

# The Collecting of American Indian Artifacts in Europe, 1493–1750

## History of Research

Five centuries after Europe began to invent and discover America, the question of the role that American Indian artifacts played in the shaping of this New World in the European consciousness must remain largely unanswered. Although such artifacts have supplied tangible evidence for the human nature of the indigenous inhabitants of the lands across the Atlantic ever since Columbus returned from his first voyage, serious interest in their study—and in the study of their collecting—has significantly lagged behind the critical examination of other sources available for an understanding both of native America and of its European perception.

This situation is itself an artifact of the history of research, and it illustrates in part the insignificant role and undeservedly minor academic status that ethnographic museums and their collections have played in anthropological and historical research. On the other hand, an understanding of the often now unique documents collected in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has suffered not only because they were separated from their original cultural context and meaning, but also due to the European contexts in which they were preserved.

The date of 1750, which marks the end of the period under consideration, coincides rather closely with a paradigmatic change in the collecting of nonEuropean artifacts in Europe. Spurred by the development of the new taxonomic systems of nature, the great voyages in the Age of Enlightenment (for which those by James Cook stand as the type specimen) returned with a rich harvest not only of natural history specimens, but also of ethnographic objects. While there was hardly a taxonomic system for the ethnographic material (other than a slowly emerging classification by “race”—i.e., “culture” in modern terminology—of the peoples who had produced these artifacts), there was at least a conscious effort to document some of the cultural context (however little understood) from which the artifacts were taken.

These new collections formed the basis for the first separate ethnographic departments within natural history cabinets or natural history museums, and ul-

timately ethnographic museums. What had remained of the collecting activities of earlier ages languished more or less forgotten as oddities in the art collections which had become the heirs of the old Kunst- and Wunderkammern.

The restructuring of the museum world in the second half of the nineteenth century and the development of professional anthropology within the framework of natural history museums led to the “discovery” of the early pieces for the new museums. Much like that of America, it was a discovery only in terms of a new paradigm, because these pieces had been there all along, often recognizably published in the catalogs of their former repositories, which the new curators of the ethnographic collections had never read and often continued to ignore.<sup>1</sup>

What was discovered were, of course, only the pitiful remnants of once much larger groups of objects. Under the most favorable conditions, such as those obtaining in Vienna, for example, the artifacts were then still part of integral collections, whose documentary history could be traced through a continuous succession of catalogs.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere, especially in northern Italy, these objects had partly become divorced from their history, were sold to passing visitors, who rarely kept sufficient records, and were finally often disposed of in auction sales.<sup>3</sup>

Of the objects which ended up in ethnographic collections, not all received the same amount of attention. Not unexpectedly, the pieces of featherwork and turquoise mosaic from Mexico were given the greatest prominence in displays and publications; Brazilian featherwork and weapons were noted at least in part, whereas the rest of the material was often at best recataloged. The small number of objects recovered was often seen as an indication of their unique nature, a view which influenced their interpretation and frequently led to rash attributions of provenance and meaning. Further contributing to many of the early misperceptions was the fact that the historical ethnography of the Americas of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was then still badly understood.

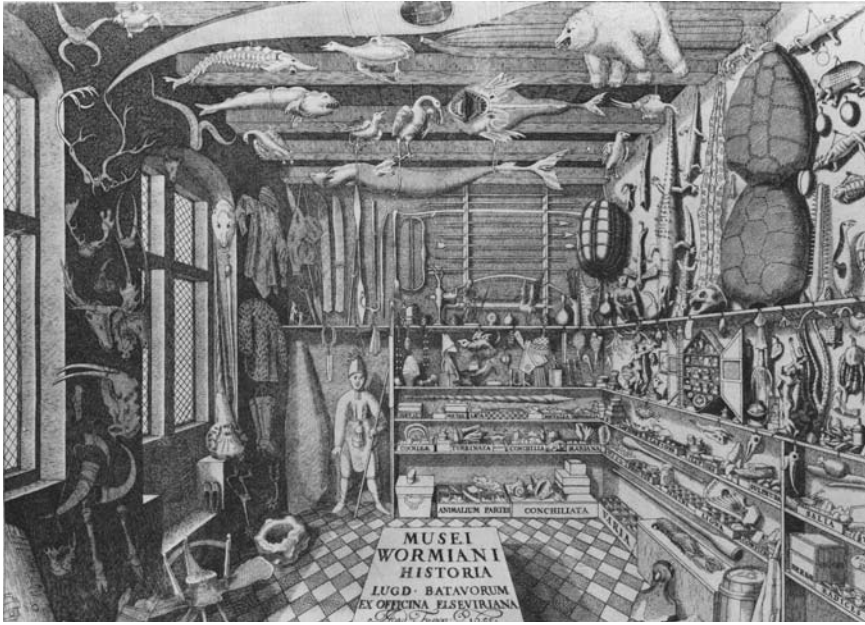
Professional ethnology and archaeology, which increasingly moved away from the museums to the universities, were concerned with the contextual information to be derived from field work and controlled excavations. The period between prehistory and the present, especially in its relation to the study of material documents, quickly reverted to the status of a Dark Age dominated by the myths created by curators who lacked historical training and proliferated by historians who lacked ethnographic expertise.

It is only within the last three decades that a new approach to the study of these objects has taken shape. The rise of ethnohistory, the emergence of non-European art history, and a renewed interest in the history of museums and of collecting have all contributed to a different appreciation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ethnographic objects as documents illuminating the histories of both the cultures which had produced them and which had collected them.

The European culture of collecting, which fully emerged in the sixteenth century from the tradition of late medieval treasuries, is generally associated with the term “Kunst- and Wunderkammern.” Assembled by princes and scholars, the encyclopedic nature of these collections was built on their representation of both the natural and the artificial, the works of God and the works of Man. In the absence of modern taxonomic models, the most outstanding principle of selection of the items to be included was their “rarity,” which might be based on the individual genius or skill of their maker, or on an origin far distant in time or space. In the course of their development, the princely collections tended to focus increasingly on “art,” whose emergence as a separate domain paralleled and was in part caused by the growth of the culture of collecting, yet some princely collections continued to include “natural curiosities.”<sup>4</sup>

Kunst- and Wunderkammern were unlike modern museums not only because of the different nature of their selective principles, but also because a focus on public education was generally absent. This does not necessarily mean that they were inaccessible to the public. One may recall the display in 1520 in Brussels of the treasures sent to Charles V from the “new golden land,” made famous by Dürer’s often-quoted diary entry;<sup>5</sup> one may also refer to the description of a visit to a princely *Kunstammer* by the picaresque hero in Grimmelshausen’s novel *Simplicissimus*.<sup>6</sup> Travel guide books alerted visitors to the more notable collections and their contents.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes, and more often in the case of scholarly collections, catalogs provided a fairly complete discussion of the objects. By the late seventeenth century, books began to be published in which readers were advised on how to organize their own collections. Obviously, the culture of collecting had spread to the middle class.

Space prevents a full listing of these collections,<sup>8</sup> but at least some of the major Kunst- and Wunderkammern, which also contained American material, should be noted here in an attempt to convey some sense of the distribution and the typological range of such collections. Among the colonial powers, the kings of Spain<sup>9</sup> and France<sup>10</sup> (but not of England) owned significant collections of this kind, none of which was published in catalogs at the time. The latter is also true of the Austrian Habsburg collections in Prague, Graz, and Ambras Castle near Innsbruck,<sup>11</sup> of the extensive Medici collections in Florence,<sup>12</sup> and of the equally important collection of the Bavarian kings in Munich.<sup>13</sup> A fairly cursory published catalog exists for the royal collection in Dresden,<sup>14</sup> and a very complete one for the royal Danish collection in Copenhagen.<sup>15</sup> Gottorp Castle in Schleswig housed the *Kunstammer* of Friedrich, duke of Gottorp, which had absorbed the Dutch collection of Bernhard Paludanus, and which would in turn be absorbed by the royal Danish collection.<sup>16</sup> Copenhagen also included the collection of Ole Worm, one of the most important scholarly collections north of the Alps.<sup>17</sup> In northern



Ole Worm's museum as illustrated in the frontispiece of Olaus Worm, *Museum Wormianum seu Historia Rerum Rariorum* (Leiden, 1655). John Carter Brown Library.

Italy the collections of Antonio Giganti, Ulisse Aldrovandi, and later Ferdinando Cospi of Bologna and that of Manfredo Settala of Milan were published in catalog form or to illustrate tracts of natural history.<sup>18</sup> Two printed catalogs also exist for the Jesuits' Musæum Kircherianum in Rome, but none is available for that of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, which included material sent back from the American missions.<sup>19</sup> In England a catalog of the extensive collection of John Tradescant was published before its acquisition by Elias Ashmole;<sup>20</sup> only a manuscript catalog exists for that of Sir Hans Sloane, which became the founding collection of the British Museum.<sup>21</sup> Another collection which ultimately became part of the British Museum was that of the Royal Society of London.<sup>22</sup> Published catalogs also exist for the *Theatrum Anatomicum* of the University of Leiden and of the collection of Levinus Vincent in Amsterdam.<sup>23</sup> For France, the collections of the *Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève* in Paris and of Paul Contant of Poitiers may be mentioned as examples of institutional and individual collecting.<sup>24</sup>

Much of the work of reevaluating the American materials in these collections in terms of their meaning for the European culture of collecting and their importance for our understanding of the cultures they partly represent remains to be done. But at least there is a growing awareness of the agenda for future research. It

may thus be useful, first of all, to survey the sources and discuss some of their problems before attempting to present some ideas on the collecting of American Indian artifacts in Europe before 1750, much of which will of necessity be highly anecdotal.

## Sources and Problems

Understandably, most of the past research has centered on the specimens surviving in European collections. It should be noted at the outset that the assignment of artifacts to this group may be based on two criteria. One, preferably, is the availability of records documenting the presence of such items in a European repository before a given cutoff date. The second is based on typological grounds, whenever there is reason to believe that an artifact of a certain type or style could not possibly have been made after a given date. Examples for such groups of objects would be Mexican turquoise mosaics, which should date from the sixteenth century, or Tupinamba clubs, which are unlikely to have been available after the seventeenth century. In many cases, assignments on the basis of type or style are presently still impossible.

In 1985 a survey of Mexican and South American artifacts surviving from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European collections (exclusive of pictorial manuscripts)<sup>25</sup> listed as coming from Mexico more than thirty pieces of featherwork (one headdress, four shields, one fan, and a group of pictures, trypticha, and bishops' miters of colonial origin);<sup>26</sup> twenty-three turquoise mosaics, about twenty small lapidary works, one wooden figurine, one amber figurine, three spear throwers,<sup>27</sup> two obsidian mirrors,<sup>28</sup> one shell-beaded skin apron,<sup>29</sup> and several groups of colonial pottery.<sup>30</sup> To these should be added a Mixtec golden finger ring and a colonial golden figurine.<sup>31</sup> The Mexican items add up to just above ninety objects in a more or less pre-Cortesian tradition plus a substantial number of colonial artifacts.

From the West Indies, just five Taino pieces (at least two of them early colonial) can lay claim to a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century pedigree. It is conceivable that some, especially wooden, objects that have survived without a clear history may have been collected during the same period, but others have been recovered archaeologically, such as the cotton *zemi* (a Taino term for supernatural beings and their representations) mistakenly included among the presumed *Kunstkammer* objects.<sup>32</sup>

Brazil is represented in the same survey by ten Tupinamba,<sup>33</sup> three Tarairiu, and more than a dozen long, square clubs from the Brazilian/Guyana borderlands,<sup>34</sup> nine anchor axes,<sup>35</sup> and a few bows;<sup>36</sup> about twenty pieces of featherwork; and more than a dozen miscellaneous items, including hammocks,<sup>37</sup> musical instru-

ments, ornaments, and other implements. To these should now be added a spear thrower, four oars, two trumpets, a necklace, a circular object, and a quiver.<sup>38</sup> These add up to more than ninety artifacts from lowland South America.<sup>39</sup>

From the Andean highlands comes a fairly well documented group of five wooden objects from Colombia, but virtually nothing else. Excluding the colonial Mexican pottery and some other artifacts which technically represent more of a Spanish than an indigenous tradition, the total number for Middle and South America comes to close to two hundred objects.<sup>40</sup>

Apart from the scarcity of Andean and the lack of Central American material in this group,<sup>41</sup> the absence of weapons from Mexico and of clothing other than featherwork is remarkable.

