.
48. This battle cry recalled the memory of Hercules' sojourn in their land: "when ready to go into battle, they sing of [Hercules] as the bravest of all brave men. They also have songs of this kind (they call it barritus, or war cry), by the recitation of which they rouse their courage" (Germania, Chapter 3). According to Tacitus, the Germans amplified an already hair-raising call to battle by drawing their shields close to their mouths to produce a deeper swell and more menacing echo. Tiedemann, *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein*, 94. Johannes Aventinus, following Berosus, claims Hercules was the son of Tuisco, nephew of Noah. The textual conflation of their deeds explains the paradox of the double German and Greek Hercules.
49. Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 107.
50. Tiedemann, *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein*, 40–41. Bebel's case comes per Annius of Viterbo, according to whose *Commentaries on Various Authors Discussing Antiquities* (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1498), a son of Noah was the direct primogenitor of the Germans and Sarmatians.
51. Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 111.
52. Borchardt, ibid., 113. Borchardt claims that Bebel's case for Spain probably refers to the "still inadequately explained" Suevic kingdom of northwest Iberia in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Perhaps it is also to this that Peutinger refers when he mentions historical aggression between the Swabians and Portuguese: "daß es doch andere Zeiten gewesen seien, da die Sueven noch die Lusitanier mit dem Waffen überwanden als jetzt, wo die durch inneren Zwist zerrissenen Nachkommen sie als Händler aufsuchten," as quoted in Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 124.
53. A 1507 description of the West African coast includes mention of a spot where Hercules found the current around the cape to be so strong that he erected a pillar with a Greek inscription that read "Hardly anyone who tries to round the cape ever returns." See Friedrich Kunstmann, "Valentin Ferdinand's Beschreibung der Westkueste Afrika's bis zum Senegal," *Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe der Koeniglich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 8 (1856), 253.
54. For Hercules and the Germans see Kaufmann, *The Noble Savage*, 48–52.
55. See also Stephanie Leitch, "The Wild Man, Charlemagne, and the German Body," *Art History* 31:3 (2008), 282–302. Larry Silver maintains that the image was produced under the direction of Johannes Tolhopf, the rector of the University in Ingolstadt and an intimate of Celtis'; Silver proposes a date prior to 1493 when Maximilian succeeded Frederick III as emperor. See Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology*

of a Holy Roman Emperor (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 23–24. Peter Luh dates it to 1496 based on Maximilian's campaign against Charles VIII, see Luh, *Kaiser Maximilian gewidmet: die unvollendete Werkausgabe des Conrad Celtis und ihre Holzschnitte* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001), 334ff. Franz Unterkircher previously attributed it to Hans von Kulmbach on the strength of an illustration that Kulmbach later recycles for the dedication page of Celtis' *Quattuor libri amorum* of 1502, see Franz Unterkircher, *Maximilian I, 1459–1519*, exh. cat. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, and Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1959. See also W.L. Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. IV (Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, 1927), no. 1958m. The inscription reads: Hercules Amphitrionis Iouisqu' Filius Victoriosissimus & Inuictissimus, etc. In the lower field, Maximilian rides with Burgundian accompaniment. To the right, a group of Boemi and Mediolanenses. On the fans in the procession, we can read: Nodo Imperii', Suicer, Cur.II, Huni, Stradioti, Raciani. The caption consists of three lines, the first of which reads Maximilianus Friderici Tercii Imperatoris Filius . . . Hercules Germanicus Mundi Monarcha Gloriosissimus. See also Campbell Dodgson, *Woodcuts of the XV century in the Department of Prints and Drawings* (London: British Museum, 1935) vol. II, 26. McDonald notes that the illustration is a pendant to a woodcut bearing the arms of Johannes Tolhopf and carrying the inscription "Iani Tolhophi Germani Vatis Herculei." See William C. McDonald, "Maximilian I of Habsburg and the Veneration of Hercules: on the Revival of Myth and the German Renaissance," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 6:1 (1976), 144. On humanism and Hercules, see Dieter Wuttke, *Die Histori Herculis des Nürnberger Humanisten und Freundes der Gebrüder Vischer, Pangratz Bernahaupt gen. Schwenter: Materialien zur Erforschung des deutschen Humanismus um 1500* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1964); also Gustav Bruck, "Habsburger als 'Herculier,' " *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 14 (1953), 191–198.

56. Peter Luh, *Kaiser Maximilian gewidmet: die unvollendete Werkausgabe des Conrad Celtis und ihre Holzschnitte*, 336. For Hercules Gallicus, especially in the context of sixteenth-century French court pageantry, see Michael Wintroub, "Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1550)," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 29:2 (Summer 1998), 465–494.
57. McDonald, "Maximilian I of Habsburg and the Veneration of Hercules," 139–154. McDonald suggests that the enthusiasm for Hercules reached a high pitch in Maximilian's reign. This cult of Hercules was popularized by Maximilian's "virtual mania for fanciful research on his pedigree and aggressively publicistic claims," see 145. McDonald suggests that at least part of the inspiration for Maximilian's active promotion of the Germania was to rally enthusiasm for his own identification with Hercules, a card Maximilian then used for his designs on dynastic supremacy.
58. See Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1997 [1930]), 85, 185–186 and see fig. 113.
59. William C. McDonald, "Veneration of Hercules," 141.
60. Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 190. For other allegorical models that Maximilian deployed propagandistically, see Larry Silver, "Forest Primeval," 27.
61. To give the mounting patriotism a German face, the battle was renamed the *Hermannschlacht*. For an explanation of the transposition of the term, see Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 47. The major sources for the battle are Tacitus' *Annals* and a lost account by Pliny, see Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Knopf, 1995), 87.
62. Familiar with Arminius via brief references penned by antique Roman historians, Ulrich von Hutten read the first substantial account of him in Beroaldus' *Annales*. See

Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: the Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

63. For Ulrich von Hutten, see Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 39–48, also Larry Silver, "German Patriotism," 52–53.
64. Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 46.
65. Von Hutten's anti-Roman stance, as well as his lifelong polemics against the Italians and papal corruption was also fueled by his outrage over Luther's excommunication. See Schellhase, *Tacitus*, 43–45.
66. Maximilian, by eliding his image with that of Hercules, asserted his strength generally in struggles for dynastic supremacy, and used the Hermann rhetoric specifically to pronounce his independence from papal Rome.
67. Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 154–155.
68. According to Anthony Grafton, the pseudo-Berosus "provided precisely the rich context for the biblical history of man that the Bible itself lacks." See *Defenders of the Text*, 81, also 78–80 generally.
69. Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 18, 89–90. In *Commentaria super opera diversorum auctorum de Antiquitatibus loquentium* (Rome, 1498). According to Tiedemann, Annius transforms Tacitus' Tuisto deus into Tuiscon gigas, a son of Noah born after the flood, a giant who also became King of the Sarmatians. See *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein*, ix.
70. Annius' inventive ancient histories were intended to rival those told by Greece and Rome. Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, 87.
71. See Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art*, especially 20–24.
72. For the cult of Charlemagne in Germany, see Robert Folz, *Le Souvenir et la Légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval* (Paris: Publications de L'Université de Dijon, 1950), 517ff.
73. As Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara wrote to Charles V after his election in 1519, "Sire: God has granted you a most wonderful grace and raised you above all the kings and all the princes of Christendom to a power hitherto enjoyed only by your ancestor Charlemagne. He has set you on the way towards a world monarchy, towards the gathering of all Christendom under a single shepherd," in Karl Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V* (Munich, 1937), 96, as quoted in Eugene Rice Jr. and Anthony Grafton, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460–1559* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1994 reprint), 126.
74. For Charles V's search for political continuity and imperial legitimation in his kinship with Charlemagne, see Franz Bosbach, "Die politische Bedeutung Karls des Großen für Karl V," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 84:1 (2002), 113–133. Chancellor Gattinara revived the idea of apocalyptic imperialism, part of a larger propaganda campaign into which he urged Charles, as a means to legitimate his claim to the New World, in addition to shoring up his power in the face of mounting aggression from both the Reformation and Ottoman agitation. See J.M. Headley, "Rhetoric and Reality: Messianic, Humanist, and Civilian Themes in the Imperial Ethos of Gattinara," in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period*, Marjorie Reeves, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), especially 248–255, and also J.M. Headley, "Germany, the Empire and Monarchia in the Thought and Policy of Gattinara," in *Das römisch-deutsche Reich im politischen System Karls V.*, Heinrich Lutz, ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1982), 15–33.
75. For a general discussion of Einhard see *Charlemagne's Courtier, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures*: III, Paul Edward Dutton, ed. and trans. (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1998). All Einhard citations refer to Dutton's translation.
76. Tiedemann, *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein*, 36.

77. Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 55.
78. Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung*, 66. See also Borchardt, 1971, 98ff.
79. Charles Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 108–109.
80. Wimpfeling maintains that "if you look at the names of the Roman kings, you'll find there either Latin names or Greek, or German, but never French." See Emil von Borries, *Wimpfeling und Murner im Kampf um die ältere Geschichte des Elsasses: Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik des deutschen Frühhumanismus* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1926), 98–99.
81. Borries, 99.
82. For example, Urban II, in his oratorio at the Council of Claremont, and Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, in his Europa, both argue for Charlemagne's German birth. In addition, Marcus Anthonius Sabellicus' history of the Venetians confirms Charlemagne's German identity. See Borries, 105.
83. Borchardt, *German Antiquity*, 113.
84. "Rinschen Lütt mit wildekeit des Gemiets/ geradigkit des Libs/ mit schöner farb/ Gestalt/ Sitten und Gewonheit zu leben/ als die/ so uff disem unserm Staden wonten/ sich hielten und verglichten/ do achten sie dieselben/und nembten sie Germanos, das ist/ unser Brieder," Borries, 107.
85. Borries, 203.
86. Borries, 209.
87. Rhenanus' 1538 biography of Erasmus refers to Charles V's coronation at Aachen as continuing the Germanic provenance of the empire. See Borchard, 154–156.
88. See George Huppert, "The Trojan Franks and their Critics," in *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965), 232.
89. Franz Bosbach, "Die politische Bedeutung Karls des Großen für Karl V," 119.
90. H. Lutz, "Die deutsche Nation zu Beginn der Neuzeit," *Historische Zeitschrift* 234 (1982), 549.
91. See, for example, Albrecht Altdorfer's pen drawing (c. 1510) of a wild family, and his pen drawing of 1508 of a wild man in Christopher S. Wood, *Albrecht Altdorfer and the Origins of Landscape*, figures 46 and 105; also page 155*;* for Lucas Cranach the Elders' panels of wild families, see Dieter Koepplin and Tilman Falk, *Lukas Cranach: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik* (Basel and Stuttgart: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1976), 586–593.
92. Holbein's wash drawing can be found in Leitch, "The Wild Man, Charlemagne, and the German Body," 297. See also John Rowlands, *Drawings by German artists and artists from German-speaking regions of Europe in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 316.
93. See Michael Wintroub, "Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1550)," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 29:2 (1988), 480.
94. Bartra, *Wild Man in the Lookinglass,* 88.
95. Amerigo Vespucci, *De novo mundo* (Rostock: Hermann Barkhusen, 1505). Despite the fact that European observers immediately remarked on the clean-shaven appearance of the Native Americans they encountered, images of wild men with beards were frequently used to represent them. See Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 31.
96. Christine Johnson, *Bringing Home the World*, 28. Johnson has identified two distinct lineages in the *Mundus Novus* illustrations: one was a double illustration title page that appeared in the 1505 Strasbourg German and Latin editions, also on the 1506 Leipzig edition. Another variation is the title page that includes the King of Portugal which appears on the 1505 (German) editions published in Nuremberg, Munich and Basel.

97. Amerigo Vespucci, *Van den nyge[n] Insulen und landen* (Magdeburg: Jacob Winter, 1506). See Susi Colin, *Das Bild des Indianers im 16. Jahrhundert* (Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner, 1988), 32. Colin identifies the parts of this title page as illustrations included in Moritz Brandis's *Van der clage on ansprake de Belyal* (1492), in which the left side represents half of an expulsion scene and the right side, a scene of Belyal appearing before King Solomon.
98. For the wild man's sexual appetite, see Richard Bernheimer, *The Wild Man in the Middle Ages* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 27, 88; George Boas, *Essays on primitivism and related ideas in the Middle Ages* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966 [1948]), 131. For the relationship of these newly-found naked women to European conceptions of witchcraft, see Gerhild Scholz-Williams, "Altes Wissen—Neue Welt: Magie und die Entdeckung Amerikas im 16. Jahrhundert" in *Gutenberg und die Neue Welt*, Horst Wenzel, ed. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1994), 195–210. See also Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: the Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), and Charles Zika, *Exorcising our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Boston: Brill, 2003).
99. Susi Colin, "The Wild Man and the Indian in Early 16th Century Book Illustration" in Christian F. Feest, ed., *Indians and Europe: an interdisciplinary collection of essays* (Aachen: Edition Herodot, 1987), 16–18.
100. Amerigo Vespucci, *Diß büchlin saget wie die zwẽ || durchlüchtigstẽ herrẽ her Fernandus. K. zů Castilien || vnd herr Emanuel. K. zů Portugal haben das weyte || m[oe]r ersůchet vnnd funden vil Jnsulen/ vnnd ein Nüwe || welt von wilden nackenden Leüten/ vormals vnbekant.*|| (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1509).
101. Giuliano Dati, *La lettera dellisole che ha trouata nuouamente il Re dispagna* (Florence: Laurentius de Morgianus and Johann Petri, October 26, 1493).
102. The image shares a common source with those on the title pages of the Columbus letter printed in Rome in 1493, and Vespucci's letter to Pier Soderini, *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci dell isole nuouamente trouate in quattro suoi viaggi* (Florence, 1505).
103. Amerigo Vespucci, *Dise Figur anzaigt uns das Folck und Insel die gefunden ist durch den christlichen Kunig zu Portigal* (Augsburg: Froschauer, 1505) BSB Einbl. V, 2. See Wilberforce Eames, "Description of a Wood Engraving Illustrating the South American Indians," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 26:9 (1922), 755–760, and also Rudolf Schuller, "The Oldest Known Illustration of South American Indians," *Indian Notes* 7 (1930), 484–497. For a fuller look at this woodcut, as well as a discussion of its role in the development of ethnographic studies, please see Chapter Three, note 1 and 2.
104. Sturtevant maintains that this woodcut was based either on sketches made on site or on the actual artifacts sent back by Pedro Álvares Cabral. See William Sturtevant, "The Sources for European Imagery of Native Americans" in *New World of Wonders*, Rachel Doggett, ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 27. Mason suspects that the woodcut was made according to verbal descriptions, see Mason, *Infelicities,*17.
105. This figure shows us the people and island that have been discovered by the Christian King of Portugal or by his subjects. The people are thus naked, handsome, brown, and their bodies well-formed. Their heads, necks, arms, private parts, feet of men and women are partially covered with feathers. The men also have many precious stones in their faces and breasts. No one has anything of his own, but all things are common. And the men take the women who please them, regardless of whether it is their mother or sister or friend. They also fight with each other. They also eat one another and they hang and smoke the flesh of those killed. They live to be 150. And have no government "Dise figur anzaigt vns das volck vnd insel die gefunden ist durch den christenlichen künig zü Portigal oder von seinen vnderthonen. Die leüt sind also nacket hübsch.

braun wolgestalt von leib. ir heübter. // halsz. arm. scham. füsz. frawen vnd mann ain wenig mit federn bedeckt. Auch haben die mann in iren angesichten vnd brust vid [*sic,* vil] edel gestain. Es hat auch nyemantz nichts sunder sind alle ding gemain. // Vnnd die mann habendt weyber welche in gefallen. es sey mütter. schwester oder freündt. darjnn haben sy kain vnderschayd. Sy streyten auch mit einander. Sy essen auch ainander selbs die erschlagen // werden. vnd hencken das selbig fleisch in den rauch. Sy werden alt hundert vnd füntzig iar. Vnd haben kain regiment."

106. Massing reasons that natural artifacts and curios collected by sailors might have fallen into the hands of this artist. See Jean Michel Massing, "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach" in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration,* exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 515.
107. Rather than reflecting the newness of the New World, John Elliott asserts that the Judeo-Christian and classical traditions were programmed to absorb the shock through a series of normalizing conventions. See John Elliott, "Renaissance Europe and America: A Blunted Impact?" in *First Images of America: The Impact of the the New World on the Old,* vol. 1, Fredi Chiapelli, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 17. Absorption was based on preconceptions with which the observer came armed and correspondences with known interpretive quantities. These correspondences could be textual or visual. The visual tradition of the wild man was exactly one such "shock-absorber," flexible enough to represent many different degrees of wildness. This recommended him as a candidate to take over the representation of the Indian as well.
108. For example, the illustrations for St. Brendan's voyage. See Peter Mason in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 144.
109. The anthropologist William Sturtevant dubbed this the "*tupinambization*" of the world. Quoted in Feest, *Indians and Europe*, 1987, 610.
110. Peter Mason notes that another instance of this "ethnographic interchangeability" occurs in a painted copy of Karel van Mander's *Confusio Babylonica* by I. van der Block (1609–1616) currently in the Pommersches Museum in Gdansk, in which a parade of Germans in contemporary dress stand in for Amerindians. See Mason, *Infelicities*, 40, and note 65.
111. Anon., "De Gothis & eorum saevitia," in Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia Universalis Lib. VI* (Basel: Petri, 1552), Munich BSB, Res 2 Geo.u. 51a, fol. 262. This particular illustration is used to headline the German section in both the 1550 edition and the 1552 (Basel: Petri) reprint of Münster's *Cosmographia.* In the 1628 Basel edition, this illustration has been dropped in favor of an image used in the 1550 editions to represent natives of the New World in a section devoted to Vespucci's reports. Egmond and Mason also establish the Tupinamba precedent for Francois Belleforest's *La Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde* (Paris, 1575). See Florike Egmond and Peter Mason, *The Mammoth and the Mouse: Microhistory and Morphology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 110. The authors argue that a Germanic iconography for the Amerindians evolved in the late 1580s in Philipp Clüver's *De Germania Antiqua.* Here we see that the Tupinamba iconography for Germans preceded it. Indian iconography used in depictions of European antiquity is represented by the popularity of De Bry's use of John White's North American Indians as prototypes for the ancient Picts and Britons. See Elliott, "Blunted Impact?," 20, also note 33; Thomas Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London: Methuen, 1950), 120–125; and also Paul Hulton, *America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press and British Museum Publications, 1984).
112. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 69. Anderson extends this point to the variety

of Utopian models that develop in the wake of the discoveries of the Americas; see Chapter 6 for this discussion.

113. See Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The "Travels" of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 139. For a reprint of Michel Velser's first German translation (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1480) see *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung: In Deutscher Übersetzung von Michel Velser, Nach der Stuttgarter Papierhandschrift Cod. HB V 86,* Eric John Morrall, ed. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974), 115. "I have often thought of a story I have heard, when I was young, of a worthy man of our country who went once upon a time to see the world. He passed India and many isles beyond India, where there are more than 5,000 isles, and traveled so far by land and sea, girdling the globe, that he found an isle where he heard his own language being spoken. For he heard one who was driving a plough team say such words to them as he had heard men say to oxen in his own land when they were working at the plough. He marvelled greatly, for he did not understand how this could be. But I conjecture that he had travelled so far over land and sea, circumnavigating the earth, that he had come to his own borders; if he had gone a bit further, he would have come to his own district. But after he heard that marvel, he could not get transport any further, so he turned back the way he had come; so he had a long journey! Afterwards it happened that he went to Norway, and a gale blew him off course to an island. And when he was there he knew it was the island he had been in before and heard his own language, as the beasts were being driven. That could well be, even if men of limited understanding do not believe that men can travel on the underside of the globe without falling off into the firmament," quoted from the early English translation of Anglo-Norman Insular version, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville,* C.W.R.D. Moseley, trans. (Penguin: New York, 1983), 129–130.

114. See Stephen Greenblatt's *Marvelous Possessions: the Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 48.

4. Hans Burgkmair's Peoples of Africa and India (1508) and the Foundations of Ethnography in Print

1. This essay was first published as "Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print," *The Art Bulletin* 91:2 (June 2009), 134–159.
2. Amerigo Vespucci, *Dise Figur anzaigt uns das Folck und Insel die gefunden ist durch den christlichen Kunig zu Portigal* (Augsburg: Froschauer, 1505) in BSB, Einblatt Sammlung V, 2. One of two still extant copies, the other resides in the New York Public Library. See Hans Wolff and Susi Colin, ed., *America: Das frühe Bild der Neuen Welt* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1992), 29; Friedrich W. Sixel, "Die Deutsche Vorstellung vom Indianer in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Annali del Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico* 30 (1966), 9–230; Wilberforce Eames, "Description of a Wood Engraving Illustrating the South American Indians," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 26:9 (1922), 755–60; and also Rudolf Schuller, "The Oldest Known Illustration of South American Indians," in *Indian Notes,* VII (1930), 484–97.
3. "Dise figur anzaigt uns das volck und insel die gefunden ist durch den christenlichen künig zü Portigal oder von seinen underthonen. Die leüt sind also nackent hübsch. braun wolgestalt von leib. ir heübter // halsz. arm. scham. fuss. frawen und mann ain wenig mit federn bedeckt. Auch haben die mann in iren angesichten und brust vil edel gestain. Es hat auch nyemantz nichts sunder sind alle ding gemain // Vnnd die mann habendt weyber welche in gefallen. es sey mütter. schwester oder freündt. darjnn haben sy kain vnderschayd. Sy streyten auch mit einander. Sy essen auch ainander selbs die

erschlagen // werden. und hencken das selbig fleisch in den rauch. Sy werden alt hundert vnd fünfftzig iar. Und haben kain regiment." This figure shows us the people and island that have been discovered by the Christian King of Portugal or by his subjects. The people are naked, handsome, brown, and their bodies well-formed. Their heads, necks, arms, genitals, and the feet of men and women are partially covered with feathers. The men also have many precious stones in their faces and chests. No one has anything of his own, but all things are common. And the men take women who please them, regardless of whether it is their mother, sister, or friend. In this matter they make no distinction. They also fight with each other. They also eat one another and they hang and smoke the flesh of those killed. They live to be 150. And have no government.

