Journal of the History of Collections vol. 21 no. 1 (2009) pp. 17–32

Ethnographica in early modern *Kunstkammern* and their perception

Elke Bujok

Ethnographic objects from all areas of the world formed an essential part of both royal and private Kunstkammern. *In Munich, they made up one-seventh of the total number of objects. They were regarded with wonderment and curiosity in the same way as the European objects and were placed among them without distinction. Around 1670, this attitude gave way to more scientific approaches and classification systems: the ethnographica were increasingly separated, and no longer found a proper place in the new ordering systems. Unlike most of the royal cabinets, private collections tended to reflect a spirit of enquiry from the beginning. The inventories of the* Kunstkammern *represent an important source of information about the historical culture of many ethnic groups, and tell us which objects were brought to Europe, but there is little source material to show how these objects found their way into these collections.*

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, princes, burghers and scholars endeavoured to gather the entire world on a small scale, but as completely as possible, in what were generally termed *Kunstkammern*. Ethnographic objects gained outstanding importance in the light of the broader world-view created by European voyages of exploration and overseas conquests. Such objects provided evidence of otherness, and illustrated in a special way the manifold nature of God's creation. Once incorporated in collections, they were treated exactly like their European counterparts. As with all rare and curious objects, the visitors must have been stunned on seeing the ethnographica; 'such that will make you gape and forget that your mouth is hanging open', as Rennward Cysat put it in the year 1613 after seeing the strange objects from all parts of the world collected in the *Kunstkammer* of his friend Felix Platter in Basel.[1] In addition, this wonderment over things that had never been seen before gave rise to curiosity, and in the early modern period, it was with this combination of wonderment and curiosity that the world was viewed.

Most of these objects, once so admired and sought-after, no longer exist. In addition to graphic representations and travel reports, *Kunstkammer* inventories therefore form important evidence for the presence of ethnographic material culture in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They indicate the great number and variety of the collected objects and their presence in all parts of Europe. A good example is the Munich inventory prepared by Johann Baptist Fickler in 1598.[2] Of more than 6,000 objects, 930 are ethnographica. They made up one-seventh of the total collection and were decisive in determining its universal character, since they originated from all continents known and visited at that time. The Munich inventory also presents a representative cross-section of all the ethnographic objects that were displayed in *Kunstkammern* and were known in Europe.

The objects from East Asia, totalling 240, formed the largest group. These were mainly porcelain, lacquered goods and scroll paintings. The ninety objects from South Asia were composed of Indian mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell artefacts, Sinhalese ivory and Malayan palm-leaf fans and kris daggers. Most of the 170 Turkish objects found their way into the early collections through the Turkish Wars. In Munich, these included textiles, leather artefacts, miscellaneous vessels, various kinds of equipment, weapons, letters and books. The remainder of the Orient was represented by 140 objects, primarily textiles, weapons and Jewish metal artefacts from Syria. The 120 objects from sub-Saharan Africa consisted of ivories, palm-fibre cloth and baskets woven from the same material; they came mainly from the west coast. With

doi:10.1093/jhc/fhn031 Advance Access publication 23 March 2009

a few exceptions, the ninety American objects came from ethnic groups in Brazil and Mexico, and from the Taíno, who inhabited the Greater Antilles. These objects included feather artefacts, figures of deities, clothing, jewellery, weapons, hammocks and an illustrated manuscript.[3] Twenty objects, including miscellaneous vessels and shoes, came from Russia, and there was a further pair of shoes from Lapland. There were sixty objects of uncertain origin. In addition to the ethnographic objects, the *Kunstkammer* also contained many specimens of *naturalia* from outside Europe, which significantly increased the number of foreign items.

As a rule, the rate of loss of the ethnographic objects from *Kunstkammer* collections is higher than that of the European artefacts. Very few of the objects in Fickler's inventory have been preserved and are identifiable: from South Asia there are ten ivory and mother-of-pearl artefacts, from sub-Saharan Africa four Afro-Portuguese ivory artefacts, from America the *Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1* and a Mixtec gold ring. All the other ethnographica have disappeared without trace, or cannot be definitely identified. Christian Feest estimates that 10% of all American objects from *Kunstkammer* collections have been preserved.[4] There are believed to be about eighty objects each from Spanish America and Brazil preserved in Europe, not including Spain, and rather less from North America. But overall there was a considerably higher number of American objects in Europe than are shown in the inventories, for by no means all of them ended up in the collections. The *Kunstkammer* of Archduke Ferdinand II (reigned 1564–95) at Schloss Ambras is one of the few exceptions. Many of its American objects are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna. Many ethnographic objects from the Copenhagen and Gottorf *Kunstkammern* have also been preserved in the National Museum in Copenhagen.[5]

The loss of ethnographic objects can be accounted for partly by the looting raids that took place during the Thirty Years' War, in which European items were also affected, but it cannot be denied that from the end of the seventeenth century onwards people were simply less interested in objects from outside Europe. They suffered from decay as a result of improper storage and frequent changes of location. Finally, they fell into oblivion. As an additional factor, new material came to Europe at the end of the eighteenth century, following voyages of exploration such as the expeditions undertaken by James Cook (1728–79) to the Pacific between 1768 and 1779, as ordered by the British Admiralty. For the first time, natural and ethnographic objects were systematically collected through barter and in the form of gifts; they were carefully documented, and studies were made of the indigenous societies and their ways of life. The new material was much more interesting for scholars and collectors than that from the *Kunstkammer* collections, since its context generally was known. Because they were systematically collected, the objects now provided a basis for conclusions to be drawn about their culture of origin.

The ethnographic objects collected in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not brought home because they were representative of the material culture of an ethnic group or a region. Rather, they reflected the personal taste of the Conquistadors, travellers and merchants, and were chosen because they were rare and curious from a European point of view, or because of their fine craftsmanship and valuable materials. The objects arrived in Europe completely divorced from their context. In addition, at least in the case of Mexico, the objects were intended to justify the conquests. For this reason, the Conquistadors chose objects that were especially impressive in the eyes of Europeans. The long and difficult transport overland or by sea presented the travellers with additional problems, especially with respect to the size and fragility of the objects. Thus, for instance, we find only scattered indications that ceramics, large stone objects or parts of house constructions ever came to Europe.

In *Kunstkammer* inventories the ethnographic objects tend to be described according to their material and manufacturing technique, while details of their function and origin are given, if at all, only in a rudimentary and generalized fashion. Thus, even one of Fickler's more detailed descriptions in the Munich inventory contains only very general remarks. This is an account of how rattle strings are used by the Tupinambá, who lived on the east coast of Brazil (Fig. 1). The rattle strings were made with the shells of the nut-like fruit of the Ahovay tree (*Thevetia ahovai* L.), the Brazilian bell tree, 'with which the Indians gird themselves for their joyful games and dances, and leap about with a great rattling noise'.[6] The cataloguers made no attempt to classify the objects, but they did

Fig. 1. Ahovay tree. André Thevet, *Les Singularités de la France Antarctique* (Paris, 1557).

