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

Stephanie Leitch

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

No one has anything of his own, but all things are common. And the men take women who please them, regardless of whether it is their mother, sister, or friend. In this matter they make no distinction. They also fight with each other. They also eat one another and they hang and smoke the flesh of those killed. They live to be 150. And have no government.²

The sweeping nature of the caption's spurious claims is matched by the broad brush used to illustrate them. While the broadsheet's anonymous artist portrays these Tupinamba fantastically, in Europe, these elements solidified into a conventional visual motif: the image of an Indian in a feather crown and matching skirt, an "exotic" who quickly became the prototype from which subsequent stereotypes of Indians were drawn.³ The illustrations of newly encountered peoples accompanying the earliest printed reports by Christopher Columbus and Vespucci (which appeared between 1493 and 1505) did not reflect real cultural difference between the Europeans and indigenous people but relied instead on recycled imagery that dwelt on their perceived warlike and cannibalistic tendencies. Unruly bands of crude, cartoonish, and bloodthirsty wild men in feathered skirts quickly calcified into the standard iconography for rendering newly discovered peoples, regardless of where they were found.

Contrast this with another account of foreign peoples recently charted by Europeans, Hans Burgkmair's *Peoples of Africa and India* (Fig. 2), also printed in Augsburg, a short three years later. Whereas Burgkmair's subjects are the natives of coastal Africa and India, the leap from prints of Amerindians to ones of Africans and Asians is not as counterintuitive as it may appear. To begin with, the distinction between the Americas and Asia is anachronistic for the period. Furthermore, stereotyped images of the inhabitants of both the Americas and Asia often conflated them. Artists' proclivity to costume all newly discovered peoples in the feather crown and bustle of the Brazilian Tupinamba, a phenomenon the anthropologist William Sturtevant dubbed the *tupinambization* of the world, contributed to the confusion.⁴ Burgkmair's images of native peoples mark an extraor-

dinarily early departure from stereotypes. These peoples are presented in recognizable family units; their bodies are proportionately constructed and are modeled to rotate in space using an artistic vocabulary developed in the Italian Renaissance.

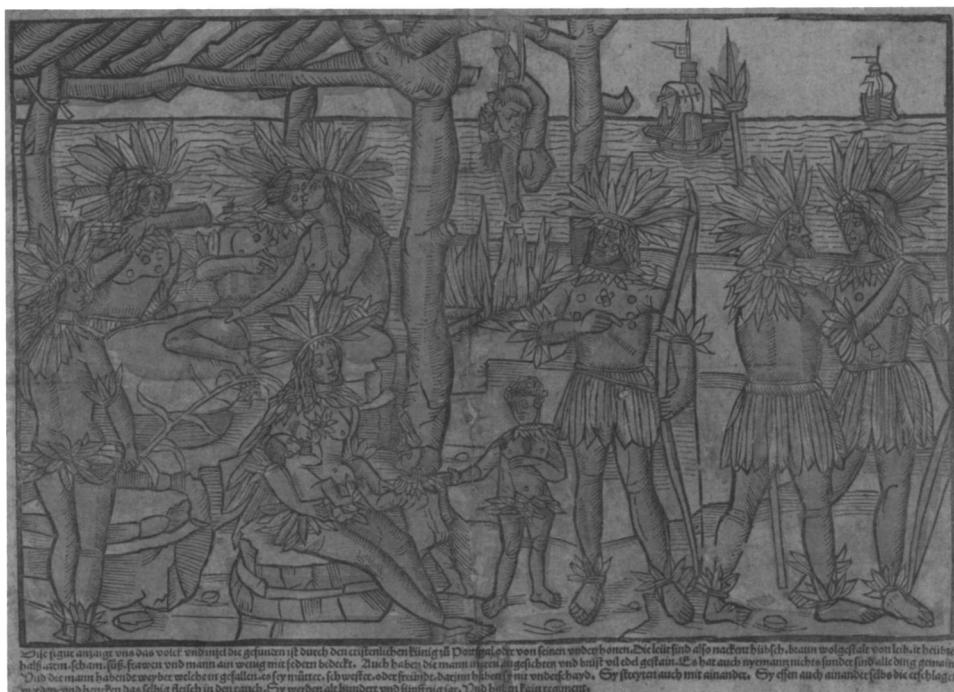
Unlike earlier images of newly discovered indigenes, Burgkmair's monumental printed representation of the inhabitants of coastal Africa and the Malabar Coast of India is a precocious study in human diversity.⁵ This woodcut series is based on *Die Merfart und erfahrung nütwer Schiffung und Wege zu vieln unerkanten Inseln und Künigreichen* (The Voyage and Discoveries of New Paths to Many Unknown Islands and Kingdoms) by the Tyrolean merchant Balthasar Springer, a report that records his travels in 1505 and 1506 with the mission led by Francisco Almeida that established the first Portuguese viceroyalty in India.⁶

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

In its orderly presentation of peoples, the frieze detaches African and Indian inhabitants from their representational history in *exotica*, where they were entirely divorced from empirical observation.⁷ In earlier depictions, the inhabitants of these regions and others heretofore unknown to Western Europe inherited their exotic status from both local and classical traditions.⁸ Before Ferdinand Magellan's circumnavigation in 1522, confusion was widespread about which Indians were to be found where; visual generalizations and verbal misunderstandings compounded the problem. Additionally, the tendency in the early modern period to call many exotic things *Calecutish*, an adjective misapplied to all but the products of the western coast of India, also frustrated clear distinctions.⁹ Remarkably, in light of these misleading conflations and this rampant pictorial nomadism, with his images of natives of Africa and India, Hans Burgkmair neither played into iconographic presets nor invented new stereotypes.

To explain the rupture that Burgkmair's images mark in the history of representation, scholars have characterized the frieze as among the earliest recordings of unfamiliar peoples based on empirical evidence. A primary reason that these images differ from earlier ones that also described newly discovered peoples is that Burgkmair worked them up from visual models, probably sketches made by an artistically in-

1 Broadsheet with text from Vespucci, *Dise Figur anzaigt uns das Folk und Insel*, Augsburg: Froschauer, 1505, handcolored woodcut, 10 × 13¾ in. (25.5 × 35 cm). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Einblatt Sammlung V, 2 (artwork in the public domain)



clined travel companion and brought back by Springer.¹⁰ But a precedent in sketches alone does not fully explain this change. Burgkmair's woodcuts, more precisely, signal a turn to representational accuracy and the idea that the visual experience of Springer's encounters could be reproduced.