4. Some objects featured, however, have their origin in direct observation, for example, the vertical crowns worn by the Tupinamba, collars, arm and ankle bands, feather skirts and the rosette, a characteristic but misplaced feather bustle. The first European depiction of maize has been identified in the bottom left corner. William Sturtevant maintains that this woodcut was based either on sketches made on site or on the actual artifacts sent back by Pedro Alvares Cabral rather than on the accompanying text. See Sturtevant, "The Sources for European Imagery of Native Americans," in *New World of Wonders*, Rachel Doggett, ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 27. Peter Mason suspects that the woodcut was made according to verbal descriptions; Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 17.
5. For the development of this idea, see the section "Wild Man and the Indian" in Chapter Three.
6. William Sturtevant, cited in Christian F. Feest, *Indians and Europe* (Aachen: Rader Verlag, 1987), ed. Feest, 610. See also Sturtevant, "La Tupinambisation des indiens d'Amérique du Nord," in G. Thérien, ed. *Les Figures de l'Indien* (Montreal: Université du Québec à Montréal, 1988), 293–303.
7. The frieze in its original state was presented in an exhibition on Hans Burgkmair's graphic work at the Städtische Kunstsammlung in Augsburg in 1973, following the arrangement proposed in F.W.H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1954)*;* see Isolde Hausberger and Rolf Biedermann, eds., *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk* (Augsburg: Städtische Kunstsammlungen, 1973), cat. nos. 23–26. The first three prints are hand-colored; they are preserved in the Freiherrlich von Welsersche Familienstiftung, the collection of the Welser family in Neunhof. Impressions of the procession of the King of Cochin can be found in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Albertina, Vienna, and Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, in addition to a copy housed in the Graphische Sammlung in the Schaezlerpalais in Augsburg, inv. no. G. 12123. I have viewed the impressions in Neunhof, Berlin, and Coburg, in addition to those in the graphic collections in Augsburg and Munich. For the complete series, see Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts,* vol. 5, nos. 731–736. See also Giulia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints* (London: Trustees of the British Museum by the British Museum Press, 1995), 131–133; and Mark P. McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India," *Print Quarterly* 20:3 (2003), 227–244.
8. Balthasar Springer, *Die Merfart und erfarung nüwer Schiffung* (n.p., 1509) Rar. 470, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. This pamphlet version, published after Burgkmair's frieze, referred to in the literature as the "long report," contains Springer's complete text and thirteen woodcut illustrations by Wolf Traut. The text that accompanies the woodcut frieze is called the "short report." For a reprint of the text, see Franz Hümmerich, "Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Fahrt der ersten Deutschen nach dem portugiesischen Indien 1505/6," *Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, 30, 3 (Munich: Verlag

der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918). For a facsimile edition, see Franz Schulze, *Balthasar Springers Indienfahrt 1505/6: Wissenschaftliche Würdigung der Reiseberichte Springers zur Einführung in den Neudruck seiner "Meerfahrt" vom Jahre 1509* (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1902), 8ff.

9. An *exotic* denotes an entity that exists primarily in the popular imagination, divorced from empirical experience and derived from a series of formulas that use the self as a point of departure, reminding us that "representations of the other are never unprejudiced and should be treated at the level of discourse," Peter Mason, "Classical Ethnography and its Influence on the European Perception of the Peoples of the New World," in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold, eds. (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 139, n. 11. See also idem, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 1ff.
10. In German-speaking regions, the wild man was routinely called into service to represent peoples discovered by Columbus and Vespucci. See Susi Colin, "The Wild Man and the Indian in early sixteenth-century Book Illustration" in Feest, ed., *Indians and Europe: an interdisciplinary collection of essays* (Aachen: Rader Verlag, 1987). Alternately, the classical tradition of the Marvels of the East provided a ready and diverse taxonomy of monsters from whose repertoire the inhabitants of Africa and Asia were regularly drawn. See Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159–97.
11. Christian F. Feest, " 'Selzam ding von gold da von vill ze schreiben were': Bewertungen amerikanischer Handwerkskunst im Europa des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch 1992,* 105–126; at 116. Feest provides examples of the over-reaching embrace of this sixteenth-century term (now meaning products from Calicut, a city on the Malabar coast of India) to describe Indian, Brazilian, or even African artifacts.
12. See Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk,* no. 26.
13. Ethnography, in the sense of prolonged empirical and comparative study, is perhaps never applied confidently to any visual medium outside of photography, film and video, but for earlier use of the term see John Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," *The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 30 (1964). Although the words "ethnography" and "ethnology" were not coined until the late eighteenth century, *anthropologia,* in its Renaissance Latin form, implied the study of man, and approximated moral history's study of life and customs. By and large, ethnographic observations were often made and collected by amateurs and, if published, were usually for the purpose of describing curiosities, rather than the collection of systematic information. See also Margaret Hogden, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964).
14. See Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Travel writing and ethnography" in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds., *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2000), 243. Rubiés maintains that nineteenth-century ethnography found its roots in the humanistic disciplines of early modern Europe in the form of travel writing, cosmography, and history. See also Jean Michel Massing, "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach," in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration,* ed. Jay Levenson (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 516–517.
15. See Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints,* 132.
16. See n. 7 above and Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk,* 2–6.
17. The original blocks, probably of pear wood, survive as part of the Derschau collection, an early nineteenth-century group of woodblocks in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche

Museen zu Berlin. For these blocks, see McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze," 227; for a newly inventoried block, see idem, *Print Quarterly,* 21:2 (2004), 159–160.

18. See McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze," 227; and his valuable study of the inventory of Ferdinand Columbus's print collection, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539): A Renaissance Collector in Seville* (London: British Museum Press, 2004). According to his reconstruction of Burgkmair's prints after an entry in an inventory of Ferdinand Columbus's print collection, McDonald argues that the frieze as we know it today is missing five sections. He speculates that these missing impressions would have elaborated on the "customs," or activity and behavior of each depicted race, in the manner in which the people of *Gros India* are followed by a semi-narrative scene of their customs. A costume book in the Lipperheidische Kostümbibliothek that includes other sets of peoples derived from Springer's report may help confirm McDonald's hypothesis. See Sigmundt Heldt, *Abconterfaittung allerlei Ordenspersonen in iren klaidung und dan viler altern klaidungen* (c.1560–1580) (Lipperheidische Kostümbibliothek, Berlin Kunstbibliothek, Lipp Aa 3 mtl).
19. This false impression is also preserved in the British Museum. Surviving impressions of the reversed print come from an eighteenth-century printing of a broken block then in the collection of William Mitchell. This block was printed in reverse order so that the impression of the animals precede the impression of the figure group beneath the monkey; the original version places this triad on the left. See Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints*, 131–133.
20. These include a pirated version printed in Nuremberg by Georg Glockendon in 1511, a bas-relief in a chapel in Sainte-Jacques, Dieppe, a boxwood relief now in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart, several tapestries, and other drawings. See Jean Michel Massing, "Hans Burgkmair's Depiction of Native Africans" *Res* 27 (Spring 1995), 39–51. Perhaps one of the reasons for its many incarnations was the novel format, which lent itself to the chopped-up reinterpretations and permitted shuffling and repetition at no great detriment to the composition.
21. The copy in the Neunhof collection is missing the right half, an image of indigenes known from copies.
22. For Columbus's use of medieval travel accounts as a gauge for his modernity, see Wolfgang Neuber, *Fremde Welt im europäischen Horizont: Zur Topik der deutschen Amerika-Reiseberichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1991), 35; for the role of John Mandeville in Columbus's search for a route to the Indies, see Beate Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Sprenger und der frühneuzeitliche Reisebericht* (Munich: Iudicium, 1999), 148. Columbus's familiarity with Mandeville is attributed to a group of English merchants in Seville who brought the latter's work to the Iberian Peninsula. See Mason, "Classical Ethnography," 141.
23. One notable exception, Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Mainz: Peter Schöffer, 1486), was furnished with illustrations that try to reproduce his experience. Breydenbach took along the illustrator Erhard Reuwich for the purpose of recording aspects of his travels: prospects, sites, and peoples he saw along the way. For Breydenbach, see *Die Reise ins Heilige Land: Ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1483,* ed. Elisabeth Geck (Wiesbaden: G. Pressler, 1961); Hugh William Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land 1483–4* (Utrecht: Haentjens, Dekker en Gumbert, 1968); and David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 34–35.
24. For humanist Willibald Pirckheimer's wrath over such images, see Christine R. Johnson, "Buying Stories: Ancient Tales, Renaissance Travelers, and the Market for the Marvelous," *Journal of Early Modern History* 11: 6 (2007), 405–446.

25. For the discursive function of medieval authorship, see Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?" in Josué V. Harari, ed., *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), 148 ff.
26. Joan-Pau Rubiés maintains that the act of submitting the traveler's rough data to the critical scrutiny of a humanist points to a rupture in late medieval travel literature, one in which the individual "experience of otherness" would be checked against the concerns of European intellectuals revising and expanding the classical canon. Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnography in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
27. Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1992), 5.
28. Ibid., 48–68.
29. Both Vespucci and Columbus sent back to their respective patrons letters that passed through their hands into those of humanist publishers who consigned them to press. See Bernard Quaritch, *The Spanish Letter of Columbus to Luis de Sant' Angel* (London: Piccadilly, 1891), viii; and Samuel E. Morison, *Christopher Columbus, Mariner* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1955), 200ff. Vespucci's letters were brought to press by his Tuscan editors. For Vespucci's letters and the essential difference between the marketing of Columbus's letters and his own, which were printed sixty times in the period between 1503–1529—a sum that represented three times that of circulating Columbus editions—see Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 11ff.
30. *Roteiros* were pilots' written sailing directions, mostly consisting of two parts: the first, a treatise on theoretical navigation, which included calendars, rules for latitude, and tables for dead reckoning and the second, written sailing directions between Portugal and their destinations in India and Indonesia. See Charles R. Boxer and J. Blackmore, eds., *Tragic History of the Sea* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 13.
31. Anon., *Den rechten weg ausz zu faren vo[n] Liszbona gen Kallakuth* (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, 1506), woodcut title page, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Sig. 274 Quod (4); also Universitätsbibliothek, Munich, Inv. no. 4H.aux.1270:7. For an English translation, see John Parker, ed., *From Lisbon to Calicut*, trans. Alvin E. Prottengeier (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956). See also Irmgard Bezzel, "News from Portugal in 1506 and 1507, as Printed by Johann Weissenburger in Nuremberg," in John L. Flood and William A. Kelly, eds., *The German Book 1450–1750* (London: British Library, 1995), 31–44.
32. This title page tries to develop pictorially and in three dimensions what had earlier been expressed in terms of pure geometry in the published editions of Vespucci's account of his third voyage, a triangle whose legs are labeled "hier sind wir," or "we are here," and "hier sind sie," or "they are here," with commentary detailing the direction in which the respective heads should point. With his diagram, Vespucci indicated the location of his landfall on his third voyage (a coordinate hovering around 50° S. latitude, which Vespucci called San Julian) by crudely plotting its distance from Lisbon, about 40° N. The title page illustration is clearly based on Vespucci's diagram: it preserves his orthogonal triangle model and the text is in keeping with the language of his letter. I am grateful to both Robert Karrow and Neil Swerdlow for their assistance in interpreting this image.
33. A Ptolemy map on the verso of the first sheet indicates by points the location of Nuremberg, Lisbon, and Calicut. See Parker, *From Lisbon to Calicut*, 4.
34. Burgkmair honed his own artistic skills in the patronage of the Welser family, under whose auspices Springer sailed and to whom Peutinger was related through his

marriage to Margarete Welser in 1498. Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Sprenger,* 39, posits that the Welser family probably requested the woodcuts from Hans Burgkmair. The author and artist were then probably brought together as a collaborative entity by Peutinger. See also Mark Häberlein and Johannes Burkhardt, eds., *Die Welser: Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002).

35. Balthasar Springer, quoted in McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze," 230. See also Henry Harisse, *Americus Vespuccius: A Critical and Documentary Review of Two Recent English Books Concerning the Navigator* (London: B.F. Stevens, 1895), 43; and Renate Kleinschmid, "Balthasar Springer: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung," in *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 96–97 (1967), 150ff.
36. Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Sprenger,* 88–90.
37. For the role of merchants in mediating discovery in early modern Europe, see Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
38. Balthasar Springer, *Die Merfart*, fol. 1: "It was the size of a man in length, but resembled a pig worth about four gulden . . . its beak resembles that of a bird's, but wider with many sharp teeth in it. Such a fish is said to feed one hundred and twenty men; I have also sampled it."
39. Ibid, fol. 2: "Auch in diesem Königreich und auf den Inseln sahen wir merkwürdigerweise Menschen beiderlei Geschlechts ohne Scham untereinander wie die wilden Tiere: Manche bedeckten nur die Scham, andere liefen gänzlich nackt herum, und alle waren Schwarz wie die Mohren, wie wir sie nennen."
40. Text over "In Gennea" and "In Allago": "Das genannt morenland ist /m/ cccc / meyl weyt wohliche gantz nackent und gulden ring an armen und füßen tragen / . . . in dem land (Allago) gat das volck in maßen wie hie niden angetzaigt ist / Sy schlagen umb sich fur ir klaydung heüt unnd felz von thieren / . . . Die man tragen köcher oder schayden von holtz oder leder über yr scham / . . . Den yungen knablin binden sy ire schwentzlin über sich / Sy haben ain schnaltzende red / Das ist kain gelt sunder von eysen nimpt es für sein war / Sie tragen weisse stäblin. . . . Sie tragen praite leder an den fiese . . . Als hie angetzaigt ist."
41. For Burgkmair's relationship with Konrad Peutinger, see Tilman Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien zu Leben und Werk des Augsburger Malers* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1968), 81–86. For Peutinger's relationship with the Welser family, see Helmut Zäh, "Konrad Peutinger und Margarete Welser: Ehe und Familie im Zeichen des Humanismus," in Häberlein and Burkhardt, *Die Welser,* 449–509.
42. Peutinger's library has recently been reconstructed by Hans-Jörg Künast and Helmut Zäh, *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers: Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände,* vol. 1, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers: Der nicht-juristische Bibliotheksteil* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003).
43. It is also likely that Peutinger shepherded it through the press. The frieze's roman majuscules, triangular interpuncts, and leaf-like ornaments (see "In Allago," for example) all resemble the repertoire of typographic marks in Erhard Ratdolt's printed edition of Peutinger's *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* (Augsburg, 1505); see the edition in the New York Public Library, fol. 7v, reproduced in Christopher S. Wood, "Early Archaeology and the Book Trade: The Case of Peutinger's *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* (1505)," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28:1 (Winter 1998), 94.
44. The special privileges granted to the Welser and Vöhlin families over other German merchants are outlined in a contract dated February 13, 1503. See Heinrich Lutz, *Conrad Peutinger: Beiträge zu einer politischen Biographie* (Augsburg: Verlag Die Brigg,

1958), 55, and 363, n. 11. For Fernandes and Peutinger, see also Künast and Zäh, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers* 1:81.3, for the presentation copy for Peutinger, June 1505.

45. See Jim Monson, "The Source for the Rhinoceros," *Print Quarterly* 21:1 (March 2004): 50–53. Monson suggests that both Dürer and Burgkmair (who made a more "accurate" rhinoceros in 1515, now in the Albertina, Vienna, absent the armor-like plates and dorsal horn) saw a sketch similar to the one recently discovered in a Chigi manuscript in the Vatican. For a general discussion of the rhinoceros, see Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen, "Commerce and the Representation of Nature in Art and Science," in Smith and Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels,* 1–8.
46. Konrad Peutinger, handwritten marginalia in Ptolemy, *Comographia* (Rome, 1490), fol. A3v, preserved in the Bodleian, Oxford, Gough Gen. top. 225: "Hodie Socero nostro sunt Serui Indi coempti duo/ consangineo nostro Ambrosio Hochstetter unus/ Conrado Vehlin cognato nostro unus qui sani in Sueuia degunt." Bound in this edition is also a letter from the Madeira-based Johannes Eggelhofer written to Peutinger in 1505 about the Welser expeditions. See Künast and Zäh, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers*, no. 697. I am grateful to Hans-Jörg Künast for this reference.
47. Konrad Peutinger, *Sermones convivales de mirandis Germanie antiquitatibus* (Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, 1506). Helmut Zäh is preparing an edition of this work.
48. Between 1506 and 1507, Fernandes collected a series of handwritten reports about the Portuguese explorations and transmitted these to the Welsers. In an inventory of Peutinger's library taken in 1597, "Inventarium bibliothecae Peutingerianae" (BSB, Munich, Clm 4021d, fol. 43r, no. 163), these Portuguese and Latin reports appear as the entry "De Insulis et peregrinatione Lusitanorum: liber manuscriptus." Preserved today in the BSB Munich, is "Cod. Hisp. 27: Berichte aus Portugal zur Entdeckung Afrikas und Indiens," a codex that includes reports of the west coast of Africa by Fernandes himself and several accounts of the discovery and conquest of Guinea. A Portuguese transcript of the Almeida mission by the Welser family's official recorder Hans Mayr is also assembled in this codex. See José Pereira da Costa, ed. *Códice Valentim Fernandes* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1997). For Peutinger's catalogue entry "Res Indiae," see Künast and Zäh, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers,* nos. 88 and 470. For Peutinger's cosmographic activity, see Klaus A. Vogel, "Neue Horizonte der Kosmographie: Die kosmographischen Bücherlisten Hartmann Schedels (um 1498) und Konrad Peutingers (1523)" in *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1991): 77–85.
49. Konrad Peutinger, 2°Cod.Aug.382a, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg. For an edition of this codex, see Benedikt Greiff, "Briefe und Berichte über die frühesten Reisen nach Amerika und Ostindien aus den Jahren 1497 bis 1506 aus Dr. Conrad Peutingers Nachlass. Im Anhang zu: Tagebuch des Lucas Rem aus den Jahren 1494–1541. Ein Beitrag zur Handelsgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg," in *Jahres-Bericht der historischen Kreis-Vereins im Regierungsbezirk von Schwaben und Neuberg* 26 (1860): 111–172.
50. Konrad Peutinger's letter to the imperial secretary Blasius Hölzl, January 13, 1505, in Erich König, *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel* (Munich: Beck, 1923), 50. "Und uns Augspirgern ains groß lob ist, als für die ersten Teutschen, die India suchen. Und ku. Mt. zu eren habe ich in die brief gesetzt, wie er als der erst Romisch kunig die schickt: dan solchs von kainem Romischen kunig vor nie geschehen ist."
51. For a lively account of how creative and destructive Maximilian's archaeology could be, see Christopher S. Wood, "Maximilian I as Archeologist," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 58 (2005): 1128–74; and also idem, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

52. This effort included the emperor fashioning himself as the original wild man. For a discussion of how the rediscovery of Tacitus in this period nationalized the wild man, see Stephanie Leitch, "The Wild Man, Charlemagne, and the German Body," *Art History* 31:3 (2008), 283–302. For a broader discussion of the Renaissance reception of Tacitus, see Christopher B. Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae: Tacitus' Germania und Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Giannantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis und Heinrich Bebel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005).
53. See Colin, "The Wild Man and the Indian in early sixteenth-century Book Illustration," 5–36; and Friedrich W. Sixel, "Die Deutsche Vorstellung vom Indianer in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Annali del Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico* 30 (1966).
54. Not only do the verse and the typeface link Dati's edition to this popular literary form, but also the title page may have found its inspiration in contemporary Florentine *cassone* paintings that depicted scenes from Trojan epics. See Hugh Honor, *The New Golden Land* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 7.
55. The larger scale of broadsheet illustration discouraged direct recyclings from blocks used to illustrate the title pages of quarto editions of travel reports. In addition, broadsheets were novelty driven and the larger format encouraged elaboration.
56. See Hans Wolff, "Die Münchener Portolankarten einst und heute," in *America: Das frühe Bild der Neuen Welt* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1992), 127–144; and T. Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in *The History of Cartography,* in ed. J.B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
57. The sumptuously decorated Cantino planisphere of 1502, for example, reflects the world redrawn as a result of Portuguese exploration from 1484 to 1502, including the voyages of Diogo Cão, Bartolomeu Dias, the Corte Reals, Vasco da Gama and Pedro Alvarez Cabral—in addition to showing Portuguese economic involvement on the African subcontinent. By 1502, this territory was fairly familiar to the Portuguese: Africa's north and west coasts had been the site of Portuguese exploration since the fall of Ceuta in 1415, after which several bases were established on the Gold and Ivory Coasts. Traders established themselves here to traffic in ivory, slaves and gold. In addition, Henry the Navigator sponsored expeditions to find a direct maritime route east, and the search was on in earnest by the mid- 1400s. See Geoffrey V. Scammell, *The First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion c. 1400–1715* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 46–49, 58.
58. Before astronomical navigation, navigators relied on dead reckoning, a method that estimated the ship's position according to compass readings and distances run by the log, with adjustments made for current and leeway. The practice of *costeggiare*, or hugging the coast, depended on a close and cautious observation of the coastline. See Edward Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 189.
59. Ibid., 180.
60. Such as the pirated version printed by Georg Glockendon in 1511, Coburg, Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, Inv. 1 63, 33. See also Chapter Six below.
61. Interestingly, the spatial organization of Burgkmair's frieze anticipates later ethnographic museum practice in which specimens and artifacts are prepared in shallow planar dioramas behind glass.
62. The first portolan atlases were set on successive pages and often pasted on wood or thick cardboard that would have protected them from saltwater damage. See Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography,* 376. I am grateful to James Akerman of the

Newberry Library's Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography for sharing his expertise in early modern cartography.