Fig. 2. Munich *Zemi*, Lorenzo Pignoria, 'Seconda Parte delle Imagini de gli Dei Indiani', appendix in Cartari Vicenzo, *Le Vere e Nove Imagini de gli Dei delli Antichi* (Padua, 1615), p. 26.

explain their function, if they were able to do so. Thus, in a few cases Fickler makes reference to labels that were kept with the objects. One such label explains the function of a *zemi* figure, used by the Taíno (Fig. 2): the Taíno referred to supernatural beings and deities, as well as to representations of them, as *zemis*. In rituals, the figures served as the seat of the gods, who spoke through them and were embodied in them. Fickler describes the function of the *zemi* accordingly: it was 'worshipped and venerated by the infidels, and through it the devil spoke to them'.[7]

Information in the inventories concerning the origin of the ethnographic objects is usually vague and rarely correct. The most frequently used descriptive term is 'Indian'. A distinction between West India and East India—in other words between America and Asia—is rarely made. Only China is sometimes specifically named. 'Indian' was used as a general term to refer to objects from outside Europe. The term 'Turkish' is more often used correctly, but it is also sometimes applied to objects of American or African origin. Thus, the Bini-Portuguese ivory spoons in the Dresden and Ambras inventories (see Fig. 3) are referred to as Turkish: '12 ivory spoons, supposed to have been made in Turkey'[8] and '6 long ivory … spoons with all kinds of picture-work in the Turkish style'.[9] The same applies to the term 'Moorish', which was used, for instance, in the inventory of the Ambras collection in 1596 to describe the Aztec feather headdress: 'a Moorish hat'.[10] Today the headdress is in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna. It most likely came from the collection of Count Ulrich von Montfort zu Tettnang (*c.*1530–74),[11] parts of which were taken over by Ferdinand II for his own *Kunstkammer* in Ambras in 1590. In the inventory taken after the Count's death, the headdress was probably included under an entry for 'Various pieces

Fig. 3. Spoons, ivory, Edo or Yoruba (Owo), Benin kingdom, Afro-Portuguese, sixteenth century, length 25 cm. Ulmer Museum, Ulm. Photo: Armin Buhl.

of Moorish equipment made of feathers'[12] and the information about its origin was later copied into the Ambras inventory. In the case of the description 'Moscovite', meaning Russian, we may assume that this usage is usually correct.

Vague information about the place of origin of the objects may be due simply to a lack of geographical knowledge, but on the other hand, it seems that there was a general lack of interest in this respect. Evidence for this can be seen in the description by Duke Ferdinand Albrecht I (1636–87) of his *Kunstkammer* in Bevern. For example, he mentions a bird and a dagger, and in both cases fails to distinguish between the East and the West Indies: 'Manugodiata or bird of paradise from the Molucca Islands near East India in America'[13] and 'an East Indian dagger as used in the town of Bantam in the Island of Java, in America'.[14] Yet in other descriptions he distinguishes freely between different regions of America: 'A large American lizard found in the Antilles islands the Indians call it iguana, the Brazilians senemb and the Caribs ovayamaca'.[15]

These examples show how the concept of foreignness was generalized: it was opposed to what is familiar and marvelled at *en bloc*; distinctions were seldom made. Localization of the ethnographic objects, their indigeneous importance and use or details of how they were made were of only secondary interest. But this also applies to the European artefacts: their history, function and importance were also of little interest; rather, they were fascinating because they were rare and curious. In the early modern period, both aspects were particularly attractive to Europeans, and were seen as revealing the ingenuity and diversity of divine creation. Ethnographic objects, as concrete embodiments of foreignness, were in any case rare and curious, since they were unknown in the Europeans' own culture. The compilers of the inventories described all items in the collections with largely open mind, regardless of their origin, and with occasional remarks on the quality of their craftmanship. Thus, Fickler noted of the handle of a weapon: 'A broad foreign weapon … the handle of bone, subtly engraved'.[16] And in the inventory of his *Kunstkammer*, Christoph Weickmann (1617–81), a merchant from Ulm, described the way in which Congolese woven raffia fabrics were worked (Fig. 4): 'A very artistic tablecloth made in Angola … of splendid beautiful and artful work… A small cloth neatly worked from Indian straw so fine and tightly woven'.[17]

Collecting in the early modern period was stimulated by *curiositas*, combined with wonderment. These were the feelings with which people regarded the world and the objects in it. Everything in the *Kunstkammer* was valued on the basis of these emotions, and they shaped the perception of ethnographic objects at the end of the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth centuries.[18] Curiosity was denigrated until far into the sixteenth century. From the time of Augustine (AD 354–430), it had been included in the list of vices; it was believed to distract people from God and his redemption, to be an end in itself, and a decisive step towards the deadly sin of pride.[19] It was thought of as temptation and lust of the eyes, as a useless and vain thirst for knowledge. Wonder, on the other hand, was appreciated as a way of paying tribute to God's creation. During the Middle Ages, curiosity and lust were also associated with ambition, and opposed to abstinence and modesty. Bernard of Clairvaux (*c.*1090–1153) associated curiosity with Satan,

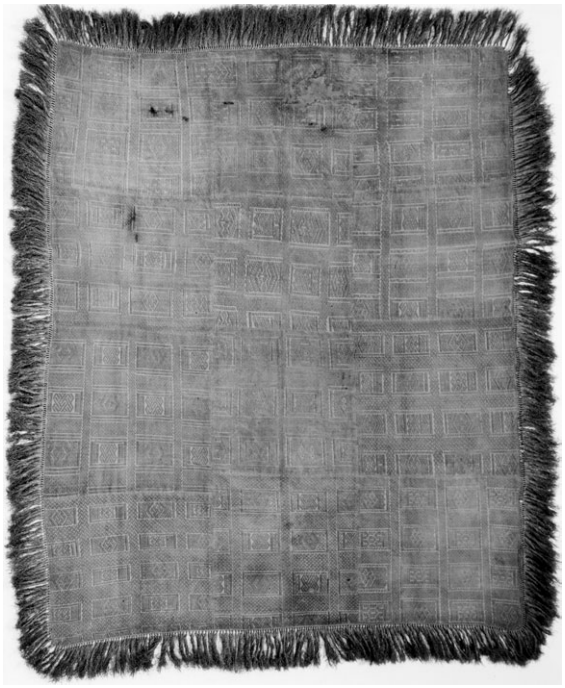

Fig. 4. Pile cloth, palm-fibres, Kingdom of Congo, first half of the seventeenth century, 219 × 175 cm. Ulmer Museum, Ulm. Photo: Schmidt-Glassner.

who not only aroused Eve's curiosity but was also expelled from Heaven because of his own failing in this respect. From the time of Thomas Aquinas (1225–74), the scholastics tempered their condemnation of intellectual curiosity, since it is a natural trait, but did not entirely give it up.[20]

The taboo was broken around 1600, and gave way to attempts to appropriate and understand the world. Curiosity became a virtue which spurred a creditable desire for knowledge.[21] By studying nature, it was now possible to regard God's work with awe. The most important defender of curiosity in the seventeenth century was Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679).[22] He argued that it distinguished man from animals to an even greater degree than reason. Because of its insatiability, curiosity was now connected with avarice and greed, which always wants more and never rests.[23] This understanding of curiosity differed from that propagated by Augustine in that desire for knowledge was now represented as a consequence of wonder; for Augustine, on the other hand, curiosity in the negative sense resulted from the inability to feel astonishment. Curiosity in the early modern period was chiefly directed at what was rare, new or unusual. These first caused wonderment and amazement, which in turn led to curiosity and inquisitiveness. Wonderment was considered the uppermost passion and the origin of all questions, while curiosity was held to captivate the attention and stimulate painstaking observation. In a way, wonderment and curiosity kept each other in check around 1600. The natural philosophers did not stop at mere wonderment and amazement, nor did they undertake excessive research: 'They preferred to linger over and multiply the particulars'.[24]

This interplay of curiosity and wonderment disappeared in the last third of the seventeenth century. It was feared that wonderment would prevent further questions and paralyse the spirit of inquiry. It would make people's perception of rare objects and phenomena stop at mere astonishment.[25] Wonder began more and more to be associated with ignorance and lack of knowledge. In the middle of the eighteenth century, astonishment and wonder finally came to be scorned among the natural philosophers, as curiosity had been scorned by Augustine. Curiosity alone now provided the impetus for inquiry and research. Lorraine Daston points out that the short-lived meeting of wonder and curiosity in the first half of the seventeenth century corresponded to changes in their valorization: 'during the same period that wonder and curiosity first approached and then withdrew from one another, the trajectories of their valorization in natural philosophy also crossed, with curiosity ascending and wonder declining'.[26]