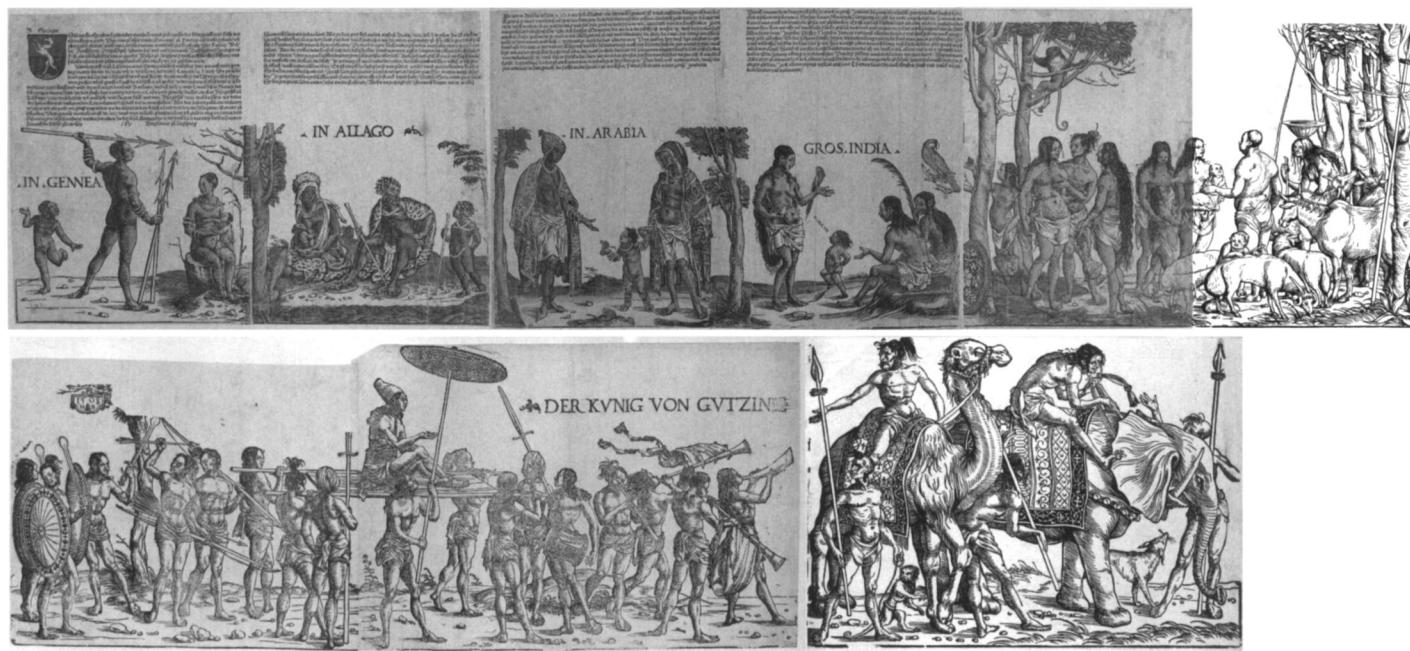
The artistic criteria for empiricism in the early modern period can be found in contemporary printed genres, such as travel accounts, maps, and physiognomies, that made similar claims to documentation and give clues as to how their authority could be visually reproduced. Burgkmair's frieze adheres formally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

Whereas "ethnography," as a method of investigation characterized by comparison, classification, and historical lineage, would not be applied to images or texts for centuries to come, Burgkmair's frieze invites a prescient use of that term.¹¹ The frieze calls into being a basic set of analytic categories that ethnography would take as its methodological foundation, including a quasi-scientific observation of nature, as well as the organizational rigor that attends it.¹² By categorizing information, Burgkmair transformed the narrative of a merchant whose task never was to render an account of peoples seen en route into a maplike chart of the region. In doing so, he also took care to distinguish one group from another by virtue of their variance in geography, appearance, and customs, and gives a relativistic rendering of these peoples with respect to their European counterparts.

Burgkmair's interest in empirical research and documentation was precipitated by humanist colleagues like Konrad

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

On the side of representation, Burgkmair pushed the boundaries of printmaking into the realm of verisimilitude, advanced naturalism in the form of the chiaroscuro woodcut, monitored the rediscovery of the antique, developed formulas for proportion, and made refinements in portraiture—technical evolutions that better render the empirically observed world. In the earliest stages of Burgkmair's development, some of these were still conventional—indeed, Burgkmair's primary contribution rests in deploying these conventions in more meaningful matrices. Importing ideals and techniques of portraiture from antique coins, Burgkmair inscribed authenticity into the concept of likeness. Using familiar iconographic models, he relativized his subjects to the European viewer by bringing them into line with recognizable narratives and European pictorial traditions. He familiarized Africans and Indians by endowing them with recognizably human proportions, taking them out of the conventional categories of the exotic. Burgkmair represented difference by first establishing the kinship of these peoples with Western European traditions, making them commensurate. All of these similitudes constitute an early foray into the creation of analytic categories that could take stock of cultural difference in an organized fashion, the premise on which the foundation of modern ethnography is built.



2 Hans Burgkmair, *Peoples of Africa and India*, 1508, handcolored woodcut, 11½ × 90¾ in. (28.5 × 230.6 cm) (artwork in the public domain)

The Frieze and Travel Accounts

Printed for the first time in 1508, two years after the journey it describes, Burgkmair's frieze still enjoyed the popularity of late-breaking news. It recorded the 1505–6 voyage of Tyrolean merchant Balthasar Springer to India in the path of sea-lanes newly plowed by Vasco da Gama, who, less than a decade before, had circumnavigated Africa and brought India into the commercial purview of Europe. The series of woodcuts depicts groups of natives Springer came across on his expedition around the coast of Africa to the East Indies. The frieze, made at the behest of the Welser family, who cosponsored Springer's journey, presumably entered the collection of this powerful Augsburg merchant family shortly after it was printed. In the Welser edition, the text of Springer's report forms a caption running along the top of the prints. The first four prints retain the original text; the following print supplies room for accompanying text, but no copy with the text has survived.¹³

The frieze is a curious monument in itself, and it marks a significant formal departure from earlier travel accounts. The format of the multiblock print, a woodcut pulled from eight different blocks assembled into a frieze seven and a half feet long, presents almost as strange an object to a modern viewer of Renaissance art as the information it contains must have seemed to the original viewer. Hans Burgkmair set the series of woodcuts into a frieze format that now exists largely in pieces reconstructed from mostly posthumous printings. The edition discussed here, a set of eight impressions, follows the reconstruction of the frieze currently in the Welser family foundation's collection, supplemented by several impressions in print collections in Coburg and Berlin.¹⁴ The history of the frieze is obscured by the fact that no complete edition of the set of prints has survived from the original printing. Some of the posthumous impressions that survive come from Burgkmair's original blocks but in unorthodox arrangements.¹⁵

One scholar has recently questioned whether the extant impressions include all that were originally part of the set.¹⁶ A later reprinting of a block that reverses the order of the figure groups has complicated the provenance of one of the images, *Natives with a Herd of Animals* (Fig. 5).¹⁷ The contemporary reconstruction of the frieze is a consensus derived from a number of spin-offs in many different media.¹⁸