The evidence for objects from native North America in pre-1750 European collections was published more recently.<sup>42</sup> The Arctic is well represented by a group of perhaps a dozen kayaks, with the earliest two dated to 1606 and 1612, some paddles and oars, hunting gear, a woman's parka, a man's kayak shirt, snow goggles, drums, and a few ivory carvings. Objects from the Southeast include at least one basket, a rattle, and a few tobacco pipes. The majority of North American objects, however, originated in the northeastern Woodlands, from the Atlantic seaboard to the western Great Lakes and the eastern Subarctic, with a few Plains items interspersed. Weapons include more than a dozen ball-headed clubs and two bladed weapons, at least one quiver, but no bows and arrows; clothing is represented by one shell-beaded and several painted skin robes, a few quilled and/or painted coats and shirts, some pairs of quilled moccasins, and quilled and other ornaments; means of transportation are illustrated by at least one birchbark canoe model, one or two pairs of snowshoes, and a number of burdenstraps; among the objects of domestic and personal use are a bone comb, a bone spoon, a set of quilled birchbark bowls and some quilled bark boxes, one shell-beaded and several painted pouches with quilled fringe, a number of pouches and a basket decorated with false moose-hair or porcupine quill embroidery; items of at least partly ceremonial significance include two artificial wolf heads, two wooden staffs, several wampum belts and strings, and a number of tobacco pipes. The total number of approximately one hundred items would be substantially increased if all undocumented material that may have predated 1750 were included.

This select group of three hundred or so specimens, representing the non-archaeological survival of the material heritage of the native Americas in European repositories, however, is only the tip of the iceberg formed by the documentary evidence relating to European collecting of Native American specimens before 1750. Manuscript inventories and published catalogs exist both for collections that have maintained some sort of continuous existence as well as for those that were dispersed or destroyed.<sup>43</sup> Most of these descriptive sources have been used pri-

marily for the purpose of establishing a pedigree for surviving objects, whereas the study of these lists with a view toward the history of ethnographic collecting has been sadly neglected.<sup>44</sup> There is substantial variation in the value of these documents. In some cases, descriptions are barely sufficient to help the reader recognize an object even if it has survived, but there are instances where the written records even provide ethnographic information not available in other sources.<sup>45</sup> On the whole, the usefulness of catalogs and inventories increases with a detailed knowledge of the artifacts that might be described, which is why they are of minor interest to art historians who work with them more regularly—while they are often unknown to the curators of ethnographic collections.

Supplemental information on American objects displayed in Europe before 1750 is contained in travel books of the time and in the writings of visitors. The better guide books list and describe the more interesting objects either on the basis of now lost labels or of information offered by the collector or curator. Visiting savants rarely cover the ground as systematically as the books but often add insights based on their special interests.<sup>46</sup> There are also some eighteenth-century guide books to museums, which partly draw on published catalogs and descriptions but sometimes add new information.<sup>47</sup>

The majority of the catalogs and inventories are not illustrated,<sup>48</sup> although some catalogs offer at least an overall view of the collection as displayed,<sup>49</sup> while others picture a highly selected group of items in the form of woodcuts or engravings.<sup>50</sup> Since most of these collections were available at least to the scholarly public, illustrations of some of their contents occasionally also were published in other connections.<sup>51</sup> In a number of cases, pictures supply the only evidence for objects which must have been exhibited in European collections. The American drawings by and attributed to Burgkmair and Dürer, as well as some of the earliest woodcuts showing American Indians, were obviously based on artifacts which had become separated from their makers or owners, but which cannot presently be identified on inventories or lists of specific collections.<sup>52</sup> Illustrations of specimens likewise turn up in the correspondence and general papers of individual collectors, mostly in connection with objects offered them for sale and irrespective of whether they were ultimately bought.<sup>53</sup> Images of such artifacts may be of help in clarifying the identity of ambiguously described items, but they may likewise add to the ethnographic record when depicting now lost objects.

Documentation of the transfer from the American field to the European collection or between collections within Europe<sup>54</sup> are not at all common. On a history-of-collecting level, the latter situation is of significant interest for a better understanding of the mechanics of the early European market in Native American artifacts and of the mobility of the objects. Shipping lists, which exist for some of the earliest collections to be sent from Mexico,<sup>55</sup> may not only establish the final

link between today's museum object and its American cultural matrix, they also vividly illustrate how few of the items sent were ever entered into the inventories of collections.<sup>56</sup>

Reports on field collecting, the most critical juncture in the history of the cultural alienation of material documents, have received even less attention than some of the other sources. The most likely explanation is that only in a very few exceptional cases can surviving reports on collecting activities be matched with surviving objects. The documentary chain of evidence of what happened in the transfer from the original cultural context to another must therefore of necessity generally remain incomplete. Still, much needs to be learned about the principles involved in early field collecting if we want to arrive at a considered opinion either of the objects we would like to regard as important sources of Native American cultures or of the collection of American Indian artifacts in Europe.

One frequently overlooked type of collecting, for example, involved native peoples carried to Europe for a variety of reasons.<sup>57</sup> In some cases it might be said that the people themselves were collected, which is especially true of those Eskimos forcibly brought to England, to Denmark, or to the Netherlands, whose kayaks, other artifacts, and even bodies were deposited in collections after their death.<sup>58</sup> In late-seventeenth-century Paris, a North American visitor was flayed after his death at the Hôtel-Dieu in order to preserve his nicely tattooed skin.<sup>59</sup> But even natives who had not come as objects of curiosity were apparently approached by collectors wishing to add to their cabinets. The Four Kings of Canada, who in 1710 had come to London on a political errand, not only were made to contribute to the entertainment of the public but also left some of their baggage to British collectors. John Pointer's Museum Pointerianum included not only the "Indian Kings' Speech to Queen Ann" but also "An Indian Prince's Cane. Given me Richard Dashwood Esqr. of the Inner Temple, who beg'd it of the Prince for me."<sup>60</sup> The Thoresby collection in 1712 claimed to have received as a gift from John Cookson of London "a knife taken from one of the Mohawks at London, An. 1710." And among the objects assembled by Sir Hans Sloane, there were at least three thought to have been obtained from the distinguished visitors: a burden strap, a prisoner tie "from the Iroquois by the Indian kings," and "a long thin piece of wood ... which one of the Indian kings thrust down his throat. 'tis used as a remedy to cause vomiting as a proang tho it did not cause him to vomit."<sup>61</sup>

The artifacts sent in 1519 by Cortés to Charles V as part of the royal fifth due to the sovereign included—unknown to the Spanish—the costumes used in the impersonation of four gods, which Moctezuma, prompted by a series of omens, had forwarded to the conquistadors who landed in Vera Cruz.<sup>62</sup> Other artifacts were delivered as part of ceremonial exchanges, and still others were obtained as loot. Often artifacts were collected primarily as evidence for the presence of natural





Drawing attributed to Hans Burgkmair, ca. 1520, showing an African model wearing presumably South American featherwork and carrying an “anchor ax” from Brazil. Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.

resources in the New World, and this is as true of the golden ornaments from the civilizations of Mexico and the Andean highlands as of the belts of silk grass or the necklace of mountain lion claws taken from Virginia to England by William Strachey.<sup>63</sup> The demonstration of the possible usefulness of native crafts for Europeans was another reason for obtaining samples of such products. William Wood praised the New England natives' stone pipes and noted that "they be much desired of our English Tobaconists, for their rarity, strength, handsomenesse, and coolnesse."<sup>64</sup> Missionaries would preserve at least sample specimens of idols to document the need to spread the word of the gospel.<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, they might also encourage their new converts to show their gratitude to the European benefactors of the missions (and thus of their own salvation) by producing appropriate native gifts. In 1654 the French Jesuit Father Le Mercier supervised the manufacture of a wampum belt by the Catholic Hurons of St. Mary, which carried the inscription "Ave Maria Gratia Plena": it was sent to the Congregation of Our Lady in the Professed House of the Society of Jesus in Paris and may have ended up in the Jesuits' museum in Rome, where the same or a similar belt was described in 1709.<sup>66</sup>

When field collecting was done upon the request of European correspondents, it was not necessarily for a cabinet or museum. In 1687 William Byrd, a Virginian trader, sent to a gentleman in England "an Indian habitt for your boy, the best I could procure amongst our neighbour Indians."<sup>67</sup> But by the late sixteenth century, a market had developed in which dealers or agents in Europe supplied the owners of collections with whatever was needed. Hannibal of Hohenems, who sent what was believed to be Moctezuma's battle ax to Ferdinand II of Tyrol, was as much Ferdinand's agent as Johann Christoph Khevenhüller, who also supplied Rudolf II and Archduchess Maria of Graz with American items, or Philipp Hainhofer, who worked for several German princes. These dealers were in turn furnished with the needed objects by sources in America, which especially included missionaries.<sup>68</sup>

The survey of the types of sources to be used has already indicated that the history of collecting American Indian artifacts in Europe may be described as a history of losses: losses of the primary documents—the objects—and losses also of the secondary documentation that somehow links an artifact with its former context.

The loss of objects in actual numbers is staggering. Of approximately one hundred items of Americana listed in Tradescant's 1656 catalog, just over twenty have survived.<sup>69</sup> Only one of about twenty-five American and Greenlandic ethnographic specimens belonging to Ole Worm at the time of his death in 1654 can be today identified beyond doubt in the Danish National Museum, and a weaker case can be made for another three.<sup>70</sup> Of the extensive American section of the

Kunstammer of Albrecht V of Bavaria, only a single piece has come down from the early seventeenth century.<sup>71</sup> Around thirty pieces present in Prague in the 1620s have been reduced to three now in Vienna.<sup>72</sup> A higher survival rate is indicated for the thirteen items listed on the 1596 Ambras inventory of Ferdinand of Tyrol, of which ten remain in Vienna today, but nothing has survived of a somewhat smaller number of American objects in neighboring Ruhelust also belonging to Ferdinand.<sup>73</sup> The situation is not much different with respect to early-eighteenth-century collections: of about 250 American pieces in the Sloane collection, about thirty can be identified in the British Museum today.<sup>74</sup> Nothing seems to be left of Ralph Thoresby's collection in Leeds, which in 1712 included at least sixteen American artifacts.<sup>75</sup>

The case is obviously even worse when a survival rate is calculated on the basis of shipping lists. Of the hundreds of objects described on the very detailed lists available for objects sent to Spain from Mexico in the first years after the conquest, only two can be identified with some certainty among the survivors.<sup>76</sup> There were, of course, also substantial losses on the way from the New World to the Old, and even in the Americas. It is a well-documented fact that objects of pagan worship were indeed collected for the explicit purpose of being destroyed, although the claim that "more than 170,000 statues of this kind of idols [*zemis*] made of various kinds of materials were broken, destroyed, and burned by the priests of our order of Saint Benedict in the Island of Hispaniola alone" may be something of an overstatement.<sup>77</sup>

Whereas the wholesale destruction of items suspected of representing the work of the devil was more common in the Americas than in Europe, its influence on the low survival rate in places like late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain should not be underestimated. More important, however, were greed (in the case of works of precious metal, almost none of which has survived), negligence combined with changes in collectors' tastes (which doomed much of the featherwork), wars (in particular the Thirty Years' War), and the dispersal of collections. Mexican mosaics in Italian collections suffered terrible losses when lapidaries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries used what now would be regarded as precious works of art as sources of raw materials.