Due to the combination of curiosity and wonder at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was easy to integrate curious or foreign phenomena in the existing European world-view. They were contemplated, but not subjected to closer investigation. People's outlook was not yet shaped by comparisons and the need to demonstrate their own superiority, by value systems such as those developed from 1670 onwards.[27] It was this early modern approach that made it possible for ethnographic and European objects in the *Kunstkammer* to be received with equal interest. A similar approach to foreignness can also be seen in court festivities, where non-European figures were often represented, wearing appropriate costumes. In the case of a Stuttgart parade in 1599 (see Fig. 5), the figure of America appeared as 'queen' and an equal 'sister' among the four continents known at that time, with Duke Friedrich I (reigned 1593–1608)

Fig. 5. The parade of the 'Queen America' at the Court of Stuttgart, carnival 1599, 1598/99; *c*. 29.8 × 4.10 cm. Stiftung Weimarer Klassik und Kunstsammlungen, Schlossmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, KK 205. Photo: Roland Dreßler.

himself playing the leading role.[28] Similarly, Africans living in Europe were as a rule treated with respect. They were integrated within the royal household and in society, and in art they were not distorted but represented as individual persons.[29] This reception of foreignness is true at least of the German-speaking countries, which were not directly involved in overseas conquests.

A tendency towards disparagement can best be found in the case of non-European figures of deities. In referring to them, the cataloguers sometimes use terms such as 'devil', 'monster' or 'heathen', thus distinguishing them from Christian religion. At first, this might appear to be a moral judgement, but not all descriptions of figures of deities contain such words. They are normally not distinguishable in their neutrality from other objects, and Fickler refers to only four of the thirteen Munich entries in this way.[30] The same terms can also be found in descriptions of figures of deities from early European history.[31] They are used to express a different cultural norm which departs from the writer's own religious values to such a degree that it requires comment. They should be understood as synonyms for 'non-Christian'. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe, religion was the most important criterion for distinguishing between 'ourselves' and 'the others', a division which found expression in terms such as 'Christian' and 'heathen'. The category of paganism, handed down since antiquity, was transferred to non-European cultures that were thus subjected to a theological discourse.

The equal presentation of ethnographic and European objects is particularly well exemplified by the Munich *Kunstkammer*. Fickler's inventory is based on the spatial arrangement of the objects and clearly shows the method of arrangement. This highly flexible system played an important role in giving the collection its universal character. A single panel could contain either objects made of different materials but related by having the same function or objects made of the same material but having different functions. This made it possible to mix the various categories and to place side-by-side *artificialia* and *naturalia*, European and non-European objects as well as different genera. There is no sign of any hierarchy among the objects.

The ethnographic objects in Munich were arranged in groups of different sizes and mixed with European objects. They were distributed around the whole room on forty-three panels and fifty to sixty tables.

Thus, the fifth and twelfth panels contained mainly European and non-European objects made of ivory and wood, while the ninth panel contained European and Oriental swords, daggers and knives, with similar objects, mainly batons, lying below the panel. Panel 14 chiefly contained religious pictures made of different materials, and American feather clothing in two drawers. The Mexican feather mosaics were displayed on panel 27, together with European silk embroidery, and wax and plaster casts. Panels 17 and 30 are exceptional in that geographical aspects play an important role. They contained exclusively Chinese porcelain or 'All kinds of Indian things and things brought from the new islands'[32] in the form of *naturalia* and *artificialia*. The scattering of different groups of objects around the whole room can also be exemplified by American feather artefacts, which were displayed on panels 14, 27 and 31, next to panel 33, and on the tables following panels 30 and 33.

This multi-layered, flexible system distinguished the Munich collection among contemporary *Kunstkammern*. The Ambras *Kunstkammer*, for instance, was also arranged according to categories that permitted the mixing of objects, but it tended to group objects together on the basis of the materials from which they were made, rather than their function, and the sequence of cabinets was also more systematically arranged.[33] As a result of this system, the first part of the *Kunstkammer* contained artefacts made of gold and silver, followed by hand-stones, casts of natural objects, scientific, mechanical and musical instruments, clocks and automata, *pietra dura* pictures, ironwork and books. The ninth cabinet is a particularly good illustration of the way objects were arranged according to material, a scheme that permitted the placing of European and non-European objects side-by-side: in it 'things made of feathers'[34] were displayed, consisting of stuffed birds and European and Mexican feather artefacts; these included headdresses such as were worn at European courtly tournaments, Aztec feather shields, fans and mosaics, 'three birds of paradise'[35] and a bird-skin, which was wrapped in paper and placed beside a feather mosaic panel, to show that the panel was made from its feathers.

Very little is known about the means by which ethnographic objects arrived in Europe and how they found their way to the courts through European agents and as gifts.[36] The few scattered indications in archives, inventories and inscriptions in no way give a complete picture. Ethnographic objects were not the most important goods that were brought to Europe from Asia, Africa and America, rather, they were by-products of trade and colonial exploitation. Europe imported spices, gold, precious stones and beads from Asia and ivory, gold, pepper, slaves, cotton and wax from Africa. In the north-east of Brazil in the second half of the sixteenth century, Europeans traded in brazil-wood and developed the sugar-cane industry, while in Central America they extracted large quantities of silver from the mines; they also acquired gold. They were interested in gold only for its material value, not in its worked forms, as found by Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) in 1520 in the Aztec Empire, and Francisco Pizarro (*c.*1475–1541) in 1532 among the Incas. Accordingly, the conquerors melted down the rich treasures they encountered for transport to Europe as bullion, where the raw material was reused. The Mixtec gold ring from the Munich *Kunstkammer* (Fig. 6)[37] is the only extant object of pure gold from Mexico known to have been in Europe in the sixteenth century. It is therefore of particular historical value.

Some fragmentary indications exist as to how the ethnographic objects in the Munich *Kunstkammer* found their way to Europe,[38] but only in a very few cases can the information be linked to a particular object in Fickler's inventory. In the art correspondence of Duke Albrecht V,[39] there are a few scattered references to non-European objects in the collection.

Fig. 6. Ring, gold, Mixtec, probably Monte Albán, fifteenth century, diameter 2 cm. Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Residenz München, Schatzkammer, ResMüSch. 1257. Photo: Pfeuffer.

Jacob Stockbauer mentions that the acquisitions and negotiations were generally conducted orally, so that many purchases were never documented.[40] In addition, a good number of objects were gifts that were not formally recorded. Many ethnographic objects probably came into the possession of the Munich court through the Habsburgs, for Albrecht V (reigned 1550–79) was related by marriage to Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol. Other sources of supply were the Fuggers and the Medicis. The dukes of Bavaria in Munich had regular commercial dealings as well as good personal relations with the Fugger company. Hans Jakob Fugger (1516–75) was librarian and a close adviser to Albrecht V, who arranged contacts and dealt with correspondence regarding purchases. He can be identified as the supplier of a garment that Fickler describes as an 'Indian gown',[41] but without details as to its place of origin. Some garments were brought to the Munich court from Tunis by Ludwig Welser, a captain in Tunis during the Spanish occupation who probably acquired the garments there directly.[42]

In 1566, the Fuggers sent several objects to Munich by roundabout routes. These included a Sinhalese ivory casket containing jewellery.[43] In the first half of the year, a shipload was sent from Lisbon to Antwerp, as we learn from letters written by Marx Fugger and his representatives there.[44] However, the ship carrying 'the first box of jewellery for the Duke of Bavaria'[45] ran aground off the coast of Flanders. Some items were lost, and those remaining—probably including the ivory casket—arrived in Munich only after several months and partially damaged. It is possible that the Mixtec ring also formed part of this cargo and came to Munich by the same route as the ivory casket. The only thing we know for sure, however, is that it was kept in the casket in the *Kunstkammer*.