63. The original map (no longer extant) probably dated to the third century CE, and Peutinger's map (21 feet by 1 foot), probably made in the thirteenth century by a monk in the region of Colmar, surfaced in the Rhine region c. 1496. In the summer of 1507, it was first mentioned in conjunction with the humanist Konrad Celtis, who bequeathed it to Peutinger a few months later. The map was in Peutinger's collection by the end of 1507. Peutinger was granted a privilege from the emperor Maximilian to print the map in 1511, but this did not happen before the end of the sixteenth century. See Max Weyrauther, *Konrad Peutinger und Willibald Pirckheimer in ihren Beziehungen zur Geographie: eine geschichtliche Parallele* (Munich: Theodor Ackermann, 1907), 15–16; and H.F. Tozer, *A History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), 310. For a facsimile, see Ekkehard Weber, *Tabula Peutineriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324. Kommentar und Tafelband* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976; reprint 2002).
64. "Inventarium bibliothecae Peutingerianae," BSB, Munich, Clm 4021d, fol. 2v: "1 Indianische Mappa vff tuech gezongen." See Hans-Jörg Künast, "Die Graphiksammlung des Augsburger Stadtschreibers Konrad Peutinger," in *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas: Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. John Roger Paas (Augsburg: Wißner, 2001), 12.
65. For example, Jacopo de' Barbari's *View of Venice*, printed from six blocks for the Nuremberg merchant Anton Kolb in 1500. See Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print,* 43–46.
66. We know from the inventory of the Sevillian print collector Ferdinand Columbus that Burgkmair's frieze was mounted in this scroll format; see McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India," 230; and idem, *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector,* 169.
67. According to Valerie Traub, this idea of race was not necessarily determined by physical appearance; "race" was not a distinction that assigned skin color and biological idiosyncracies to distinct ethnic groups, but a designation based on geographic separation. See Valerie Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," in *Early Modern Visual Culture,* ed. Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 44–97. See also Bernhard Klein, "Randfiguren: Othello, Oroonoko und die kartographische Repräsentation Afrikas," in *Imaginationen des Anderen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* in Ina Schabert and Michaela Boenke, eds. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), 190.
68. Anon., Vespucci *Das sind die new gefunde[n] mensche[n] od[er] Volcker In form un[d] gestalt Als sie hie stend durch de[n] Cristenlichen Künig von Portugall/ gar wunnderbarlich erfunden* (Leipzig: Stuchs (?), 1505). For the history of the reception of these broadsheets, as well as for bibliography and lists of editions, see Franz Obermeier, "Die frühen illustrierten Einblattdrucke zu Amerika und ihre Verbreitung im zeitgenosseschen Pressewesen," in *Wolfenbüttler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 28 (2003), 3–31.
69. It is this Renaissance notion of race that this argument rests on and not the noxious racism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For an introduction to early modern racial thinking, see Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800–1960* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1982); and Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995).
70. Springer's description of the customs and dress of the Khoisanid tribes of the Cape region includes distinctions between the sexes and the text directs the reader to find the details "as illustrated below," or, per the 1509 pamphlet version of Springer's report,

"abkunterfeit." While the Khoi were first sighted in 1480 and described by Portuguese manuscript accounts over the next half century, Hans Burgkmair's are the earliest known European depictions.

71. In inclement weather, Khoisanid women and men wore a sheepskin mantle (*karas*) with the wool turned inward; women often wore hoods of the same. See Ezio Bassani and Letizia Tedeschi, "The Image of the Hottentot in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of the History of Collections* 2:2 (1990), 173. An illustration of 1542 shows the range of iconographic variations to which these mantles were subject; indistinct dark figures borrow the mantle from Hercules iconography; see Helen Wallis, ed., *The Maps and Text of the Boke of Idrography Presented by Jean Rotz to Henry VIII* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1981), 46–7 (see fols. 15v–16r).
72. This detail comes from the longer text version of Springer's report to which Burgkmair would have been privy.
73. For example, their staffs and broad leather sandals are characteristic accessories used for mobility in the sandy terrain. We know that Peutinger had coral, mussels, South American parrots, and examples of Indian feather work in his collection of curiosities. See Künast, "Die Graphiksammlung des Augsburger Stadtschreibers Konrad Peutinger," 12.
74. Text over "In Arabia:" "Als wir in Arabiam kamen sahen wir sy bekaidet/ als hie nach figuriert ist unnd auß dem künigreich daselbst ist gewesen ainer von den hailigen drey künigen/ daselbst binden sy den ochsen Arabisch gold umb ire hörner unn oren/ . . . ./ 1x / meil von safalen ligt ain stat heißt quiloa die gewunnen wir schlugen vil zu tod und blünderten die stat . . . / Von quiloa / lxx meil ligt ain stat haißt bonbasa verbranten wir und erschlugen vil volcks / blünderten sy auch mit übertreflichem gut." For a modern edition of the text, see Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Sprenger,* 37.
75. See text over "Gros India": "Alda findt man/ Ingeber/ Pfeffer/ Negelyn Zyment und sunst allerlay specerey und edelgestain umb ain gering gelt zu kaffen / Es hat seltzam frücht / feigen / vii domen lang und dreier bratit ains guten geschmacks / Da seind vil büffel unn küw die küw töten sy nit / Da wachßt guter wein vil hönig / reiß köstlich korn gibt gantz weyß als semmelmel" (There one can find ginger, pepper, clove, cinnamon and all manner of spices and precious stones which can be bought for very little. Peculiar fruits can be found there, tasty figs the length of seven thumbs and three wide. Many buffaloes roam there as well as cows; they do not kill the cows. You can get good wine there, honey is in abundance, rice as well, delicious grain as white as bread flour.)
76. See McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze," 234. The version pirated by Georg Glockendon in Nuremberg in 1511 radically reduces the text.
77. Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), see especially 119–168.
78. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 106.
79. Anon., "De Gothis & eorum saevitia," in Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia Universalis Lib. VI* (Basel: Petri, 1552), Munich BSB, Res 2 Geo.u. 51a, fol. 262. This particular illustration is used to head a section on German history in Münster's *Cosmographia* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1550; reprint 1552).
80. Mason, "Classical Ethnography," 156.
81. McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze," 230.
82. This epistemology defines the nature of comparisons that structure scientific thinking and the processing of new discoveries in a system that included hermeneutics of varying degrees of rationality. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 32.

83. Ibid.,17–25.
84. Mason, "Classical Ethnography," 156.
85. Like a map, the frieze has integrity from multiple points of view. Borrowing Svetlana Alpers's claim for Dutch maps and descriptive landscapes, this frieze is also an "additive work that cannot be taken in from a single viewing point." Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 122.
86. This contrasts with the way in which "classical ethnography" functioned in the A/not-A model. Mason, "Classical Ethnography," 145–8, indicates that names given to monsters like Blemmye and Cyklops point directly to alterity.
87. Burgkmair alluded to familiar biblical iconography in order to concretize groups as a series of nuclear families. The composition of the group marked "In Allago" recalls the Rest on the Flight into Egypt. With "In Arabia," the adults who flank the child allude to the iconography of Adam and Eve.
88. Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 50. See also Klein "Randfiguren," for the connection between literature and geography more generally.
89. For a discussion of the cultural shaping and historical determination of kinship structures, see Raymond De Mallie, "Kinship: The Foundation for Native American Society," in *Studying Native America,* ed. Russel Thornton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998).
90. Klein, "*Randfiguren*," 205–7. Klein sees these decorative borders not as merely marginal, but rather as an important component of packaged geo-cultural information and a merging of three separate genres: costume books, city atlases, and national or continental maps.
91. Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 51.
92. See Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print,* 178. Burgkmair's use of multiple block prints to create a woodcut frieze was an innovation in the north, and if it has any precedent at all, Landau and Parshall find sources south of the Alps, in particular Jacob of Strasbourg's *Triumph of Caesar*, published 1504 in Venice. For a discussion of classical triumphal processions as they related to a Northern context, see Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 94ff.
93. For Andrea Mantegna's Mantuan cycle, painted between 1486 and 1501, see Stephen J. Campbell, Evelyn Welch et al., "Mantegna's Triumph: The Cultural Politics of Imitation 'all antica' at the Court of Mantua 1490–1530," in *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300–1550* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum; Chicago: distributed by University of Chicago Press, 2004), 91–105. For one of the printed editions, see Jean Michel Massing, "The Triumph of Caesar by Benedetto Bordon and Jacobus Argentoratensis: Its Iconography and Influence," in *Print Quarterly* 7 (1990): 2–21. Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar* is also believed to have inspired the *Triumph of Maximilian I,* a serial printed encomium to emperor Maximilian to which Burgkmair substantially contributed. See Stanley Appelbaum, *The Triumph of Maximilian I: 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others* (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), v.
94. The most complete edition, once bound in a folding, accordion like format known as a *leporello*, is preserved in Basel's Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. X. 1428. See B. Aikema and B.L. Brown, *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 252.
95. For the influence of Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar* on sixteenth-century followers, see Andrew Martindale, *The Triumph of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1979), esp. 97–102.
96. See Aikema and Brown, *Renaissance Venice and the North*, 252.

97. See Massing, "Hans Burgkmair's Depiction of Native Africans," 46 and n. 27; and idem, "The Triumph of Caesar."
98. Curiously, enslaved "exotics," typically the mainstay of triumphal processions, are conspicuously absent in Bordon's version.
99. It was precisely these signifiers of local prestige, such as the palanquin, that the Portuguese would later outlaw in their evangelizing missions in Goa. See Joseph Thekkedath as quoted in Ines G. Zupanov, "Compromise: India," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004), 357.
100. For example, shells, hides, clubs and parrots were mentioned by Peutinger in a letter to Sebastian Brant; see König, *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel,* 77–78. For other Augsburg collections, like that of the Fugger family, see Mark Meadow, "Merchants and Marvels: Hans Jacob Fugger and the Origins of the Wunderkammer," in Smith and Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels,* 182–200. For objects in later European collections, see Bassani and Tedeschi, "The Image of the Hottentot in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: An Iconographic Investigation," 173. For a survey of artifacts from the Americas in Europe, see Christian F. Feest, "The Collecting of American Indian Artifacts in Europe, 1493–1750," in Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. by the University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 324–360.
101. For a good account of the nascent printing trade in Augsburg, see Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print,* 33–34. See also Hans-Jörg Künast, *'Getruckt zu Augsburg': Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997); also Norbert Ott, "Frühe Augsburger Buchillustration," in *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart,* ed. Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997). In the case of Burgkmair's frieze, we can identify the work of the *Formschneider* Cornelis Liefrinck by initials on the block's verso. Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien,* 21.
102. For a facsimile of the German report with Traut's illustrations, see Schulze, *Balthasar Springers Indienfahrt,* 9. An edition in contemporary German is included in Andreas Erhard, *Die Meerfahrt: Balthasar Springers Reise zur Pfefferküste* (Innsbruck: Haymon Verlag, 1998).
103. These woodcuts are formed by a multi-block process in which a line or key block is printed with one or more tone blocks that adds color or highlight. This technique was developed in conjunction with the block cutter Jost de Negker, and it expanded on experiments in color printing initiated by the printer Erhard Ratdolt. See Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print,* 180–4.
104. Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien*, 21. Falk positions this type of development in opposition to the innovation in craft practice represented by Albrecht Dürer, who unified both practices in the hand and mind of one artist to produce a characteristic "style." Naturalism in print resulted from an organic grafting of design and execution, a confluence of a painter's invention and a craftsman's technical ability to reproduce it.
105. This obsession with the Khoi is tracked in Walter Hirschberg, ed., *Schwarzafrika* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1962), an important anthology of texts, maps and illustrations of early modern Africa, in which "half of the thirty-two authors included . . . deal more or less extensively with this numerically inconsiderable people," according to Bassani and Tedeschi, "The Image of the Hottentot," 173.
106. Urs Bitterli contends that the next generation of artists drastically enlarged the breasts and buttocks in the Khoi females, fueling the stereotype of these natives as hideous in appearance. See Bitterli, *Die Wilden und die Zivilisierten: Grundzüge einer Geistes- und*

Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1976), 26; and Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Sprenger,* 123.

107. Tilman Falk dates this woodcut in the British Museum (inv. no. 1856–6—14–105) to after 1508; no other members of a set have been identified. See Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, no. 27 and Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien,* 106, n. 419.
108. Burgkmair would have been familiar with the works of Dürer in Peutinger's collection; Peutinger's inventory of 1597 reflects an almost complete collection of the printed works of contemporary Augsburg artists, as well as those of Dürer, including his later work on proportion and perspective. See Künast, "Die Graphiksammlung des Augsburger Stadtschreiber Konrad Peutinger," 13; and Künast and Zäh, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers*, no. 584. See also Bassani and Tedeschi, "The Image of the Hottentot," 164.
109. These were found in an edition of Suetonius in Peutinger's library. According to Peutinger's preparatory notes in his *Nachlass* (BSB, Munich, Clm 4009), over one hundred portraits were made for the project, which, although largely complete by 1505, never made it to press. See Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien,* 46. Falk posits that Burgkmair continued work on this monumental project throughout the first two decades of the sixteenth century. See Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, 76–77; Künast and Zäh, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers* 1:380; and Campbell Dodgson, "Die Cäsarenköpfe, eine unbeschriebene Folge von Holzschnitten Hans Burgkmairs d. Ä.," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst,* vol. 2, *Augsburger Kunst der Spätgothik und Renaissance*, ed. Ernst Buchner and Karl Feuchtmayr (Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser Verlag, 1928), 224–28. For a discussion of Burgkmair's work with material artifacts, see Ashley West, "Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531) and the Visualization of Knowledge," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2006, 100–154.
110. For humanist medals, see Stephen Scher, *Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson in association with the Frick collection, 1994).
111. See Andrée Hayum, "Dürer's Portrait of Erasmus and the *Ars Typographorum*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 38:4 (Winter 1985): 668. Quentin Metsys's 1519 portrait medal of Desiderius Erasmus carried the inscription "Imago ad vivam effigiem expressa," (an image cast from a living representation); Dürer used this medal for his own studies of Erasmus. For other Renaissance portrait conventions borrowed from Roman coins, see Larry Silver, "Prints for a Prince: Maximilian, Nuremberg and the Woodcut" in *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg,* ed. Jeffrey Chipps Smith, ed. (Austin: Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, 1985), 8.
112. See Luke Syson, "Circulating a Likeness?" in *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance,* ed., Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 113.
113. See Wolfgang Kuhoff, "Markus Welser als Erforscher des römischen Augsburg," in Häberlein and Burkhardt, *Die Welser,* 587–617; and for antiquarians' privileging of material evidence, Anthony Grafton, "Jean Hardouin: the Antiquary as Pariah," in *Bring Out Your Dead: the Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), in which Grafton argues that coins and inscriptions became the new "texts."
114. See Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950), 285–315. Momigliano's essay develops the role artifacts and primary sources such as coins and inscriptions played in

antiquarianism and the challenge they presented to textual sources. For a discussion of how these sources were translated in print, see Wood, "Early Archaeology and the Book Trade," 83–117.

115. Artists in Maximilian's employ were subject to review by a circle of advisors including Konrad Peutinger, the court historian Johannes Stabius, and the emperor's private secretary Marx Treitzsauerwein. See Silver, "Prints for a Prince," 15.
116. Friedrich Dörnhöffer speculates that the new design was intended for a planned edition of Celtis' *Rhapsodia* that made it only as far as a manuscript presentation copy for Maximilian, now lost. Celtis probably brought the blocks to Augsburg and deposited them between 1504 and 1506 in the print shop of Erhard Oeglin where Burgkmair received the commission to alter them. The altered version of the woodcut appears only in a bound collection of prints entitled "*Cuspianus Celti Ultimum Vale*," by Johannes Cuspianus (1508) in BSB, Munich, Rar. 585, with a copy in Edmund de Rothschild's collection in Paris. See Dörnhöffer, "Über Dürer und Burgkmair," in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte, Franz Wickhoff gewidmet* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1903), 111ff., 123–127. See also Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, cat. nos. 14, 15.
117. Celtis's altered look seems closer to his appearance in other contemporary portraits; his cap seems to reflect the reality of his premature baldness. See Dörnhöffer, "Über Dürer und Burgkmair," 128.
118. Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien*, 20. Portraits would become one of Burgkmair's specialties. The woodcut portraits of Pope Julius II in 1511, as well as those of Augsburg patricians Jakob Fugger and Hans Paumgartner made the same year, represent a new pictorial genre that used the medium of woodcut to express subjects usually reserved for medallion production and painting. See Larry Silver, "The Face is Familiar: German Renaissance Portrait Multiples in Prints and Medals," *Word and Image* 19:1–2 (2003): 10.
119. Silver, "The Face is Familiar," 10, also suggests that this change was made at the express command of Maximilian I.
120. See R.T. Risk, *Erhard Ratdolt, Master Printer* (Francestown, N.H.: Typographeum, 1982), 40–43. See Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das graphische Werk,* cat. no. 6. We can trace Burgkmair's physiognomic improvements in another group of surrogate cuttings he made for the head of St. Pelagius in the *Breviarium Constantiense* (Augsburg: Ratdolt, 1499). In a plug that replaced the saint's head when it was reprinted in the title page to Ratdolt's 1505 *Missale Constantiense*, we see how a crudely cut generic face has been transformed into a portrait. Burgkmair marshaled these technical developments in defining heads and faces to enable the "reproduction of physiognomic traits to produce portrait-like specificity"; Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien*, 19–20. It is also supposed that Burgkmair reworked a crucifixion group originally designed by Jörg Breu for a missal printed in Constance in 1504. Burgkmair refashioned the head of John the Baptist for an undated Augsburg missal printed by Erhard Ratdolt shortly thereafter. See Dörnhöffer, "Über Dürer und Burgkmair," 119–120.
121. For Burgkmair's watercolor studies see Massing, "Hans Burgkmair's Depiction of Native Africans," 46; and idem, entry to cat. no. 405, in Levenson, *Circa 1492,* 571, for further references.
122. Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das graphische Werk*, cat. no. 26. Falk suggests that, through Peutinger's intervention, Burgkmair was also made familiar with African physiognomy in Augsburg.
123. The emblem of the black Moor was popular among humanists and patricians; with it, Dürer emblazoned coats of arms for the Scheurl and Tucher families (Hollstein,

German Engravings, vol. 8, 291), as well as his own 1523 emblem (Hollstein, 288). Hans Schäufelein's design for Hartmann Schedel's coat of arms about 1513 similarly included a Moor (Hollstein, 139). In addition to personal insignia, the crowned Moor was also the emblem of the archbishopric of Freising, near Munich. The head of St. Mauritius has been the emblem of the Franconian city of Coburg since the late fourteenth century, after his skull was brought back from Constantinople and became the focus of devotion. For the popularity of this motif in the German-speaking regions, see Paul H.D. Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 71–85. For a similar motif in Renaissance Italy, see Elizabeth McGrath, "Ludovico Il Moro and his Moors," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002), 67–94.

124. Bartholomaeus Cocles claimed that none of his predecessors "were so great observers of an abundance of individual cases as I am," quoted in Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), vol. v, 57. Cocles, *Anastasis*, VI, prologue and see also Chapters 240, 328.
125. See Bartholomaeus Cocles, *In disem biechlein wirt erfunden von Complexion der menschen* (Augsburg: Hans Schönsperger, 1513), BSB, Munich, Res/4 Anthr. 7x. "Und wie wol dise kunst in unsern landen unbrauchlich und seltzam ist sy doch in anndern landen in hohen eeren und werd gehalten/ unnd sonderlich in der haydenschafft und in der Türckey / Als ich von denen die solliches selber gesehen erfaren. Und auch in glaubwirdigen Cronicken gelesen hab / nämlich das die menschen in den selben gegenden gekaufft und verkauffet werden und die kauffer und verkauffer der Phisonomey so gewis / wenn sy die menschen und in ire gelider beschauen als bald erkennen sy ains yeden geschicklichait und nature / ob er endlich träg oder warzu er genaigt sey / dadurch er yn teürer oder wolfyaler kauff / Wie auch bey uns die rosstauscher das alter und auch annder natur der pferd an irn zenen unnd gelidern und andern zaichen erkennen und urtailen." (For as uncustomary and unusual as this art [physiognomy] is in our country, it is held in high esteem in other lands, particularly in the lands of heathens and of the Turks / Such as I have seen myself and read about in credible chronicles / that is to say, the slave traders in this region are so versed in physiognomy / that they can immediately discern the abilities and qualities of slaves by simply inspecting their limbs / to tell if they are indolent or what their inclinations are / so that [the trader] can know if he is paying dearly or getting a bargain / just as it is the custom of our horse traders to recognize and judge the age and quality of the horse by its teeth and limbs and other signs."
126. Even if we doubt the scientific rigor that such books enjoyed in the humanist community, the sheer popularity of this book in the first two decades of the sixteenth century certainly argues for its general vigor. While Tilman Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien,* 52 and n. 310, maintains that humanists in Maximilian's circle around 1514 probably found the "scientific" content of this volume on physiognomy and palmistry specious, Anthony Grafton (email to author fall 2003) thinks otherwise. Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. v, 53–7, claims that its use of unabashedly medieval sources did not represent a conflict of interests for humanists who were only too happy to consult these authors in the field of physiognomy and chiromancy. Perhaps we can take seriously Cocles's claim that even humanists aspired to become physiognomists.
127. Hans Schönsperger printed several editions of this volume between the years 1510 and 1517. It is the 1515 edition, published in Augsburg, that concerns us here.
128. "A.B.C." probably indicates *Augustanus Burgkmair Civis*. The 1515 publication date of this volume provides only a *terminus ante quem* for the woodcut. Tilman Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien,* 52, proposes a date between 1500–1505, a date more in line with Burgkmair's actual appearance known from a contemporary drawing, as well as on

stylistic grounds. Incidentally, that date would also place the self-portrait medallion in the period of Burgkmair's activity on Peutinger's *Kaiserbuch* project, during which time he made numerous portrait roundels. The idea that scholars date Burgkmair's work by the particularity of his visage says a great deal about our expectations of him as a portraitist. See Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, cat. no. 72; and see also Erwin Panofsky, "Conrad Celtes and Kunz von der Rosen: Two Problems in Portrait Identification," in *Art Bulletin* 24: 1 (1942), 51.

129. For physiognomy in late Medieval and Renaissance portraits, see Syson, "Circulating a Likeness?," 118; and Valentin Groebner, "Complexio/Complexion: Categorizing Individual Natures," in *The Moral Authority of Nature,* ed. Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 332 ff. Burgkmair made several woodcut roundel versions of Christ's profile fashioned from medals that followed textual descriptions in the Lentulus letter. This letter, which proliferated in humanist circles in Augsburg and Nuremberg around 1500, purported to relay an eyewitness account of the true physical appearance of Christ that images made from it sought to replicate. See Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 116–7; and Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction,* 155–164.