One of the reasons that estimates of the survival rate will always remain at best rough approximations stems from the fact that catalogs and inventories are deficient as far as provenances are concerned. Some items are listed without any indication of their origin. The Mexican feather fan now in Vienna, for example, could not be clearly recognized as such on the Ambras inventory of 1596 if it had not survived; the description is specific enough to remove any doubts about its identity, however, and the actual piece clearly shows its Mexican origin. Once the identity is accepted, a similar origin may be guessed for similarly described items elsewhere.<sup>78</sup>

Almost as bad is the case whenever objects are designated as “Indian.” This is particularly the case in German and English catalogs,<sup>79</sup> whereas Spanish lists often distinguish between “India” and “Las Indias,”<sup>80</sup> and the French generally use “Americains.”<sup>81</sup> In the early sixteenth century, “Calicut” is sometimes used instead of “India” and carries the same ambiguity.” Whether such items can be unequivocally assigned to Asia or the Americas depends, again, upon the details supplied by the description. A similar problem is presented by the use of the term “Moorish” instead of “Mexican.”<sup>83</sup>

More specific terms encountered in the written records are “West Indian,” “American,” “Brazilian,” “Canadian,” “Greenlandic,” or “Floridian,” “Virginian,” “Mexican,” or “Peruvian.” These may sometimes be mistaken, but more often than not they at least point in the right direction. Specific peoples are rarely mentioned before the eighteenth century. A wampum belt is identified as “Huron” in the *Musæum Kircherianum*, and several items from Surinam are attributed to the “Caraihs” in the catalog of a collection in the Alsatian Chateau de Ribeauville in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>84</sup> “Cherekee,” “Mohawk,” “Iroquois,” and “Esquemo” appear in early-eighteenth-century English catalogs.<sup>85</sup>

Misattributions can sometimes be recognized because of the obvious contradiction between the description and the provenance, such as when a snowshoe from the North American subarctic is referred to as “Greenlandic.”<sup>86</sup> Changes in the attribution from one inventory to another of the same collection are not always for the better: in Prague, an “Indian boat of leather” (most likely a kayak) became a “leathern Japanese little ship” between 1621 and 1737.<sup>87</sup> An Iroquoian pipe head in Ole Worm’s collection was thought to be “Brazilian” in 1655, a “West Indian tobacco pipe called ‘Calicot’” in 1673, and consequently “East Indian” in 1690; had this particular item not survived, it would have been difficult to guess its actual origin.<sup>88</sup> Further changes in the records made in the nineteenth century attribute some American objects to places such as Tahiti, New Zealand, China, or Madagascar.<sup>89</sup>

Whereas the attributions supplied by the catalogs are often of little help in identifying actual provenance, they do illustrate an early modern generalization of “otherness,” which only gradually gave way to an awareness of the differences between the various cultures thus grossly equated. It was only by the mid-eighteenth century that specific “races” (however misconstrued themselves by even more specific contemporary standards) became the focal point for ethnographic collecting.<sup>90</sup>

Illustrations may, of course, be rather helpful in correcting misattributions: based on published images, we can be sure that a “West Indian” *zemi* from the *Kunstkammer* in Graz was indeed a Javanese kris.<sup>91</sup> This discovery, in turn, has led to the reconsideration of a “Mexican idol” in Kassel as a kris.<sup>92</sup>

## American Representation

A German treatise of 1707 on how to organize a cabinet or museum offers specific suggestions as to which objects would be suitable to be included among the “Foreign Rarities,” some of which are also illustrated on the accompanying plates. The section on clothing and implements might, for example, encompass a Brazilian feather crown and feather skirt, a Floridian feather crown, and a Mexican women’s skirt, next to Cairene women’s shoes, Egyptian women’s shoes and bonnet, an Ethiopian sun shade, a Chinese Mandarin hat, a Japanese sun shade and women’s bonnet, Japanese seals and writing implements, a Muscovite hat and whip, and a Laplander’s skis. Exotic weapons and armor could include a Brazilian shield, a Greenlandic boat and paddle, a Singhalese fighting hat, as well as a Japanese helmet, shot pouch, standard, pike, saber, and halberd. To illustrate idolatry, Mexican idols of wood and “northern, malformed images from Greenland, decorated with furs, feathers, and fishbone” are suggested along with Indian idols of porcelain, ivory, clay, or metal, “called zemmes.” Judging from the illustrations, American ethnography was also placed in the section on ancient weapons, where a Brazilian anchor ax is featured as an ancient sacrificial hatchet, and in the natural history section, where one of a pair of Brazilian garters made of fruit shells is used to illustrate the fruits.<sup>93</sup>

Whereas the selections reflect some of the things commonly found in collections of the day, the nice balance between American, Asian, and African objects reflected in it was hardly ever achieved. In part, the representation of the Americas was linked to colonial interests of the collectors’ countries in the New World. Thus, it is not surprising that two-thirds of Sir Hans Sloane’s ethnographic objects came from North America, and an even higher percentage of the Spanish royal collections derived from Spanish America.<sup>94</sup> In central European collections, on the other hand, the New World fared less well. Of 260 artificial curiosities in the Kundmann collection in Breslau, only three or four were American, one African, but sixty-one Asian (covering the continent from Turkey and Persia through India to China and Japan).<sup>95</sup> Even in the Netherlands, where there was no shortage of Brazilian and Arctic American material, a famous collection such as the *Theatrum Anatomicum* in Leiden listed twenty European and eighteen Asian artifacts next to just five from the Americas and one each from the Pacific and Africa—the latter in addition to seventeen Egyptian antiquities.<sup>96</sup>

There are, however, some similarities in how the Americas were represented in these collections beyond the local differences in access to specific groups of objects. The following survey is far from exhaustive and is based on only a small sample of the existing evidence.

Eskimo material, mostly from Greenland and usually referred to as such, was present in many of the early collections, from Sweden to Italy and from England to



Mexican deity with two horns, probably Mixtec. Listed on the 1590 inventory of the Kunstkammer in Graz as “a Moorish face with several turquoise and two large pearls, on it three precious stones and a large pearl lost,” the origin of the object would be impossible to ascertain in the absence of the item itself. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.

Bohemia. Apart from objects derived from Frobisher's voyages, Canadian Eskimo artifacts hardly occur much before 1700 and then primarily in British collections.<sup>97</sup>

The type specimen for "Greenlanders" was indeed, as the German treatise of 1707 suggests, the kayak, together with its paddles and, somewhat less commonly, hunting gear. Apart from the kayaks already noted among the surviving pre-1750 pieces, they can be documented for Prague, Copenhagen, Lambeth, Vlissingen, Gottorp, Leiden, Leipzig, London, Edinburgh, Burray, and Frankfurt.<sup>98</sup> John Davis is said to have collected five kayaks, and in 1656 Nicolas Tunes brought "a large number" of them to Vlissingen.<sup>99</sup>

Eskimo hunting gear and oars without kayaks are on record in Amsterdam and Leipzig, and clothing of fur, bird skin, and fish entrails in Copenhagen, Lambeth, and Amsterdam.<sup>100</sup> Although the sealskin garment in the Cospi collection had a label identifying it as a "coat of an Indian priest," Sturm's claim that a good museum should include fur and bone idols from Greenland is based on a single item described and illustrated from the Gottorp collection.<sup>101</sup> Sloane misidentifies a canoe fitting as "An Indian God of the Inhabitants about Hudsons Bay."<sup>102</sup>

North American boats also entered European collections at an early date. In 1599 Walter Cope had in his London house "A long narrow Indian canoe, with the oars and sliding planks, hung from the ceiling." In 1603 a group of "Virginians" paddled their boat on the River Thames in London, while three years later another one was brought back from Canada by the Sieur de Monts.<sup>103</sup> The latter was clearly described as a birchbark canoe, but the "Virginian" boat may have been a dugout. Contant's collection in Poitiers included a "boat called a Canoe, 18 foot long, from a single bark of an Indian tree called Ceiuas," which the accompanying illustration clearly shows to have been a Beothuk birchbark canoe. A century later, Bonanni illustrates a model of a birchbark boat from the Jesuit collections in Rome.<sup>104</sup>

Based on the pipes surviving in Copenhagen, identified as "Indian" and "Brazilian" on the early inventories,<sup>105</sup> it is tempting to think of several similarly described pipes as North American. Among them are the two "Brazilian" pipes of clay in the Cospi collection, three wooden pipes, "one of them very big," in the *Theatrum Anatomicum* in Amsterdam, three others with the images of "Indian idols" in the Roeter collection in Amsterdam, and yet three more in Leipzig as from northeastern North America.<sup>106</sup> An Iroquois provenance of a tobacco pipe "made of marble, very curious" recorded in 1670 in La Rochelle may be deduced from the context in which it occurs.<sup>107</sup> The Sloane collection included an "Indian Calumet or stone pipe of peace" from New England; the Thoresby collection in Leeds had the "head of a Calumet" of white stone, which had "embossed upon it three Heads of their Kings, or rather Deities."<sup>108</sup> Four Virginian clay pipes from the same collection, however, may not have been of native manufacture.

Apart from the surviving wampum belts and strings, Contant's "Belt of pieces of

shell money,” if indeed a wampum belt, may be the earliest known example to have entered a European collection. By 1669 the Royal Society had received three belts, two strings, and two pairs of bracelets as a gift from Governor John Winthrop of Connecticut. Similar to the belts preserved at Chartres and in Paris must have been one also made by Hurons and inscribed “Ave Maria Gratia Plena” in the Musæum Kircherianum in Rome. Another wampum belt had survived in the collection of the Collegium Propaganda Fide in Rome, only to be lost within the last eighty years.<sup>109</sup> A wampum bracelet is on record in Thoresby’s collection in Leeds. One belt each is illustrated in the description of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and in the 1706 catalog of Levinus Vincent’s collection. A whole “suit of clothes, with coat, trousers and sword belt, entirely of their money ... threaded and worked with all kinds of animals” was made by some natives of New Sweden for Governor Printz, while William Byrd of Virginia sent to John Clayton in England “a cap of wampum.”<sup>110</sup>

The most easily identified North American weapon is the ball-headed club, and it is also one that has survived in substantial numbers in England, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, France, and Italy. A fine example, inlaid with shell, was seen among the objects brought by the Sieur Monts from Acadia in 1606 by Fabri de Peiresc.<sup>111</sup> An exquisite description is given of another one sent from North Carolina in Thoresby’s catalog. The same catalog also lists a stone-bladed weapon inlaid with wampum and copper (“brass annulets”) similar to the two surviving examples in Copenhagen and Stockholm.<sup>112</sup>

A bow was brought from Canada by the Sieur de Monts in 1606, and specimens from both Canada and Virginia were among the “Bowes, Arrowes, Quivers, Darts” in the Tradescant collection. An “Indian” bow and arrows owned by Thoresby may also have been from North America.<sup>113</sup>

Complete sets of men’s and women’s clothing from New France are illustrated by Bonanni; various Virginian “Match-coats” and habits and shoes from Canada are listed by Tradescant. But such artifacts were clearly not abundant in pre-1750 collections. Whether the “Indian girdle” in the Tradescant collection was North American cannot be ascertained, Thoresby had one that had belonged to the daughter of an Indian “queen” of Maryland, which was probably of the same type as the women’s girdles of “silk grass” collected a century earlier in Virginia by William Strachey.<sup>114</sup> Not surprisingly, only English collections make reference to Virginia or other specific British colonies in North America.<sup>115</sup>

In 1670 the Sieur de Bernonville had in his collection in La Rochelle “the personal equipment of a savage chief,” including moccasins, “two halters with which he bound poor Christian prisoners,” and various trophies of “Christians slain in battle” and “of enemies the chief has eaten.” The halters for prisoners in particular make an Iroquois attribution of this group very likely.<sup>116</sup>



Despite the prominence of Florida in Sturm's "ideal cabinet," objects bearing this designation are extremely rare in collection records. Aldrovandi shows a "queen from the island of Florida" wearing a feather wig from the Giganti collection, which is more likely to have been of Brazilian origin (see also below). Settala illustrates a spear from Florida and refers to a bow as coming from the same area. The wooden head of an idol, said to be from Florida, listed on the 1598 inventory of the Kunstkammer in Munich and illustrated by Pignoria in 1626 is certainly from Florida in a wide sense of the word. It is also one of the few North American "idols" in the early collections. Another one, also from "Florida," was in the seventeenth-century collection of Don Vicencia Juan de Lastanosa; yet another one was collected in early colonial Virginia by the Reverend Alexander Whitaker.<sup>117</sup>

Whereas the records frequently refer to the "West Indies," this cannot necessarily be understood as referring to the Caribbean islands, but generally as an attempt to specify an American rather than East Indian origin. A "West Indian" apron described and illustrated by Olearius has survived and can be identified as northwest Mexican or Californian. Some of the specimens called "West Indian" are in fact from Brazil, whereas none of the few surviving Taino items was called anything specific on the inventories. A *zemi* made of shell beads in the Munich collection that can be identified as of Taino origin was said to be from Mexico and a gift of Francisco Ximenes, the archbishop of Toledo, who had died in 1517, before the first Spanish contacts in Mexico. Petrus Martyr de Angleria writes of sending four cotton *zemis* to another churchman, and indeed many such pieces must have ended up in early collections. Finally, a Taino *duho* (or wooden stool), is shown on a drawing among the papers of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc; it is not known whether this was in his collection, but it illustrates the fact that such items were available in Europe in the seventeenth century.<sup>118</sup>

"A boat with its oars, which is used by the inhabitants of the Antilles" in the cabinet of S. Victor in Brussels is one of the few explicit and believable references to the West Indies; a rush basket from the Barbados in the Thoresby collection is another.<sup>119</sup>