In 1572 Francesco de' Medici (died 1587) sent gifts to Albrecht V consisting of ethnographic objects, non-European *naturalia* and live animals. The letters between Florence and Munich have been preserved in the art correspondence of Albrecht V and in the Archivio di Stato in Florence.[46] According to the documents, a ship 'from India'[47] sailed into the port of Livorno with its load on 23 May 1572; we do not know exactly where it had come from. Shortly afterwards, Francesco de' Medici forwarded a part of the cargo to Munich, but the records make no mention of whether the objects and *naturalia* were put in the Munich *Kunstkammer*: most probably they were, while the animals were certainly put in the menagerie. The consignment included the following ethnographic objects, some of which are probably identifiable in Fickler's inventory:[48] six 'Indian fans',[49] which might refer to Aztec or colonial feather fans (see Fig. 5), Sinhalese ivory fans (Fig. 7) or Malayan palm-leaf fans; a feather mosaic panel by the Purhépecha from Michoacán showing the picture of a woman; a gourd which served as a container; a chess-board with mother-of-pearl inlays from Gujarat; a Turkish leather bottle and weapons. A figure made of fruits and seeds representing a deity, said to be from Mexico, cannot be identified in the inventory.

The Mixtec *Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1* is one of the few ethnographic objects of which we know all the details of its journeys to and within Europe, and ultimately to the Munich court (Fig. 8).[50] The route

Fig. 7. Fan, ivory, Ceylon, *c.*1550, height 62 cm. Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde Munich, 2827. Photo: Alexander Laurenzo.

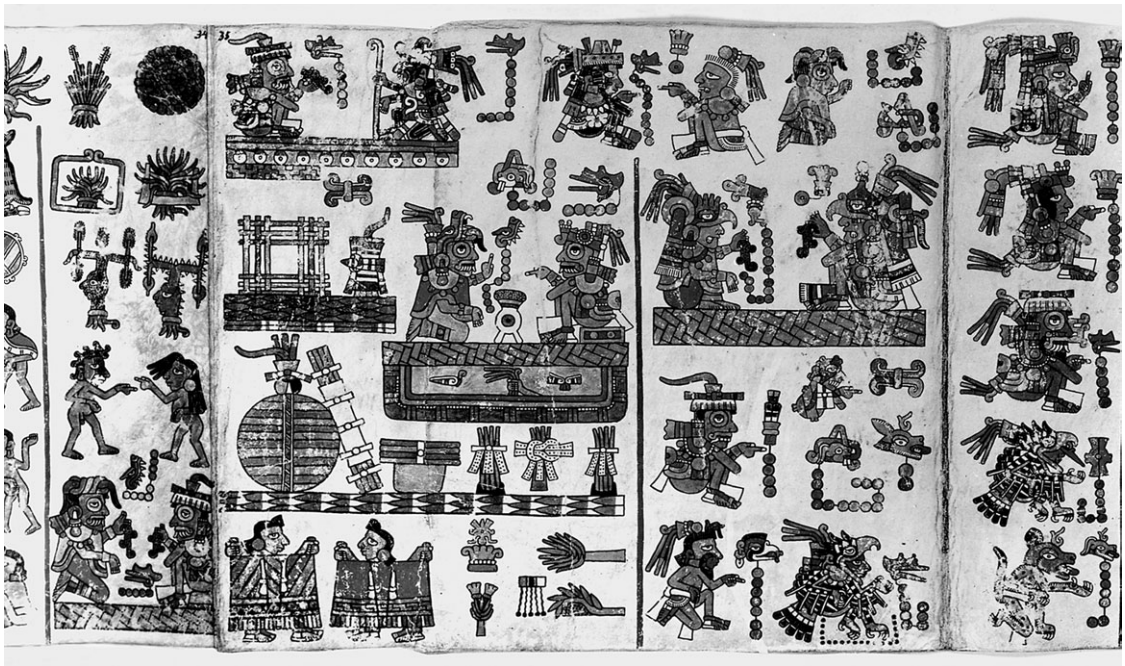

Fig. 8. *Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1*, p. 35, suede leather, painted, Mixtec, before 1350; *c.* 26.5 × 22 cm, Leporello, total length 13.5 m. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, ÖNB/Wien, Bildarchiv, Cod.mex. 1, fol. 35.

taken by this illustrated manuscript demonstrates at the same time how quickly and how far the objects spread. Since its arrival with the first cargo send by Cortés in 1519, up to its transferral in 1558 to the Munich *Kunstkammer* from the library of the humanist and Orientalist Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (1506–57), the *Codex* changed ownership no fewer than six times in Spain, Portugal and Italy, usually by means of gift or bequest. Its owners included King Emanuel of Portugal (reigned 1495–1521), Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (1478–1534, Pope Clement VII from 1523) and Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici (1511–35). In 1632 Swedish troops took the *Codex* to the court in Weimar, after the sacking of the Munich *Kunstkammer*, and from there it went to the court of Leopold I (1640–1705, Emperor from 1658) in Vienna and later to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Many ethnographic objects came to German courts directly from Spain and Portugal, through agents. For Munich there is documentary evidence of this in some cases, and the objects correspond in large part to entries in Fickler's inventory. For instance, on 2 July 1577, the Augsburg agent Anton Meyting, who worked in Spain for the Fuggers and in the service of Albrecht V between 1563 und 1577, brought from Spain three mats 'from India', and a small feather mosaic panel 'from the Indies' showing John the Baptist.[51] The mats could be woven raffia fabrics from the Kingdom of Congo (see Fig. 4). Another agent from Augsburg, Anselm Stöckl, who was envoy and ambassador of Wilhelm V, brought with him from Spain in May 1581 two figures of deities 'from India' and a fan.[52] In May 1590, the Infanta Maria of Austria, widow of Emperor Maximilian II, sent three other unidentified fans to Wilhelm V (reigned 1579–1597/98, died 1626).[53]

The dukes also sought objects themselves. In a letter written on 24 May 1574, Albrecht V requests the wife of King Philip II of Spain to send him 'things that are rare and foreign to this country' for his *Kunstkammer*.[54] In 1611, Duke Wilhelm V, who had already resigned from office, asked two unidentified cardinals to procure for him Mexican feather mosaic panels from Spain and Portugal through the agents or the Jesuits.[55] Also in 1611, Philipp Hainhofer presented a feather mosaic panel to Wilhelm V. He had received it from Philip II for his *Stammbuch* ('friendship book') in October of the same year, after it had been brought

to Europe from Mexico by Jesuits.[56] Wilhelm and Hainhofer met for the first time on 14 November 1606, when Wilhelm visited Hainhofer's *Kunstkammer* in Augsburg together with Marx Fugger. On this occasion, the retired Duke bought 'Indian things' to the value of 200 *Gulden* from Hainhofer.[57]

We know even less about the prices of ethnographic objects than we do about the manner in which they found their way to the courts: there are very few indications and these give only a very vague picture. Records from the Stuttgart *Kunstkammer* show that in 1669, twenty-two *Reichstaler* were paid for a piece of woven raffia fabric (see Fig. 4) and a small woven basket (Fig. 9) from the Kingdom of Congo. This was equivalent to the monthly earnings of a person in high office.[58] From the year 1653, we have an estimate of the value of the *Kunstkammer* by chamberlain Johann Jakob Guth von Sulz-Durchhausen (1543–1616) who died in 1616.[59] Guth von Sulz's son was highly interested in selling the collection, and the list certainly has no general validity. In the same year, Eberhard III (reigned 1633–74) transferred the *Kunstkammer* to his court in Stuttgart. The complete collection of Guth von Sulz, numbering 20,788 objects, was estimated at 28,493 *Reichstaler*, and the 916 ethnographic objects alone at 360 *Reichstaler*. This is equivalent to a mean price of 0.39 *Reichstaler* per object, which is approximately one-third less than the mean value for one object in the complete collection.