5. Recuperating the Eyewitness: Jörg Breu's Images of Islamic and Hindu Culture in Ludovico de Varthema's Travels (Augsburg: 1515)

1. Here I follow Foucault's remarks on the birth of discourses, such as natural history, psychology, or grammar that begin with a convergence of agents who recognize a common object of analysis. Mapping the surfaces of these objects, delimiting them, ordering them, and establishing the discursive relations that connect them, yields an enunciative field. See Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 21–63.
2. Johannes Boemus's *Omnium gentium mores, leges, & ritus ex multis clarissimis rerum sciptoribus* (1520) stakes a claim to ethnographic recording by virtue of its comparative nature. Margaret Hodgen locates this text, which was frequently reprinted until the eighteenth century, within a culture of collecting, and suggests that Boemus' collection of characteristics of peoples developed in tandem with amateur collecting of coins, gems and fossils for curiosity cabinets. See Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 131–135. Rubiés considers Boemus's text a comparative ethnology based on classical and humanist sources. Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance,* 126. Klaus Vogel considers works like Boemus's to be a reaction to vernacular travelers like Varthema, see "Cultural Variety in a Renaissance Perspective: Johannes Boemus on 'The manners, laws and customs of all peoples' (1520)," in H. Bugge and J. P. Rubiés, eds., *Shifting Cultures. Interactions and Discourse in the Expansion of Europe,* Periplus parerga, vol. 4 (Münster: Lit, 1995).
3. *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss des gestrengen un[d] über all ander weyt erfarnen Ritters und Lantfarers Herren Ludowico Vartomans vo[n] Bolonia sagent vo[n] den Landen/ Egypto/ Syria vo[n] bayden Arabia Persia India un[d] Ethiopia (1515).* This first German edition, printed by Hans Miller in Augsburg, is a vernacular translation of the first Italian edition printed in 1510. See *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India and Ethiopia*, ed. George Percy Badger (New York: B. Franklin for the Hakluyt Society, 1963) for the various editions.
4. Joan-Pau Rubiés has convincingly demonstrated that the traveler himself, Varthema, exhibited a systematic curiosity in his account of the peoples of these lands. See

Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

5. Another local artist, Hans Burgkmair, trumped stereotypes based on recycled iconography by drawing on veristic documentary genres by which he came to describe the peoples of Africa and India as empirically observed subjects. See Chapter Four for this discussion.
6. Such as the prayer book for Maximilian I's chaplain, Wolfgang von Maen, the *Passional* (Augsburg: Hans Schönsperger, 1515), which was a collaboration between Hans Burgkmair and Hans Schäufelein. See Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder*, 41–42.
7. Joseph Leo Koerner has likened Breu to a "bookish linguist who masters many languages but speaks all—including his own—with a strong foreign accent," in "Jörg Breu," a review of Andrew Morrall's *Jörg Breu the Elder: Art, Culture, and Belief in Reformation Augsburg* in *Apollo* 158: 500 (October, 2003): 59–60.
8. See Pia Cuneo, "Propriety, Property and Politics: Jörg Breu the Elder and Issues of Iconoclasm in Reformation Augsburg," in *German History* 14:1 (1996).
9. For the woodcut cycle, see Campbell Dodgson, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Holtzschnittwerkes Jörg Breu des Älteren," *Jahrbuch der Preussichen Kunstsammlungen*, 21 (1900), 192–214; and *idem*., "Jörg Breu als Illustrator des Ratdoltischen Offizin," in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 24 (1903), 335–337; and H. Roettinger, "Zum Holzschnittwerk Jörg Breus des Älteren," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 31 (1908), 48–62; and R. Stiassny, "Jörg Breu von Augsburg," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, 7 (1894), 101–120. The woodcuts for the Varthema cycle are attributed to Jörg Breu and can be found in Max Geisberg, *Die Deutsche Buchillustration in der ersten Hälfte des XVI Jahrhunderts,* vol. I (Munich: Hugo Schmidt Verlag, 1930–32). For the afterlife of this cycle in later captivity narratives, see Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 43ff.
10. Despite having enjoyed a vigorous reputation in his own lifetime, Breu has only recently been revived by scholarship. The subject of two English-language monographs, Jörg Breu the Elder's importance as a craftsman-artist has hinged on his activity during a critical historical moment. Andrew Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder: Art, Culture, and Belief in Reformation Augsburg* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 42, and Pia Cuneo, *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity c. 1475–1536*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, vol. 67 (Boston: Brill, 1998).
11. Asserting oneself as the direct observer was the "fundamental literary mechanism of legitimation in the genre of travel literature." See Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 3.
12. Contemporary accounts made of these regions by Tomé Pires (1512–15) and Duarte Barbosa (1517–18) did not become common knowledge until they were printed for the first time in Ramusio's compendium of travel accounts, the *Navigationi et viaggi* (1550). See George Winius, ed. *Portugal, the Pathfinder* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995), 79; Thomas Suarez, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Periplus, 1999), 123.
13. After Cairo, Varthema travels up the Mediterranean coast to Lebanon and Syria, stopping in Aleppo and Damascus. At Damascus, he joins the hajj en route to Medina and Mecca in the guise of a Mamluk. After Mecca, he then travels to Aden in present-day Yemen and Sanaa, and across the Arabian Sea to Diu in Gujarat, then journeys up the

Persian Gulf to Ormuz to view the pearl fisheries. Next, he wends his way back to India, beginning in Cambay and then stopping at various points south along the Malabar coast, including Goa, Calicut, and Cochin. Leaving the mainland India, Varthema crosses to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and heads up the Coromandel coast north to Pulicat. Then he goes to Tenasserim in Burma (present-day Myanmar) and finally to Malacca. He spent the bulk of his seven years away in India. For the exact route, see Ludovico de Varthema, *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss,* ed. George Winius (John Carter Brown Library: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints for the John Carter Brown Library: NY, 1992), 12.

14. July 29, 1508. This document is preserved in Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo. Chancellaria de Dom Manuel V, fol. 15v. See Ludovico de Varthema*, Reisen im Orient,* Folker Reichert, ed. (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1996), 17.
15. The imprimatur granted Varthema by Cardinal Raffaele Riario attests to the weight given to eyewitness accounts; Riario commended Varthema for his "service to geography and honored his eyewitness corrections to antique cosmography," see Varthema, *Reisen im Orient,* ed. Folker Reichert, 23.
16. Varthema borrowed from Marco Polo and Mandeville, and perhaps even had knowledge of the still-new reports of Vasco da Gama and Pedro Alvares Cabral as early as 1499. Rubiés doubts that Varthema went beyond the Coromandel coast, which makes journeys off the Indian mainland to Tarnassari, Pegu, Bengal, Malacca, the Moluccas and Java also highly unlikely. See Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 127.
17. Bronwen Wilson cites a number of business transactions in Venice that were brought to trial because they were conducted under false cover, especially by Jews who were doing business attired as Christians. See Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 121ff. See also Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).
18. Hammond, *Travelers in Disguise*, xxviii.
19. For example, Varthema translates his captain's conversation with a priest who proports to see flames rising from Mohammed's alleged tomb in Medina (9v). At a later occasion, Varthema reports a conversation between Calicut nobles who wish to exchange wives, reproducing this conversation in Malayalam, a Dravidian dialect of Kerala and adjacent parts of south-west India (37v).
20. Campbell Dodgson, as quoted in Hugh W.M. Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his Journey to the Holy Land 1483–4: A Bibliography* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1968), xxi. See Davies for the various Breydenbach editions; also Breydenbach, *Die Reise ins Heilige Land: ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1485*, Elisabeth Geck, ed. (Wiesbaden: Pressler, 1977). See also Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 35.
21. Marvin Trachtenberg calls this view "equestrian," see *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in early modern Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
22. Stephen Orgel, "Textual Icons: Reading from Early Modern Illustrations," in *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print,* ed. Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (New York: Routledge, 2000), 59–95.
23. Peter Mason, "Seduction from Afar: Europe's Inner Indians," in *Anthropos* 82 (1987), 587.
24. Varthema, 1v. Sunder habe ich wollen selbst mit meinen augen besechen die gelegenhayt der ortter die gestallten und sytten der menschen/ die seltzamigkayt der their/ die

fromden baum/ und dero weechtst und früchten und anders. So in der fruchtparen und unfruchtparn Arabia Perisa, India und Ethiopia/ Namlichen so mer zu glauben ist ainem der es selbs mit seinen augen gesechen hat dann von horen sagen.

25. For the Augsburg version, see Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach,* 12–13.
26. The "secular" Indian appears in Breu's illustration of a scene of local traders in Calicut.
27. For Raimondi's engraving *The Three Doctors,* see Innis H. Shoemaker, ed., *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi,* exh. cat. (Lawrence, Kans.: Spencer Museum of Art, 1981), 106–107; and Claire Richter Sherman, ed. *Writing on Hands: Memory and Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Seattle: distributed by the University of Washington Press, 2000), 184–185. Bernice Davidson finds a compositional precedent for this in Erhard Reuwich's depiction of four Syrians for Bernhard Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam.* See Bernice Davidson, "Marcantonio Raimondi: The Engravings of his Roman Period," Ph.D. diss, Radcliffe College, Harvard University, 1954, 209–210. For copying and collaboration in the Italian Renaissance print generally, see Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).
28. The British Museum dates it 1514–18. Breu's familiarity with Raimondi's composition after drawings by Raphael is supported by Breu's later use of a motif from this print. Breu adapts Raimondi's Minerva for an impaled Agamemnon in his drawing for a glass roundel depicting the murder at the hands of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, which Andrew Morrall dates to the mid-1520s. See Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder*, 225.
29. Just prior to his departure, for instance, Fortunatus swiftly orders a ship-shape galleon to be built and hastily orders gifts to be made for the Sultan: "Fortunatus ließ sich gar schnell eine gute Galeere mit allen Vorteilen bauen;" "Eilends sandte Fortunatus nach vielen guten Meistern des Goldschmiedehandwerks und ließ sich von Silber und Gold einen überaus wertvollen Anrichtetisch machen," see Gerhard Schneider and Erwin Arndt, eds., *Fortunatus: Ein Volksbuch aus dem Jahre 1509* (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1963), 121.
30. Thomas More's *Utopia* (Louvain: Thierry Martin, 1516) distinguishes the Utopians from Europeans by the particular characteristics of their dress. See Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology,* 177.
31. Wilson, *The World in Venice,* 70.
32. Wilson, *The World in Venice,* 71.
33. This later encouraged extremes in the depiction of inhabitants of the East, in which Wilson claims that the fantastic headwear that create a sartorial skyline for Egiptia, Arabica and Calicutica, in which turbans balloon and stacked headwear towers over the wearer, became archetypes and the "serrated silhouette came to designate the distinctiveness of Turks in costume prints." See Wilson, *The World in Venice,* 76–77.
34. Cairo, the center of Islam in Egypt and Syria, was also the seat of the Mamluk sultanate. This dynasty of converted Turkish and Circassian soldiers who, once owned as slaves by the Baghdad caliphs, had worked themselves up through the administrative ranks and transformed Cairo into the seat of their state and military regime.
35. "[The Mamluks are]…completely covered with cloth, including their faces…the women are very well dressed in silk robes of material softer and more exquisite than silk. They also wear white boots to the knee, red or brown shoes and many small rings in the ear and on their hands…and now the (Arab) men are dressed with clean long clothes very wide, mostly made of silk and a part of cloth which they wear unbelted, the majority also wears wide cotton trousers and white shoes," 5r.
36. Breu furnished these Mamluks with Ottoman turbans: the *taj,* a small turban wound around a red cap with vertical ribbing introduced into Turkey by Sultan Mehmed II. This head covering was popularized in Venice by the Bellini and brought north by

Dürer, whose work between 1495 and 1505 shows only the Ottoman variation. After his second visit in 1505, Dürer's work reflects the typological shift of Venetian Orientalism to a predominantly Mamluk mode: the horned turban, high rising with vertical folds, often ending in curled peaks. See Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London: Hans Huth Memorial Studies I, Islamic Art Publications, 1982), 21, 40. For typical dress during the Mamluk period, see Yedida Kalfon Stillman, *Arab Dress: A Short History from the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times* (Boston: Brill, 2000), 62–85. I am grateful to Persis Berlekamp for these references.

37. Varthema distinguishes between men of means, clad in short shirts and turbans "in the Moorish fashion," and the common people who wear nothing but a swath of cloth about the midsection, see Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology,* 149. We can see here how unhelpful the text's sartorial prescriptions were to an artist trying to make sense of a complex culture.
38. For illustrations of the inhabitants of Malabar India, Breu routinely borrows from circulating prototypes that characterized the Brazilian Tupinamba. Breu probably derives this from either the Augsburg Vespucci broadsheet of 1505 or from Hans Burgkmair's watercolor sketches in the British Museum.
39. For "tupinambization" see chapter 4, note 6.
40. For spellings of the names of castes, I follow John Winter Jones's translations of Varthema in Hammond, *Travelers in Disguise,* 138ff.
41. The *chattra* is a ceremonial umbrella mentioned earlier by Varthema in a discussion of the King of Calicut's entry into battle (39r). Instead of a standard, Varthema reports, the king can be identified by a round ceremonial shade, made from leaves of a tree lashed together to form an object that resembles the bottom of a barrel. The shape and form was probably suggested to Breu by the umbrella in Hans Burgkmair's woodcut, *The King of Cochin*.
42. Breu seems unaware of social prohibitions against the communal interactions of the castes.
43. Bernadette Bucher's analysis of the images of De Bry's *Great Voyages* borrows a structural model from Claude Lévi-Straus to show how the visual narrative of America answers to an internal logic. See Bucher, *Icon and Conquest,* trans. Basia Miller Gulati (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
44. See Chapter 3 for interest in India that emerged as a confluence of Hans Burgkmair's artistic and Konrad Peutinger's humanistic research, also in Augsburg.
45. See Christine Johnson, "Accounting for the Discoveries," in *The German Discovery of the World* (University of Virginia Press, 2008), 88–122.
46. Breu's images informed subsequent illustrations that touted this profusion. In the upper right corner of the world map in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (Basel: Petri, 1556), Hans Holbein renders the peoples of India in dress familiar from Breu and other sources. The local spices appear with banderoles around their trunks, identifying them as *piper, muscata,* and *gariofili*.
47. He avoids, for instance, outlandish customs reported by Varthema, such as the Poliar and Hirava raising their children in the sand, or the oddities of elephant procreation.
48. "Der redt mit dem helffand das alles verstat das tyer und thut das selb des ich mich größlich verwundert Und ich gelaub das kayn verstentlicher thyer auff erden sey," 31v.
49. Unembellished lists of commodities were features typical of merchant accounts circulating in Europe. The 1506 Nuremberg pamphlet *Den rechten weg* largely ignored any aspect of the landscape that would not bring direct profit; it focused instead on spices and precious minerals, viewing the local peoples as annoying obstructions to their easy acquisition. Da Gama's report also includes a separate section on Calicut and its commerce. See E. G. Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco Da Gama, 1497–1499.* Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, no. 99 (New York: Franklin, 1963), 77.

50. "sunst ein lustig land von gutten wassern und wolrychenden krutern," 4.
51. For these, see Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006); Claudia Swan, *Art, Science and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland* (Cambridge, 2005); and *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, eds. Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).
52. "prechen oder eckern sy das erdtreych mit den oshsen nach unserm gebrauch," 42v.
53. For how to weigh ethnological information found in cosmographies, see Peter Mason's comparison of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (1544) and the French edition, François Belleforest's *Cosmographie* (1575), which tried to excise the implausibilities in Münster's version by replacing images of "exotics" with images of peoples of greater verisimilitude, and less controversial images like maps of territories. Despite this seeming advance toward greater veracity, Mason maintains that Belleforest's other rhetorical strategies should prevent us from seeing this choice as signaling a general increase in verisimilitude, and generally exposes the folly of trying to read progress in these "advances." See "The Resistance to History," in Egmond and Mason, *The Mammoth and the Mouse,* 105–132.
54. Even merchants were encouraged to observe and record these practices systematically. See Margaret Hodgen's discussion of Albert Meier in *Early Anthropology,* 167.
55. Reichert locates Tarnassari, the site of the *suttee*, in Mergui, on the peninsula of Tenasserim (present-day Myanmar). The fact that Varthema locates the practice of *suttee* in a region where it was not practiced, in addition to other similar geographical infelicities, has led to a general questioning of whether or not Varthema ever visited regions beyond southern India. See Varthema*, Reisen im Orient*, 198–203.
56. For *suttee*, see *sati* in Margaret and James Stutley, *Harper's Dictionary of Hinduism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977). The authors argue that *sati* was perhaps originally only a mimetic ceremony in the Vedic period. Whether actual or purely symbolic, it probably fell into disuse until it was resumed in the sixth century along the Ganges, in Bengal, Rajputana, by some aboriginal tribes.
57. Quoted in Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, 183.
58. Nicolo dei Conti multiplied the number of victims in his account of *suttee* in Calicut, claiming that the king "takes as many as twelve thousand wives, of whom four thousand follow him on foot wherever he may go…of whom two or three thousand are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they will voluntarily burn themselves with him. And this is considered a great honor for them." See the account of Poggio Bracciolini's *India Recognita* in Hammond, *Travelers in Disguise,* 10. See also Conti's elaborate account of *suttee* among the inhabitants of central India, where this practice is described as part of the contractual agreement between wife and husband at the time of marriage, *op. cit.,* 27–28.
59. "die fraw so sich verprennen will," 51v; "Das alles thut das weyb mit unerschrockner gestalt sampt etwas mit freüden/ Wan sy nit anderst gelauben dan das sy also von stunden ain in den hymel gefürt werden," 51v.
60. Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology,* 109. Conti acknowledges a degree of relativism when he claims that the third part of India "excels the others in wealth, humanity and refinements and is equal to our own country in the style of life and in civilization," see Hammond, *Travelers in Disguise,* 25.
61. Ulrich Tengler, *Layenspiegel: Von rechtmässigen ordungen in Burgerlichen und peinlichen regimenten…* (M. Hupfuff, 1511), for the various editions printed in the first half of the sixteenth century, see Miriam U. Chrisman, "Printing and the Evolution of Lay

Culture in Strasbourg 1480–1599," in Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The German People and the Reformation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988) 80, n. 15.

62. See also the broadsheet by Erhard Schön, *Ein erschröcklich geschicht vom Tewfel und einer unhulden beschehen zu Schilta bey Rotweil in der Karwochen 1533* (Nuremberg, 1533), that recounts the events of a witch burning on St. George's Day of that year. See Walter Strauss, *The Illustrated Bartsch: German Masters of the Sixteenth Century*, vol. 13 (New York: Abaris Books, 1984), 453. For images of witchcraft, see Charles Zika, *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, v. 91. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
63. While in Breu's depiction, the immolation is the work of human agency, that same agency transfers to the devil in subsequent illustrations that synopsize Breu's illustration. In a cartographic representation of India in Lorenz Fries's *Tabula moderna Indiae* in 1535, a widow consumed by flames seeks mercy from a hoofed demon who dances around her. The Fries map rearranges the elements of Breu's illustration to assign external agency to a demon. The suggestion made by this illustration—that women were led to these practices by demons—echoed chords of witchcraft resonant throughout Europe. Fries's illustration re-embedded in *suttee, a* practice already viewed with ambivalence in Europe, the idea that it was dominated by demons whom local peoples worshipped as idols.
64. Even as Breu's iconographic borrowings probably helped oversimplify Hindu practice by suggesting unintended parallels with witchcraft, choices like these help shore up commensurability.
65. Prester John's reports about a lost community of Christians strengthened the search for St. Thomas Christians in India. The Christians Vasco da Gama thought he saw were in fact *Nairs* (Nayyar), a warrior caste of the Malabar Coast who ate meat and practiced polyandry. See Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama,* 49ff. See also M. N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 13.
66. In the secondary literature, Breu's illustrations of Indian religions have been called to account for offering up "idolatry" as the most subversive element in Indian culture. Assuming that the images and text were made in tandem, critics have used them as evidence that Varthema rejected all cultural similarities out of hand and used them to expose the seams in Varthema's measured description of Hindu custom. These claims are flawed on two counts: the attention given to Varthema's description of Indian gods in the secondary literature far outpaces his concern with religion in his text, and Breu's detractors also overestimate the influence of religion as a determinant of culture in the illustrator's model.
67. Varthema, *Travels,* 27v; Hammond, *Travelers in Disguise,* 16. Varthema speculates about their eligibility for salvation, following Marco Polo who extended the possibility of salvation to Buddhists on the condition of Christian baptism, see Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology,* 54.
68. Critics who view Breu's illustrations to be at the root of essentializing inversions of European culture debate who was responsible for the origin of this image. Partha Mitter maintains that it is *Varthema's* description that cues Breu's depiction of the *Deumo* as a European demon; see Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: a History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 16–20. Joan-Pau Rubiés, on the other hand, exonerates Varthema on the grounds that his textual description reasonably evokes contemporary representations of the Hindu god Narasimha, the lion-like incarnation of Vishnu on view in temples in Kerala and Vijayanagara. See Rubiés, *Travel & Ethnology,* 157–158. In Rubiés's view, it was Breu who transcribed this

Hindu god into the European syntax for representing demons. Missing from this lively debate about whom to blame for these essentializations is a discussion that puts Breu's borrowings into their visual context.

69. Varthema's text asserts that the *Deumo* "wears a crown, just like the triple crown of the Pope, has horns and four large teeth with a wide open mouth," fol. 35r.
70. Joachim Vadianus, *Das wolff gesang* (Augsburg: Ulhart, 1522). See R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 75–77. For satirical representations of the Pope, see Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 154–159.
71. Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, 160.
72. In 1509 Breu painted an image of St. Christopher on the North façade of the Church of the Holy Cross in Augsburg; in 1491 Ulrich Apt had painted St. Christopher on the south wall of the Cathedral in Augsburg. See Morrall, *Jörg Breu the Elder,* 22. Superstitious practices such as these that assigned functions and cures to specific saints were the target of Erasmus's critique of late-medieval piety. See Carlos Eire, *War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 37ff.
73. See Peter Parshall, "Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," in *Art History* 16: 4 (1993).
74. Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980), 53. On idolatry, see Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach, *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009); Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
75. Thomas Murner, *Von den fier ketzeren Prediger ordens der observantz zü Bern* (Strasbourg, 1509/1510), BSB Res/4 P.o.germ.145.a.p. Joseph Leo Koerner attributes this woodcut to Urs Graf. See Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 146–147.
76. Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors,* 53.
77. For Hans Burgkmair's 1507 broadsheet of St. Kümernus that relayed this miraculous occurrence in Lucca, see Bob Scribner, "Ways of Seeing in the age of Dürer," in *Dürer and his Culture*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger and Charles Zika (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 101–102.
78. Varthema distinguishes them as "*pfaffen, edel und bauer,"* 45r.
79. Varthema, *Reisen im Orient,* 236, note 110. Marco Polo also reported in Sumatra the presence of a "nasty and brutish folk who kill men for food," as quoted in Suarez, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia,* 116. It is likely that Varthema did not travel to these parts, as the majority of descriptions are appropriated from other peoples found in Indonesia. The physiognomic prescriptions given by Varthema for the peoples of Java mimic several others in this section. For example, the description of their appearance cribs from the Sumatrans; their "idolatrous" customs match those found in Calicut, or supplemented by tropes which had been circulating since antiquity, like the idolatrous practice of worshipping the first thing that crosses one's path in the morning. Varthema praises their emeralds and other minerals, their sumptuous fruits and meats, and silks.
80. This was possibly also taken from Marco Polo's account of his experiences in *Dragoria*, see Suarez, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia*, 116. Consuming the flesh of ailing acquaintances also appear in Mandeville's report of the people from Dodyn.