Burgkmair divided the frieze into several sections that correspond to sites of Springer's encounters. A child jauntily balancing on one leg opens the scene carrying the inscription *IN GENNEA* (Guinea, Ivory Coast, Fig. 3). Arching against the capital A of "Gennea," an adult male brandishes a spear, his classical body torqued in studied *contrapposto*, arresting the attention of a seated female holding an infant balanced on her thigh. The following frame, labeled *IN AILAGO*, features two adults, an infant, and a child from the Cape region (Algoa Bay, southeast Africa). Both adults, a mother nursing and a father turned toward a male child, are seated on a hillock. This couple wears animal pelts as mantles; the woman's body is draped in a network of dried animal intestines used to support a nursing infant. They wear large flat sandals on their feet, and each is equipped with a walking stick. The next impression, *IN ARABIA* (Fig. 4), shows natives from the east coast of Africa, in the area of Mozambique and Mombassa. A female and male adult, wearing woven textiles and head coverings, turn toward a child between them. The next scene, *GROS INDIA*, depicts adult inhabitants of the Malabar Coast of India, all clad in cloth waist coverings. A standing female holds a fruit in one hand and supports a parrot on the other wrist; a child runs toward her, uttering the text "mama he." After these four groups comes an impression depicting a group of Indian natives with a herd of animals (Fig. 5), possibly in the setting of a market, along with native flora and fauna.¹⁹ The terminal woodcuts (Figs. 6, 7), pulled from three linked blocks, depicts the procession of the king of



3 Burgkmair, *Natives of Guinea and Algoa*, 1508, handcolored woodcut, 11½ × 16¾ in. (28.5 × 42.4 cm). Freiherrlich von Welserschen Familienstiftung, Neunhof (artwork in the public domain; photograph copyright Freiherrlich v. Welserschen Familienstiftung)

Cochin. The first five scenes belong together as a set; overlapping elements of the blocks themselves substantiate this sequence. The ensuing scenes of the peoples of India and the train of the king of Cochin are also united by a continuous underscoring baseline.

The merchant account that generated this frieze must be considered in the tradition of travel narratives, as well as other European reports of discovery from the 1490s to the 1510s. In their first-person recordings studded with anecdote and hyperbole, Sir John Mandeville, Marco Polo, Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and Springer shared a common thread of adventurous travel; they tracked the movement of an eyewitness from one place to the next. They each produced raw data that were widely and variously consumed, not only by humanists but also by other adventurers. Both Marco Polo and Mandeville have been cited as sources for Columbus's route and as field guides for the wonders that he saw in the New World.²⁰ Columbus, using Mandeville as his model, also heeded his injunction to recognize difference. This kind of directive typically gave way to moralizing commentary that often blurred the reliability of his eyewitness claims.

By contrast, Springer's commentary is generally free from these types of judgments. In fact, we can say that insofar as Springer's purpose seems to have been to document what he saw, his mandate was to record the similarity he recognized.

Samenachglegenden figürndes wandels vnuß gebrauchs der Künigreich mit hilfe des almeßigen gott. Von tunglicher wurde Lemanet zu Portu abzücht geschnitten zum taußt. stantz auf mit zwei bernacn namhaiff ger laufauß. Sie fücker. Walser. Höchster. Hirschögd. Sternb vnd andern das ich Baltusall Springer vñ filz als am besterer von wegen der Vcher zu Augspurg nach aufsichtliche schaffung vnd solich erfan vñ selbs angeben hab zim truch wie sie gehaben wort.

Zum den entz zu Lisbona einer Portugaliade außfahrt. fuce wir auf an de goß tag marthi im jar m/cccc vñ vnd kame in dienst Cantry. vñ mal. Da zwische sind zwey inßlin dar einjend leit vñ wol bekert. dann im dñe vñ lage vñ großen seßmen gaſſen vñ ist großer laufsch vñ fuſſen vñ yucker. in den andern in clifflingen vñ leb vnd scind gar schwach vnd wild. da neßt in liegt das land Barbaria vnd ist daß vñ vñ in Hemna der schwärzen moen land an das kost das vorberg der moen Cabo wird genaßt. da leit ainfat Burgarid vñ Lisbona. /cccc/ meil da sein vñ wulfisch vnd fliegen füch vnd von Burgagid /cccc/ meil da sunn wir vnder der sunn hin vnd verluren den sean polynärtic dall wir in mynen laben. Über den andern polu antarcium er aien wir als pald wie groß vngewiter wir da exiten in dem baissen land vnd den circel equinoz ist on noz zu schwören. Das genaßt moenland ist m/cccc/ meil weit wölche gäng naekent vñ guldin ring an armen vnd füzen tragen vñ beschauung vñnder der eden. in den in illamanda sond hodd bám daran ykerben hauwen himmels die frucht zir raschen

Burgkmair zu Augspurg

IN ALLAGO

Burgkmair reflects these concerns; accordingly, his illustrations mark a radical departure from those that accompanied the reports of Columbus or Vespucci.

More important, Burgkmair's illustrations introduce another novelty to this genre: the visualization of empirical data. Previous travel accounts that had based their rhetorical claims on the authority of the eyewitness had rarely furnished images that would appear to support those assertions.²¹ The depictions of monstrous beings that accompanied the earliest travel accounts never matched the findings of empirical investigation.²²

The great travel accounts of Marco Polo and John Mandeville (early and late fourteenth century, respectively) owed their popularity to the authors' adventuresome spirit and gift for hyperbole. The reliability of some of Marco Polo's reports are compromised by the number of his tales that remain unconfirmed, and John Mandeville, if there was such a man, is rumored never to have left his study. Thus, the very travel that travel literature might assume as a prerequisite to its recounting was semiobsolete in the medieval period. Printers traded as much on their authors' personalities to sell copies as on news of their discoveries. The sine qua non of good travel writing was a good editor. Marco Polo dictated his recollections to a scribe fluent in literary conventions. Mandeville was primarily an editor of others' written accounts, which he appropriated liberally, but he advertised



4 Burgkmair, *Natives of Arabia and India*, 1508, handcolored woodcut, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (27.2 × 41.2 cm). Freiherrlich von Welserschen Familienstiftung, Neunhof (artwork in the public domain; photograph copyright Freiherrlich v. Welserschen Familienstiftung)