Fig. 9. Basket with lid, palm fibres, Vili, Loango kingdom (Democratic Republic of Congo), first half of the seventeenth century; length 28 cm. Linden-Museum Stuttgart, 19.446. Photo: Dreyer.

On 30 July 1650, Duke August the Younger of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (reigned 1635–66) made a list of objects he wished to have from the *Kunstkammer* left by Hainhofer, and the information it contains would seem to be more authoritative.[60] According to this list, a piece of woven raffia fabric from the Kingdom of Congo (see Fig. 4) cost 20 *Reichstaler*, a flat wooden club from Brazil or Guyana (see Fig. 10) and a Turkish visor each cost 4 *Reichstaler* and 30 *Groschen*, a pair of Turkish boots with 'soles made from the hide of a Christian'[61] cost 2 *Reichstaler*. In comparison, a landscape oil painting by the painter and architect Johann Matthias Kager (1575–1634) from Munich and Augsburg was estimated at 30 *Reichstaler*, two gold enamelled bowls together at 20 *Reichstaler*, and a gold enamelled lavabo set at 15 *Reichstaler*. Around 1660, feather objects from the Tupinambá were offered to the Wolfenbüttel court: a red coat, a yellow hood, a yellow collar and eight bands for arms, legs and hips (see Fig. 5). Together they were priced at 100 *Reichstaler*[62] and this shows the high value that was attached to them.

The equal perception of foreign and European objects in the early modern period came to an end around 1670, when curiosity came to be distinguished from wonder. At the same time, the natural sciences and new classification systems were developed. From about 1740 onwards, the taxonomic system of Carl von Linné (1707–78) was widely adopted. Along with these changes, far-away countries and non-European cultures increasingly were also being explored by Europeans and compared to their own history and culture. Eurocentric cultural theories of the Enlightenment grew up, such as those of Charles de Montesquieu in the mid-eighteenth century, according to which the structure of a society depended on climatic conditions.[63] Foreign cultures were now valorized and

Fig. 10. Club, wood, shell, Tarairiu (north-eastern Brazil), sixteenth century; 94.5 cm, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde Munich, 13-81-22. Photo: Marietta Weidner.

their forms of civilization divided into stages of development, defined according to European standards. The global world-view of the early modern period was replaced by specialization, and new value systems came into being. However, the classification of foreign artefacts proved difficult within the context of the *Kunstkammer*, where classification was aligned on special fields such as particular kinds of animals, minerals, materials and types of art. It was hard to fit the ethnographic objects into a scheme developed primarily for European culture, and in the eighteenth century they gradually lost their importance.

Certain developments indicate that this deep-rooted change took place around 1670. The second half of the seventeenth century can be seen as a kind of transition period, in which the indiscriminate wonderment and curiosity of the early modern period was gradually replaced by greater differentiation, and foundations were laid for the great classification systems such as that of Linné. One sign of this change was the founding of scientific academies in Florence, London and Paris between 1657 and 1666. Their self-declared aim was to clarify doubtful points by scientific experiments and systematic observation. In 1665, Robert Boyle (1627–91) published a list of 'heads' or topics for the Royal Society in London, to help those travelling to distant countries. In the course of the following decades, this list formed a model for the systematic collection of data by travellers, and was followed by many similar manuals far into the nineteenth century.[64] Another indication of change is a new tendency found in reports on travel in non-European countries that began around 1670. European ideas about fantastic creatures and monsters had declined as the number of settlers in these countries increased and knowledge about them grew, and people became more and more interested in studying foreign landscapes, flora, fauna and customs. The results were compared with Europe with a view to discovering similarities and differences. Old systems were redefined and revised in the light of new information from foreign countries. This development is clear in works published from 1670 onwards, such as those by Erasmus Francisci and Eberhard Werner Happel.[65] These are collections in which foreign customs, languages, organizational structures, religious ceremonies, etc., are classified and compared with their European counterparts. The material for these collections is derived not from the authors' own observations but from earlier travel reports. European value systems form the basis for all interpretations and comparisons.[66]

In accordance with this tendency, some new *Kunstkammern* were founded and others were reorganized at the end of the seventeenth century. The Gottorf collection came into being around 1650. It was cared for from the beginning by the court mathematician and astronomer Adam Olearius who, in 1666 produced the first printed collection catalogue in the German language[67] and added many scientific notes and literary references. This catalogue is among those most frequently quoted in the inventories of later collections.

The Stuttgart *Kunstkammer*, founded by Duke Friedrich I before 1596, was completely reorganized and an inventory drawn up around 1670.[68] This was prompted by the unsystematic arrangement and poor standard of cataloguing lamented by the custodian in 1669. Work began in the same year, under the direction of a new custodian, the jurist and mathematician Adam Ulrich Schmidlin, who was employed for the purpose by Duke Eberhard III. The latter ordered that the objects should be grouped on the basis of 'art to art, nature to nature'.[69] At the same time, the paintings were taken to a separate gallery in the palace, as had already been done in Vienna in 1659. Schmidlin arranged his inventory according to 'cabinets', which contained finely differentiated groups of objects. Thus, we find headings such as 'vessels made of ivory and wood', 'vessels … made of wood', 'vessels made of Indian wood', 'vessels made of … exotic clays', and 'vessels made of exotic fruits'.[70] The object groups are now kept together and no longer mixed, as in the earlier system of arrangement at Munich. Schmidlin grouped most ethnographic objects under the headings 'Indian clothing and ornaments', 'Indian vessels' and 'Indian weapons and armour'.[71] Only a few are grouped together with European artefacts because of their material.

In a second step, the scientist Johann Schuckard was appointed as custodian in 1690. Between 1705 and 1723 he drew up a new inventory of the *Kunstkammer*, again organizing the list by cabinets. He subdivided these into smaller sections under detailed headings.[72] Schuckard continued the classification system begun by Schmidlin, but considerably developed it. In the case of *naturalia*, like Schmidlin, he frequently added scientific notes and references to literary sources and to other *Kunstkammern*. He

expanded the descriptions of some of the ethnographic objects on the basis of his own observations, but added no scientific comments. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Schuckard ended the separation, introduced by Schmidlin, of ethnographic objects as a category by themselves. But he found no consistent method for classifying them along with the other objects. Many of them were mixed with non-European *naturalia* and European artefacts.[73] Others were grouped together with objects to which they were in no way closely related. Thus, a hammock was put together with European, Turkish and Chinese weapons.[74] These uncertainties in matters of classification show how difficult it was to categorize ethnographic objects, which did not easily fit any of the set categories; they fell through the cracks of the new classification systems and increasingly were ignored.

This deep-rooted change in the reception of ethnographic objects did not affect private *Kunstkammern* to the same degree, since as a rule these collections were differently arranged even before 1670. Those collectors were more personally attached to their collections and took an interest in individual objects. Inventories were often compiled either by the collectors themselves or in cooperation with a cataloguer. Royal lists, on the other hand, were almost always legal documents, created on the death of a ruler or when a ruler was replaced, and constituting a complete record of his property at a particular point in time. Thus, the Ambras inventory of 1596 is a list of the property left by Ferdinand II, compiled by four commissaries specially appointed for the purpose, and authenticated by their signature.[75] Similarly, the Munich inventory of 1598 was prepared by the jurist Johann Baptist Fickler on the occasion of the change of government between Wilhelm V and Maximilian I (reigned 1597–1651).