81. "Capitel wie man an etlichen orten dyser insel die alten menschen verkaufft zum essen. Wan da syndt mann auch stott (stadt) und lender darin man yßt menschen fleysch solicher massen so wan ain vater alt wirt und vor alter zu keiner arbayt mer nutz ist so nemen in syne sohn oder nachst fraynd und stollen in zu marckt und verkauffen in/ Und die in dan kauffen die todten kochen und essen in. Wan ain junger mensch in ain krankhayt kumbt also das etlich die vernünftigen bedunkt (bedenckt) das im nit zu helfen sei so erwartet vater und muter bruder oder schwester nit bis er selbst gestirbt. Besunder so ertodten sy in und essen den leychnam gekocht verkauffen in aber ander leuten. Erschroken waren wir solliche graussamigkeit zu horen und sagten zu inen das sollichs bey uns ain unmenschlich ding wer. Da Sprachen sy "O ir armen persianer warumb lassen ir dan so vil gut fleysch die würm essen. Da wir nit sunders wann sollich unmenschlich sachen wolten wyr nit lenger beleyben. Machen uns in unser naue oder schyff das uns die lant leyt nit mer auf dem land begreyffen mochten," 60r.
82. For this opposition, see Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Mythologies," in *The Raw and the Cooked,* trans. John and Doreen Weightman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
83. Such as in the accounts of Marco Polo, Mandeville, and Vespucci. Later apologists were quick to recognize the barbaric similarities between newly-discovered non-Europeans and certain strata of European society, for example, Cornelius Gemma, Voltaire, Montaigne, Jean de Léry, and Bartolomeo de las Casas. See Peter Mason, "Seduction from Afar," 588–589.
84. This posture has also suggested Dürer's *Melancholia* to Wolfgang Neuber. The figure also recalls Saturn who governed melancholic humors, an iconographic tie strengthened by his own cannibalistic tendencies, see Neuber, *Fremde Welt*, 256. For the iconography of *Melancholia,* see Erwin Panofsky, *Dürers "Melencolia I"* (Berlin: Teubner, 1923); see Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (New York: Basic Books, 1964). For a summary of the published reception of Dürer's Melencolia I, see Peter-Klaus Schuster, *Melencolia I: Dürer's Denkbild,* 2 vols. (Berlin: Mann, 1991), and a recent contribution by Patrick Doorly, "Dürer's *Melencolia I:* Plato's Abandoned Search for the Beautiful," *Art Bulletin* 86:2, 255–276.
85. See Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, 151. Varthema acknowledges the king of Narsinga's sovereignty over many lands, in fact, even overestimating his sphere of influence to extend throughout South India. Narsinga was the name given by Varthema to the kingdom of Vijayanagara by virtue of a contemporary ruler who bore the name of Narasimha, an incarnation of the god Vishnu. Idem., 147, note. 51.
86. Ibid., 148.
87. Ibid., 153, note 67.
88. For Vasco da Gama's journal, see Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama*, 55.
89. Ibid., 60ff.
90. Varthema reports that the Kanphata yogis, a sect of militant ascetics, possess sharp-bladed iron disks that would wound an enemy when thrown. See Gita Dharampal-Frick, *Indien im Spiegel deutscher Quellen der Frühen Neuzeit (1500–1750): Studien zu einer interkulturellen Konstellation,* Frühe Neuzeit 18 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), 251; and Reichert, 128ff and note 15. See also *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India and Ethiopia,* ed. George Percy Badger (New York: B. Franklin for the Hakluyt Society, 1963), 111.
91. This was unlike the case in the Americas, where European observers found hierarchical power structures lacking. It was also the absence of a natural hierarchy, according to the authorities at Salamanca, that contributed to the confusion native Americans had about the direction of the food chain, leading them to consume human flesh

and insects. See Peter Bakewell, *A History of Latin America*, second edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 150.

92. These may have arrived in Strasbourg by way of Burgkmair's frieze, Wolf Traut's illustrations for the 1509 pamphlet version of Balthasar Springer's *Merfart* which portrayed the procession of the King of Cochin in a single scene, or even Georg Glockendom's 1511 edition of Hans Burgkmair's frieze in which birds flesh out the background. For Glockendom's version, see Briesemeister et al., *Amerika 1492–1992: Neue Welten—Neue Wirklichkeiten* (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1992), 122–123.

6. The Amerindian's Moveable Feast: From Cannibal Roast to Fools' Fete

1. Michel de Montaigne, "Of Cannibals," in *The Complete Works,* Donald M. Frame, trans. (New York: Knopf, 2003), 182.
2. "I once saw among us some men brought by sea from a far country…and because we did not understand their language at all, and because their ways, moreover, and their bearing and their clothes were totally remote from us, which of us did not consider them savages and brutes?" Montaigne, "Apology for Raymond Sebond," in *The Complete Works,* 416.
3. Montaigne, "Of Coaches," in *The Complete Works,* 842.
4. For a discussion of Hans Burgkmair's role in originating ethnographic images of inhabitants of Africa and India in European prints, see Chapter Four.
5. Woodcut from five blocks, 265 x 1875 mm, Veste Coburg, Kunstsammlung, Inv. no. I 63, 33. This copy of Hans Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* was made with blocks recut by Georg Glockendon, a block cutter, or *Formschneider,* active Nuremberg 1484–1514. Reproduced in Christiane Andersson and Charles Talbot, *From a Mighty Fortress: Prints, Drawings and Books in the Age of Luther 1483–1546* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983), 210ff. The attribution to Glockendon is based on a reference to an impression in Gotha, no longer extant, said to bear his name and the date 1509. See Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1903), II, 72.
6. For example, 85 blocks were recombined 745 times to form 149 different images in the Strasbourg edition of Terence's *Comedies* (Strasbourg: Johann Grüninger, 1496), see Cécil Dupeux, "Les Combinaisons de Bois dans la Gravure Strasbourgeoise d'Illustration avant la Réforme: vers une Typographie de l'Image," in Jean Cuisenier, ed., *Destins d'objets (*Paris: La Documentation Française, 1988), 322. See also Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture 1480–1599, Books and Social Change in Strasbourg* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), 69, and "Printing and the Evolution of Lay Culture in Strasbourg 1480–1599," in Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The German People and the Reformation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 78–79.
7. Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 41. For the recombining of motifs in Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle*, see Stephen Orgel, "Textual Icons," in Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday, *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London: Routledge, 2000), 63, and Adrian Wilson, Peter Zahn, Joyce Lancaster Wilson, and Edith Goodkind Rosenwald, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1977).
8. Cannibals had been situated in the East since Herodotus, but this print located them directly in India.

9. Amerigo Vespucci and Balthasar Springer, *De Novo Mondo* (Antwerp: Jan van Doesborch, 1520) Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Sig. Qi-39. For a facsimile of the Latin broadsheet in English, see Maria E. Kronenberg, ed. and trans., *De Novo Mondo, Antwerp, Jan Van Doesborch [About 1520], a Facsimile of an Unique Broadsheet Containing an Early Account of the Inhabitants of South America Together with a Short Version of Heinrich Sprenger's Voyage to the Indies = De novo mondo* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1927). By 1508, Springer's report had been pirated by the Antwerp publisher Jan van Doesborch for a Dutch pamphlet version, *Die reyse va'Lissebone,* now in London, British Library, C.32.f.26. Doesborch printed Springer's report in English, *Of the newe landes* (Antwerp: Doesborch: c. 1520), also in London, British Library, G.7106. See Chapter Four, note 8 for the various German versions of Springer's pamphlet. Doesborch combined various travel accounts to new worlds that he had previously printed, including an account of Vespucci's *Mundus Novus* which he published in Dutch as *Van der nieuwer Werelt* (Antwerp: Doesborch, n.d.), now in Providence, Rhode Island; John Carter Brown Library, H507.V581vA. The account was thus manipulated for commercial purposes, as the printer thought he could better market Springer's text as the alleged third voyage of the better known Vespucci. See Franz Schulze, *Balthasar Springers Indienfahrt: wissenschaftliche Würdigung der Reiseberichte Springers zur Einführung in den Neudruck seiner "Meerfahrt" von Jahre 1509* (Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1902), 20; also Franz Hümmerich, "Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Fahrt der ersten Deutschen nach dem portugiesischen Indien 1505/6," *Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, 30, 3 (Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918).
10. See William Sturtevant cited in Christian Feest, ed., *Indians and Europe* (Aachen: Rader Verlag, 1987), 610. See also Sabine Poeschel, *Studien zur Ikonographie der Erdteile in der Kunst des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Scaneg, 1985).
11. Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 5.
12. For the iconography of the margins, see Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: the Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).
13. Title page design consisted mostly of architectural ornaments such as columns, arches, and candelabras. For book decoration in the German speaking regions in this period in general, see Alfred Forbes Johnson, *German Renaissance Title-Borders* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929).
14. Johnson, *German Renaissance Title-Borders*, 4.
15. Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli (Batista Mantuanus), *Fastorum libri duodecim. Carmen ad Julium II. Carmen ad Leonem X* (Strasbourg: Matthias Schürer, 1518). The Carmelite author Giovanni Battista Spagnuoli, active in Mantua, was a friend and colleague of Erasmus. For printing in Strasbourg, see Cecil Dupeux, *La Gravure d'illustration en Alsace au XVIe siècle* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 1992).
16. This set of twelve woodcuts was printed in Venice between 1503 and 1504. The designs were drawn by the Venetian illuminator Benedetto Bordon and cut by Jacob of Strasbourg, a block-cutter from Alsace who settled in Venice. The most complete edition is in Basel's Kupferstichkabinett. See Bernard Aikema and Beverly Louise Brown, *Renaissance Venice and the North: Crosscurrents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian* (New York: Rizzoli, 1999), 252.
17. Stephen Campbell, "Mantegna's Triumph: The Cultural Politics of Imitation "all'antica" at the Court of Mantua 1490–1530," in Stephen J. Campbell, ed., *Artists at Court: Image Making and Identity 1300–1550* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, distributed by University of Chicago Press, 2004), 91.

18. While the appropriations from Burgkmair's designs are clear, it is likely, however, that the artist's knowledge of them came by way of Glockendon's 1511 recut version of the frieze, which the inclusion of the birds seem to indicate.
19. Further references to Burgkmair's frieze can also be found in the putto who climbs atop a sleeping Polyphemus in the vignette of his blinding by Odysseus and his men (here depicted as outsized putti) that appears in the lower frame of the frontispiece. The putto with outstretched arm bears a resemblance to the earringed Guinean child in the first frame of Burgkmair's woodcut frieze of 1508.
20. Both works were largely distributed and printed after Maximilian's death on January 12, 1519. The *Arch of Honor*, made circa 1515–1517, with printings in 1518 and 1526. The *Triumphal Procession*, planned 1512–1519, was to consist of 200 woodcuts, only 137 of which were completed by Maximilian's death in 1519; the first printing took place in 1526. The visual material was supplied by a collaboration among Maximilian's court artists in Innsbruck Jörg Kölderer, Albrecht Altdorfer, Hans Burgkmair, Albrecht Dürer, Hans Springinklee, Leonhard Beck, Hans Schäufelein, Wolf Huber and others. For documentation and bibliography, see Larry Silver, "The Triumphs of Emperor Maximilian I," in Barbara Wollesen-Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower, *"All the World's a Stage": Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque,* Papers in art history from the Pennsylvania State University, 6. (University Park, PA: Dept. of Art History, the Pennsylvania State University, 1990), 292–331, especially 298ff. For the reflection of Maximilian's imperial ambitions in print, see Larry Silver, "Translation of Empire," in *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 77–108. For other artists involved in the production of the *Triumph,* see Alfred Aspland, ed. *Triumph of the Emperor Maximilian I* (Manchester: Holbein Society, 1875). For Maximilian's legacy, see Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus: Literatur und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I*, Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur, vol. 2 (Munich: W. Fink, 1982).
21. For the *Triumphal Procession*, Maximilian dictated the narrative text to the imperial secretary Marx Treitzsauerwein as guidelines for the artists. The section that announces Burgkmair's prints reads: "After them shall come a man of Calicut (naked, with a loincloth), mounted and carrying a verse inscription, wearing a laurel wreath; on the plaque shall be written these words:
    These people are subject to the previously shown praiseworthy crowns and houses.

    > The Emperor in his warlike pride,
    > Conquering nations far and wide,
    > Has brought beneath our Empire's yoke
    > The far-off Calicuttish folk.
    > Therefore we pledge him with our oath
    > Lasting obedience and troth.

    Then shall come on foot the people of Calicut. One rank with shields and swords. One rank with spears. Two ranks with English bows and arrows. All are naked like Indians or dressed in Moorish fashion. They shall all be wearing laurel wreaths." For the transcription and facsimile, see Stanley Appelbaum, ed. *The Triumph of Maximilian I; 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others* (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), 18–19.
22. Desiderius Erasmus, *Querela Pacis* (Basel: Johann Froben, 1517). San Marino, CA., Huntington Library, 32796. For the revival of putti in the Renaissance, see Charles

Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), esp. 63–106.

23. Campbell Dodgson asserts that in no other period was so much care lavished on the title pages of four page tracts, especially Reformation tracts, a fact which belies the alleged independence of design from the text's subject matter. Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts in the British Museum* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1903), 7.
24. See David Kunzle, "World Upside Down: The Iconography of a European Broadsheet Type," in Barbara Babcock, *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), 61–64.
25. See Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 119–122.
26. A. F. Johnson, *German Renaissance Title-Borders,* no. 83. For title pages in Reformation printing, see also Arrey von Dommer, *Lutherdrucke auf der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek, 1516–23* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1962); Johannes Luther, *Titeleinfassungen der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig: Haupt, 1909–13); Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German Woodcuts and Flemish Woodcuts*; and Ernst Voulliéme, *Die deutschen Drucker des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1922).
27. Martin Luther, *Contra Henricum regem Angliae* (Wittenberg: Johannes Rhau-Grunenberg, 1522). Princeton, William H. Scheide Library 11.3.16.
28. The representation of the peasant as Luther's charge emerged in the early years of the Reformation as the symbol of the common man to whom the message of reform was directed, as in the "John Hoe" tract from Strasbourg, 1521. See Keith P. Moxey, "Festive Peasants and Social Order," in *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 35–66, especially 58. See also Herbert Burckhardt, ed., "Karsthans," in Otto Clemen, ed. *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation, vol. 4* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1967), 1–33; and Paul Böckmann, "Der gemeine Mann in den Flugschriften der Reformation," *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 22 (1944), 186–230.
29. For this title-border, used in at least three editions by Johannes Rhau-Grunenberg between 1521–1525, see F.W.H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700,* vol. 6 (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger), 171; also Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts*, 10, 328. This creature in a monk's habit could have been interpreted as the monk-calf, a misbirth that came into the world December 8, 1522. The title pages to pamphlets *Papstesel* and *Mönchskalb* of Freyberg (Wittenberg: Johannes Rhau-Grunenberg, 1523) were also produced in Lucas Cranach's workshop. See Hollstein, *German Engravings,* vol. 6, 161. In the pamphlet of the monk-calf, Luther interprets the calf born in Saxony, with the flap of skin on his back resembling a cowl and a bald spot that resembled the monk's tonsure, as an abomination of a monk. The preaching gesture, along with his protruding tongue, suggests that what proceeded from the clergy's mouth was gibberish. See Dieter Koepplin and Tilman Falk, *Lukas Cranach: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Graphik,* exh. cat. (Basel: Kunstmuseum, 1974), 1, 370ff. Another possibility for this figure could be the goat that was sometimes used to invoke Hieronymus Emser, an emblem that derived from his coat of arms. For the zoomorphic identities of these personalities, see the pasquil "Ein kurze Anred zu allen Missgünstigen Doctor Luthers und der Christenlichen Freiheit" from 1522, reproduced in Oskar Schade, *Satiren und Pasquille aus der Reformzeit I-III* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), II, 190. I am grateful to Peter Matheson for sharing his ideas on the subject and his helpful suggestions.

30. For an overview of the variety of types of mocking propaganda, see Christiane Andersson, "Polemical Prints in Reformation Nuremberg," in Jeffrey Chipps Smith, ed., *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg* (Austin: Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, 1985).
31. Martin Luther, *Rationis Latomianae pro incendiariis Louaniensis scholae sophistis redditae Lutheriana confutatio* ("Luther's Refutation of Latomus's Argument for the Incendiary Sophists of Louvain") (Wittenberg: Melchior Lotter the Younger, 1521). Augsburg SuSTB, 4 Th H 1700, Nr. 214. For Luther's debate with Jacobus Latomus, see Ernest G. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times: The Reformation from a New Perspective* (St. Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1950), 427ff.
32. In addition to feast days, processions were also held in times of distress, such as during war, plague, and famine, to seek the intervention of God to alleviate suffering. See Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 96; for various kinds of processions, see Richard C. Trexler, *The Spiritual Power: Republican Florence Under Interdict* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 221–223.
33. For instances of these "Abbeys of Misrule" in sixteenth-century France, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Reasons of Misrule: Youth groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France," in *Past and Present,* 1 (1971), 41–75; see 71ff. for the Protestant response.
34. Koerner, *Reformation of the Image,* 118.
35. As sites of anticlerical transgressions, carnival processions fueled Reformation fires, exposing Catholicism at its most superstitious. Scribner, "Reformation, Carnival, and the World Turned Upside Down," in *Social History* 3:3 (1987), 18.
36. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk,* 96–97. For carnival theory and bibliography, see "Bourgeouis Hysteria and the Carnivalesque," in Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 6, 171–190.
37. For a catalogue of carnival incidents between 1520 and 1543, see Robert W. Scribner, "Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside Down," 310.
38. Peter Flötner, *Pfaffenkermis,* woodcut. Nuremberg, GNM, Graphische Sammlung H 7320, 150 x 560 mm. See Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk,* 96–97. For indulgences and *kermis*, the church holiday against which Martin Luther inveighed for its raucous nature; as well as for printed woodcut friezes of the *Kermis at Mögeldorf* made in Nuremberg c. 1528–1534 by Sebald Beham and Erhard Schön that likewise featured kermis processions, see Alison G. Stewart, *Before Bruegel: Sebald Beham and the Origins of Peasant Festival Imagery* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008), 68; 149–152.
39. See Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 68–71.
40. See Ronald Brunlees McKerrow and Frederic Sutherland Ferguson, *Title Page Borders Used in England & Scotland, 1485–1640* (London: Printed for the Bibliographical society at the Oxford University Press, 1932), 9–10, no. 11. This design continued to be used, even after substantial cracks surfaced on the block, and remained in circulation in London as late as 1555 when it graced the title page of Peter Martyr's *The Decades of the New World of West India* (London: William Powell, 1555).
41. King Henry VIII, *Libello huic regio haec insunt,* or the *Assertio semptem sacramentorum* (London: Richard Pynson, 1521) New Haven, The Beinecke Library, Mhc H396 L5; these putti can also be found in the front matter of the second edition.
42. The original block was probably designed and cut in Basel in 1518. Frank Hieronymus claims that Benzing unconvincingly attributed the design to Urs Graf; he attributes

the cutting of the block to either Hans Frank, or an unskilled hand under the influence of Ambrosius Holbein. See Frank Hieronymus, *Basler Buchillustration 1500–1545*, exh. cat., Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 31. März bis 30. Juni 1984. Oberrheinische Buchillustration, vol. 2 (Basel: Universitätsbibliothek, 1984), 302.

43. Philipp Melanchthon, *Compendiaria dialectices ratio* (Basel: Valentin Curio, 1521) Munich BSB, 4 P.lat.851/6. See Frank Hieronymus, *Basler Buchillustration 1500–1545*, 302–304. For the various impressions from this block, as well as those from copies, see Josef Benzing, "Indianerbordure und ihre Nachschnitte 1518–1521," in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 2 (1960), 742–748. According to Benzing, a second copy of the block, per the 1519 date on the block, was used in Andreas Cratander's Basel shop, later taken over by Valentin Curio, for Alexander Aphrodisienis, *Super nonnullis physicis quaestiones solutionum liber* (1520); Martin Luther, *Sermo de triplici iustitia* (1519), *Disputatio D. Ioannis Eccii et P. Martini Luther in Studio Lipsensi Futura* (Cratander, 1519); Erasmus, *Dulce bellum inexperto: Eyn gemeyn sprüchwort der kreig ist lustig dem unerfarnen* (Cratander, 1519) and Andreas Karlstadt, *De coelibatu, Monachatu, et Vidvitate* (Cratander, 1521). It was also used for other humanist and reformation pamphlets including Philipp Melanchthon, *Compendiaria Dialectices* (1521); and Erasmus, *Acta Academiae Lovaniensis Contra Lutherum* (1519). In Cologne, Servas Kruffter, who worked with Cratander in Basel, and probably took the original block with him to Cologne, used it for Claudius Claudianus, *De raptu Proserpinae* (1520); and Baptista Mantuanus, *Carmen Bucolicum* (1522). A second copy of the block surfaced in Strasbourg, used in the shop of Matthias Schürer (under whom Cratander worked as a type setter in Strasbourg, as well as in the shop of his nephew Lazarus Schürer in the Alsatian town of Schlettstadt, where it was employed for several Reformation related texts including Johannes Franciscus Cottalembergius [pseudonym for Willibald Pirckheimer], *Eccius dedolatus* (Schürer, 1520); Erasmus, *Querela pacis* (Schürer, 1519); and Andreas Karlstadt, *CCCLXX et apologeticae conclusiones* (Schürer, 1519). After 1524, a similar design appeared in the shop of Ulrich Morhart the Elder, where it was used for several reformation pamphlets including Johann Dietenberger, *Das ander buch wider Luther* (1524); Andreas Karlstadt, *Von abthieung der Bylder* (Strasbourg, Ulrich Morhart the Elder, 1522); Martin Luther, *De abroganda missa privata* (Strasbourg, Ulrich Morhart the Elder, 1522), and Martin Luther, *Ermanung zum frid* (Tübingen, Ulrich Morhart the Elder, 1525). For the Tübingen impressions, see also Karl Steiff, *Der erste Buchdruck in Tübingen (1498–1534): ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Universität* (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1963), 142–51.
44. Another contemporary edition carried both putti and fools on its title-page. See *Querela Pacis* (Strasbourg: M. Schürer, 1519) Munich, BSB Res. 4 A.gr.b.
45. Erasmus Desiderius, *Querela pacis undique gentium eiectae profligataeque* (Schlettstadt: Lazarus Schürer, ca. 1520), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Sig. Fm 3320. Erasmus had wagged this pacifistic finger at Pope Julius II since his triumphal entry into Bologna in November, 1506. See John C. Olin, *Six Essays on Erasmus and a Translation of Erasmus' Letter to Carondelet, 1523* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), 21. See also Albert Levi, *Humanism and Politics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969).
46. The inverted orb becomes enshrined in Bruegel's *Netherlandish Proverbs* as the symbol over the door that announces the inversions depicted as being in the realm of the world upside down. See David Kunzle, "Bruegel's Proverb Painting and the World Upside Down," in the *Art Bulletin* 59: 2 (1977), 197–202.