"Mexico" is also a relatively rare attribution encountered in the records. The mistaken provenance of the Taino piece just mentioned is the only case where the Munich inventory, which includes many clearly identifiable Mexican objects, makes reference to Mexico.<sup>120</sup> Nor do any of the Spanish or Austrian Habsburg inventories from 1661 to the mid-eighteenth century use such a label. The only indirect reference, contained in the designation "Montezuma's battle ax," is again a mistake, since the surviving object is clearly Brazilian. A similar mistake involving an Indonesian kris described in Kassel as a "Mexican idol" has been noted above.<sup>121</sup>

The picture was different in Italy, where Aldrovandi, Cospi, and others do (and often correctly) refer to artifacts as Mexican. The fact that some of the surviving

Mexican objects can be traced through minor collections in the German provinces, however, may be taken as a clue that the problem of identifying Mexican material is not due to its rarity.<sup>122</sup>

This situation, however, makes it rather difficult to cull from the records information on which Mexican objects were favored by collectors. Based on the surviving specimens, it is obvious that featherwork, small stone sculptures of various kinds, and turquoise mosaics (including masks, sacrificial knives, and animal-shaped mirror frames) were the most common.<sup>123</sup> Textiles and gold jewelry were certainly also present, as indicated by the 1524 Mecheln inventory and the Spanish Habsburg lists, but are difficult to trace—partly because they were melted.<sup>124</sup> Two Mexican textiles are mentioned in the *Musæum Kircherianum*, but only a maguey fiber thread in Ole Worm's collection.<sup>125</sup>

Most surprising is the absence of clearly identifiable Mexican weapons, especially when compared to the number of clubs from North America and Brazil. Apart from feather or turquoise mosaic shields and spear throwers, only one spear from Mexico survived into the nineteenth century, before it was destroyed at the Real Armería in Madrid. Even among the artifacts listed in 1524 in Mecheln there were only a few spears, but no clubs.<sup>126</sup>

By the end of the sixteenth century, one type of Mexican artifact, feather pictures, was greatly sought by collectors. These can be easily detected in the records, although they are hardly ever called Mexican (and, indeed, are sometimes labeled "Peruvian." The reason for their popularity was the incredible technical perfection, which made viewers frequently touch them in order to make sure they were not painted.<sup>128</sup>

As far as Brazil is concerned, identification is made somewhat easier by more frequent references to a Brazilian origin, and by the assumption that we can recognize at least some Brazilian pieces on the basis of their description. Whether this assumption is really warranted is somewhat doubtful. There can be no doubt, however, that there was much featherwork from Brazil in pre-1750 collections. A number of Tupinamba feather mantles have survived and another one is clearly illustrated by Settala; Terzaghi's catalog of the Settala collection identifies this and other pieces of featherwork as belonging to "Indian priests."<sup>129</sup> An illustration in the catalog of Vincent's collection in Amsterdam shows what may be another one, as well as Tupinamba back ornaments and other likely Brazilian feather pieces. Contant lists "garments of various feathers," which are likely to have been of Brazilian origin. An "Indian mantle of various parrot feathers, lined with red cloth and decorated with golden borders" in Prague was perhaps Mexican rather than Brazilian. Another Prague inventory, however, describes a "large naked woman, formed of materia [plaster], with an Indian mantle of red feathers." It is not clear whether the two were the same item; if so, the second piece could be mistaken for a

Brazilian feather mantle.<sup>130</sup> The Royal Society of London likewise had an “Indian Mantle; also made of feathers,” but a “Match-coat from Virginia of feathers” in the Tradescant collection at least suggests an alternative provenance.<sup>131</sup>

Aldrovandi pictures a “savage” man and a “Floridian” woman both wearing feather hoods or wigs, which appear to relate in type to similar Brazilian pieces preserved in Copenhagen.<sup>132</sup> “An Indian Peruque, Made not of Hair, but Feathers” in the Royal Society and one almost identically described in Ralph Thoresby’s collection may belong to the same group. Thoresby also had “The Crown of an Indian King, the inside is made of split cane,” which is reminiscent of other Brazilian pieces in Copenhagen.<sup>133</sup> Most of the other featherwork, however, is described without sufficient precision to be attributed to Brazil. Some items may only be guessed to have been made of feathers, such as the “several crowns which the Queen in America has worn” in Walter Cope’s collection, a “frontlet of the same feathers,” and “several Indian capes made of parrot feathers” in the Lorenz Hoffmann collection in Halle, “an Indian belt plaited of feathers of various colors” in Ulm, or a “crown of a king of the savages of America”; others may not even have been American at all.<sup>134</sup>

Brazilian bark cloth, variously colored, is noted in Terzaghi’s catalog of the Settala collection.<sup>135</sup>

Of weapons, a great number of Brazilian bows still remain from early collections. Of two bows illustrated from Settala’s museum, one is covered with a plaited decoration similar to the surviving bow in Brussels. The same collection included arrows, one of them clearly a Brazilian whistling arrow. On the other hand, none of Tradescant’s bows and arrows are listed as Brazilian, yet the surviving bow is thought to be of that origin. Grew lists a “West-Indian” bow, arrows, and quiver. No provenance is indicated for various arrows, spears, daggers, and a shield in Contant’s collection.<sup>136</sup>

A Tupinamba club is recognizably described and called “Brazilian” on the Prague inventory of 1607–11; another, labeled “Indian,” was in Ambras, either of which may be the piece now in Vienna. Contant’s “Indian club of ebony” and “another club of Orobotan wood” as well as Settala’s “Brazilian club of very hard wood” and “another Brazilian club” may also belong here.<sup>137</sup> Anchor axes were probably intended by descriptions in Munich and Halle. The Royal Society collection featured “A Tamahauke, or Brasilian Fighting-Club,” but the generic term for clubs and hatchets does not allow a precise identification (Tradescant, however, did include the long square clubs from the Brazilian/Guyana region under this term).<sup>138</sup>

“Indian morris-bells of shells and fruits” in the Musæum Tradescantianum are identifiable as Brazilian through an illustration in Johnson’s edition of Gerard’s *Herball*, which identifies the nuts as “Ahouay Theueti”; a similar item survives in

Copenhagen (probably from Gottorp, where Olearius describes and illustrates them). A pair of such leg rattles is illustrated by Aldrovandi; others were in Poitiers (“bundle of the fruit Auoy Indico”), Milano, and apparently in Prague. A “bunch of Indian wooden bells” in Ruhelust also may be related to this group. This artifact type very appropriately also figures in Sturm’s “ideal” cabinet.<sup>139</sup>

Peru was rather poorly represented in the collections, especially outside of Spain. Various items, including idols of stone, textiles, and examples of metalwork, are listed in the collections of Charles V and Philip II, who had specifically requested the viceroy of Peru to send samples of that country’s crafts. Some of these were preserved at the Palacio del Buen Retiro in 1667.<sup>140</sup> Peruvian shoes were a popular item also outside Spain; apart from Siamancas, we have records for the Tradescant collection and Leiden.<sup>141</sup> Otherwise, only isolated items show up: a bag in the Musæum Kircherianum, bark cloth textiles in the Settala collection, a “passport which the King of Peru had given to the English, artificially written on wood” in Walter Cope’s collection in 1602, or “two beautifully worked coconuts of the island Peru, from which the women use to drink” in the pre-1683 Lorentzen collection in Leipzig (and more likely of Brazilian origin).<sup>142</sup>

Settala’s museum is almost unique in having several items attributed to Chile and Paraguay. Another reference to Chile occurs in the Gottorp collection in connection with the desiccated body of an Indian, formerly one of a pair owned by Paludanus.<sup>143</sup>

Apparently regarded as typical for America were stone lip plugs. One in Leiden is called a “West Indian Cassuwe stone, of greenish color, such as the kings of America put into the lower lip when they decorate themselves.” Others are listed by Contant and Tradescant. No provenance is indicated in either case.<sup>144</sup>

A favorite item in pre-1750 collections were hammocks (see also above for surviving specimens). They were not only mentioned for the Brazilian Tupinamba by Montaigne in *Des cannibales* but are clearly recognizable in catalogs and inventories even where no provenance is supplied: “An Indian bed of netted work,” 1596 in Ruhelust; five “Indian beds,” four of them netted, one woven, 1598 in Munich; another one each, 1611 in Stettin, 1616 in Tours (“a piece of material from woven wood, in which forest people of the Indies sleep”), and 1650 in Prague; two in Milano, said to be from Brazil and Paraguay, respectively; a total of five, 1668 in Graz; “a Hamack or net, which the Americans tie between two trees and sleep therein,” in Leiden; others in the Royal Society collection and in the Musæum Kircherianum. An “Indian bed” is also mentioned in Strasbourg in 1618. The hammock in Rome was called Mexican; two now in Copenhagen were referred to in Gottorp as from the coastal regions of Brazil. The Ribeauville collection lists “a ball of cotton from Surinam, which the Caraib women spin on their spindles and of which the knit their hamac.” It is indeed likely that various regions were represented in thus group.<sup>145</sup>

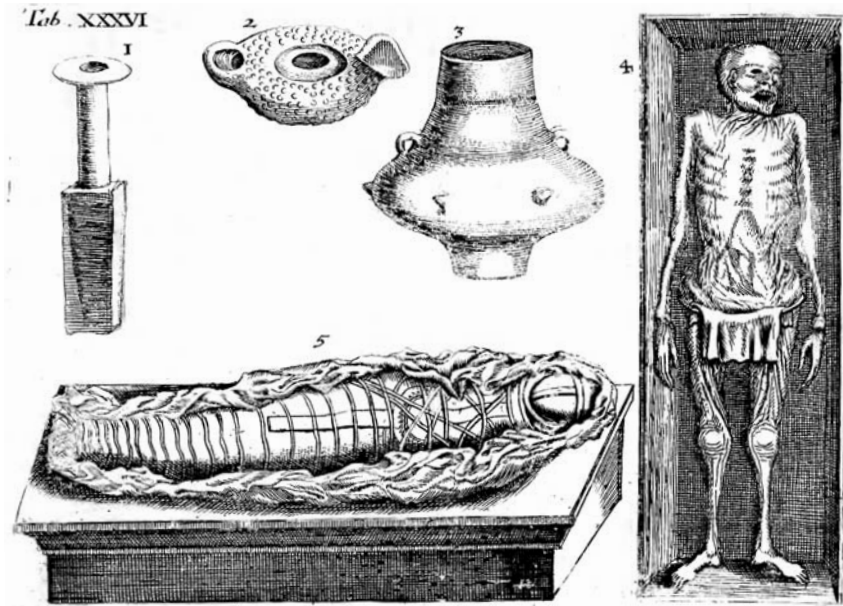
The same is true of various kinds of bread found in several collections: Siamancas had “pan de las Yndias,” Contant “bread of a floury tree, called Cassau or Yucca,” Christoph Weickmann in Ulm “bread of Yucca Canedana,” Copenhagen “bread of Yuca Casavi,” Tradescant “Cassava Bread 2 sorts,” the Royal Society of London “Cassavi-Bread,” the Musæum Kircherianum “Brazilian bread called Mandioca,” Levinus Vincent in Amsterdam “bread of the root Cassave,” and Thoresby “Cassada-bread.”<sup>146</sup>

## Order and Appreciation

European collecting seriously began and developed during the 250 years following Christopher Columbus’s first voyage across the Atlantic. While the discovery of the New World was not the cause of this development, the collecting of American Indian artifacts certainly profited from it. Within this period several types of collections emerged and established different paradigms for the organization of the material and for the place that American ethnographic material could possibly be assigned in it.<sup>147</sup>

Without wishing to simplify a complex matter, one may say that, apart from the distinction between the princely collections (which often reflected the ideas of domination and representation) and those of scholars (whose quest was for knowledge), there were distinctions according to the organization of the cabinets. The two major systematic principles involved in how a collection was set up were material and subject matter. Ferdinand of Tyrol’s *Kunstammer* in Ambras was displayed according to the material of the items: most of the American items were in the feather case, but there was also a case for lapidary work, or one for wooden objects. Ole Worm likewise organized his museum according to the material from which the items were made, and in this he was certainly influenced by Aldrovandi, in whose collection the artificial rarities were inserted among the natural substances from which they had been made.<sup>148</sup>

The other principle may be illustrated by referring to the *Kunstammer* in Copenhagen, which after 1680 was divided into such entities as the Heroic Cabinet (featuring the kings and great men), the Cabinet of Natural Objects, or the Cabinet of Medals, with most of the Americana in the Indian Cabinet.<sup>149</sup> In this connection “India” stands, of course, for exotic places in general. An Indian Cabinet which existed in Dresden, for example, was regarded as especially memorable for its “foreign Indian rarities and naturalia” and was located next to a “cabinet with many Turkish and other nations’ weapons” and another one “wherein are sundry Turkish, Roman, Greek, and other nations’ habits.”<sup>150</sup> Tradescant’s American ethnographic material was featured under five different headings: “Mechanick artificiall Works in Carvings, Turnings, Sowings, and Paintings,” “Variety of Rari-