Most inventories of private *Kunstkammern* were compiled during the lifetime of the collector, with a primary purpose of making the collection better known; frequently, they were produced in printed form. In the private lists, the objects are often carefully described in a way that reveals close knowledge, and remarks are added on their history and the circumstances of their acquisition, as well as scientific aspects. Expressions of wonderment at their craftsmanship, and, more rarely, aesthetic judgements were also recorded. Christoph Weickmann's inventory, dating from 1659, contains a strikingly high number of remarks concerning the use of objects in their country of origin: a sword from the former Gold Coast (Fig. 11) had been worn by 'the great and powerful ruler in Africa, Johann Paes [Claes], Jay of Fietù himself on his body', and a sacrifice or divination tray from the Ifa in present-day Benin (Fig. 12) was used by 'the king of Haarder, a vassal of the great King of Benin … during sacrifices or fetish practices for their gods and to sacrifice to them on it'.[76] In both cases, it can be shown that Weickmann's historical information is correct.[77] The kingdom of Fetu was located in the centre of the Gold Coast, and 'Johann Paes [Claes], Jay of Fietù' was a high dignitary there. 'Haarder', the place of origin of the sacrifice tray, is Allada or Ardra. In the seventeenth century, Allada was the most powerful kingdom on the coast of present-day Benin and in the second half of the seventeenth century was under the control of the king of Benin.

The inventories of the Stuttgart *Kunstkammer* illustrate well the differences between royal and private inventories. In 1653, Eberhard III took over the collection of Guth von Sulz. Many ethnographic objects in this private collection were integrated in the *Kunstkammer* and appear in the Stuttgart inventory of 1654.[78] The only surviving inventory of Guth von Sulz's collection was compiled after his death by his son Ludwig, prior to selling it, in 1624.[79] However, the wealth of detail given on items in the inventory suggests that the collector had himself begun to prepare an inventory and that his notes were available to the author of the sale list. Guth von Sulz's entries were copied more or less word for word in new inventories of the Stuttgart *Kunstkammer*, compiled from 1654 onwards. They stand out clearly because of their interesting details, while the objects from the old Stuttgart collection are named only briefly. Thus, of a hammock from the old Stuttgart collection we read: 'A knitted Indian bed', and of a flat wooden club encrusted with mother-of-pearl from the Tarairiu in northeast Brazil (see Fig. 10): 'An Indian sceptre inlaid with mother-of-pearl'.[80] In contrast, a hammock from Guth von Sulz's collection is described as 'A Brazilian bed made of grass, which the natives there tie between two trees and use for resting and sleeping in',[81] and rattle strings from the Tupinambá as 'Two little arm bands and a knee band made from the shells of the Ahovay fruit, hung on two long strips as wide as a finger, which the cannibals put on when they want to leap and dance'.[82]

Fig. 11. Sword, iron, ray skin, Fetu kingdom, Gold Coast (Ghana), first half of the seventeenth century; 72.7 × 6.7 cm. Ulmer Museum, Ulm. Photo: Armin Buhl.

Fig. 12. Sacrifice and divination tray, wood, Ifa, Allada kingdom (Benin), first half of the seventeenth century; 34.4 × 55.7 cm. Ulmer Museum, Ulm. Photo: Schmidt-Glassner.

Any study of early ethnographic material culture is rendered difficult by the fact that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries foreign objects tended to be torn out of their cultural context. This can only be reconstructed, as in the case of the ethnographica in the Munich inventory, by means of comparable

objects that have been preserved, travel reports, contemporary traditions and graphic representations, undisturbed archaeological finds and ethno-historical research. The ethnographic objects collected in the *Kunstkammern* give us a glimpse of the historical culture of many ethnic groups, some of which no longer exist. They also reveal which aspects of those cultures were fascinating to Europeans. Wonder and curiosity for all things and, in particular, for the rare and the curious, characterized the way the world was regarded in the early modern period, and made it possible to treat foreign and European objects on an equal basis. This is also reflected, as in Rennward Cysat's expression of amazement on seeing the ethnographic objects in Felix Platter's *Kunstkammer*, quoted at the beginning of this paper, in a conversation between Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen's (*c*.1622–76) character Simplicissimus and an unnamed collector, in a tract of 1669. Among the pictures in the collection, Simplicissimus liked best an *Ecce Homo*, because of its pitiable representation of the Son of God. Next to it were some painted Chinese gods. Upon being asked by the collector which object in his *Kunstkammer* pleased him best, Simplicissimus pointed to the *Ecce Homo*. This led to the following dispute, in which the collector insisted that Simplicissimus did not sufficiently appreciate the rarity of the Chinese picture:

> But he [the collector] said I was wrong; the Chinese painting was rarer and therefore also more delectable; he would not exchange it for ten such Ecce Homos. I answered: 'Sir! is your heart the same as your mouth?' He said: 'That is what I strive for.' Then I said: 'Then the God of your heart must be the same as the one whose image you confess with your mouth to be the most delectable.' – 'Dreamer', said he, 'I esteem rarity'.[83]

Address for correspondence

Dr Elke Bujok, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Maximilianstraße 42, D-80538 Munich, Germany.
elke.bujok@mfv.bayern.de

Notes and references

1 'allso daß einer sich darob vergafft und des Munds offen vergißt'. See T. von Liebenau, 'Felix Plater von Basel und Rennward Cysat von Luzern', *Basler Jahrbuch* (1900), pp. 85–109, p. 91. See also C. F. Feest, 'European collecting of American Indian artefacts and art', *Journal of the History of Collections* 5 (1993), pp. 1–11, p. 3 and C. F. Feest, 'The collecting of American Indian artifacts in Europe, 1493–1750', in K. O. Kupperman (ed.), *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill and London, 1995), pp. 324–60, p. 347.

2 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cgm 2133, Cgm 2134. The text is transliterated in P. Diemer in cooperation with E. Bujok and D. Diemer (eds.), *Johann Baptist Fickler. Das Inventar der Münchner herzoglichen Kunstkammer von 1598. Editionsband. Transkription der Inventarhandschrift cgm 2133* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Abhandlungen Neue Folge, Heft 125, presented by W. Sauerländer) (Munich, 2004). The commentary has recently been published as D. Diemer, P. Diemer *et al.*, *Die Münchner Kunstkammer* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Abhandlungen Neue Folge, Heft 129, presented by W. Sauerländer) (3 vols.) (Munich, 2008).

3 Concerning the African and American objects in the Munich *Kunstkammer*, see E. Bujok, 'Africana und Americana im Ficklerschen Inventar der Münchner Kunstkammer von 1598', *Münchner Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 8 (2003), pp. 57–142. The commentaries relating to these objects are also published in *Die Münchner Kunstkammer*, op. cit. (note 2).

4 C. F. Feest, 'Spanisch-Amerika in außerspanischen Kunstkammern', *Kritische Berichte* 20,1 (1992), pp. 43–58, p. 53.

5 B. Dam-Mikkelsen and T. Lundbæk (eds.), *Etnografiske genstande i Det kongelige danske Kunstkammer 1650–1800. Ethnographic Objects in The Royal Danish Kunstkammer 1650-1800* (Nationalmuseets skrifter, Etnografisk række 17) (Copenhagen, 1980).

6 'Welche die Indianer in iren freuden Spilen und Tänzen umb sich gürten, und mit großem geschell herumbspringen'. Bujok, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 117–19.

7 'von den unglaubigen angebettet und geehrt worden, daraus der Teuffl zu ihn geredt'. Bujok, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 109–12.

8 '12 Helfenbeinern Löffell sollen in Türkey sein gemacht worden'. Inventory of the Dresden *Kunstkammer* of 1596, see S. Wolf, 'Afrikanische Elfenbeinlöffel des 16. Jahrhunderts im Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden', *Ethnologica* N.F. 2 (1960), pp. 410–25, p. 420.

9 '6 lange helfenbaine … leffl mit allerlai bilderwerch auf den Turggischen furmb'. Inventory of the Ambras *Kunstkammer* of 1596, see W. Boeheim (ed.), 'Urkunden und Regesten aus der K. K. Hofbibliothek', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7, part 2 (1888), pp. 279–313, p. 294.