47. In some impressions, it calls to mind the brazen serpent presented to the Israelites in the wilderness, an idol erected by Moses and smashed by King Hezekiah for fear of the idolatrous worship being paid to it (Numbers 21; 4 Kings 18:4). Christ interprets the serpent as a prophecy of his own death on the cross (John 3:14), the emblem of salvation by faith, as Luther tells it. For the use of the serpent-cross typology in Reformation altars and its appropriation by Protestant theology, see Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image,* 335ff.; and Donald Ehresmann, "The Brazen Serpent: A Reformation Motif in the Works of Lucas Cranach the Elder and His Workshop," in *Marsyas 13* (1967), 32–47; see also David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 498, n. 7. For Karlstadt's use of the brazen serpent, see Brian D. Mangrum and Giuseppe Scavizzi, *A Reformation Debate: Karlstadt, Emser and Eck on Sacred Images: Three Treatises in Translation* (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1991), 30. The object faintly recalls the emblem of the double-fisted caduceus belonging to the Basel printer Johannes Froben, reported by Erasmus to be an emblem of the biblical text, "Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and as harmless as doves" (Matt. 10:16).
48. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 6.
49. The bird-like mask of this figure resembles the costumes worn by Venetian plague doctors in which a voluminous robe and long beak filled with aromas protected the doctor from breathing the same air as plague victims. See Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk,* note 93; see also Samuel Leslie Sumberg, *The Nuremberg Schembart Carnival: with 60 reproductions from a manuscript in the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek MS Nor. K 444* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 220, f. 24 and also H. Moser, "Städtische Fasnacht des Mittelalters," in *Masken,* 1967, 175. For the appearance of the birdman in conjunction with New World iconography, see Peter Mason's discussion of the use of Münster's image in François Belleforest's *La Cosmographie Universelle* (1575), as well as Jacques de Gheyn's engraved *Masquerade,* c. 1592–96. See Peter Mason and Florike Egmond, *The Mammoth and the Mouse: Microhistory and Morphology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 109–111.
50. My thinking here is guided by a discussion of ritual behavior in Edmund R. Leach, *Rethinking Anthropology* (London: University of London Athlone Press, 1961), 132–136.
51. The debate took place in Leipzig between June 27 and July 15, 1519.
52. Joannes Franciscus Cotta, *Eccius Dedolatus* (Schlettstadt: Lazarus Schürer, 1519), BSB Res. 4 L.eleg.m. 250/13. The central text block is flanked by decorative grotesques. This work was most likely penned by the Nuremberg humanist Willibald Pirckheimer who wrote under the pseudonym Johannes Francisco Cottalambergius. Ulrich von Hutten is also a contender for authorship of this text. See Joannes Franciscus Cotta, Thomas W. Best, and Willibald Pirckheimer. *Eccius Dedolatus: A Reformation Satire* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1971).
53. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 68.
54. For the form and content of early modern humor, see Barbara Bowen, *One Hundred Renaissance Jokes: an Anthology* (Birmingham: Summa Publications, 1988).
55. Erwin Doernberg, *Henry VIII and Luther* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961).
56. Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression,* 10–11.
57. Barbara Bowen, "Rabelais' Unreadable Books," in *Renaissance Quarterly* 48: 4 (Winter 1995), 750.
58. Peter Matheson cites this as a good example of rhetoric blurring the lines between high and low culture during the Reformation, see Matheson, *The Rhetoric of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), 158. For Reformation dialogues, see 81–110. See also

Peter Matheson, *The Imaginative World of the Reformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), esp. 49–76.

59. Both Martin Luther's *Ermanung zum frid, auff die zwölf Artickel der bawrschafft in schwaben* (Tübingen: Ulrich Morhart the Elder, 1525) and *De abroganda missa privata* (Strasbourg: Ulrich Morhart the Elder, 1522) also carried this title page.
60. J. M. Porter, "Luther and Political Millenarianism: The Case of the Peasant's War," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 42:3 (1981), 397.
61. For example, Andreas Karlstadt's *CCCLXX et apologeticae conclusiones* (Schlettstadt: Lazarus Schürer, with block dated 1519, but printed after 1519), is an early work which defends Luther against Johann Eck's *Obelisci,* Eck's retort to Luther's *95 Theses.* See Walter Moore, "Doctor Maximus Lumen Ecclesiae: The View of Augustine in John Eck's Early Writings," in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13:2 (Summer 1982), 44. See also Carlos M. N. Eire, *War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and David Freedberg, *The Power of Images,* 385 ff.
62. Andreas Karlstadt, *Von abthieung der Bylder* (Strasbourg, Ulrich Morhart the Elder, 1522), Basel, Uni Bib. FP IX 5, no. 3. See Frank Hieronymus, *Basler Buchillustration 1500–1545*, 304. See also Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 102. Karlstadt's opponents mocked his superstition, using it to show that only iconoclasts stood under the image's spell. For the printer Morhart's additional use of the exotic borders in texts he published circa 1524–26, see also Karl Steiff, *Der Erste Buchdruck in Tübingen,* see entries 96, 105, 111.
63. For transcripts of three of the principal tracts disputing the uses of images, see Brian D. Mangrum, *A Reformation Debate*, 7. For Karlstadt's iconoclastic theology and episodes of iconoclasm in Wittenberg, see also Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1979), 23–41.
64. Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 102. Because most editions of Karlstadt's *Von abthieung der Bylder* carry a title page illustration of the sacrifice of Isaac, Koerner asserts that the cover's admonition of idolatry thematizes Karlstadt's tract and leads him to conclude that the Indian border expresses a similar anxiety. For the three 1522 printings of Karlstadt's treatise, see Ernst Freys and Hermann Barge, *Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften des Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt* (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1965).
65. In an essay that traces the material nature of the fetish to early modern discourse on idolatry, the authors highlight the ambivalence of a manuscript produced in viceregal Mexico, the Codex Veytia, to erase idolatry while needing to reproduce its emblems. See Claire Farago and Carol Komadina Parenteau, "The Grotesque Idol: Imaginary, Symbolic and Real," in *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World,* Michael W. Cole and Rebecca Zorach, eds. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), esp. 110–112.
66. See Jonathan Sheehan, "Introduction: Thinking About Idols in Early Modern Europe," in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67:4 (October, 2006), 561–569, in a special edition of the journal devoted to the theme of idolatry in European cross-cultural encounters.
67. Johannes Eck, *De non tollendis Christi et sanctorum imaginibus contra haeresim Faelicianam.* (Ingolstadt: Andreas Lutz, 1522), see Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image,* 102. See also Mangrum, *A Reformation Debate,* 16.
68. Thomas Cummins, "The Golden Calf in America," in Cole and Zorach, *The Idol in the Age of Art,* 82.
69. "Our world has just discovered another world (and who can guarantee us that it is the last of its brothers, since the daemons, the sibyls, and we ourselves have up to now been ignorant of this one?) no less great, full and well-limbed than itself, yet so new and so

infantile that it is still being taught its ABC; not fifty years ago it knew neither letters, nor weights and measures, nor clothes, nor wheat, nor vines. It was still quite naked at the breast, and lived only on what its nursing mother provided," Montaigne, "Of Coaches" (1585–88), 842.

70. As quoted in Mangrum, *A Reformation Debate*, 37.
71. Barbara Babcock, *The Reversible World,* 32. For fools and carnival, see Michail M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). On the Feast of Fools, see H. Böhmer, "Narrenfeste," *Realencyclopedia für prot. Theologie und Kirche,* XIII (Leipzig, 1903), 650–653.
72. Barbara Könneker, *Wesen und Wandlung der Narrenidee im Zeitalter des Humanismus. Brant-Murner-Erasmus* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1966), 252. Könneker notes that the idea of the fool took root in the humanist network in the Rhineland, in the work of Sebastian Brant, Thomas Murner and Erasmus.
73. According to scholars of folly in this period, Brant's polemic forms a tight triad of folly, human fault, and sin. Dürer's illustrations, as well as Brant's reading of the fool, are both very explicit and do not offer much nuancing. Dürer's woodcut illustrations still clearly demarcate the fool by his broad gesture and his fool's cap. Barbara Könneker, *Wesen und Wandlung der Narrenidee im Zeitalter des Humanismus.*
74. Similarly, owls carried a double-valence, as both markers of sin and sources of wisdom. See Keith P. Moxey, "Pieter Bruegel and *The Feast of Fools,*" in *The Art Bulletin* 64:4 (December 1982), 643.
75. See Matheson, *The Imaginative World of the Reformation*, 17, 52.
76. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980 [2005], 22. The best known of these images is perhaps the skull in Hans Holbein the Younger's *The French Ambassadors* (Jean de Dinteville and Georges de Selve) of 1533, which, seen frontally is illegible, but in focus, it resolves as a clear *memento mori*. Hans Holbein was clearly connected with ideas circulating in the circle of Thomas More; the woodcut title-page of the 1518 edition of *Utopia* is given to Hans's elder brother Ambrosius, and Hans himself painted the portraits of Thomas More and his family in the late 1520s when he was in England. For Holbein's anamorphic image, see Greenblatt,17 ff.; on More and Holbein, see especially 22.
77. Thomas More and Clarence H. Miller, *Utopia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 69. On the subject of communal ownership, More follows Erasmus' revisions and addenda c. 1508 to the adage in *Amicorum communia omnia,* "friends have all things in common." Here Erasmus paraphrases Plato that "a society will be happy and blessed where the words 'mine' and 'not mine' are never heard," as quoted in John C. Olin, *Erasmus, Utopia, and the Jesuits: essays on the Outreach of Humanism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994), 59–60. Olin suggests that we might consider More's *Utopia* a "dramatic commentary on this adage." For utopian experiments in the sixteenth century, see Robert Scribner, "Practical Utopia: Pre-modern Communism and the Reformation," in Robert W. Scribner and Lyndal Roper, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 195–234.
78. "And so when the three ambassadors made their entry, their retinue of a hundred retainers was dressed in parti-colored garments, most made of silk, but the ambassadors themselves, who were noblemen in their own country, were garbed in cloth of gold, with large chains and earrings of gold, and also golden rings on their fingers, and on top of that strings of pears and gems hanging from their hats, and in sum, decked out in everything that the Utopians use to punish slaves, to mark off someone in disgrace, or to make toys for children. And so it was a sight to see how they ruffled their feathers when they

compared their finery with the clothing of the Utopians…When [the Utopian children] saw such gems affixed to the hats of the ambassadors, they nudged their mothers and said: "Look, mother, that big lout is still wearing little pearls and gems, as if he were a little boy!" But the mother would reply in all seriousness, "Hush, my son, I think he is one of the ambassador's fools." Thomas More, *Utopia,* 77–78.

79. For a reading of the journey to the self through the mediation of the other, see Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 221.
80. Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other,* Richard Howard, trans. (New York: HarperPerennial, 2006), 194.
81. Daniel Volckert, *America*, Augsburg, 1726. Cylinder mirror anamorphosis, pen and ink, watercolor and gouache, 30 x 37 cm. Nuremberg GNM, Graphische Sammlung, HB 25736. Thomas Eser assigns the beginnings of anamorphic experimentation (c. 1490–1540) to the perspectival drawings of Leonardo and Hans Holbein the Younger; these types of trick images, or *Vexierbilder,* grew in popularity in the following centuries. See Thomas Eser, "Augsburger Anamorphosen des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas. Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit*, John Roger Paas, ed. (Augsburg: Wißner Verlag, 2001), 173–188.
82. The Indian wears feathers painted in brightly colored shades, has knee bracelets, carries a bow and arrow in hand, with a parrot perched on a nearby limb. Details in the Indian's dress and the block capitals with which AMERICA is labeled seems to have been inspired by Hans Burgkmair's imagery from his woodcut frieze of the *Peoples of Africa and India* from 1508. See Thomas Eser, "Augsburger Anamorphosen des 18. Jahrhunderts," 179–180. See also Thomas Eser, *Schiefe Bilder: Die Zimmernsche Anamorphose und andere Augenspiele aus den Sammlungen des Germanischen Nationalmuseums,* exh. cat. (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1998), especially 114–115. For the museum's collection of anamorphic images, see Nuremberg, GNM, LS 438. I am grateful to Thomas Eser for these references.
83. For theories of anamorphosis, see Lyle Massey, *Picturing Space, Displacing Bodies: Anamorphosis in Early Modern Theories of Perspective* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).
84. "AMERI/CA / Ein Italiäner von Geburt / ein Florentiner Americus. / Vesputius, hat diesem Theil der / Welt den Namen gegeben, / wie wol Christophorus Culumbus / ein Genueser, solches vor ihm / erstmals entdecket hat. / Inventiert durch Daniel / Volckert–1726." Thomas Eser maintains that the inscription's attempt to inject intellectual gravitas into the optical game was typical of anamorphic image-makers. See Eser, "Augsburger Anamorphosen," 179.
85. For the origins of the naming of America in the Gymnasium Vosagense, the humanist group in St. Dié from which Martin Waldseemüller's world map emerged, see Christine R. Johnson, "Renaissance German Cosmographers and the Naming of America," *Past and Present* 191:1 (May 2006), 2–43.
86. Lutz S. Malke, ed., *Narren: Porträts, Feste, Sinnbilder, Schwankbücher und Spielkarten aus dem 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, exh. cat. (Leipzig: Faber & Faber, 2001), 104.
87. In certain games, a jester used expeditiously could work to the advantage of the player. If that player was still holding the jester at the game's end, it could cost him many additional points. The iconography of Nuremberg playing cards c. 1540 had expanded to include semi-narrative scenes, such as burlesques of women beating their husbands, and staged scenes of the Battle over the Pants, as well as familiar tropes of master and servant. For Nuremberg's collection of playing cards, see Detlef Hoffmann, Ursula Timann, and Rainer Schoch, *Altdeutsche Spielkarten 1500—1650: Katalog der Holzschnittkarten mit deutschen Farben aus dem Deutschen Spielkarten-Museum Leinfelden-Echterdingen und*

dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, exh. cat. (Nuremberg: Germanischen Nationalmuseum, 1993).

88. These cards were printed in Nuremberg by Franz Christoph Zell c. 1540. The variety of fools included the fool mother, generational fools, and half-fools. Malke maintains that Flötner, and other artists who produced playing cards with artistic aspirations, were probably producing cards for the *Kunstschrank* or *Vexierbuch*. Their similarity to book illustration and broadsheets shows that they had similar artistic aspirations. See Malke, *Narren*, 102.
89. The Flötner suit of cards is preserved in Nuremberg, GNM, Graphische Sammlung, SPK 7418 (47). This card is part of a sumptuously decorated deck, probably a presentation copy for which the designer spared no pains. The choice of characters chosen to embody the four kings make plain that this was not an ordinary deck: a depiction of Charles V as the Leaf King, or *Blattkönig;* the Acorn King, or *Eichelkönig,* has been described as both Maximilian I, or a "generic European ruler with Hapsburg physiognomy;" the King of Hearts was perhaps modeled after Süleiman II; and lastly, the King of Bells, or *Schellenkönig*, modeled after a native American prototype. See the exhibition catalogue Detlef Hoffmann et al., *Altdeutsche Spielkarten,*185 ff.; and Barbara Dienst, *Der Kosmos des Peter Flötner* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002), 247.
90. Pen and black ink, with brown, black and grey wash, London, British Museum, c. 23.5 x 16 cm, Inv. 5218–128, Sloane bequest, 1753. This is one of two wash drawings attributed to Hans Burgkmair in the collection of the British Museum (the other is Inv. 5218–129) of youths with negroid physiognomies, but who otherwise are draped in exotic artifacts from the Americas. The youths in both of these drawings wear around their midsections feather "skirts" characteristic of Tupinamba capes, here misinterpreted as a type of apron. See Tilman Falk, "Frühe Rezeption der Neuen Welt in der graphischen Kunst," in Wolfgang Reinhard, ed. *Humanismus und Neue Welt* (Weinheim: Acta Humaniora VCH, 1987), 53. See Peter Halm, "Hans Burgkmair als Zeichner," in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3:13 (1962), 125, 128. See also John Rowlands, *The Age of Dürer and Holbein: German Drawings 1400–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 187–188, nos. 158 (a & b). The dating of these two drawings has been based on their association with Dürer's marginal illustration in Maximilian's *Book of Hours,* as well as the artifacts given by Montezuma to Hernán Cortés, which Dürer saw in Brussels in 1519. Jean Michel Massing has connected this shield with the wooden shield preserved today in Vienna's Museum für Völkerkunde. See Massing, "Hans Burgkmair's depiction of native Africans," in *Res* 27 (Spring 1995), 45–46. In the other drawing of an African model wearing South American feather-work, Christian Feest has noted the presence of an "anchor ax" from Brazil. For a survey of artifacts from the Americas in Europe, see Christian F. Feest, "The Collecting of American Indian Artifacts in Europe, 1493–1750," in Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed. *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. by the University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 324–360.
91. See Peter Mason, *The Lives of Images* (London: Reaktion, 2001)*,* 89–91, and also Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic*, 17–18.
92. For iconography of the fool, see Lutz S. Malke, *Narren*; Werner Mezger, *Narrenidee und Fastnachtsbrauch* (Constance: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1991), 27ff.
93. Parrots also appear as a suit marker on cards made by Sebald Beham circa 1540, on a set now preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
94. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning,* 22.

95. Barbara Dienst wonders if these cards reflect European opinions of the recent destruction of the both Aztec and Incan empires in the wake of Spanish conquest. It seems reasonable that a parallel would be suggested by the suit's counterparts: Charles V, Maximilian I, and Süleiman II. See Barbara Dienst, *Der Kosmos des Peter Flötner* (Munich: Deutsch Kunstverlag, 2002), 247.
96. Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise called America,* Janet Whatley, trans. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 64. Léry followed a Protestant mission to Brazil in 1556–58, wrote *Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* upon his return to France in 1563, but it was not published until 1578. Pagden tells us that Léry commands the viewer to these imaginings in order to show us the absurdity of establishing the Indians' commensurability to the European. See Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 43–47.
97. Pagden, *European Encounters*, 43.
98. Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise called America,* 64. See also Carlos Eire, *War against the Idols: the Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
99. Pagden, *European Encounters*, 44.
100. Whatley in Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise called America*, xxv.
101. Claude Lévi-Strass implies as much, when he arrives in Rio de Janeiro in the 1930s with Léry's book in his pocket, a work he calls "the anthropologist's breviary," as quoted in *A New History of Anthropology,* Henrika Kuklick, ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 23.
102. Whatley in Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise called America.*
103. Whatley, *History of a Voyage,* xxviii.
104. Michel de Certeau, "Montaigne's 'Of Cannibals': the Savage 'I,'" in *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other,* Brian Massumi, trans. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 76.
105. David Quint, "A Reconsideration of Montaigne's *Des cannibales,*" in Kupperman, ed. *America in European Consciousness*, esp. 180–183.
106. Montaigne, "Of Coaches," 844.
107. Montaigne, "Of Coaches," 848–849.
108. For a comprehensive reading of this seminal act, see Sabine McCormack, "Atahualpa and the Book," *Dispositio* 14:36–38 (1989), 141–168.
109. This image is discussed and reproduced by Tom Cummins in "The Golden Calf in America," in Zorach and Cole, *The Idol in the Age of Art,* 77–104, see esp. 92–94. It seems that the image of the *chattra,* or umbrella, pictured here as Atahualpa's litter, also borrows from the one that shades Hans Burgkmair's *King of Cochin* (see figure 4.4).
110. "Let us fall back to our coaches. Instead of these or any other form of transport, they had themselves carried by men, and on their shoulders. That last king of Peru, the days that he was taken, was thus carried on shafts of gold, seated on a chair of gold, in the midst of his army. As many of these carriers as they killed to make him fall—for they wanted to take him alive—so many others vied to take the place of the dead ones, so that they never could bring him down, however great a slaughter they made of those people, until a horseman seized him around the body and pulled him to the ground." Montaigne, "Of Coaches," 848–849.
111. See Michael Gaudio's nuanced view of the de Bry printing enterprise, as well as the role of print culture in the writing of early modern ethnography, *Engraving the*

Savage: The New World and the Techniques of Civilization (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

112. For de Bry's use of the language of martyrdom for Indians expiring after packs of Spanish greyhounds have been unleashed on them and their mass suicide to avoid further Spanish torture, see Henry Keazor, "Theodore De Bry's Images for *America*," in *Print Quarterly* 15:2 (1998), 131–149.
113. In cannibalism's pictorial fragmentation in Jan van der Straet's "Amerigo Vespucci discovering America" from 1580, Schreffler sees a larger dismantling of the allegory of America. See Michael J. Schreffler, "Vespucci Rediscovers America: The Pictorial Rhetoric of Cannibalism in Early Modern Culture," in *Art History* 28:3 (June 2005), 295–310, esp. 304.
114. Tom Cummins shows them echoing Mosaic admonitions against worship of the Golden Calf. This is a contradiction that merits further exploration; Cummins tracks later Protestant response to Spanish idolatry and lust for gold in some of the reports reprinted by de Bry, especially in Bartolomé de las Casa's 1542 *Brevisíma relación de las destrucción de las Indias*, as well as in Sir Walter Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*. See Cummins, "The Golden Calf in America," 90. See also William Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558–1660* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1971).