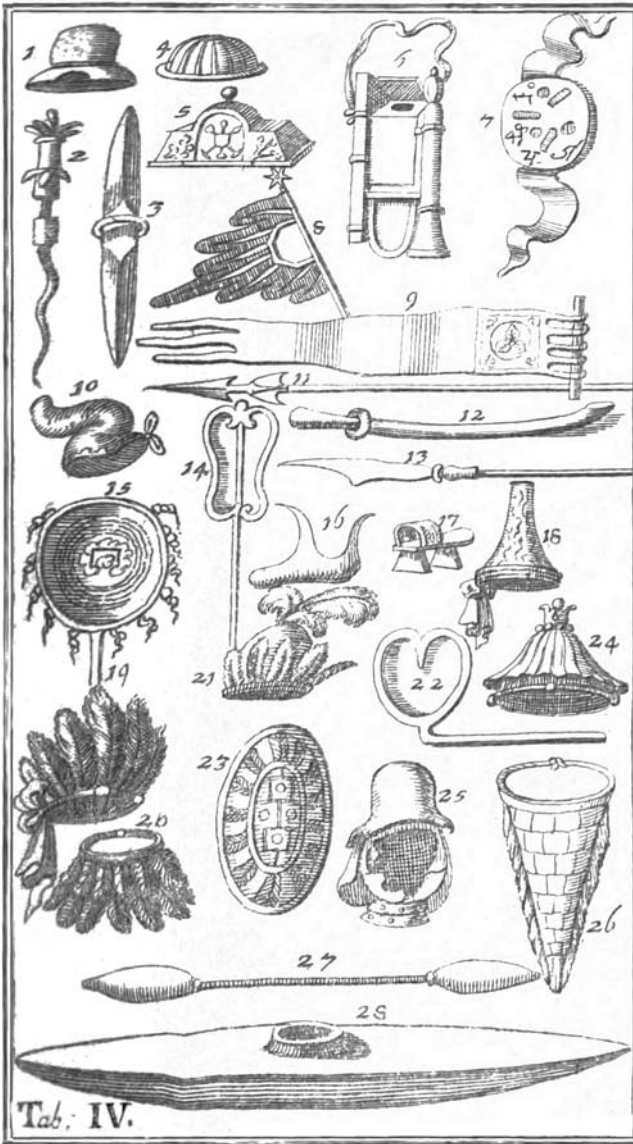


Mummy or “dried Indian,” attributed to “Chili,” from the collection of Bernhard Paludanus, later displayed in the Gottorp Kunstkammer. Adam Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Kammer* (Schleswig, 1674), pl. xxvi. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

ties” (which foreshadows Sloane’s “Miscellanies” section as the appropriate place for ethnography), “Warlike Instruments,” “Garments, Vestures, Habits, Ornaments;” and “Utensils.”

Few collectors probably followed the detailed outline of an ideal collection proposed by Sturm in 1707. Here the American objects would be in the third chamber, devoted to “Exotic Rarities,” preceded by Antiquities and the Treasure, and followed by Naturalia, the Kunstkammer of European *artificialia* (including a special section on “Amateur and Women’s Art”), Mathematical and Physical Curiosities, Garden, Orchard, and Zoo. “Exotic Rarities” were subdivided into four sections: “Clothing and utensils of foreign heathen nations,” “Idols and sacrificial vessels of the heathen, who remain in our times,” “Armory of all contemporary foreign nations,” and “All kinds of rarities of the Turkish, Jewish, and Popish religion” (“Matters relating to the Romish superstition” also held a special place in Thoresby’s museum).<sup>151</sup>

This classification also uses the term “Memorabilia” as a synonym for “Exotic rarities.”<sup>152</sup> One important feature of collecting in general was indeed the stress on the memorable, which in turn frequently manifested itself in the presumed association of objects with notable persons. This also applied to Native



“Exotic rarities” in the “ideal cabinet.” Next to Japanese military equipment and dress items, an Egyptian ladies’ shoe, a Sami ski, and headgear from Egypt, Muscovy, and Sri Lanka are featured featherwork (nos. 19 and 20) and a shield (no. 23) from Brazil, a feather crown (no. 21) from Florida, a Mexican apron (no. 26), and a Greenlandic kayak and paddle (nos. 28 and 27). [J. C. Sturm], *Des Geöffneten Ritter-Platzes Dritter Theil* (Hamburg, 1707), pl. iv. Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

American artifacts, although certain limitations were imposed by the small number of famous, named individuals. But designations like “Pohatan, King of Virginia’s habit,” “the sword of Quoniambec,” “the mighty king Muttazuma of Mexico’s battle ax,” or “the costumes of Moctezuma” raised at least a few select items above the sea of American anonymity.<sup>153</sup>

Evidence for the perception of America and its native peoples in the context of early European collections as “savage” rather than “royal” is found in entries such as “two pipes made of the legs which have been eaten by the cannibals of America,” “necklaces made by the American Indians from the teeth of their vanquished enemies,” “a Brazilian field apron made from the skin of their killed enemies,” “an American apron of the people who go naked there,” or “a suchlike little pouch, wherein the Americans use to put the cut off heads of their enemies.”<sup>154</sup> On the whole, however, the descriptions are neutral or appreciative of the workmanship of American artifacts, except in the case of “idols,” which were often regarded as ugly.

But no matter how the collections were structured, it is obvious that with rare exceptions there was no separate representation of the Americas. Among the exceptions was the Mauritshuis in The Hague, where Johan Maurits of Nassau had assembled “many rarities from America.” Aldrovandi kept catalogs according to the “regions and places from which various things have originated,” but the organization of his published works seems to indicate that this was only a supplemental index.<sup>155</sup> If there was an organization by place, it followed the simple division of “domestic” versus “foreign” (the latter eventually including, as we have seen, both Native American artifacts and curiosities relating to the “Romish superstition”).

Typical for pre-1750 collections was probably the definition of a “cabinet” by Neickelius: “But since a curious one finds his entertainment and pleasure as well in *Naturalibus* as in things of art, antiquities, coins, medals, and such like, he can very well so arrange his Chamber or Cabinet, that he may collect and preserve therein something of all of the above said: and since there are many different things in one case next to one another, so one calls such a receptacle a Chamber of Rarities or Cabinet.”<sup>156</sup>

Given the organization of the ethnographic material in collections before 1750, it is obvious that the majority of the viewers were unlikely to differentiate between American objects and those from other far-off lands. What likely impressed visitors most was the very variety of strange and never-before-seen artificial rarities. Renward Cysat of Lucerne, who in 1613 inspected the cabinet of Felix Platter in Basel, expressed his amazement at the sight of “Heathen, Turkish, Moorish, Canibal, Indian, Japanese things cx antipodibus and from the New World, of their idols, habits, armor, arms, and suchlike, so that one is thereof smitten and forgets to shut the mouth.”<sup>157</sup>



Gasping speechlessness before all those “marvellous artificial things” that caused reflection on the “subtle ingenuity of people in foreign lands” was not only experienced by Dürer in 1520 in front of the things sent to Charles V from the “new golden land”; it was a recurrent sensation for many who looked at the material evidence for the otherness defining the self that had been assembled in European collections.<sup>158</sup> As “Indian rarities,” whether from the Americas or from elsewhere, their decontextualized and bewildering variety helped to construct in a visual and immediate mode the notion of the antipodal Other that was America.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge his gratitude to all his colleagues, but especially to George R. Hamell, J. C. H. King, and William C. Sturtevant, who over the years have shared with him their knowledge of the collecting and the collections of American Indian artifacts in Europe.

#### NOTES

1. Cf., for example, Christian F. Feest, “Vienna’s Mexican Treasures: Aztec, Mixtec, and Tarascan Works from Sixteenth Century Austrian Collections,” *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 44 (1990): 4-

2. Franz Heger, “Altmexikanische Reliquien aus dem Schlosse Ambras in Tirol,” *Annalen des k.k. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseums* 7 (1892): 379–400.

3. Elizabeth Carmichael, *Turquoise Mosaics from Mexico* (London, 1970).

4. See, for example, Barbara J. Balsiger, “The ‘Kunst- und Wunderkammern’: A Catalogue Raisonné of Collecting in Germany, France, and England, 1565–1750” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1970), 540–83; Elisabeth Scheicher, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Habsburger* (Vienna, 1979), 12–43; Arthur MacGregor, “Collectors and Collections of Rarities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Tradescant’s Rarities: Essays of the Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (Oxford, 1983), 70–97; Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds., *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinets of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 1985); Adalgia Lugli, *Naturalia et Mirabilia: Il collezionismo enciclopedico nelle Wunderkammern d’Europa* (Milano, 1983); Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renée Kistemaker, eds., *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse Kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1992). For the relationship between collecting and the origins of “art” as a separate domain, see Joseph Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions* (New Haven and London, 1982).

5. Cf. Christian F. Feest, “‘Selzam ding von gold da von vill ze schreiben were’: Bewertungen amerikanischer Handwerkskunst im Europa des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Jahrbuch der Willibald-Pirckheimer-Gesellschaft* (1992), 105–26.

6. Siegfried Streller, ed., *Grimmelshausens Werke*, 4 vols., Bibliothek Deutscher Klassiker (Berlin and Weimar, 1977), 1:73–74.

7. See, for example, Martin Zeiller, *Itinerarium Germaniae Nov. Antiquae. Teutsches Reyss-buch durch Hoch und Nieder Teutschland* (Strasbourg, 1632); Christoph Abraham von Eyl, *Parisische Conferentzen Darinnen vorgetragen wird eine Historische nach dem Alphabet eingerichtete Namens-Tafel über die Provintzien, Städte, Vestungen und Oerter der vereinigten Niederlande* (Sultzbach, 1672). These guidebooks also provide some measure for the public interest (or lack thereof) in exotic American artifacts. Maximilian Misson, whose Italian tour guide was successfully published in many editions, describes the Museum Anatomicum in Leiden, Ambras Castle, the Medici collections in Florence, the Musæum Kircherianum, the collections of Cospi in Bologna and of Settala in Milan, all of which included American material, yet he makes reference only to “des ouvrages des Indes” in Settala’s museum. Cf. Maximilian Misson, *Voyage d’Italie de Monsieur Misson .... Cinquième édition* (Utrecht, 1722).

8. An extensive, yet incomplete list is supplied in the form of a “catalogue raisonné” by Balsiger, “The ‘Kunst- und Wunderkammern,’” 32–507, 597–736. Although somewhat dated and covering a much larger field, David Murray’s *Museums: Their History and Their Use* (Glasgow, 1904), is also still a useful reference tool with an extensive listing of catalogs. Some of the collections and the catalogs and inventories associated with them are discussed by various essays in Impey and MacGregor, *Origins*.

9. The manuscript inventory of the collection of Charles V (Carlos I) is in Rudolf Beer, ed., “Acten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem Archivo General zu Simancas,” *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 12 (1891): clxx–ccxxiii; for that of the collection of Philip II, see F. J. Sánchez Cantón, ed., *Inventarios Reales bienes muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II*, Archivo Documental Español 11 (Madrid, 1956–59). American materials in these and other royal collections are discussed in Marla Paz Aguilá Alonso, “El coleccionismo de objetos procedentes de ultramar a través de los inventarios de los siglos XVI y XVII,” in *Relaciones Artísticas entre España y América* (Madrid, 1990), 107–49; Juan José Martín González, “Obras artísticas de procedencia americana en las colecciones reales españolas: Siglo XVI,” in *Relaciones artísticas entre la Península Ibérica y América*, Actas del V Simposio Hispano-Portugués de Historia del Arte (Valladolid, 1990), 157–62; Paz Cabello and Cruz Martínez, “Tres siglos de coleccionismo americanista en España,” *Fragmentos* 11 (1987): 48–66. Virtually no object of a pre-Columbian tradition collected before 1750 survives in Spanish museums today.