10 'ain Mörischer huet'. See Boeheim, op. cit. (note 9), p. 293.

11 C. F. Feest, 'Vienna's Mexican treasures. Aztec, Mixtec, and Tarascan works from 16th century Austrian collections', *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 44 (1990), pp. 1–63, p. 12.

12 'Allerlei mörsche rüstung von federwerk'. W. Fleischhauer, 'Die Kunstkammer des Grafen Ulrich von Montfort zu Tettnang, 1574, *Ulm und Oberschwaben* 44 (1982), pp. 9–28, p. 19.

13 'Manugodiata oder Paradeißvogel/auß der Insul Molocia bey Ost Indien in America'. Ferdinand Albrecht, Herzog von Braunschweig-Lüneburg, *Sonder-bahre/aus Göttlichem eingeben/Andächtige Gedancken …* (Bevern, 1677), p. 118.

14 'ein Ost-Indianischer Dolch/so sie in der Stadt Bantam in der Insul Java, in America entlegen/gebrauchen'. Ferdinand Albrecht, op. cit. (note 13), p. 123.

15 'Eine grosse Americanische Eydex in der Insulen Antilles zu finden/die Indianer nennen sie Igoanas, die Brasilianer Senemb und die Carabies Ovayamaca'. 'Ein braite frembde wöhr … das hefft baine von subtil außgeschnittner arbeit'. Ferdinand Albrecht, op. cit. (note 13), p. 120.

16 'Ein braite frembde wöhr … das hefft baine von subtil außgeschnittner arbeit'. See Diemer *et al.*, op. cit. (note 2), no. 453.

17 'Eine sehr künstliche Tafeldecke in Angola gemacht/… von trefflicher schöner und kunstreicher Arbeit … Ein von Indianischem Stroh gar sauber gewircktes Teppichlein/ so nett und eng zusammen geschlossen.' *Exoticophylacium Weickmannianum Oder Verzeichnus Underschiedlicher Thier/ Vögel/Fisch/Meergewächs/Ertz- und Bergarten/Edlen und anderen Stain/außländischem Holtz und Früchten/fremden und seltzamen Kleidern und Gewöhr/Optischen/Kunst- und Curiosen Sachen/Mahlereyen/Muschel und Schneckenwerck/ Heydnischen/und andern Müntzen/etc. So in Christoph Weickmanns Kunst- und Naturalkammer in Ulm zu sehen …* (Ulm[?], 1659), p. 53.

18 E. Bujok, *Neue Welten in europäischen Sammlungen. Africana und Americana in Kunstkammern bis 1670* (Berlin, 2004), pp. 62–8.

19 L. Daston, 'Die kognitiven Leidenschaften: Staunen und Neugier im Europa der frühen Neuzeit', in L. Daston (ed.), *Wunder, Beweise und Tatsachen. Zur Geschichte der Rationalität* (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), pp. 77–97, p. 82. H. Blumenberg, *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit, Teil 3: Der Prozeß der theoretischen Neugierde* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), p. 361.

20 L. Daston, 'Neugierde als Empfindung und Epistemologie in der frühmodernen Wissenschaft', in Andreas Grote (ed.), *Macrocosmos in Microcosmo. Die Welt in der Stube. Zur Geschichte des Sammelns 1450 bis 1800*, Berliner Schriften zur Museumskunde 10 (Opladen, 1994), pp. 35–59, pp. 38–40.

21 L. Daston, 'Die Lust an der Neugier in der frühneuzeitlichen Wissenschaft', in K. Krüger (ed.), *Curiositas. Welterfahrung und ästhetische Neugierde in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 2002), pp. 147–75, 166–7.

22 L. Daston and K. Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York, 1998), pp. 307–8.

23 Daston, op. cit. (note 19), p. 84.

24 Daston and Park, op. cit. (note 22), p. 313.

25 Daston and Park, op. cit. (note 22), p. 317.

26 Daston and Park, op. cit. (note 22), p. 304.

27 Bujok, op. cit. (note 18), pp. 181–6.

28 E. Bujok, 'Der Aufzug der "Königin Amerika" in Stuttgart: Das "Mannliche unnd Ritterliche Thurnier unnd Ringrennen" zu Fastnacht 1599', *Tribus* 52 (2003), pp. 80–110. Bujok, op. cit. (note 18), pp. 13–23, 149–60.

29 E. Bujok, 'Afrikanerdarstellungen in der Frühen Neuzeit', *Münchner Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 9 (2004), pp. 59–76.

30 Nos. 1714, 1723, 1725, 1726. See Bujok, op. cit. (note 3), p. 101–12.

31 Diemer *et al.*, op. cit. (note 2), nos. 2281, 2357, 2419.

32 'Allerlay Indianische und auß newen Inseln gebrachte sachen'. See Diemer *et al.*, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 140–2.

33 L. Seelig, 'Die Münchner Kunstkammer. Geschichte, Anlage, Ausstattung', *Jahrbuch der Bayerischen Denkmalpflege* 40 (1986), pp. 101–38, p. 117. H. Bredekamp, *Antikensehnsucht und Maschinenglauben. Die Geschichte der Kunstkammer und die Zukunft der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin, 1993), pp. 35–8.

34 'darinnen sachen von federn'. See Boeheim, op. cit. (note 9), p. 293.

35 'drei paredeisvögel'. See Boeheim, op. cit. (note 9), p. 293.

36 Bujok, op. cit. (note 18), pp. 161–9.

37 Bujok, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 125–6.

38 Bujok, op. cit. (note 3), pp. 126–9.

39 Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich (hereafter BayHStA Munich), Kurbayern, Äußeres Archiv, 4851–4856.

40 J. Stockbauer, *Die Kunstbestrebungen am Bayerischen Hofe unter Herzog Albrecht V. und seinem Nachfolger Wilhelm V. Nach den im K. Reichsarchiv vorhandenen Correspondenzacten,* Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 8 (Vienna, 1874), p. 23.

41 'Indianisch Klaid'. See Diemer *et al.*, op. cit. (note 2), no. 1954.

42 See Diemer *et al.*, op. cit. (note 2), nos. 1947–1950. L. Seelig, 'Exotica in der Münchner Kunstkammer der bayerischen Wittelsbacher', in H. Trnek and S. Haag (eds.), *Exotica. Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance. Die Beiträge des am 19. und 20. Mai 2000 vom Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien veranstalteten Symposiums*, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien 3 (Mainz, 2001), pp. 145–62, p. 149.

43 See Diemer *et al.*, op. cit. (note 2), no. 938. Vilhelm Slomann, 'Elfenbeinreliefs auf zwei singhalesischen Schreinen des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Pantheon* 20 (1937), pp. 357–63 and 21 (1938), pp. 12–19, p. 19. Herbert Brunner (ed.), *Schatzkammer der Residenz München* (Munich, 1970), pp. 365–6, no. 1241.

44 BayHStA Munich, Kurbayern, Äußeres Archiv, 4851, fols. 139[b], 141, 143, 158[a], 164, 166.

45 'die erste Küsten mit den Brincos [= Schmuck, wertvolles Kleingerät], für den Hertzogen von Bairn', BayHStA Munich, Kurbayern, Äußeres Archiv, 4851, fol. 139[b]r.

46 BayHStA Munich, Kurbayern, Äußeres Archiv, 4853, fols. 259–71, list of the items see fols. 267–8. L. Toorians, 'The earliest inventory of Mexican objects in Munich, 1572', *Journal of the History of Collections* 6 (1994), pp. 59–67.

47 'dell'Indie'. BayHStA Munich, Kurbayern, Äußeres Archiv, 4853, fol. 260r.

48 See Diemer *et al.*, op. cit. (note 2), nos. 1735, 1758, 1760, 1841; 842–4; 276–8; 1589; 1705, 1713; 337; 1515–16, 1561, 1572–4.