himself as the text's author, standard practice in medieval writing.²³

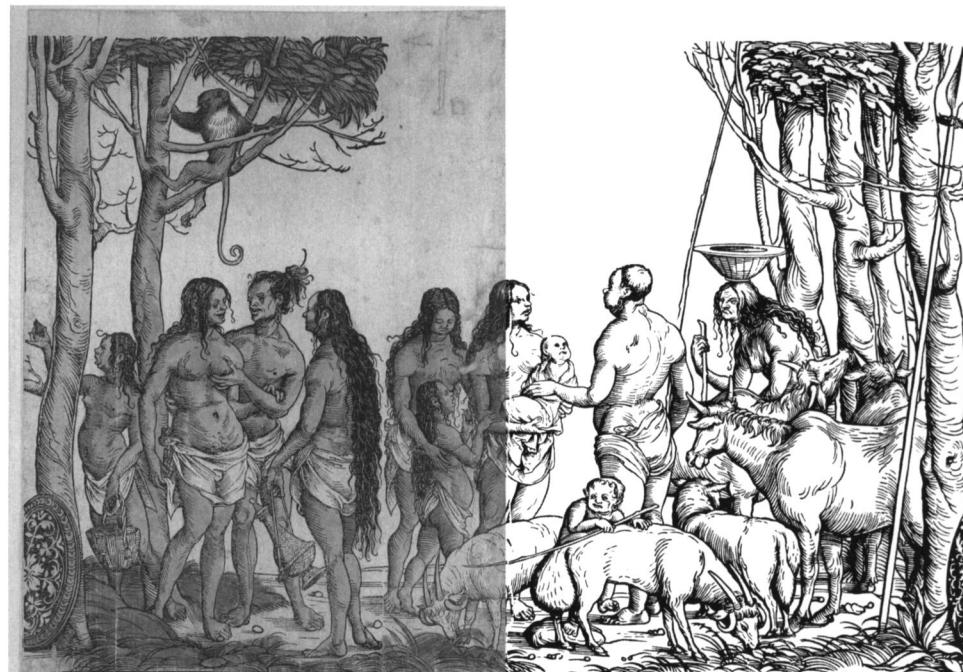
To humanists who maintained and amended the books of antiquity, whose erudition included specialized knowledge about literary conventions, fell the job of fielding reports by such merchants and sailors as Columbus, Vespucci, Nicolò de' Conti, Bartolomeu Dias, and Vasco da Gama and squaring their travel accounts with ancient literary forms.²⁴ As they revised the texts of classical authors, humanists began to question the "facts" that did not match empirical experience. The incorporation of new facts introduced contradictions into the wisdom of antiquity, and the exposure of new corners of the earth about which the ancients had remained silent delivered a fatal blow.²⁵ Although the dismantling of the authority of classical antiquity happened in fits and starts, Anthony Grafton has demonstrated that a good bit of the chipping away was done by humanists engaged with geographic literature.²⁶ Humanists came upon geographic infelicities when amending and improving Ptolemy's *Geographia* and took seriously the observations of travelers like Springer who claimed to have seen things firsthand.²⁷

The symbiosis of traveler and humanist opened the door for the kind of cross-fertilization between cosmography, travel accounts, and maps that made Burgkmair's frieze possible. Merchant accounts and route books, called rutters

Von Canauo dem Fünigreich ist tenir in groß. In niam da gond die mensch ganz nacken funder bilden ist scham mit leynart. Sij den braun schwartz und langem haer als sie vnde angezogen. Von can waern etwas mich verunderet ist hic mit zustreichen. Es ist am saft des blodkranckes abzoba und den geschaden des menschen hyn. Son wie offt vil vngewiss seide geschen ven man vnd treuen die zt sind vnd hauferd mit in furt Alba finde man Ingobet Pfeffer. V regeln Zimt vnd junip allerlay speccer, vnd edelstein vmb sian gezung gelt zuischen. Es hat dasam frude legen vnd domenlang vnd dazt blaur ans guten gelönnachey. Sich sind vil busch vñ tür die kaw rete hyn. Da wachst gitter wein vñ höring reiß. Eritas een gide grüne werb als sommelmel. Satini ist ein star haert bandane von der stadt vñ medina Calicut vnd u.c. vñ imal von danien ist die speccer allweg vnd noch gen Vendig gefütert werden über das rot meer durch Albagandam. Über jetzt ist ain neue art u Calicut langjhün über mir. als vor gemelt ist fösche speccy zittachen en ediger zitshim. In Calicut sind vil leut anssant Thomas land die auch christen sind vnd volkt do an den landen vnd nationen.

(from the Portuguese *roteiros*), circulated alongside the vernacular editions of the letters that Columbus and Vespucci sent to their patrons. Rutters were purely pragmatic accounts that outlined the logistics of reaching a destination and that championed the economic reasons for going, usually for trade and the quest for spices.²⁸ The pamphlet *Den rechten weg ausz zu faren vo[n] Lisbona gen Kallakuth* (Fig. 8), published in Nuremberg in about 1506 by a merchant who had returned from India, fell somewhere between a travel report and a rutter.²⁹ The pamphlet's title promises to reveal "mile by mile, the proper path from Lisbon to Calicut"; the text recounts ports along the way and raw materials to exploit and, above all, guarantees relative ease in gathering them. It is an anonymous and impersonal report without an overriding interest in geography or foreign peoples; it neither casts the inhabitants of these regions as monsters nor actively engages the trope of the exotic in trying to describe them.

If we consider the curious illustration that serves as its frontispiece—showing the location of India below the horizon and perpendicular to western Europe—we observe the use of this right triangle as shorthand for a very schematic nautical marker for the galleon at sea. As the purpose of the pamphlet was to galvanize interest in the Germans' participation in the India trade, it seems an effort was made to locate India in a deceptively proximate relation to Europe



5 Burgkmair, *Natives with a Herd of Animals*, 1508, woodcut, 10½ × 15¾ in. (26.5 × 39.9 cm). Freiherrlich von Welserschen Familienstiftung, Neunhof (artwork in the public domain; photograph copyright Freiherrlich v. Welserschen Familienstiftung)



6 Burgkmair, *The King of Cochin*, 1508, woodcut, printed from two blocks, 10½ × 27½ in. (27 × 70 cm). Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, Coburg, I 63, 32 (artwork in the public domain)

and the Indian-cum-wild man as a deceptively reductive contrapositive of the European.³⁰

Sometime before it went to press, this humble merchant report developed humanist ambitions: it acquired a Ptolemy map, which it lodges within its pages.³¹ When mediated by humanists, merchant accounts could work symbiotically with cosmographic knowledge. The pamphlet itself was a layman's accounting of the facts of the trip, but the Ptolemy map set the local journey into a worldview. It was likely a local humanist editor with knowledge of ancient geography who supplied this more universal and cosmographic framework to the otherwise practical account. Vernacular pamphlets like these did not effortlessly make the cut into humanist collections, the shelves of which were groaning with the weight of Greek and Latin authors. The library of the town secretary of

Augsburg, the humanist Konrad Peutinger, was among the first to give credibility to vernacular works, most important, authors like Vespucci and Vasco da Gama, whose redrawn contours of the world otherwise only gradually gave them some measure of authority. Probably sharing shelf space with these accounts was Springer's *Merfart*, the report on which Hans Burgkmair's frieze is based.

Springer's report came to both Peutinger and Burgkmair's attention through Peutinger's relatives and Springer's patron, the Welser family. These Augsburg patricians, merchant-bankers under whose auspices Springer sailed, provided the request for such a report.³² Springer shores up his connection to the Welser in the text on the frieze's first block: "I, Balthasar Springer, from Vils, sent by the Welser of Augsburg, have had knowledge by sailing and experience,



7 Burgkmair, *Natives of India with Camel and Elephant*, 1508, woodcut, 10½ × 14½ in. (25.6 × 35.8 cm). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 1000-2 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin)

and gave it myself to be printed, such as it is here."³³ In addition, Springer leans on the time-honored credibility granted the eyewitness.