10. Marie-Noëlle Bourguet, “The French Museum and America,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 5, no. 2 (1993), in press. Two lists of ethnographic objects removed from the royal natural history cabinet in 1796, apparently the earliest such documents, may be found in E.-Th. Hamy, *Les origines du Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro* (Paris, 1890), 81–83, 87–89. For a discussion of some of the surviving pieces, see E.-Th. Hamy, *Galerie Américaine du Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro* (Paris, 1897), vol. 1, and “Note sur d’anciennes peintures sur peaux des indiens Illinois,” *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* 2 (1897–98): 185–95; Anne Vitart Fardoulis, “Les objets indiens des collections royales,” in *Le Canada de Louis XIV*, ed. Jean Palardy and Caroline Montel-Jenisson (Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1980), and “Les objets américains de l’Hôtel de Sérent ou une collection ethnographique au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Archivio per l’antropologia e la etnologia* 113 (1983): 143–50.

11. For a general discussion of the Austrian Habsburg collections, see Scheicher, *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*; manuscript inventories of these collections were published in Rotraud Bauer and Herbert Haupt, eds., "Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II, 1607–1611," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 72 (1976); Joseph Wastler, "Zur Geschichte der Schatz-, Kunst- und Rüstkammer in der k.k. Burg zu Grätz," *Mittheilungen der k.k. Central-Kommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale*, n.s., 6 (1880): xxix–xxxv, lv–lxii, xcvi–cv, cxlviii–cli; Heinrich Zimmermann, "Urkunden, Acten und Regesten aus dem Archiv des k.u.k. Ministerium des Innern," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7 (1888): xvii–xxxiii, and "Das Inventar der Prager Schatz- und Kunstkammer vom 6. Dezember 1621," *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 25 (1904): xiii–lxxv; Wendelin Boehm, "Quellen zur Geschichte der kaiserlichen Haussammlung und der Kunstbestrebungen des durchlauchtigsten Erzhauses. Urkunden und Regesten aus der k.u.k. Hofbibliothek," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7 (1888): ccxxvii–ccciv. Specimens surviving at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna are discussed in Feest, "Vienna's Mexican Treasures."

12. For American objects that have survived in Florence and Rome from the Medici collections, see Detlef Heikamp and Ferdinand Anders, *Mexico and the Medici* (Florence, 1972); Detlef Heikamp, "Mexico und die Medici-Herzöge," in *Mythen der Neuen Welt*, ed. Karl-Heinz Kohl (Berlin, 1982), 126–46; Sara Ciruzzi, "Gli antichi oggetti americani nelle collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Antropologia e Etnologia," *Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia* 113 (1983): 151–65.

13. A discussion of American objects with extensive quotations from the 1598 Munich inventory may be found in Detlef Heikamp, "Mexikanische Altertümer aus süddeutschen Kunstkammern," *Pantheon* 28 (1970): 205–20.

14. Tobias Beutel, *Chur-Fürstlicher Sächsischer stets grünender hoher Cedern-Wald* (Dresden, 1671).

15. Olgier Jacobaeus, *Museum Regium, seu Catalogus* (Copenhagen, 1696). The 1737 inventory is reproduced with a complete account of the surviving pieces in Bente Gundestrup, *Det kongelige danske Kunstkammer 1737/The Royal Danish Kunstkammer 1737* (Copenhagen, 1991).

16. Adam Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Kammer, worinnen allerhand ungemeyne Sachen so theils die Natur, theils künstliche Hände hervorgebracht und bereitet. Vor diesem aus allen vier Theilen der Welt zusammengetragen* (Schleswig, 1674).

17. Olaus Worm, *Museum Wormianum seu Historia Rerum Rariorum* (Amsterdam, 1655); H. D. Schepelern, *Museum Wormianum* (Odense, 1971), supplies a concordance of the various catalogs of the Worm collection. The surviving American ethnographic specimens from Worm's and the other collections in Copenhagen are discussed in Torben Lundbæk and Bente Dam-Mikkelsen, *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), 1–33; cf. Berete Due, "Early American objects in the Department of Ethnography, the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen," *Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia* 113 (1983): 137–40.

18. Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Ornithologia hoc est avibus historiae libri XII* (Bologna, 1599), and *Museum Metallicum* (Bologna, 1648); Lorenzo Legati, *Museo Cospiano* (Bologna, 1677); Paulus Terzaghi, *Museum Septalianum* (Milan, 1664). For the Aldrovandi manuscript catalog, see Laura Laurencich Minelli, "Oggetti studiati da Ulisse Aldrovandi," *Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia* 113 (1983): 187–206; cf. also, by the same author, "L'indice del Museo Giganti: Interessi etnografici e ordinamento di un museo cinquecentesco," *Museologia Scientifica* 1 (1984): 191–242, "Museography and Ethnological Collections in Bologna during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in Impey and MacGregor, *Origins*, 17–23, and "Dispersione e recupero della collezione Cospi," *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna*, n.s., 33 (1983): 185–202; Laura Laurencich Minelli, ed., *Bologna e il Mondo Nuovo* (Bologna, 1992); Antonio Aimi, "Il Museo Settala: i reperti americani di interesse etnografico," *Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia* 113 (1983): 167–86; Vincenzo de Michele et al., *Il Museo di Manfredo Settala nella Milano del XVII secolo* (Milan, 1983).

19. Georgius de Sepi, *Romani Collegii Societatis Iesu Musæum Celeberrimum* (Amsterdam, 1678); Philippus Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum sive Musæum a. P. Athanasio Kirchero inceptum* (Rome, 1709); for material in the Propaganda Fide, some of which has since been lost, cf. David I. Bushnell, Jr., "North American Material in Italian Collections," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 8 (1906): 250–53. For American material in early Italian collections, see Detlef Heikamp, "American Objects in Italian Collections of the Renaissance and Baroque: A Survey," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1976), 1:455–82.

20. John Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum: or, A Collection of Rarities Preserved at South-Lambeth neer London* (London, 1656). The history of the collection and the specimens surviving in Oxford (Ashmolean and Pitt Rivers museums) are discussed in detail in MacGregor, *Tradescant's Rarities*.

21. Cf. David I. Bushnell, Jr., "The Sloane Collection in the British Museum," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 8 (1906): 671–85; H. J. Braunholtz, *Sir Hans Sloane and Ethnography* (London, 1970); J. C. H. King, "North American Ethnography in the Collection of Sir Hans Sloane," in Impey and MacGregor, *Origins*, 232–36. A detailed study of the Sloane collection by King is in preparation.

22. Nehemiah Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis, or a Catalogue & Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities Belonging to the Royal Society and preserved at Gresham Colledge* (London, 1681); cf. also Thomas Birch, *The History of the R. Society of London* (London, 1756–57).

23. Gerard Blancken, *Catalogue de ce qu'on voit de plus remarquable dans la chambre de l'Anatomie publique, de l'université de la Ville de Leide* (Leiden, 1710); Levinus Vincent, *Elenchus Tabularum, pinacothecarum, atque nonnullarum cimeliorum in gazophylacio Levinus Vincent* (Amsterdam, 1719).

24. Claude du Molinet, *Le Cabinet de la Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève* (Paris, 1692); for the specimens surviving at the library, see Françoise Zehnacker and Nicolas Petit, *Le Cabinet de curiosités de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève* (Paris, 1989). Paul Contant, "Exagoga Mirabilium naturae à Gazophylacio Pauli Contanto Pictaensis Pharmacopaei," in *Les*

*Oeuvres de Jacques et Paul Contant pere et fils maistres apoticaire de la ville de Poitiers* (Poitiers, 1628), vol. 2.

25. Christian F. Feest, "Mexico and South America in the European Wunderkammer," in Impey and MacGregor, *Origins*, 237-44; the following notes add more recent references, notes on overlooked specimens, and some objects that date between 1700 and 1750, a period not covered in the original survey. For Mexican material, see also Christian F. Feest, "Das Erbe der Kunst- und Wunderkammern. Mexicana des 16. Jahrhunderts in europäischen Museen," in *Glanz und Untergang des Alten Mexiko*, ed. Arne Eggebrecht, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1986), 1: 185-88. For Mexican pictorial manuscripts, some of which were also kept in Kunst-kammer-type collections (others were in libraries), see John B. Glass, "A Survey of Native Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts," in *Guide to Ethnohistorical Sources*, vol. 3, ed. H. F. Cline, gen. ed. R. Wauchope, Handbook of Middle American Indians 14 (Austin, Tex., 1975), 3-80, and John B. Glass with Donald Robertson, "A Census of Native Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts," in *ibid.*, 81-252.

26. Cf. also Christian F. Feest and Peter Kann, eds., *Gold und Macht: Spanien in der Neuen Welt* (Vienna, 1986), 393-95. To these should be added two (including the earliest dated) colonial feather pictures: see Pascal Mongne, *Trésors américains: Collections du Musée des Jacobins d'Auch* (Boulogne-Billancourt, 1988), 277-78, pl. 16, and Donna Pierce, "Bishop's Miter," in *Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries* (New York, 1991), 260-63; Laura Laurencich Minelli and Alessandra Filipetti, "Per le collezioni americaniste dei Museo Cospiiano e dell'Istituto delle Scienze: Alcuni oggetti ritrovati a Bologna," *Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia* 113 (1983): 215-16.

27. Cf. also Ciruzzi "Antichi oggetti americani," 152.

28. To these should be added another obsidian mirror: see Eggebrecht, *Glanz und Untergang*, vol. 2, #354.

29. Due, "Early American Objects," 137, tav. 1.

30. Cf. Feest and Kann, *Gold und Macht*, 384-87.

31. Heikamp, "Mexikanische Altertümer," 213-17.

32. Feest, "Mexico and South America," 240; Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (Washington, D.C., 1991), 579-81.

33. To these should now be added two other Tupinamba clubs (Zehnacker and Petit, *Cabinet de curiosites*, 81; one in the Museo de América, Madrid, seen in January 1986).

34. Another Brazilian/Guyana long, square club survives in Florence (Ciruzzi, "Antichi oggetti americani," 157-58), and an example of a broadly similar, but shorter (and generally later) type of club in Madrid (Feest and Kann, *Gold und Macht*, 355).

35. To these should be added another anchor ax (Otto Zerries, "Das außerandine Südamerika," in *Kunst der Naturvölker*, ed. Emmy Leuzinger, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Supplementband 3 (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Vienna, 1978), fig. 384a.

36. Another bow is in Brussels (Sergio Purin, personal communication, 1987), and four more are in Florence (Ciruzzi, "Antichi oggetti americani," 157-59).

37. Three more hammocks are found in Skokloster Castle (Christian F. Feest, "New Sweden: 30 Years Later," *European Review of Native American Studies* 3; no. 1 [1989]: 53-54) and Paris (Zehnacker and Petit, *Cabinet de curiosités*, 82).

38. Due, "Early American Objects," 137, tav. 1; Ciruzzi, "Antichi oggetti americani," 161–63, 164n; Zehnacker and Petit, *Cabinet de curiosités*, 82; Otto Zerries, "Drei alte figürlich verzierte Holztrompeten aus Brasilien in den Museen zu Kopenhagen, Leiden und Oxford," *Ethnologische Zeitschrift Zürich* 1 (1977): 77–89.

39. Feest, "Mexico and South America," 240–43.

40. *Ibid.*, 243–44.

41. A beaded apron in Copenhagen (Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, 21; Due, "Early American Objects," 137, tav. 1) is thought to be Central American but could equally be from elsewhere. From the eighteenth century, a Miskito hatchet survives in the Sloane collection (Braunholtz, *Sir Hans Sloane*, 35).

42. Christian F. Feest, "North America in the European Wunderkammer," *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 46 (1992): 61–109.

43. In addition to the inventories of the Austrian and Spanish Habsburg collections noted above, see also the important inventory of the Mecheln collection of Archduchess Margarete in Heinrich Zimmermann, ed., "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k.u.k. Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv in Wien" *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 3 (1885): cxix–cxx. Among the manuscript catalogs that have been published, cf., for example, Werner Fleischhauer, "Die Kunstkammer des Grafen Ulrich von Montfort zu Tettngang, 1574," *Ulm und Oberschwaben* 44 (1982): 9–28, for the Montfort collection at Tettngang; Antonio Giganti's index in Laurencich Minelli, "L'indice del Museo Giganti," 228–42; or the microfiches of the 1685 Ashmolean catalog in MacGregor, *Trades-cant's Rarities*.

44. Franz Heger's study of records of lost Americana in Habsburg collections ("Verschwundene altmexikanische Kostbarkeiten des XVI. Jahrhunderts, nach urkundlichen Nachrichten:" in *Anthropological Papers Written in Honor of Franz Boas* [New York, 1906], 306–15) was aimed at the possible identification of the rediscovered Mexicana and perhaps also the discovery of others. Information on lost objects from inventories and published catalogs is included in Christian F. Feest, "Spanisch-Amerika in außerspanischen Kunstkammern," *Kritische Berichte* 20 (1992): 43–58, and Feest, "North America."