49 '6 Indianische Ventaglien'. BayHStA Munich, Kurbayern, Äußeres Archiv, 4853, fol. 267r.

50 B. Bittmann Simons, 'V: N65 IV:2 Hieroglyphica Mexicana: a manuscript in the Royal Library at Copenhagen', *Tlalocan* 4 (1963), pp. 169–72. W. Lehmann, 'Les peintures mixtéco-zapotèques et quelques documents apparentés', *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* n.s. 2 (1905), pp. 241–80. L. Toorians, 'Some light in the dark century of Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1', *Codices manuscripti* 9 (1983), pp. 26–9. L. Toorians, 'Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1. Neue Erkenntnisse zur historischen Quellengeschichte der indianischen Bilderhandschrift', *Ethnologia Americana* 19 (1983), pp. 1073–5. L. Toorians, 'Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1, its history completed', in *Codices manuscripti* 10 (1984), pp. 87–97.

51 'de la India', 'de Indias'. A. Pérez de Tudela and A. Jordan Gschwend, 'Luxury goods for royal collectors: exotica,

princely gifts and rare animals exchanged between the Iberian courts and Central Europe in the Renaissance (1560–1612)', in Trnek and Haag, op. cit. (note 42), pp. 1–127, p. 55, 45. See Diemer *et al.*, op. cit. (note 2), nos. 246, 1647–53; 1583.

52 'de la india'. Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, op. cit. (note 51), p. 55.

53 Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, op. cit. (note 51), p. 70.

54 'ettwas von selzamen unnd hir Lannds frembden Sachen'. BayHStA Munich, Kurbayern, Äußeres Archiv, 4853, fol. 314–15. Concerning the adressee, see Seelig, op. cit. (note 42), p. 147, note 22.

55 See O. Doering, *Des Augsburger Patriciers Philipp Hainhofer Beziehungen zum Herzog Philipp II. von Pommern-Stettin. Correspondenzen aus den Jahren 1610–1619*, Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit N.F. 6 (Vienna, 1894), pp. 198–9.

56 See Doering op. cit. (note 55), p. 198. O. Doering, *Des Augsburger Patriciers Philipp Hainhofer Reisen nach Innsbruck und Dresden*, Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit N.F. 10 (Vienna, 1901), p. 261.

57 'indianische Sachen'. O. Hartig, 'Unbekannte Reisen des jungen Hainhofer nach München und Stuttgart 1603–1607 (Fortsetzung)', *Der Sammler. Unterhaltungs- und Literatur-Beilage zur München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* 93,118 (1924), pp. 2–3, p. 3.

58 M. Firla and H. Forkl, 'Afrikaner und Africana am württembergischen Herzogshof im 17. Jahrhundert', *Tribus* 44 (1995), pp. 149–93, p. 166.

59 Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, A 20a Bü 159/1, fol. 2–5. Bujok, op. cit. (note 18), p. 112.

60 Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel (hereafter NStA Wolfenbüttel), 1 Alt 22, Nr. 170, fol. 25.

61 'Sohlen von einer Christenhautt'. NStA Wolfenbüttel, 1 Alt 22, Nr. 170, fol. 25.

62 Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 84 Novi, fol. 222r.

63 K.-H. Kohl, *Entzauberter Blick. Das Bild vom Guten Wilden und die Erfahrung der Zivilisation* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986), pp. 113–4.

64 J. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity, The Theory of Travel 1550–1800*, Studies in Anthropology & History 13 (Chur, 1995), pp. 147, 152. R. Boyle, 'General heads for a natural history of a country, great or small', *Philosophical Transactions* 1 (1665), pp. 186–9.

65 E. Francisci, *Neu-Polirter Geschicht- Kunst- und Sitten-Spiegel ausländischer Völcker …* (Nürnberg, 1670). E. W. Happel, *Gröste Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt Oder so-genannte Relationes curiosæ …*, 5 vols. (Hamburg, 1683–91).

66 M. P. L. dos Santos Lopes, *Afrika. Eine neue Welt in deutschen Schriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 146–57.

67 A. Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Cammer/Worinnen Allerhand ungemeine Sachen/So theils die Natur/theils künstliche Hände hervor gebracht und bereitet. Vor diesem Aus allen vier Theilen der Welt zusammen getragen* (Schleßwig, 1666).

68 Bujok, op. cit. (note 18), pp. 105–8, 122–3.

69 'Kunst zu Kunst, Natur zu Natur'. See W. Fleischhauer, *Die Geschichte der Kunstkammer der Herzöge von Württemberg in Stuttgart*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, 87 (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 78.

70 'Kästen', 'Geschirr von Helfenbein und Horn', 'Geschirr … von Holtz', 'Geschirr von Indianischem Holtz', 'Geschirr von … Exotischer Erden', 'Geschirr von Exotischen Früchten'. Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart, *Inventarium Schmidlianum der herzoglich Württemb. Kunstkammer. 1670 bis 1692* (copy of the probably lost original), pp. preceding p. 24–following p. 31.

71 'Indianische Kleider und Ornat', 'Indianische Geschirr' und 'Indianische Gewöhr und Rüstung'. Inventarium Schmidlianum, op. cit. (note 70), pp. 395–7.

72 Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (hereafter HStA Stuttgart), A 20a Bü 16–28.

73 HStA Stuttgart, A 20a Bü 20, pp. 8–9, Bü 22, p. 7.

74 HStA Stuttgart, A 20a Bü 25, p. 21.

75 Boeheim, op. cit. (note 9), p. 10.

76 'der Grosse und Mächtige Herr in Africa, Johann Paes [Claes], Jay von Fietù selber an seinem Leib getragen', 'der König zu Haarder, so deß Grossen Königs von Bennin Vasall/… bey ihrer Götter Opffer/oder Fetissie, zu gebrauchen/und ihnen darauf zu opfern'. *Exoticophylacium*, op. cit. (note 17), p. 55, 52.

77 A. Jones, 'A collection of African art in seventeenth-century Germany. Christoph Weickmann's Kunst- und Naturkammer', *African Arts* 27 (1994), pp. 28–43, 92–4, 30–8.

78 HStA Stuttgart, A 20a, Bü 6.

79 HStA Stuttgart, A 20a, Bü 4.

80 'Ein gestrickht Indianisch Beth', 'Ein Indianisch Scepter, von Perlenmutter versetzt'. HStA Stuttgart, A 20a, Bü 6, pp. 5–6.

81 'Ein Brassilianisch Beth, von gras gemacht, welches dieselbige einwohner an zwey bäum pflegen an zubinden, und darinnen ruhen und schlaffen'. HStA Stuttgart, A 20a, Bü 6, p. 44.

82 'Zwey Armbändtlein, und ein Kniebandt, von den Hülßen der Frücht Ahovai gemacht, und an zwey zwerchfinger [= fingerbreiten] langen fäden hangen, welche die Canibali, wenn sie Springen und Tantzen wollen, anthun'. HStA Stuttgart, A 20a, Bü 6, p. 45.

83 Er [der Sammler] aber sagte, ich irre mich; das Chineser Gemäld wäre rarer und dahero auch köstlicher; er wolle es nicht um zehen solcher Ecce-Homo manglen. Ich antwortet: 'Herr! ist Euer Herz wie Euer Mund?' Er sagte: 'Ich versehe michs.' Darauf sagte ich: 'So ist auch Euers Herzen Gott derjenige, dessen Conterfait Ihr mit dem Mund bekennet, das köstlichste zu sein.' – 'Phantast', sagte jener, 'ich ästimiere die Rarität'. *Grimmelshausens Werke*, ausgewählt und eingeleitet von S. Streller, vol. 1 (Berlin and Weimar, 1977), pp. 73–4. See also Feest, op. cit. [The collecting of American Indian artifacts], (note 1), p. 326.