Epilogue

1. I use Margaret Hodgen's term to characterize European anthropological thinking that took Europe at its center, even as it insisted on a "wholesome attempt to adhere to facts, and to abstain from traditional moralizing or vituperation," in Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 193.
2. For example, the "love of differences and the belief in the universal freedom and equality of humanity proper to the revolutionary thought of Renaissance humanism." See Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 115.

Selected Bibliography

Primary Sources

Anon., *Den rechten weg ausz zu faren vo[n] Liszbona gen Kallakuth* (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, 1506).

Breydenbach, Bernhard von. *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz: [Peter Schöffer] and Erhard Reuwich, 1486).

Cocles, Bartholomaeus. *In disem biechlein wirt erfunden von Complexion der menschen. Zu erlernen leibliche und menschliche natur ir sitten geberden und nayglichait au erkennen und urtaylen* (Augsburg: Hans Schönsperger, 1513).

Cod.Hisp.27 (Inv. N.°163. de Insulis et peregrinatio Lusitano lib manu scriptu.): Berichte aus Portugal zur Entdeckung Afrikas und Indiens; lat., port. (Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).

Columbus, Christopher. *De insulis inventis Epistola* (Basel: J. Wolff, 1493).

———. *Der deutsche Kolumbus-Brief,* Konrad Häbler, ed. (Strasbourg: J.H.E. Heitz, 1900).

———. *Eyn schön hübsch lesen von etlichen inslen* (Strasbourg: B. Kistler, 1497).

———. *La lettera dellisole che ha trovato nuovamente il Re diSpagna* (Florence: 1493).

Cotta, Joannes Franciscus. *Eccius Dedolatus* (Schlettstadt: Lazarus Schürer, 1519).

Dürer, Albrecht. *Dürers Schriftlicher Nachlass*, K. Lange and F. Fuhse, eds. (Halle: Niemeyer, 1893).

———. *Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass*, 3 vols., Hans Rupprich, ed. (Berlin: Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1956–69).

Eck, Johannes. *De non tollendis Christi et sanctorum imaginibus contra haeresim Faelicianam.* (Ingolstadt: Andreas Lutz, 1522).

Erasmus, Desiderius. *Querela Pacis* (Basel: Johann Froben, 1517). San Marino, CA., Huntington Library, 32796.

———. *Querela Pacis* (Schlettstadt: Lazarus Schürer, 1520) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Sig. Fm 3230.

Fernandes, Valentim. *Códice Valentim Fernandes,* José Pereira da Costa, ed. (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1997.

Foresti, Giacomo Filippo. *Supplementum chronicarum ab initio mundi usque ad anno 1482* (Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, 1483).

Greiff, Benedikt. "Briefe und Berichte über die frühesten Reisen nach Amerika und Ostindien aus den Jahren 1497 bis 1506 aus Dr. Conrad Peutingers Nachlass. Im Anhang zu: Tagebuch des Lucas Rem aus den Jahren 1494–1541. Ein Beitrag zur Handelsgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg," *Jahres-Bericht der historischen Kreis-Vereins im Regierungsbezirk von Schwaben und Neuberg* 26 (1860): 111–172.

Greiff, Benedikt, ed. "Tagebuch des Lucas Rem aus den Jahren 1494–1541: ein Beitrag zur Handelsgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg," in *Sechundzwanzigster Jahresbericht des historischen Kreis-Vereins im Regierungsbezirke von Schwaben und Neuburg für das Jahre 1860* (Augsburg: J.N. Hartmann, 1861).

Heldt, Sigmundt. *Abconterfaittung allerlei Ordenspersonen in iren klaidung und dan viler altern klaidungen* (c.1560–1580) (Lipperheidische Kostümbibliothek, Berlin Kunstbibliothek, Lipp Aa 3 mtl).

Henry VIII, *Assertio semptem sacramentorum* or *Libello huic regio haec insunt* (London: Pynson, 1521).

Karlstadt, Andreas. *Von abthieung der Bylder* (Strasbourg: Ulrich Morhart the Elder, 1522).

Kronenberg, Maria Elizabeth, ed. *De novo mondo, Antwerp, Jan van Doesborch (1520) A Facsimile of an Unique Broadsheet Containing an Early account of the inhabitants of South America, together with a short version of Heinrich [*sic*] Sprenger's Voyage to the Indies* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1927).

Léry, Jean de. *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise called America,* Janet Whatley, trans., (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990).

Luther, Martin. *Contra Henricum regem Angliae* (Wittenberg: Johannes Rhau-Grunenberg, 1522).

———. *Rationis Latomianae pro incendiariis Lovaniensis scholae sophistis redditae Lutheriana confutatio* (Wittenberg: Melchior Lotter the Younger, 1521).

Mandeville, Sir John. *Das Reisebuch des Ritters John Mandeville*, Gerhard Sollbach, ed. (Facsimile of Schoensperger, 1482), (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel Verlag, 1989).

———. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville,* C.W.R.D. Moseley, trans. (Penguin: New York, 1983).

Mantuanus, Baptista. *Fastorum Libri Duodecim: Carmen ad Julius II, Leo X* (Strasbourg: Matthias Schurer, 1518).

Megenberg, Konrad von. *Buch der Natur* (Augsburg: Johannes Baemler, 1475), BSB 2 Inc.c.a. 347.

Melanchthon, Philip. *Compendiaria Dialectices* (Basel: Curio, 1521), BSB 4 P. lat. 851, a, no. 6.

Montaigne, Michel de. *The Complete Works,* Donald M. Frame, trans. (New York: Knopf, 2003).

More, Thomas and Clarence H. Miller, *Utopia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).

Münster, Sebastian. *Cosmographia Universalis Lib. VI* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1550; reprints 1552, 1556).

Münzer, Hieronymus. "Hieronymus Münzer's Bericht über die Entdeckung der Guinea," Friedrich Kunstmann, ed. *Abhandlung der Historischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Abtheilung II, 7 (1854).

Murner, Thomas. *Von den fier ketzeren Prediger ordens der observantz zü Bern* (Strassbourg[?], 1509)/ Verlagsort, Jahr: [Straßburg?], [1510?]).

Pacifi, Sergio J., trans. *Copy of a Letter of the King of Portugal sent to the King of Castile concerning the Voyage and Success of India* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1958).

Peutinger, Konrad. 2°Cod.Aug.382a, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg.

———. "Inventarium bibliothecae Peutingerianae," BSB, Munich, Clm 4021d.

———. *Sermones convivales de mirandis Germanie antiquitatibus* (Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, 1506).

Ptolemy, *Comographia* (Rome, 1490), in Bodleian, Oxford, Gough Gen. top. 225.

Quaritch, Bernard, ed. *The Spanish Letter of Columbus to Luis de Sant' Angel: Reprinted in Facsimile, Translated, and Edited from the Unique Copy of the original edition printed at Barcelona early in April, 1493* (London: Piccadilly, 1891).

Ruchamer, Jobst. *Newe vnbekanthe landte…* (Nuremberg: G. Stuchs, 1508).
Schedel, Hartmann. *Chronicle of the World: The Complete and Annotated Nuremberg Chronicle of 1493,* Stephan Füssel, ed. (New York: Taschen, 2001).
———. *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg: A. Koberger, 1493).
———. *Weltchronik* (Nuremberg: A. Koberger, 1493).
Sollbach, Gerhard, ed. *St. Brandans wundersame Seefahrt, nach der Heidelberger Handschrift Cod. Pal. Germ. 60* (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel Verlag, 1987).
Springer, Balthasar. *Die Merfart vn[d] erfarung nüwer Schiffung vnd Wege zu viln onerkanten Inseln vnd Künigreichen* (Nuremberg, 1509).
Tacitus, Cornelius and Herbert W. Benario. *Germania* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1999).
Vadianus, Joachim. *Das wolff gesang* (Augsburg: Ulhart, 1522).
Varthema, Lodovico. *Die ritterlich un[d] lobwirdig Rayss (1515)*/ Ludovico Varthema:A Facsimile Reproduction, George Winius, ed. (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints for the John Carter Brown Library, 1992).
Varthema, Ludovico de. *Die Ritterlich vn[d] lobwirdig rayß des…ritters vnd Lantfarers…Ludowico vartomans* (Augsburg: Hans Miller, 1515).
Varthema, Ludovico di. *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India and Ethiopia,* George Percy Badger, ed. (New York: B. Franklin for the Hakluyt Society, 1963).
Vespucci, Amerigo. *De ora antartica per regem Portugallie pridem inventa* (Strasbourg: M. Hupfuff, 1505).
———. *Das sind die new gefunde[n] mensche[n] od[er] Volcker In form un[d] gestalt Als sie hie stend durch de[n] Cristenlichen Künig von Portugall/ gar wunnderbarlich erfunden* (Leipzig: Stuchs (?), 1505).
———. *Dise figur anzaigt uns das volck und insel* (Augsburg: H. Froschauer, 1505–6).
———. *Diß büchlin saget wie die zwẽ || durchlüchtigstẽ herrẽ her Fernandus. K. zů Castilien || vnd herr Emanuel. K. zů Portugal haben das weyte || m[oe]r ersůchet vnnd funden vil Jnsulen/ vnnd ein Nüwe || welt von wilden nackenden Leüten/ vormals vnbekant.*|| (Strassburg: J. Grüninger, 1509).
———. *De novo mundo* (Rostock: Hermann Barkhusen, 1505).
———. *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuovamente trovate in quattro suoi viaggi* (Florence, 1505).
———. *Van den nyge[n] Insulen und landen* (Magdeburg: Jacob Winter, 1506).
———. *Von den newen Insulen und landen* (Leipzig: M. Landesberg, 1505/6).
———. *The First Four Voyages: Facsimile and Translated from the rare original edition (Florence, 1505–6)*, London: Bernard Quaritch, 1893.
———. *Vepucci Reprints, Texts, Studies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1916).
———. *The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci*, Clements R. Markham, ed. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1894 [Hakluyt reprint]).
Vespucci, Amerigo and Balthasar Springer. *De Novo Mondo* (Antwerp: Jan van Doesborch, 1520) Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Sig. Qi-39.
Waldseemüller, Martin. *The Cosmographiae Introductio of Martin Waldseemüller in facsimile followed by the Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci,* Charles George Herbermann, ed. (New York: U.S. Catholic Historical Society, 1907).

Secondary Sources

Alden, John, ed. *European Americana—A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493–1776*. New York: Readex Books, 1980.

Alpers, Svetlana. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Amelung, Peter. *Der Frühdruck im deutschen Südwesten, 1473–1500*, exh. cat. Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 1979.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 1991 [1983].

Andersson, Christiane and Charles Talbot. *From a Mighty Fortress: Prints, Drawings and Books in the Age of Luther 1483–1546*. Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1983.

Appelbaum, Stanley, ed. *The Triumph of Maximilian I: 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others*. New York: Dover Publications, 1964.

Appuhn, Horst. *Riesenholzschnitte und Papiertapeten der Renaissance*. Unterschneidheim: Uhl, 1976.

Babcock, Barbara. *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Badger, George Percy, ed. *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India and Ethiopia*. New York: B. Franklin for the Hakluyt Society, 1963.

Bakhtin, M.M. *Rabelais and His World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Bartra, Roger. *Wild Men in the Lookinglass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness*. Translated by Carl T. Berrisford. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.

Bartrum, Giulia. *German Renaissance Prints 1490–1550*. London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1995.

Baxandall, Michael. *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980.

Beck, Thomas, ed. *Kolumbus' Erben: europäische Expansion und überseeische Ethnien im ersten Kolonialzeitalter, 1415–1815*. Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges, 1992.

Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Bennett, Josephine Waters. *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1954.

Benzing, Josef. "Indianerbordure und ihre Nachschnitte 1518–1521." *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 2 (1960).

———. "Die Stuchsdruckerei zu Nürnberg im Dienst der Reformation." *Boersenblatt f.d. deutschen Buchhandel* 18 (1962).

———. *Die Buchdrucker des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982.

Berggren, J. Lennart and Alexander Jones. *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Bernheimer, Richard. *The Wild Man in the Middle Ages*. New York: Octagon Books, 1970.

Bitterli, Urs. *Die Wilden und die Zivilisierten: Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1976.

Bitterli, Urs and Eberhard Schmitt. *Die Kenntnis beider "Indien" in frühneuzeitlichen Europa*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1991.

Blendinger, Friedrich, Wolfgang Zorn, and Josef Bellot. *Augsburg: Geschichte in Bilddokumenten*. Munich: Beck, 1976.

Boas, George. *Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages*. New York: Octagon Books, 1966 [1948].

Böhm, Christoph. *Die Reichsstadt Augsburg und Kaiser Maximilian I*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998.

Böhme, Max. *Die großen Reisesammlungen der 16 Jhr. und ihre Bedeutung*. Amsterdam: Meridian, 1962 [1904].

Borchardt, Frank. *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.
Borowka-Clausberg, Beate. *Balthasar Sprenger und der frühneuzeitliche Reisebericht*. Munich: Iudicium, 1999.
Borries, Emil von. *Wimpfeling und Murner im Kampf um die ältere Geschichte des Elsasses: Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik des deutschen Frühhumanismus*. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1926.
Bosbach, Franz. "Die politische Bedeutung Karls des Großen für Karl V." *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 84:1 (2002).
Boxer, C.R. *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion: A Succinct Survey*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
———. *Portuguese Seaborne Empire*. Great Britain: Carcanet Press, 1991 [1969].
Bredekamp, Horst. *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstkammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art and Technology.* Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1995.
Brenner, Peter. *Der Reisebericht in der deutschen Literatur*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990.
———, ed. *Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1989.
Briesemeister, Dietrich. "Das Amerikabild in deutschen Frühhumanismus." In *Das Bild Lateinamerikas im deutschen Sprachraum*, Gustav Siebenmann and Hans-Joachim Koenig, eds. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992.
Briesemeister, D., and Heinz Joachim Domnick. *Amerika 1492–1992: Neue Welt—Neue Wirklichkeiten*, exh. cat., Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Braunschweig: Georg Westermann, 1992.
Bruck, Gustav. "Habsburger als 'Herculier.'" *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 14 (1953).
Brüning, Jochen. *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers: Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände*. Studia Augustana, vol. 9. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003 vol. I.
Bucher, Bernadette. *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's Great Voyages*. Basia Miller Gulati, trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
Bugge, Henriette and Joan-Pau Rubiés, eds. *Shifting Cultures: Interaction and Discourse in the expansion of Europe*. Münster: Lit, 1995.
Bushart, Bruno. *Welt im Umbruch: Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock*. Augsburg: ICOM, 1980.
Butchart, Alexander. *The Anatomy of Power: European Constructions of the African Body*. New York: Zed Books, 1998.
Calloway, Colin, Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop. *German and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.
Campbell, Mary B. *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.
Campbell, Tony. *The Earliest Printed Maps 1472–1500*. London: The British Library, 1987.
Campos, Carlos Alberto. "Martin Behaim and the scientific attitudes of the Nürnberg intellectual milieu." *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1991.
Casey, Edward. *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.
Certeau, Michel de. *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.
Chiappelli, Fredi, Michael J.B. Allen, and Robert Louis Benson. *First Images of America: the Impact of the New World on the Old*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
Chrisman, Miriam Usher. *Lay Culture, Learned Culture 1480–1599, Books and Social Change in Strasbourg*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
Christensen, Carl C. *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, Studies in the Reformation, vol. 2. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1979.

Cole, George Watson, ed. *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1907.

Cole, Michael Wayne, and Rebecca Zorach. *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.

Colin, Susi. *Das Bild des Indianers im 16.* Jahrhunder. Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner Verlag, 1988.

Coote, Charles Henry, ed. *The Voyage from Lisbon to India, 1505–6. Being an Account and Journal of Albericus Vespuccius*. London: B.F. Stevens, 1894.

Cortesão, Armando. *History of Portuguese Cartography*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1969–71, vol. 1.

———. *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987.

Cotta, Joannes Franciscus, Thomas W. Best, and Willibald Pirckheimer. *Eccius Dedolatus: A Reformation Satire*. Studies in the Germanic languages and literatures, no. 1. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1971.

Cuneo, Pia. *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity c. 1475–1536*. Boston: Brill, 1998.

Daston, Lorraine and Katharine Park. *Wonders and the Order of Nature: 1150–1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.

Daston, Lorraine and Fernando Vidal. *The Moral Authority of Nature.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Davies, Hugh W.M. *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land 1483–4: A Bibliography*. Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1968.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "The Reasons of Misrule: Youth groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France." *Past and Present* 1 (1971).

———. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975.

Dharampal-Frick, Gita. " 'Irdisches Paradies' und 'veritable europaeisches Schatzkammer': Konturen und Entwicklungen des deutschen Indienbildes im Zeitalter der Entdeckungen" *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch* (1986).

———. *Indien im Spiegel deutscher Quellen der Fruehen Neuzeit (1500–1750) Studien zu einer interkulturellen Konstellation,* Frühe Neuzeit 18. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994.

Dörnhöffer, Friedrich. "Über Dürer und Burgkmair." *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte, Franz Wickhoff gewidmet*. Vienna: A. Schroll, 1903.

Dodgson, Campbell. "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Holtzschnittwerkes Jörg Breu des Älteren." *Jahrbuch der Preussichen Kunstsammlungen* 21 (1900).

———. *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1903.

———. "Jörg Breu als Illustrator des Ratdoltischen Offizin." *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 24 (1903): 335–337.

———. *Woodcuts of the XV century in the Department of Prints and Drawings* vol. 2. London: British Museum, 1935.

Doernberg, Erwin. *Henry VIII and Luther.* London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961.

Doggett, Rachel, ed. *New World of Wonders*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992.

Dudley, Edward J. and Maximillian E. Novak, eds. *The Wild Man Within*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972.

Dupeux, Cecile. *La Gravure d'Illustration en Alsace au XVIe Siecle, II, 1501–6*. Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2000.

Dutton, Paul Edward, ed. and trans. *Charlemagne's Courtier.* Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1998.

Eames, Wilberforce. "Description of a Wood Engraving Illustrating the South American Indians." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 26:9 (1922).

Egmond, Florike and Peter Mason. *The Mammoth and the Mouse: Microhistory and Morphology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Eire, Carlos. *War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. Cambridge: Cambrige University Press, 1991.

Elliott, John. *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Elsner, Jas and Joan-Pau Rubiés. *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*. London: Reaktion Books, 1999.

Erhard, Andreas. *Die Meerfahrt: Balthasar Springers Reise zur Pfefferküste*. Innsbruck: Haymon Verlag, 1998.

Erikson, Peter and Clark Hulse, eds. *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Eser, Thomas. *Schiefe Bilder: Die Zimmernsche Anamorphose und andere Augenspiele aus den Sammlungen des Germanischen Nationalmuseums,* exh. cat. Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1998.

Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

Falk, Tilman. *Hans Burgkmair, Studien zu Leben und Werk des Augsburger Malers*. Munich: Bruckmann, 1968.

Farago, Claire, ed. *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450–1650*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

Feest, Christian F. " 'Selzam din von gold vill ze schreiben were': Bewertungen amerikanischer Handwerkekunst im Europa des frühen 16 Jhr." *Jahrbuch der Willibald Pirckheimer* Gesellschaft. Nuremberg, 1992.

———. "European Collecting of American Indian Artefacts and Art." *Journal of the History of Collections* 5:1 (1993).

———, ed. *Indians and Europe: an Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Aachen: Rader Verlag, 1987).

Findlen, Paula. *Possessing Nature Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*. Studies on the history of society and culture, 20. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Flood, John L. and William A. Kelly, eds. *The German Book 1450–1750*. London: British Library, 1995.

Forster, Leonard. *Selections from Conrad Celtis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948.

Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994 [1970].

Freedberg, David. *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Friedman, John B. *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000.

Frey, Winfried. "Montis auri pollicens. Mittelalterliche Weltanschauung und die Entdeckung Amerikas." *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* 37 (1987).

Frübis, Hildegard. *Die Wirklichkeit des Fremden*. Berlin: Reimer, 1995.
Füssel, Stephan, ed. *Die Folgen der Entdeckungsreisen für Europa. Pirckheimer Jahrbuch* 7 (1992).
———. *500 Jahre Schedelsche Weltchronik. Pirckheimer Jahrbuch* 9 (1994).
Gärtner, Kurt. "Die Tradition der volkssprachigen Weltchronistik." *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch* 9 (1994).
Gaudio, Michael. *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
Geck, Elisabeth, ed. *Die Reise ins Heilige Land: Ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1483*. Wiesbaden: G. Pressler, 1961.
Geisberg, Max. *Die Deutsche Buchillustration in der ersten Hälfte des XVI Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Hugo Schmidt Verlag, 1930–32.
Geisberg, Max and Walter Strauss. *The German single-leaf Woodcut, 1500–1550*. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1974.
Gier, Helmut. *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997.
Giesecke, Michael. *Der Buchdruck in der frühen Neuzeit*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1991.
Glaser, Lynn. *Engraved America*. Philadelphia: Ancient Orb Press, 1970.
Goldschmidt, Ernst. *Hieronymus Münzer und seine Bibliothek*. London: Warburg Institute, 1938.
Grafton, Anthony. *Defenders of the Text: the Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.
———. *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1992.
Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
———. *Marvelous Possessions: the Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
Grössing, Helmut. "Österreichische und süddeutsche Humanisten als Geographen und Kartographen." *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1991).
Haase, Wolfgang and Meyer Reinhold, eds. *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994.
Häberlein, Mark. *Monster und Missionare: Die aussereuropäische Welt in Augsburger Drucken der frühen Neuzeit in Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997.
Häberlein, Mark and Johannes Burkhardt, eds. *Die Welser: Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002.
Haebler, Konrad. "Die Neuwe Zeitung aus Presilg-Landt in Fürstlich Fugger'schen Archiv." *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 30 (1895).
Hall, Kim F. *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.
Halm, Peter. "Hans Burgkmair als Zeichner." *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3:13 (1962).
Hammond, Lincoln Davis. *Travelers in Disguise: Narratives of Eastern Travel by Poggio Bracciolini and Ludovico de Varthema*. John W. Jones, trans. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963.
Hampe, Theodor. *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien (1529) und den Niederlanded (1531–2)*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1927.
Hantzsch, Viktor. *Deutsche Reisende des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot, 1895.
Harari, Josué V., ed. *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979.