Springer's *Mperfart* combined the statistical information of the rutter with the occasional wide-eyed incredulousness of travel accounts. His brief report details all the major landfalls, the crew's bravado, and the novelties they met with. As a sailor, he took notice of geography and topography, but he refrained from the swashbuckling tone of some high-seas adventures and adopted instead a sober narrative style.³⁴

Springer's *Mperfart* reported a merchant's observations and discoveries.³⁵ Submitted to his Welser patrons as a handwritten copy probably as early as 1508, Springer's whole-text version appeared in print as a pamphlet in 1509 with crude woodcuts by Wolf Traut. In this unabridged version, Springer's text jumps effortlessly from the crew's tribulations to their often hostile encounters with the local populations. Passages in the pamphlet also betray the unrelenting nature of Springer's mercantile eye, as he reconciles the marvelous variety of new things discovered to a gold standard. His tendency to reduce novelty to its monetary value produces some colorful *Mischwesen*: his first sighting of a dolphin describes a fish the size of a "pig worth about four gulden" attached to a bird's beak.³⁶

Springer's casual observations of peoples are slipped in amid other commentary of mercantile concern, such as the region's profusion of fatty cattle and the production of goods like cheese, sugar, and gold. A typical passage reveals that the indigenous people frequently reminded him of no more than wild animals:

In this kingdom and island, we saw both sexes of marvelous people living together without shame. While some cover only their genitals, others go about stark naked, and all are black like the Moors. Here begins the truly dark interior. Dwellings here resemble the structures that our

poor villagers place over their ovens. Here, the natives carry their huts with them and set them up wherever it is convenient.³⁷

When Springer's text was abridged for the purposes of captioning the woodcut, Burgkmair sifted through the anecdotal surfeit, retaining only the ethnographic information. In the frieze, the text cited above is reduced to: "The so-called land of the Moors is 1400 miles wide; there the inhabitants go naked and wear golden rings around their arms and feet"³⁸ (Fig. 2, see text block). The frieze's text blocks paraphrase relevant and abridged sections of Springer's original account to direct the reader's attention to the images. Inserted here as captions, they distill only the passages that pertain to the habits of these foreign peoples.

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

In this graphic format, Burgkmair transformed Springer's account into another kind of document entirely, one that reins in the peripatetic randomness of text and whose illustrations assert an eyewitness alert to ethnographic differences among peoples. The new legibility of the peoples of Africa and India arose as a confluence of data secured through

Springer's observations, faithful recordings by an artist, and Burgkmair's ethnographic eye. The latter was sharply focused by the intellectual pursuits of humanists like Peutinger.

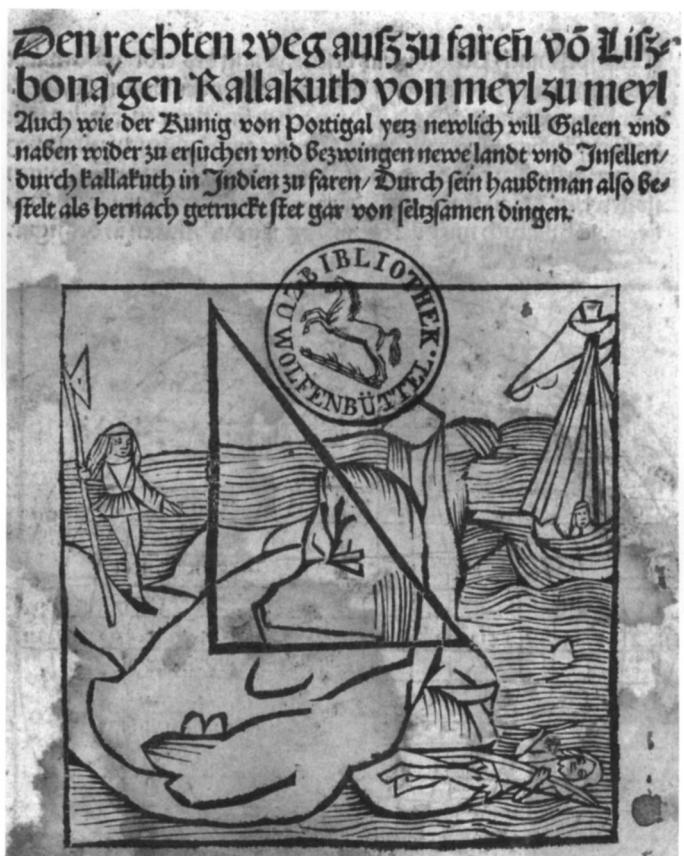
Germans in India and Indians in Germany

Konrad Peutinger, the Augsburg civic secretary, provided the physical as well as the intellectual link that connected the merchant Springer to Hans Burgkmair.³⁹ In humanist libraries like that maintained by Peutinger, who amassed the largest book collection north of the Alps, merchant accounts of amateur eyewitnesses to foreign peoples such as Springer's first rubbed spines with the canon established by the ancients Pliny and Herodotus.⁴⁰ Thus were the observations of the merchant's roving eye added to humanist data. Peutinger's library was the intellectual laboratory in which Burgkmair's Africans and Indians were discovered, and it was most likely Peutinger who brokered Burgkmair's involvement in the project.⁴¹

Through his contacts in Lisbon, Peutinger was uniquely privy to the latest news on the India front. Valentin Fernandes, a notary, translator, and book printer active in Lisbon, represented the Welser interests at the Portuguese court of Don Manuel as the Germans' trade agent. As official broker between the Portuguese crown and the German merchants, Fernandes was instrumental in securing trade privileges for the Welser, as well as the participation of agents like Springer in the Almeida mission.⁴² Peutinger, representing the legal and political interests of the Welser in Augsburg, was Fernandes's contact in Germany. This relationship served as the crucial conduit for the flow of mercantile information into learned circles. Perhaps the most notable bridge Fernandes spanned to print culture was his transmission of the sketch that Albrecht Dürer used as a study for his 1515 print of a rhinoceros. This sketch, perhaps through Peutinger, also found its way to Burgkmair for his own woodcut of that animal.⁴³

Peutinger's library preserves a little-known clue as to how Burgkmair might have obtained a firsthand view of Malabar Indians presented in the woodcut frieze. The humanist's library housed a collection of manuscripts relating to the contemporary exploration of India that constituted the most precise documentation of the Germans' trade activity, as well as reports of recent peregrinations to India. Peutinger kept painstaking track of the German presence in India and also had the only extant record of the presence of Indians in early-sixteenth-century Germany. A note written in Peutinger's own hand in his copy of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* announces the purchase of Indian natives by Peutinger's father-in-law Anton Welser, as well as by Ambrosius Höchstetter and Konrad Vöhlín, members of other Augsburg patrician families.⁴⁴ Burgkmair almost certainly saw these Indian natives, reported by Peutinger to be alive and well and living in Swabia, and used them as models for his frieze.

Peutinger offered Burgkmair more than just an opportunity to study living specimens. He furnished the humanist framework in which they were to be understood—not as monsters or exotics but as a contribution to a new chapter in cosmographic knowledge. It is of no small significance that Peutinger noted these Indian newcomers to Augsburg in his copy of Ptolemy; to Peutinger the arrival of Indians in Ger-



8 Frontispiece to *Den rechten weg ausz zu faren von Liszbona gen Kallakuth*, Nuremberg, ca. 1506, woodcut, sheet 7 1/8 × 5 in. (18.1 × 12.7 cm). Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Sig. 274 Quod (4) (artwork in the public domain)

many betokened a geographic anomaly and, possibly, an amendment. As the *Cosmographia* had been designed to accommodate future discoveries, it seemed fitting that the revisions to the Ptolemaic world picture that these new peoples implied be noted there. In Peutinger's library, new facts came into meaningful contact with the substrate of antiquity.