45. See, for example, Thomas Dunbar Whitaker, ed., *Musæum Thoresbyanum, or a Catalogue of the Antiquities, and of the Natural and Artificial Rarities Preserved in the Repository of Ralph Thoresby ... A.D. MDCCXII*, 2d ed. (Leeds, 1816).

46. For early accounts of the Tradescant collection, see, for example, MacGregor, *Trades-cant's Rarities*, 20–22.

47. See, for example, Michael Bernhard Valentini, *Museum Museorum oder vollständige Schaubühne Aller Materialien und Specereyen. Zweyte Edition* (Frankfurt, 1715); C. F. Neickelius, *Museographia oder Anleitung zum rechten Begriff und nützliche Anlegung der Museorum oder Raritäten-Kammern* (Leipzig and Breslau, 1727).

48. For the exceptions, Aldrovandi and Settala, see Laurencich Minelli, "Oggetti studiati," Aimi, "Il Musco Settala," and de Michele et al., *Museo di Manfredo Settala*.

49. For those showing American objects, cf. Worm, *Museum Wormianum*; Du Molinet, *Le Cabinet*; Terzaghi, *Museum Septalianum*; Vincent, *Elenchus Tabularum*.

50. Woodcuts appear, for example, in Aldrovandi's *Ornithologia* and *Museum Metall-*

cum, or Legati's *Museo Cospiano*; engravings in Contant, "Exagoga Mirabilivm," Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Kammer*, Jacobaeus, *Museum Regium*, Vincent, *Elenchus Tabularum*, Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum*; of American objects, Worm, *Museum Wormianum*, 383, only illustrates a copy of a Mexican pictorial manuscript.

51. See, for example, Charles L'Ecluse, *Exoticorum Libri Decem: Quibus Animalium, Plantarum, Aromatum, aliorumque peregrinorum Fructuum historiae describuntur* (Antwerp, 1605); Honorius Philoponus, *Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio* (Linz, 1621); Johannes Neander, *Tabacologia: hoc est Tabaci seu Nicotinae descriptio* (Amsterdam, 1622); Lorenzo Pignoria, "Seconda parte delle Imagini de gli dei Indiani," in Vincenzo Cartari, *Seconda Novissima Editione delle Imagini de gli dei delli Antichi* (Padua, 1626); Fortunato Liceto, *Pyronarcha sive de fulminum nature deque felssium origine* (Padua, 1634); [Cesar de Rochefort], *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique .... Seconde édition* (Rotterdam, 1665).

52. William C. Sturtevant, "First Visual Images of Native America," in Chiappelli, *First Images*, 1:420–22, figs. 2–4.

53. Cf. King, "North American Ethnography": Henri Dubled et al., *Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637)* (Carpentras, 1981), plate after 31.

54. For the transfer of whole collections, for example, the Paludanus collection to Gottorp, and the Gottorp collection to Copenhagen, cf. Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*.

55. Luis Torres de Mendoza, ed., *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía*, vol. 12 (Madrid, 1869); cf. Marshall H. Saville, *The Goldsmith's Art in Ancient Mexico*, Indian Notes and Monographs, Miscellaneous 7 (New York, 1920).

56. Cf. Feest, "Vienna's Mexican Treasures,"

57. Cf. Christian F. Feest, "Indians and Europe? Editor's Postscript," in *Indians and Europe*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Aachen, 1987), 613–20.

58. William C. Sturtevant and David Beers Quinn, "This New Prey: Eskimos in Europe in 1567, 1675, and 1577," in Feest, *Indians and Europe*; Peter J. P. Whitehead, "Earliest Extant Painting of Greenlanders," in *ibid.*, 144; John Brand, *The Little Kayak Book* (Colchester, 1984), 3–4; Gerd Nooter, *Old Kajaks in the Netherlands*, Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden 17 (Leiden, 1970), 10–11.

59. Sieur de Dièreville, *Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France*, Publications of the Champlain Society, no. 20 (Toronto, 1933), 170.

60. Catalogue of the Museum Pointerianum, St. John's College, Oxford, Ms. 252, fol. 161<sup>v</sup>.

61. Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 47. Brauholtz, *Sir Hans Sloane*, 34–35. Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Kammer*, 5, reports that he questioned the Eskimos taken to Bergen in 1654 and later to Gottorp Castle about the meaning of an "idol" from Davis Straits in the collection.

62. Feest, "Vienna's Mexican Treasures," 33.

63. William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612), Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., no. 103 (London, 1953), 125; Louis B. Wright, ed., *A Voyage to Virginia, in 1609* (Charlottesville, 1964), 89.

64. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (1634), Publications of the Prince Society, no. 3 (Boston, 1865), 39; cf. Christian F. Feest, "European Collecting of American Indian Artifacts and Art," *Journal of the History of Collections* 5 (1993): 1–11.
65. Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, 01; Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625), Hakluyt Society, extra ser., nos. 14–33 (Glasgow, 1905–7), 19:110.
66. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols. (Chicago, 1896–1901), 41:165–75; Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum*, 225.
67. Marion Tinning, ed., *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Virginia, 1684–1776*, Virginia Historical Society Documents 12–13 (Charlottesville, 1977), 1:61.
68. David von Schön herr, "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k.u.k. Statthaltere i-Archiv in Innsbruck," *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 14 (1893): clxvii; Christian F. Feest, "Zemes Idolum Diabolicum: Surprise and Success in Ethnographic Kunstammer Research," *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 40 (1987): 189; Oscar Döring, *Des Augsburger Patriziers Philipp Hainhofer Beziehungen zum Herzog Philipp II von Pommern-Stettin*, Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik, n.s., 6 (Vienna, 1894), 188.
69. Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 37, 41–54; MacGregor, *Tradescant's Rarities*, 108–39, 339–40.
70. Schepelern, *Museum Wormianum*, 340, 346–48, 352, 356, 362; Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, 18, 9, 11, 22.
71. Zeiller, *Itinerarium Germaniae*, 286–88; Heikamp, "Mexikanische Altertümer," 207–10, 213–15.
72. Zimmermann, "Inventar der Prager Schatz- und Kunstammer," xx, xxxiii, xxxvi, lx–lxiii; Ferdinand Anders, "Der Federkasten der Ambraser Kunstammer," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 61 (1965): 130–32; Feest, "Vienna's Mexican Treasures," 32.
73. Boeheim, "Quellen zur Geschichte," ccxxxvii, cclx, ccxcv, ccciv; Feest, "Vienna's Mexican Treasures."
74. Braunholtz, *Sir Hans Sloane*, 20–21; King, "North American Ethnography," 233–34.
75. Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 36–47.
76. Torres de Mendoza, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, 318–62; Saville, *The Goldsmith's Art*, 15–19, 21–35, 56–101; Feest, "Vienna's Mexican Treasures," 16–17, 24–25.
77. Philoponus, *Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio*, 49; Feest, "Zemes Idolum Diabolicum," 183.
78. Karl Anton Nowotny, *Mexikanische Kostbarkeiten aus Kunstammern der Renaissance* (Vienna, 1960), 19; Feest "Vienna's Mexican Treasures," 18.
79. Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*; Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*; Boeheim, "Quellen zur Geschichte"; Bauer and Haupt, "Kunstammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II." The catalog of the Weickmann collection identifies as "Indian" some surviving objects that are known to be African, as well as others that may have been American: *Verzeichnis Unterschiedlicher Thier/Vögel/Fisch/Meergewächs/Ertz= und Bergarten/Edlen und anderen Steinen/außländischem Holtz und Früchten/Kunst= und frembden Sachen ...* ([Ulm], 1655), 23–24, cf. Richard Andree, "Seltene Ethnographica des städtischen Gewerbe-Museums zu Ulm," *Baessler-Archiv* 4 (1914): 36–37.



80. Cf. Sánchez Cantón, *Inventarios Reales*. Antonio Giganti's index distinguishes between "India" and "Mondo nuovo"; cf. Laurencich Minelli, "L'indice del Museo Giganti."

81. Du Molinet, *Le Cabinet*.

82. Cf. Feest, "'Selzam ding,'" 116.

83. Cf. Feest, "Vienna's Mexican Treasures," 11–12. See also Theodor Hampe, ed., *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien (1529) und den Niederlanden (1531/2)*, Historische Waffen und Kostüme 2 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), 24, for the use of "Moorish" instead of "Mexican" on a derivative of Christoph Weiditz's drawings of Aztecs. "Moors" is also apparently used for the indigenous inhabitants of the "West Indies"; cf. Valentini, *Museum Museorum*, vol. 2 (appendix), 35, 36.

84. Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum*, 225; L. Baillet, "Curiosités exotiques rassemblées au château de Ribeaupville d'après un inventaire du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Ribeaupville* 22 (1959/60): 17.

85. Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 47; Bushnell, "Sloane Collection," 673, 675; Braunholtz, *Sir Hans Sloane*, 34.

86. Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 375.

87. Zimmermann, "Inventar der Prager Schatz- und Kunstkammer," xxxiii; Karl Köpl, "Urkunden, Akten, Regesten und Inventare aus dem k.k. Statthalterei-Archiv in Prag," *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 10 (1889): clxix.

88. Schepeleern, *Museum Wormianum*, 352; Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, 18–19.

89. Cf. Ciruzzi, "Antichi oggetti americani," 159, 161; Feest, "Vienna's Mexican Treasures," 31, 32.

90. Cf. Feest, "Collecting American Indian Art."

91. Philoponus, *Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio*, pl. 8; Feest, "Zemes Idolum Diabolicum," 182–87.

92. Cf. Heikamp, "Mexikanische Altertümer," 206. [J. C. Sturm], *Des Geöffneten Ritter-Platzes Dritter Theil, worinnen zu noch mehreren galanten Wissenschaften Anleitung gegeben, und zwar besonders Unterricht ertheilet wird, was bey Raritäten- und Naturalien-Kammern ... hauptsächlich zu bemerken vorfällt* (Hamburg, 1707), 41, pl. 4, also refers to an illustration of a kris as a representation of a *zemi* ("Zemme").

93. Sturm, *Geöffneter Ritter-Platz*, 40–41, 34, 46, pls. 3, 4, 7.

94. King, "North American Ethnography"; Beer, "Acten, Regesten und Inventare"; Sánchez Cantón, *Inventarios Reales*.

95. Johann Christian Kundmann, *Sammlung von natür- und künstlichen Sachen, auch Münzen, welche dieses 1753 Jahr ... verkauft werden soll. Collectio rerum naturalium artificialium et nummorum quae hoc MDCCLIII. anno ... distrahetur* (Breslau, 1753), 450, 468.

96. Blancken, *Catalogue*.

97. See, for example, Braunholtz, *Sir Hans Sloane*, 34.

98. See, for Prague, 1621: Zimmermann, "Inventar der Prager Schatz- und Kunstkammer," xxxiii; London, 1625: C. C. A. Gosch, ed., *Danish Arctic Expeditions, 1605–1620*, Hakluyt Society, nos. 96–97 (London, 1897), 1:36n; Copcnhagen, 1642: Schepeleern, *Museum Wormianum*, 356; Lambeth, 1656: Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 42, allegedly the

one collected by Frobisher in 1577; Vlissingen, 1697: B. de Monconys, *Beschreibung seiner in Asia und das Gelobte Land, nach Portugall, Spanien, Italien, in Engelland, die Niederlande und Teutschland gethanen Reisen* (Leipzig and Augsburg, 1697), 583, probably one of those brought back by Nicolas Tunes in 1656 (cf. Rochefort, *Histoire Naturelle et Morale*, 204, 219–20); Gottorp, 1666: Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Kammer*, 5, tab. 3 (cf. Jacobaeus, *Museum Regium*, 54, tab. 12); Leiden, 1672: Eyl, *Parisische Conferentzen*, 343, and Blancken, *Catalogue*, 4; Leipzig before 1683: Valentini, *Museum Museorum*, vol. 2 (appendix), 31; London, 1681: Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 364–65; Edinburgh, 1688: Dale Idiens, “Eskimos in Scotland: c. 1882–1924,” in Feest, *Indians and Europe*, 171–72; Burray, 1700: Idiens, “Eskimos in Scotland,” 162; Frankfurt, 1715: Valentini, *Museum Museorum*, vol. 2 (appendix), 133.