Harbsmeier, Michael. *Wilde Völkerkunde: Andere Welten in deutschen Reiseberichten der Frühen Neuzeit.* Frankfurt a.M.: Campus Verlag, 1994.
Harisse, Henry. *Americus Vespuccius: A Critical and Documentary Review of Two Recent English Books Concerning the Navigator*. London: B.F. Stevens, 1895.
Harley, J.B. and D. Woodward, eds. *The History of Cartography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
Harms, Wolfgang. *Das illustrierte Flugblatt in der Kultur der Frühen Neuzeit*. New York: P. Lang, 1998.
Harms, Wolfgang, ed. *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985.
Harley, J.B. *Maps and the Columbian Encounter*. Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin, 1990.
Harley, J.B. and D. Woodward, eds. *The History of Cartography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
Hartog, François. *The Mirror of Herodotus: the Representation of the Other in the writing of* History. Janet Lloyd, trans. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
———. *Memories of Odysseus*. Janet Lloyd, trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
Hausberger, Isolde and Rolf Biedermann, eds. *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*. Augsburg: Städtische Kunstsammlungen, 1973.
Helms, Mary W. *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
Herkenhoff, Michael. *Die Darstellung außereuropäischer Welten in Drucken deutscher Offizien des 15. Jahrhunderts.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996.
Hernad, Béatrice, ed. *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*, exh. cat. Munich: Prestel, 1990.
Hieronymus, Frank. *Basler Buchillustration 1500–1545*, exh. cat., Basel: Universitätsbibliothek, 1984.
Higgins, Iain Macleod. *Writing East: The "Travels" of Sir John Mandeville*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
Hind, Arthur. *An Introduction to the History of the Woodcut,* vol. 1. New York: Dover, 1963.
Hindman, Sandra, ed. *Printing the Written Word*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
Hirschberg, Walter, ed. *Schwarzafrika*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1962.
Hodgen, Margaret. *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964.
Hoffmann, Detlef and Margot Dietrich. *Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte der Spielkarte.* Marburg: Jonas, 1995.
Hoffmann, Detlef, Ursula Timann, and Rainer Schoch. *Altdeutsche Spielkarten 1500–1650.* Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1993.
Holländer, Eugen. *Wunder, Wundergeburt und Wundergestalt in Einblattdrucken des 15–18 Jhrs.* Stuttgart: Enke, 1921.
Hollstein, F.W.H. *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700*. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger.
Honor, Hugh. *New Golden Land*. New York: Pantheon, 1975.
Hsia, Ronnie Po-chia. *The German People and the Reformation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.
———, ed. *A Companion to the Reformation World*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.
Hulme, Peter and Tim Youngs, eds. *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Hümmerich, Franz. "Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Fahrt der ersten Deutschen nach dem portugiesischen Indien 1505/6." *Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* 30:3 (Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918).

————. *Die erste deutsche Handelsfahrt nach Indien 1505/6*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1922.

Husband, Timothy. *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*. New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1980.

Ivins, William. *Prints and Visual Communication*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1996 [1969].

Janota, Johannes and Werner Williams-Krapp, eds. *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts.* Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995.

Joachimsen, Paul. *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus*. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1968.

Johnson, Alfred Forbes. *German Renaissance Title-Borders*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929.

Johnson, Christine R. "Renaissance German Cosmographers and the Naming of America." *Past and Present* 191:1 (May 2006): 3–43.

———. "Buying Stories: Ancient Tales, Renaissance Travelers, and the Market for the Marvelous." *Journal of Early Modern History* 11:6 (2007): 405–446.

———. *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous*. Studies in Early Modern German History. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008.

Kaplan, Paul H.D. *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art.* Studies in the Fine Arts 9. Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1985.

Kaufmann, Lynn Frier. *The Noble Savage: Satyrs and Satyr Families in Renaissance Art*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984.

Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta. *The Mastery of Nature: Aspects of Art, Science and Humanism in the Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

———. *Toward a Geography of Art.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Kellenbenz, Hermann. *Die Fugger in Spanien & Portugal bis 1560: Ein Großunternehmen des 16. Jahrhundert.* Munich: Verlag Ernst Vögel, 1990.

Klein, Bernhard. *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001.

Kleinschmid, Renate. "Balthasar Springer: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung." *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (1967).

Knefelkamp, Ulrich and Hans-Joachim König, eds. *Die Neuen Welten in alten Büchern: Entdeckung und Eroberung in frühen deutschen Schrift- und Bildzeugnissen*. Bamberg: Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, 1988.

Koepplin, Dieter, Tilman Falk, and Lucas Cranach. *Lukas Cranach: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik*. Ausstellung im Kunstmuseum Basel, 15. Basel: Birkhäuser, 1974.

Koerner, Joseph Leo. *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

———. *The Reformation of the Image*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Kohl, Karl-Heinz. *Entzauberter Blick: Das Bild vom Guten Wilden*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1986.

———, ed. *Mythen der Neuen Welt: Zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Lateinamerikas*, exh. cat. Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1982.

Köhler, Hans-Joachim and Hildegard Hebenstreit-Wilfert. *Flugschriften des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts*. Zug, Switzerland: Inter Documentation, 1978–87.

Kohut, Karl, ed. *Von der Weltkarte zum Kuriositätenkabinett: Amerika im deutschen Humanismus und Barock*. Frankfurt a.M.:Vervuert Verlag, 1995.

König, Erich. *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*. Munich: Beck, 1923.

König, Hans-Joachim, Wolfgang Reinhard, and Reinhard Wendt, eds. *Der europäische Beobachter aussereuropäischer Kulturen: zur Problematik der Wirklichkeitswahrnehmung*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1989.

Könneker, Barbara. *Wesen Und Wandlung Der Narrenidee Im Zeitalter Des Humanismus: Brandt, Murner, Erasmus.* Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1966.

Krebs, Christopher B. *Negotiatio Germaniae: Tacitus' Germania und Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Giannantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis und Heinrich Bebel.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005.

Künast, Hans-Jörg. "Entwicklungslinien des Augsburger Buchdrucks von 1468 bis zum Religionsfrieden von 1555." In *Augsburg in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Colloquia Augustana), Jochen Brüning, ed. Berlin, 1995.

———. *Getruckt zu Augsburg: Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997.

Künast, Hans-Jörg and Helmut Zäh. *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers: Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände,* vol. 1, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers: Der nicht-juristische Bibliotheksteil*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003.

Kunstmann, Friedrich. "Valentin Ferdinand's Beschreibung der Westküste Afrikas bis zum Senegal." *Abhandlung der Historischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 8 (1856).

———. *Die Entdeckung Amerikas: nach den ältesten Quellen dargestellt*. Munich: A. Asher & Cie, 1859.

Kunzle, David M. *The Early Comic Strip: Narrative Strips and Picture Stories in the European Broadsheet from C. 1450 to 1825*. History of the comic strip, v. 1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Kupperman, Karen Ordahl, ed. *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Lach, Donald F., and Edwin J. Van Kley. *Asia in the Making of Europe.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Landau, David and Peter Parshall. *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Leitch, Stephanie. "The Wild Man, Charlemagne, and the German Body." *Art History* 31, no. 3 (2008): 283–302.

———. "Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print." *The Art Bulletin* 91:2 (June 2009): 134–159.

Léry, Jean de. *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*. Janet Whatley, trans. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Lestrigant, Frank. *Cannibals*. Rosemary Morris, trans. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Levenson, Jay A., ed. *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Tristes Tropiques.* John and Doreen Weightman, trans. New York: Antheneum, 1974.

———. "Mythologies." In *The Raw and the Cooked*. John and Doreen Weightman, trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Lieb, Norbert. *Die Fugger und die Kunst*. Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1958.

Lindgren, Uta. "Die 'Geographie' des Claudius Ptolemaeus in München: Beschreibung der gedruckten Exemplare in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek." *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 35 (1985).

Luh, Peter. *Kaiser Maximilian gewidmet: die unvollendete Werkausgabe des Conrad Celtis und ihre Holzschnitte*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001.

Lutz, Heinrich. *Conrad Peutinger: Beiträge zu einer politischen Biographie*. Augsburg: Verlag Die Brigg, 1958.

———. "Die deutsche Nation zu Beginn der Neuzeit: Fragen nach dem Gelingen und Scheitern deutscher Einheit im 16. Jhr." *Historische Zeitschrift* 234 (1982).

———, ed. *Das römisch-deutsche Reich im politischen System Karls V.* Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1982.

Machilek, Franz. "Kartographie, Welt- und Landesbeschreibung in Nürnberg um 1500." In *Landesbeschreibungen Mitteleuropas vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, Hans-Bernd Harder, ed. Cologne: Böhlau-Verlag, 1980.

Major, R.H. *India in the Fifteenth Century, Being a Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India in the Century Preceding the Portuguese Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope*. New York: B. Franklin 1964.

Malke, Lutz S., ed. *Narren: Porträits, Feste, Sinnbilder, Schwankbücher und Spielkarten aus dem 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig: Faber & Faber, 2001.

Mangrum, B.D. and Giuseppe Scavizzi. *A Reformation Debate: Karlstadt, Emser and Eck on Sacred Images: Three Treatises in Translation*. Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1991.

Mann, Nicholas and Luke Syson. *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*. London: British Museum Press, 1998.

Mason, Peter. "Imaginary Worlds, Counterfact and Artifact." In *Myth and the Imaginary in the New World*. Dordrecht, FORIS Publications Holland, 1986.

———. "Seduction from Afar: Europe's Inner Indians." *Anthropos* 82 (1987).

———. *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

———. *The Lives of Images*. London: Reaktion, 2001.

Massey, Lyle. *Picturing Space, Displacing Bodies: Anamorphosis in Early Modern Theories of Perspective*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.

Massing, Jean Michel. "The Triumph of Caesar by Benedetto Bordon and Jacobus Argentoratensis: Its Iconography and Influence" *Print Quarterly* c. 1, vol. 7 (1990).

———. "Hans Burgkmair's depiction of native Africans." *RES* 27 (Spring 1995).

Matheson, Peter. *The Imaginative World of the Reformation*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001.

———. *The Rhetoric of the Reformation*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998.

McCormack, Sabine. "Atahualpa and the Book" *Dispositio* 14:36–38 (1989): 141–168.

McDonald, Mark P. "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India." *Print Quarterly* 20 (2003).

———. *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector (1488–1539)*. London: British Museum Press, 2005.

McDonald, William C. "Maximilian I of Habsburg and the Veneration of Hercules: on the Revival of Myth and the German Renaissance." *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 6:1 (1976).

McGrath, Elizabeth. "Ludovico Il Moro and his Moors." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002): 67–94.

Mitter, Partha. *Much Maligned Monsers: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Mollat, Michel and Monique de La Ronciere. *Sea Charts of the Early Explorers*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1984.

Momigliano, Arnaldo. "Ancient History and the Antiquarian." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950).

Morison, S.E. *Journals and Other Documents on the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*. New York: Heritage Press, 1963.

———. *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages, 1492–1616*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Morrall, Andrew. *Jörg Breu the Elder: Art, Culture and Belief in Reformation Augsburg*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001.

Morrall, Eric J., ed. *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung: In Deutscher Übersetzung von Michel Velser, Nach der Stuttgarter Papierhandschrift Cod. HB V 86,* ed. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974.

Moxey, Keith P. "Pieter Bruegel and *The Feast of Fools.*" *The Art Bulletin* 64:4 (December 1982).

———. *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Müller, Jan-Dirk. *Gedechtnus: Literatur und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I*, Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur, vol. 2. Munich: W. Fink, 1982.

Neuber, Wolfgang. *Fremde Welt in europäischen Horizont: zur Topik der deutschen Amerika-Reiseberichte der Frühen Neuzeit*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1991.

O'Gorman, Edmundo. *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of Its History.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961.

Obermeier, Franz. "Die frühen illustrierten Einblattdrucke zu Amerika und ihre Verbreitung im zeitgenosseschen Pressewesen." *Wolfenbüttler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 28 (2003): 3–31.

Ogilvie, Brian W. *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Olin, John C. *Erasmus, Utopia, and the Jesuits: Essays on the Outreach of Humanism.* New York: Fordham University Press, 1994.

Paas, John Roger, ed. *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas. Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit.* Augsburg: Wißner Verlag, 2001.

Pagden, Anthony. *European Encounters with the New World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Panhorst, Karl H. *Deutschland und Amerika: Ein Rückblick auf das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen und die ersten deutsch-amerikanischen Verbindungen unter besonderer Beachtung der Unternehmung der Fugger und Welser.* Munich: Verlag Ernst Reinhardt, 1928.

Panofsky, Erwin. *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1997 [1930].

———. "The History of the Theory of Human Proportions as a Reflection of the History of Styles." In *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955.

———. *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955.

Parker, John, ed. *From Lisbon to Calicut,* Translated by Alvin E. Prottengeier. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956.

Parshall, Peter W. "Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance." *Art History* 16:4 (December 1993).

Parshall, Peter W. and Rainer Schoch. *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, in association with Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2005.

Pearson, M.N. *The Portuguese in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Pieper, Renate. *Die Vermittlung einer Neuen Welt: Amerika im Nachrichtennetz des Habsburgischen Imperiums, 1493–1598.* Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2000.

Platt, Peter G., ed. *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999.

Pochat, Götz. *Der Exotismus Waehrend des Mittelalters und der Renaissance.* Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1970.

Pollig, Hermann, ed. *Exotische Welten, Europäische Phantasien*. Stuttgart: Edition Cantz, 1987.

Pon, Lisa. *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Prosperi, Adriano and Wolfgang Reinhard, eds. *Die Neue Welt im Bewußtsein der Italiener und Deutschen des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1993.

Pülhorn, Wolfgang, Grzegorz Leszczynski, and Martin Behaim. *Focus Behaim Globus*. Nürnberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1992.

Raby, Julian. *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*. London: Hans Huth Memorial Studies I, Islamic Art Publications, 1982.

Ravenstein, E.G. *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco Da Gama, 1497–1499.* Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, no. 99. New York: Franklin, 1963.

Reichert, Folker, ed. *Reisen im Orient*. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1996.

Reinhard, Wolfgang, ed. *Humanismus und Neue Welt*. Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, 1987.

Rhodes, Neil and Jonathan Sawday, eds. *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Rowe, John. "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century." *The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 30 (Spring 1964).

Rowlands, John. *Drawings by German Artists and Artists from German-Speaking Regions of Europe in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press, 1993.

Rubiés, Joan-Pau. "New Worlds and Renaissance Ethnology." *History and Anthropology* 6:2–3 (1993).

———. *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Rücker, Elisabeth. *Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik.* München: Prestel, 1988.

Rupp, Paul Berthold, ed. *Augsburger Buchholzschnitt der Frühdruckzeit: aus der Sammlung Kurt Bösch*. Augsburg: Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, 1986.

Rupprich, Hans, ed. *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*. Munich: Beck, 1934.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Scammell, G.V. *The First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion c. 1400–1715*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Schabert, Ina and Michaela Boenke, eds. *Imaginationen des Anderen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002.

Schama, Simon. *Landscape and Memory*. New York: Knopf, 1995.

Schellhase, Kenneth. *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

Scher, Stephen. *Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*. London: Thames & Hudson in association with the Frick collection, 1994.

Schmeller, J.A. "Über Valenti[m] Fernandez und seine Sammlung von Nachrichten über die Entdeckungen und Besitzungen der Portugiesen in Afrika und Asien bis zum Jahre 1508 enthalten in einer portugiesischen Handschrift der königlichen Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek zu München." *Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Classe der Königliche Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 4, part 3, (1847).

Schmid, Helmut. *Augsburger Einzelformschnitt und Buchillustration in 15Jhr.* Baden-Baden, Heitz, 1958.

Schmidt, Benjamin. *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Schmitz, Rudolf and Fritz Krafft, eds. *Humanismus und Naturwissenschaft*. Boppard: Boldt, 1980.

Schneider, Gerhard and Erwin Arndt, eds. *Fortunatus: Ein Volksbuch aus dem Jahre 1509*. Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1963.

Schramm, Albert. *Die Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1924–43.

Schreffler, Michael J. "Vespucci Rediscovers America: The Pictorial Rhetoric of Cannibalism in Early Modern Culture." *Art History* 28:3 (June 2005): 295–310.

Schreiber, W.L. *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts,* IV. Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, 1927.

Schuller, Rudolf. "The Oldest Known Illustration of South American Indians." *Indian Notes* 7 (1930).

Schultheiß, Werner. "Die Entdeckung Amerikas und Nürnberg: Beiträge zur Kultur- und Wirtschaftgeschichte der Reichsstadt." *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 15 (1955).

Schulze, Franz. *Balthasar Springers Indienfahrt 1505/6: Wissenschaftliche Würdigung der Reiseberichte Springers zur Einführung in den Neudruck seiner "Meerfahrt" vom Jahre 1509.* Strasbourg: Heitz & Mündel, 1902.

Schwartz, Stuart, ed. *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Scribner, Robert W. *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Scribner, Robert W. and Lyndal Roper. *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800).* Studies in medieval and Reformation thought, vol. 81. Leiden: Brill, 2001: 195–234.

Shapin, Steven. *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Sheehan, Jonathan. "Introduction: Thinking About Idols in Early Modern Europe." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67:4 (October 2006): 561–569.

Silver, Larry. "Forest Primeval: Albrecht Altdorfer and the German Wilderness Landscape." *Simiolus* 13:1 (1983).

———. "The Face Is Familiar: German Renaissance Portrait Multiples in Prints and Medals." *Word and Image* 19:1 & 2 (2003).

———. *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Sixel, Friedrich W. "Die Deutsche Vorstellung vom Indianer in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts." *Annali del Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico* 30 (1966).

Sloan, Kim, Joyce E. Chaplin, Christian F. Feest, and Ute Kuhlemann. *A New World: England's First View of America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Smith, Jeffrey Chipps. *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg: Five Essays*. [Austin]: Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, College of Fine Arts, University of Texas at Austin, 1985.

Smith, Pamela H. *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Smith, Pamela H. and Paula Findlen. *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science and Art in Early Modern Europe.* New York: Routledge, 2002.

Spitz, Lewis William. *Conrad Celtis, the German Arch-humanist*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957.

Stallybrass, Peter and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Stepan, Nancy. *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800–1960*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1982.

Strauss, Gerald. *Sixteenth-Century Germany: Its Topography and Topographers*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959.

Suarez, Thomas. *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Periplus, 1999.

Swan, Claudia. "*Ad vivum, naer het leven, from the life*: Defining a Mode of Representation." *Word & Image* 2:4 (October–December 1995).

———. *Art, Science, and Witchcraft in Early Modern Holland: Jacques De Gheyn II (1565–1629)*. Cambridge studies in Netherlandish visual culture. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Szönyi, György Endre. *European Iconography East and West: Selected Papers of the Szeged International Conference, June 9–12, 1993*. Symbola et emblemata, vol. 7. New York: E.J. Brill, 1996.

Thorndike, Lynn. *History of Magic and Experimental Science*. New York: Macmillan, 1923–58.

Tiedemann, Hans. *Tacitus und das Nationalbewußtsein der deutschen Humanisten*. Berlin: E. Ebering, 1913.

Tilton, Asa Currier. "Augsburg und die ersten Seefahrten nach Indien." *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 4:2 (1904).

Todorov, Tzvetan. *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other.* Richard Howard, trans. New York: HarperPerennial, 2006.

Turnbull, David. "Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Spaces." *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996).

Unterkircher, Franz, ed. *Maximilian I, 1459–1519*, exh. cat. Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, and Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1959.

Vogel, Klaus A. "Neue Horizonte der Kosmographie: Die kosmographischen Bücherlisten Hartmann Schedels (um 1498) und Konrad Peutingers (1523)." *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1991).

———. "Amerigo Vespucci und die Humanisten in Wien. Die Rezeption der geographischen Entdeckungen und der Streit zwischen Joachim Vadian und Johannes Camers über die Irrtümer der Klassiker." *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch* 7 (1992).

———. "Schedel als Kompilator." *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch* 9 (1994).

Walter, Rolf. "Nürnberg, Augsburg und Lateinamerika im 16. Jahrhundert—Die Begegnung zweier Welten" *Pirckheimer Jahrbuch* (1986).

Wäscher, Hermann. *Das deutsche illustrierte* Flugblatt. Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1955.

Wehmer, Carl. "Ne Italo Cedere Videamur: Augsburger Buchdrucker & Schreiber um 1500." *Augusta: Forschungen und Studien zur Kultur & Wirtschaftsgeschicte Augsburgs* (1955).

Wenzel, Horst, ed. *Gutenberg und die Neue Welt*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1994.

West, Ashley. *Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531) and the Visualization of Knowledge.* Thesis (PhD in History of Art). Philadelphia:University of Pennsylvania, 2006.

Weyrauther, Max. *Konrad Peutinger und Wilibald Pirckheimer in ihren Beziehungen zur Geographie*. Munich: Theodor Ackermann, 1907.

Wiegand, Hermann. *Hodoeporica: Studien zur neulateinischen Reisedichtung des deutschen Kulturraums in 16 Jhr.* Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1984.

William, Jerry, ed. *Early Images of the Americas*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993.

Wilson, Adrian, Peter Zahn, Joyce Lancaster Wilson, and Edith Goodkind Rosenwald. *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*. Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1977.

Wilson, Bronwen. *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity*. Studies in book and print culture. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.

Winius, George, ed. *Portugal, the Pathfinder: Journeys from the Medieval toward the Modern World, 1300–ca. 1600*. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995.

Wittkower, Rudolf. "Marvels of the East." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942).

Wolff, Hans, ed. *America: Das frühe Bild der Neuen Welt*. Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1992.

Wood, Christopher S. "Early Archaeology and the Book Trade: The Case of Peutinger's *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta* (1505)." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28:1 (Winter 1998).

———. "Maximilian I as Archeologist." *Renaissance Quarterly* 58:4 (Winter 2005): 1128–74.

———. *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Woodward, David. *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance*, The Panizzi Lectures. London: British Library, 1996.

Wuttke, Dieter. *Die Histori Herculis des Nürnberger Humanisten und Freundes der Gebrüder Vischer, Pangratz Bernhaubt, gen. Schwenter Materialien zur Erforschung des deutschen Humanismus um 1500*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, Heft 7.

———. *Humanismus als integrative Kraft. Die Philosophia des deutschen 'Erzhumanisten' Conrad Celtis: eine ikonologische Studie zu programmatischer Grafik Dürers und Burgkmairs*. Nuremberg: H. Carl, 1985.

———. "Humanismus in den deutschsprachigen Ländern und Entdeckungsgeschichte, 1493–1534." *Pirckheimer-Jahrbuch* 7 (1992).

Zika, Charles. *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Index

Italicized numbers refer to an illustration also on that page