Peutinger's broad enthusiasm for India reveals itself in a survey of his records on the topic; these range from anecdotal to notarial and humanistic. In his informal collection of conversations regarding the India trade in the fall of 1504, the *Sermones convivales*, Peutinger optimistically anticipated the participation of the Augsburg merchants and humanists in the India trade.⁴⁵ The *Sermones* demonstrate the very early proprietary interest Augsburgers had in India, as well as great expectations for the return on their investment. Hopes ran high during the 1506–7 mission in which Springer participated as agent for the Welser. Peutinger hoped for more than just commercial returns, however. He eagerly awaited firsthand accounts of the geographic and anthropological discoveries from Fernandes.⁴⁶

In addition to these accounts of Portuguese maritime activity, Peutinger meticulously collected and cataloged vernacular reports pertaining specifically to the India trade. Peutinger assembled fragments of letters concerning Welser company business in the India trade into a codex, as well as handwritten reports of the "discovery" of India from 1501 to 1505, including the accounts of Vespucci, da Gama, Pedro



9 Frontispiece to Giuliano Dati, *La lettera dellisole che ha trouata nuouamente il Re dispagna*, Florence: Laurentius de Morgianus and Johann Petri, October 26, 1493, woodcut, image 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (11.7 × 11 cm). British Library, London, IA 27798 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © the British Library)

Cabral, Francisco Alberquerque, and Almeida.⁴⁷ Peutinger's personal stake in the Welser family's commercial ventures seems almost a front for his cosmographic interests. Peutinger may well have valued Springer's report more for its addition to cosmographic knowledge than for its account of company business.

Peutinger shaped a political program out of the Welser family's commercial involvement. He coaxed Maximilian I, Holy Roman emperor-elect, to support the Welser venture as the champion of a national fact-finding mission. Fashioning Maximilian as a Maecenas to "the first Germans to search for India," Peutinger also flattered him as the first "king of the Romans" to send a search party to India.⁴⁸ In the heat of nascent national awareness spurred by the rediscovery of Tacitus's *Germania*, a first-century ethnography of the German peoples, Maximilian promoted the ancestral *ur-German* after much textual and archaeological excavation.⁴⁹ Humanists with anthropological interests had set in motion the rediscovery of this Roman text, and the emperor co-opted it for nationalistic purposes.⁵⁰ Since Maximilian had already unequivocally embraced the wildness of the early Germans as a point of national pride, Peutinger was correct in surmising that German participation in the discovery of another possibly primitive people was both an idea and an enterprise that Maximilian would support.

Mapping Peoples and Customs

Collecting practices such as Peutinger's brought travel and ethnography into the realm of cosmography, pairing the particularity of the first two with the universality of the latter.

Peutinger's inscription of the citation regarding Indians in Germany within the pages of his copy of Ptolemy could not have happened in the absence of an epistemic shift that made this the logical place to deposit such ephemeral information. The Indian arrivals to Augsburg stand in relief against the backdrop of the world picture of antiquity, living, breathing examples of the carefully tallied vernacular facts by which the moderns would amend the wisdom of the ancients. Pliny once reported Indians to be races without nostrils who breathed only with great difficulty; by contrast, the reported Indians easily registered a pulse in Swabia.

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

The use of uncredited recyclings was endemic to the early print trade and determined iconographic ready-mades used to illustrate New World natives. The tradition of the wild man guided the earliest German frontispieces of the printed voyages of discovery.⁵¹ The wild man was an easily accessible primitive with a long history of embodying life on the margins of civilization and, as such, was an obvious iconographic surrogate for the illustration of newly discovered beings of dubious civility. Publishers active in other parts of Europe also used other recycled iconography for travel accounts of the New World. The frontispiece of an Italian edition of a Columbus letter printed in Florence in 1493, which accompanied Giuliano Dati's *ottava rima*, a rhymed retelling of Columbus's journey in a form employed for chivalrous epics (Fig. 9),⁵² shows peoples with featureless faces and bodies for whom nudity is the distinguishing mark of otherness. Even when the newly encountered Caribs secured a compositionally more central position, nudity remained the mark of their difference. In the 1509 Strasbourg edition of Vespucci's *Mundus novus*, the contrast of the natives' nudity is heightened by their juxtaposition to overdressed Europeans, whose features are hidden by hats and back views. These were typical ways of asserting the alterity of the natives without explicitly defining it.

A crucial development in the depictions of New World inhabitants emerges around the same time in the same ambient as Burgkmair's frieze. The anonymous artist of the Vespucci broadsheet from the press of Johann Froschauer in Augsburg in 1505 found visual parallels for Vespucci's descriptive detail of the natives' appearance, for which recycled stereotypes no longer sufficed (Fig. 1).⁵³ The Augsburg broadsheet is the only woodcut predating Burgkmair's frieze that displays curiosity about the appearance and customs of

the depicted inhabitants, who have been identified as Brazilian Tupinambas. These natives follow the prescriptions of Vespucci's text: they congregate, interact socially, and appear in characteristic feather ornamentation and body piercing—particularities and details that document claims announced in the caption. To this novelty, Burgkmair added the documentary strategies employed by contemporary navigation charts, finding in maps a sensible model because he was similarly concerned to reveal the coordinates of travel while simultaneously portraying inhabitants of these lands.

The representation of travel always taxed compositional conventions when it tried to render two places at once. Most illustrations that accompany the Columbus and Vespucci reports collapse the moment of departure and arrival into a single scene so that Europe and the New World occupy opposite ends of the image, giving pride of place to a vast empty sea between them. The strange symbol on the frontispiece of the aforementioned merchant pamphlet *Den rechten weg* (Fig. 8) reverses this formula. A triangular notional map of Europe and India, it argues for the continuity of the world—an India relative to Europe.

Broad schematic formulations work in tension with the kind of minor compositional unities and naturalisms that Burgkmair endows in the individual groupings. The peoples depicted in the first part of the frieze (Figs. 3, 4) stand as fixed groups of family units, distilled into a series of linear comparisons that do not strive for overall compositional unity. Invoking painting's compositional and narrative unities only in local sections of the frieze, Burgkmair's composition primarily invites comparison to other genres, like sculptural friezes and maps.