99. Gosch, *Danish Arctic Expeditions*, 1:36 and 36n; Rochefort, *Histoire Naturelle et Morale*, 219.

100. See, for Amsterdam, 1672: Eyl, *Parisische Conferentzen*, 155; Leipzig, 1715: Valentini, *Museum Museorum*, vol. 2 (appendix), 31; Copenhagen, 1642: Schepelern, *Museum Wormianum*, 356; Lambeth, 1656: Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, also boots and shoes, 48, 50; and Amsterdam, 1715: Valentini, *Museum Museorum*, vol. 2 (appendix), 54.

101. Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Kammer*, 5, tab. 4.

102. Braunholtz, *Sir Hans Sloane*, 34.

103. David Beers Quinn, “Virginians on the Thames,” *Terrae Incognitae* 2 (1970): 9, 7; Robert Le Blant and René Baudry, *Nouveaux Documents sur Champlain et son époque*, vol. 1, Publication des Archives Publiques du Canada 15 (Ottawa, 1967), 103–4.

104. Contant, “Exagoga Mirabilivm,” 7, unnumbered plate; Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum*, 229, fig. 9; cf. also the surviving model in Oxford: Feest, “North America.”

105. Schepelern, *Museum Wormianum*, 352.

106. Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, 269; Eyl, *Parisische Conferentzen*, 113, 135; Valentini, *Museum Museorum*, vol. 2 (appendix), 35. Cf. also the drawings of three pipes, two of them with sculptured designs, illustrated by Neander, *Tabacologia*, which must have been based on specimens in Europe.

107. Murray, *Museums*, 1:95; Balsiger, “The ‘Kunst- and Wunderkammern,’” 665; see also the other pieces in the Sieur de Bernonville’s collection described below.

108. Bushnell, “Sloane Collection,” 675; Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 46.

109. Contant, “Exagoga Mirabilivm,” 7; Birch, *History of the R. Society*, 2:418–19, summarily noted by Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 370; Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum*, 225, and note 66 above; Bushnell, “North American Material,” 250, pl. 22, and Father J. Penkowski, personal communication.

110. Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 43; Du Molinet, *Le Cabinet*, pl. 4; Vincent, *Elenchus Tabularum*, pl. 5; Peter Lindeström, *Geographia Americæ with an Account of the Delaware Indians*, trans. Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia, 1925), 222; Tinling, *Correspondence of the Three William Byrds*, 1:61.

111. Le Blant and Baudry, *Nouveaux Documents sur Champlain*, 103; there is a slight possibility that this is the one now at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris.

112. Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 36; cf. Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, 31, and Staffan Brunius, “North American Indian Collections at the

Folkens Museum-Etnografiska, Stockholm,” *European Review of Native American Studies* 4, no. 1 (1990): 30.

113. Le Blant and Baudry, *Nouveaux Documents sur Champlain*, 103; Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 45; Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 36.

114. Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum*, figs. 7, 8; Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 47,49; Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 43; Wright, *A Voyage to Virginia*, 89.

115. Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 45, 47, 51, 53; David Sturdy and Martin Henig, *The Gentle Traveller: John Bargrave, Canon of Canterbury, and His Collection* (Abingdon, n.d.); Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 370; Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*; 36, 43, 45, 46; Braunholtz, *Sir Hans Sloane*, 35.

116. Murray, *Museums*, 1:95; Balsiger, “The ‘Kunst- and Wunderkammern,’” 665.

117. Aldrovandi, *Ornithologia*, 1:657; Laurencich Minelli, “Oggetti studiati,” 196–97, and “L’indice del Museo Giganti,” 208–10, fig. 4; Aimi, “Il Museo Settala,” 175–77; Terzaghi, *Museum Septalianum*, 92, 94; Heikamp, “Mexikanische Altertümer,” 210; Feest, “Zemes Idolum Diabolicum,” 190–91; Ronald Lightbown, personal communication, 1983; Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 19:110.

118. Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Kammer*, 4, tab. 2; Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, 32; Heikamp, “Mexikanische Altertümer,” 210; Feest, “Zemes Idolum Diabolicum,” 190; Petrus Martyr de Angleria, *De Orbe Nouo* (Alcalá, 1530), reprinted in Petrus Martyr de Angleria, *Opera* (Graz, 1966), fol. xix; Dubled et al., *Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc*, after 31. “Moorish” weapons and shoes from the “West Indies” are listed in the catalog of the pre-1683 Lorentzen collection in Leipzig; cf. Valentini, *Museum Museorum*, vol. 2 (appendix), 35, 36.

119. Monconys, *Beschreibung*, 574; Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 39.

120. That the others were known to be Mexican, however, is indicated by Zeiller, *Itinerarium Germaniae*, 287.

121. Feest, “Vienna’s Mexican Treasures,” 13, 49, 50.

122. Laurencich Minelli, “Oggetti studiati,” 189; Laurencich Minelli and Filipetti, “Per le collezioni americaniste,” 211; de Sepi, *Romani Collegii Societatis Iesu Musæum*, 34; Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum*, 229, 232; cf. Feest, “Vienna’s Mexican Treasures,” 12–13.

123. Cf. Heikamp, “Mexikanische Altertümer,” “American Objects,” “Mexico und die Medici-Herzöge”; Feest, “Vienna’s Mexican Treasures”; Martin, “Obras artísticas,” 157.

124. Zimmermann, “Urkunden und Regesten,” cxix–cxx; Beer, “Acten, Regesten und Inventare”; Sánchez Cantón, *Inventarios Reales*; Martin, “Obras artísticas,” 159.

125. Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum*, 232; Schepelern, *Museum Wormianum*, 346; cf. also the “West Indian thread” in Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 51.

126. Ross Hassig, *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control* (Norman, Okla., and London, 1988), 83; Zimmermann, “Urkunden und Regesten,” cxix–cxx.

127. Cf. Terzaghi, *Museum Septalianum*, 91; Aimi, “Il Museo Settala,” 179.

128. Cf. Ferdinand Anders, “Las Artes Menores. Minor Arts,” *Artes de México* 137 (1971): 4–66; Christian F. Feest, “Koloniale Federkunst aus Mexiko,” in Feest and Kann, *Gold und Macht*, 176–77. A feather mosaic miter and a small picture of the same style were in Antonio Giganti’s collection in 1586; Laurencich Minelli, “L’indice del Museo Giganti,” 211, 236, 238,

An unusual “Mexican purse of parrot feathers” was in the king of Denmark’s Kunstkammer since at least 1696 but was sold in auction in 1824 and must be considered lost (Gundestrup, *Kongelige danske Kunstkammer*, 1:127).

129. Jacobaeus, *Museum Regium*, 49; Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum*, 226; Aimi, “Il Museo Settala,” 173; de Michele et al., *Museo di Manfredo Settala*, 13, 23; Terzaghi, *Museum Septalianum*, frontispiece, 91.

130. Vincent, *Elenchus Tabularum*, pls. 2,5; Contant, “Exagoga Mirabilivm,” 7; Bauer and Haupt, “Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II,” 34; Zimmermann, “Inventar der Prager Schatz- und Kunstkammer,” xxxvi.

131. Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 373; Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 47.

132. Aldrovandi, *Ornithologia*, 657; Laurencich Minelli, “Oggetti studiati,” 194–200; Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, 27.

133. Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 373; Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 41; Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, 29.

134. Gottfried von Bülow, ed., “Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, through England in the year 1602,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, n.s., 6 (1892): 25; Contant, “Exagoga Mirabilivm,” 7; for Halle, 1625: cf. Balsiger, “The ‘Kunst- and Wunderkammern,’” 262; *Verzeichnus Unterschidlicher Thier*, 23; Vincent, *Elenchus Tabularum*, 41, pl. 5.

135. Terzaghi, *Museum Septalianum*, 131.

136. Aimi, “Il Museo Settala,” 177–78; Terzaghi, *Museum Septalianum*, 94; Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 45; MacGregor, *Tradescant’s Rarities*, 120; Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 367; Contant, “Exagoga Mirabilivm,” 7.

137. Bauer and Haupt, “Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II,” 37; Feest, “Vienna’s Mexican Treasures,” 50; Contant, “Exagoga Mirabilivm,” 7; Terzaghi, *Museum Septalianum*, 92.

138. Munich, 1598: Heikamp, “Mexikanische Altertümer,” 209; Halle, 1625 (“a wooden American poleax”): cf. Balsiger, “The ‘Kunst- and Wunderkammern,’” 262; Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 267; Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 46.

139. Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 42; MacGregor, *Tradescant’s Rarities*, fig. 179; the original source of this drawing is L’Ecluse, *Exoticorum Libri Decem*, 232, which is also the source for Gulielmus Piso, *De Indiae Utriusque Re Naturali et Medica Libri Quatuordecim* (Amsterdam, 1658), 1:308; Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, 26; Olearius, *Gottorffisehe Kunst-Kammer*, 27, tab. 18; Laurencich Minelli, “Oggetti studiati,” 195–96; Contant, “Exagoga Mirabilivm,” 7; Aimi, “Il Museo Settala,” 170, 172; Bauer and Haupt, “Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II,” 19; Boeheim, “Quellen zur Geschichte,” 67; Sturm, *Geöffneter Ritter-Platz*.

140. Sánchez Cantón, *Inventarios Reales*, 1:275, 2:252; Beer, “Acten, Regesten und Inventare,” lxx: Martin, “Obras artísticas,” 157; Ignacio Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archaeology* (London and New York, 1980), 131.

141. Beer, “Acten, Regesten und Inventare,” clxx; Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 50; Blancken, *Catalogue*, 16.

142. Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum*, 230; Terzaghi, *Museum Septalianum*, 132; Aimi, “Il

Museo Settala," 179; Bülow, "Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius," 25; Valentini, *Museum Museorum*, vol. 2 (appendix), 32.

143. Terzaghi, *Museum Septalianum*, 91, 92, 131; Aimi, "Il Museo Settala," 176, 177, 179–80; de Michele et al., *Museo di Manfredo Settala*, 23, Olearius, *Gottorffische Kunst-Kammer*, 71, tab. 36.

144. Eyl, *Parisische Conferentzen*, 347; Contant, "Exagoga Mirabilivm," 4; Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 37.

145. Boeheim, "Quellen zur Geschichte," ccxxxvii; Heikamp, "Mexikanische Altertümer," 209; Döring, *Philipp Hainhofer*, 158; Balsiger, "The 'Kunst- and Wunderkammern,'" 727; Köpl, "Urkunden, Akten, Regesten und Inventare," cxxxi; Aimi, "Il Museo Settala," 173; Wastler, "Geschichte der Schatz-, Kunst- und Rüstkammer," c, ci; Eyl, *Parisische Conferentzen*, 329; Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 371–72; Bonanni, *Musæum Kircherianum*, 229; Zeiller, *Itinerarium Germaniae*, 216; Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, 22–23; Baillet, "Curiosités exotiques," 17.

146. Beer, "Acten, Regesten und Inventare," ccxxii; Contant, "Exagoga Mirabilivm," 2; *Verzeichnis Unterschidlicher Thier*, 23; Schepelern, *Museum Wormianum*, 348; Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 43; Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 371; de Sepi, *Romani Collegii Societatis Iesu Musæum*, 34; Vincent, *Elenchus Tabularum*, 41; Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 40–41.

147. Cf. Impey and MacGregor, *Origins*; Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions*.

148. Scheicher, *Kunst- und Wunderkammern*, 81, 85–131; Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, xx.

149. Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, xxi–xxii; Gundestrup, *Kongelige danske Kunstkammer*, 2:1–52. American objects also appeared outside Copenhagen's "Indian Cabinet": most Greenlandic material was featured in a special section of the "Chamber of Antiquities"; a few others were grouped with the naturalia.

150. Beutel, *Chur-Fürstlicher Sächsischer Cedern-Wald*, L3, M2, M3; cf. Neickelius, *Museographia*, 194.

151. Whitaker, *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, 49.

152. Sturm, *Geöffneter Ritter-Platz*, 40.

153. Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum*, 47; Alain Parent et al., eds., *La Renaissance et le Nouveau Monde* (Québec, 1984), 102; Schönherr, "Urkunden und Regesten," clxvii; Ber-nal, *History of Mexican Archaeology*, 131.

154. Lundbæk and Dam-Mikkelsen, *Etnografiske genstande*, 21; Contant, "Exagoga Mira-bilivm," 8; Kundmann, *Sammlung*, 450; Eyl, *Parisische Conferentzen*, 113.

155. Eyl, *Parisische Conferentzen*, 308; Laurencich Minelli, "Oggetti studiati," 188–89.

156. Neickelius, *Museographia*, 7.

157. Elisabeth Landoldt, "Materialien zu Felix Platter als Sammler und Kunstfreund," *Basler Zeitschrift zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 72 (1972):245–306.

158. Feest, "'Selzam ding,'" 120–23.