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

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

Portolans constituted the most precise cartographic depictions of Africa, Asia, and the New World in the early modern

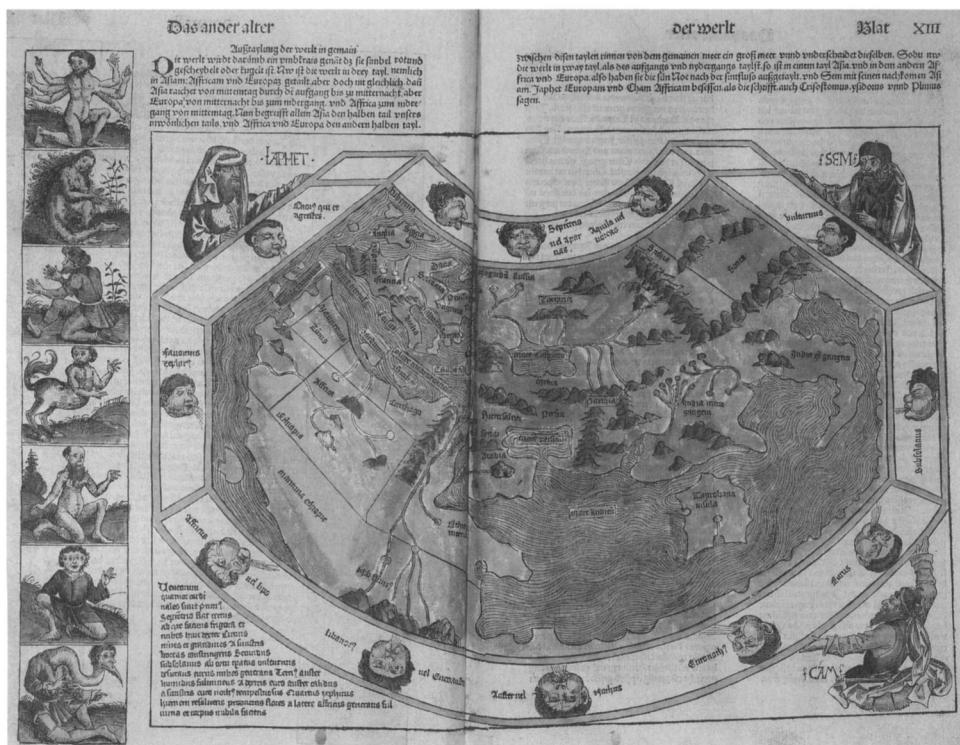
period.⁵⁴ These sea charts, despite their conventional nature, make claims of internal coherence that vouch for their accuracy.⁵⁵ Originally produced by Mediterranean sailors, who made local measurements to chart the shapes of harbors, portolans took very specific account of coastlines and harbors, on whose visibility all premodern navigational methods depended.⁵⁶ The usefulness of the portolan depended on the reliability of the shapes of its coastlines, whose contours are visually emphasized. Rhumb lines charted distances and directions of given voyages and knit landmasses together. In their absence of an absolute directionality, an orienting grid, and an omniscient point of view, portolans abstractly schematized the world.

The coastline is the feature that orients and "magnetizes" the portolan and fixes the line as a means of representation. Edward Casey argues for the bivalent nature of this line, one that forms both literal and discursive boundaries. The line marks the real and literal border of the land, as well as the site of the imaginary schematized sign of this termination—a line around which the pictorial and landscape features congregate.⁵⁷ Burgkmair's baseline similarly knits together sections of the merchant's map.

Burgkmair's frieze adopts analogous configurations of space, synthesizes a group of spatial coordinates, and draws characteristic topographic features at the coastline. Here organized on a linear grid, it makes geographic sense of Springer's chaotically narrated journey by compartmentalizing it regionally. As in maps, sections are marked off with topographic features. Trees, used illusionistically in local instances, also function schematically within the frieze as a compositional whole—part of the visual formula to mark divisions and distances. Burgkmair thus melded groupings that might well delineate moments of experienced reality with pictorial elements meant to function schematically. These "pictographs" work in tandem with the blocks of text, which dwindle into ever briefer captions in later editions of Burgkmair's frieze.⁵⁸ The headlining toponym IN GENNEA mimics the discursive space of *mappaemundi* that simultaneously accommodate titular logographs as well as pictographs. The very low horizons of the shallowly sketched backdrops of the frieze suggest a two-dimensional surface onto which the regional toponyms IN GENNEA, IN ALLAGO, IN ARABIA, GROS INDIA, and the KUNIG ZU GUTZIN (Cochin) are inscribed.⁵⁹ The frieze shifts between two-dimensional cartographic projection and three-dimensional Albertian projection, like the contemporary sea charts.

By segmenting and parcelling peoples into groups without regard for narrative coherence, the frieze also borrows maps' organizational strategies. The regions of Africa and India are divided into sections not unlike the original accordion-style mounting of portolan sea charts and the atlases that were made from the Ptolemaic model.⁶⁰ Clearly demarcated segments orient the viewer, present information in a successively ordered fashion, and inscribe the direction of travel. Maritime portolans were more or less linear, meant to be viewed one section at a time, and for ease of use at sea were probably mounted on firm and hinged supports that could collapse like an accordion.

From a formal standpoint, Burgkmair's frieze functions in a similar way. Burgkmair certainly would have been exposed



10 Hans Pleydenwurff and Michael Wolgemut, *Map of the World*, in *Nuremberg Chronicle*, 1493, handcolored woodcut, image 15 × 19½ in. (38 × 49 cm). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Rar. 287, fols. XIIv, XIIIr (artwork in the public domain)

to Peutinger's map collection, which contained some examples in unusual formats. A surviving copy of a late antique Roman road map, the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, laid out the world linearly like a scroll and indicates that the linear scale of late antique mapping was as much a convention as spherical projection.⁶¹ The fact that the *Tabula* was in Peutinger's collection by early 1508 raises intriguing possibilities for its potential ancestry as a formal model for Burgkmair's frieze. It is also tempting to suppose that the reference to an "indianische Mappa" included in an inventory of Peutinger's print collection may have designated Burgkmair's frieze.⁶² After all, maps were among the few other contemporary multiblock prints; they were similarly pulled from several blocks and usually required arranging and mounting for the sake of coherence.⁶³ The fact that another sixteenth-century collector mounted Burgkmair's frieze in precisely this scroll-like, or *rótulo*, manner, strengthens the case that Burgkmair's frieze could very well have been considered a map.⁶⁴

Among the quantifiable information that maps presented, and on which Burgkmair expanded, was the location of "races." In maps from antiquity to the early modern period, geographic space was often construed as a function of the bodies that resided in it. Exotics and prodigies historically made their homes on maps, sometimes in the midst of vast continents where they were said to roam. The headless Acephali inhabited the East, and the Sciopods of the Torrid Zone shaded themselves with their umbrellalike feet to escape the subequatorial heat. At other times, the monstrous races stood as lonely sentinels on the rim of the known world. A new strategy emerged in the strip format border of the map in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493 (Fig. 10), which organized the Marvels of the East into a neat taxonomy of species located in a detached frame. Valerie Traub has argued that the cartographer's act of drawing lines around regionally

distinct social groups was a de facto means of signifying racial difference.⁶⁵ In these marginal frames, the marvels, disorganized for generations, have been neatly organized into flattened compartments that keep them discrete, their physical anomalies providing the grounds for their separation. These divisions tag them as metonymic representatives of their races.

Broadsheets announcing news of discoveries also shared compositional qualities with contemporary maps. A Vespucci broadsheet produced in Leipzig in 1505 similarly depicts landmasses as dramatized sites of discovery (Fig. 11). Although the Indians depicted on it have been given conventional traits, such as bearing, dress, and characteristic props, there are no particularities to suggest that they are the product of observation from life. Like figures on a map, they eternally stand guard. In the repetition of defining characteristics in each exemplum, like the front line of an infantry formation, they invite metonymic classification by their European guests.

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

Customized Races

The early modern construction of race distinguished people geographically from each other, seeing them as distinct in terms of culture, habit, and customs.⁶⁶ Burgkmair expresses customary difference by elaborating dress and habit on repeating family units. Whereas Springer's accompanying text

11 Broadsheet, Vespucci, *Das sind die new gefunde[n] mensche[n] od[er] Volcker*, Leipzig: Stuchs? 1505, handcolored woodcut, 11½ × 16 in. (29.2 × 40.5 cm). Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Sig. QuH 26 (5) (artwork in the public domain)



generically describes the inhabitants of western Africa as a group of dark-skinned nomadic dwellers, Burgkmair maps these particulars onto units of nuclear families. Burgkmair repeats this convention for each of the distinct groups Springer met throughout his journey, thus giving his frieze a prescient ethnographic aspect.

For the Khoisanid peoples of Algoa Bay on the southeastern tip of Africa (Fig. 2),⁶⁷ Burgkmair maps customs and dress on a heterosexual unit (that is, an adult man and woman). He shows them in their customary dress, marking gender distinctions; the adults are clad in mantles of skin and fur, the woman shown with her head veiled in sheepskin, and the male with a fur loincloth.⁶⁸ Burgkmair elaborates other regional practices, such as the custom of binding young boys' genitals and adorning their hair with pitch and precious stones.⁶⁹ Burgkmair extrapolated other customs not mentioned in the text from artifacts that returned with merchants like Springer and may have circulated in Augsburg, but he imported only those customs that could be disposed on the armature of a nuclear family.⁷⁰

Burgkmair's focus on native peoples was generated from outside the text. Whether he engineered this emphasis himself, was gently guided by a humanist hand, or was inspired to do so by the types of artifacts at his disposal is difficult to say. Springer's text indulges in tales of plunder and activities that exact commercial gain and dominion over the land's peoples. We can see this even in the abridged versions that caption the frieze; each site along the coast of modern-day Mozambique, Tanzania, and Kenya ("In Arabia") serves merely as a coordinate of plunder and destruction:

As we entered Arabia we saw people dressed as they are pictured here and this is the territory whence came one of the three kings / this is where they bind the horns and

ears of the oxen in Arabian gold / . . . one mile from Sofala is a city by the name of Quiloa which we took and killed many of the people and then plundered the city . . . / Seventy miles from Quiloa is the city of Mombassa which we burned and where we murdered many and brilliantly plundered. (Fig. 3, text block)⁷¹

For this section, Burgkmair unexpectedly concentrated on a precise description of the dress of these Islamic east Africans.

Picking through Springer's unremitting and ruthlessly cavalier references to murder, destruction, and commercial gain, Burgkmair tried to make sense of the journey's encounters with peoples. Whereas Springer relied on legendary and biblical lineages ("whence came one of the three kings"), Burgkmair sensitively rendered and precisely classified these peoples' habits. Springer's account of India, the voyage's commercial destination, details commodities to be found there.⁷² By contrast, Burgkmair specifies peoples and habitat, depicting native fruits and birds and integrating the local flora into the comparative pictorial pattern he had already established.

By "customizing" these races, Burgkmair established coherence in their depiction. The images begin to replace the text as a site for organizational cues in later reprints of this woodcut series that circulated without the accompanying text.⁷³ Within discrete spatial compartments that correspond to geographic sites, Burgkmair recorded the dress and customs of inhabitants assigned to these regions. Although his visualization of regions as sites of customary practice was inspired by mapping impulses, interestingly, it is Burgkmair who helps to refine a program followed by later maps.

The frieze is the first image to chart the appearance, types, and customs of the natives of coastal Africa and India; it is an ethnographic map, a collection of facts that relies on carto-



12 *De Gothis & eorum saevitia*, in Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia universalis*, bk. 6, Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1552, woodcut, image $2\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. (5.5 × 13.5 cm). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Res 2 Geo.u. 51a, fol. 262 (artwork in the public domain)

graphic organization to authorize it. Maps functioned as bearers of quantifiable data, charts in which features and boundaries were explored primarily in relation to like types. Employing this same logic, Burgkmair used both text and image to square off relations between geographically distinct entities. Locations in Africa and India, for example, are cordoned off by trees that signal the distance, both physical and conceptual, between them.

Burgkmair's strip format became a graphic formula handily employed in delineating peoples and a standard used for future representations of peoples where ethnographic distinction is implied. For example, the woodcut frieze *The Goths and Their Cruelty* in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* introduces a section on peoples and customs (Fig. 12); it employs the syntax of the "ethnographic frieze" even after spatial divisions disappeared.⁷⁴ This image shows various pairings of peoples meant, in this context, to portray Goths. With its display of the various races Springer described placed in commensurable, calculable, and repetitious groupings, Burgkmair's method is driven by contemporary forms of inquiry, which connected phenomena separated by space and time by means of similitude.⁷⁵

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

Burgkmair based at least some of his illustrations on visual studies made by others; the crude woodcuts made by Wolf Traut for Springer's pamphlet version of 1509 suggest a common model.⁷⁶ These studies probably differed greatly from one another; nonetheless, in the frieze, Burgkmair

shaped whatever irregularities he came across into standard groupings. He supplemented these source sketches with close observation of artifacts and details distilled from Springer's text for the sake of regularity. Burgkmair's frieze reconciles each group to a comparative horizon, advertising all of them as ethnographic *comparanda*.

Considered together, these two sheets of the four groups use comparative methods to establish difference, but a difference rooted in a program of resemblances. Modern ethnography depends on the articulation of difference through formal conceptual structures and takes for granted the underlying kinship among subjects and these structures. As the kinship of European and non-European peoples was not assumed in the sixteenth century, it would be folly to look for a systematic study of racial or cultural difference. But since Burgkmair's illustrations methodologically anticipate ethnography, it is necessary to view his contributions in light of a historicized scientific method.

In the early modern period, the type of reasoning that would eventually underlie the later development of a science like ethnography was driven by the recognition of similarities rather than acknowledgments of difference. Taking the world's people as his subject, Burgkmair acknowledged the fact of human variation and understood that a method of systematic comparison was needed to parse it. This variation was expressed according to period structures of similitude. Methods for acquiring knowledge in the sixteenth century, according to Michel Foucault, were guided by principles of analogy.⁷⁷ Investigators searched for resemblances by uncovering hidden equivalences. Resemblances were established by weighing the unfamiliar with the familiar, subjecting seemingly unrelated items to a series of evaluations for different types of likeness, such as *convenientia*, the physical adjacencies of things in the world, or *aemulatio*, a more conceptual connection without proximity that permits the comparison of things operating at a distance.⁷⁸

Foucault's epistemology has been fruitfully brought to bear on New World discoveries by the anthropologist Peter Mason, who, extending Foucault's similitudes to include empirical investigation, argues that it was precisely these correspondences that permitted the methodological consideration of peoples far-flung over space, and even over time.⁷⁹ To this, I would add that Burgkmair anticipated comparisons that would later underwrite comparative ethnography by using the doctrine of resemblances *in order to show difference*. Burgkmair's frieze encourages anthropological cross-referencing. In a frieze format of a monumental scale that had no precedent in northern European art making, Burgkmair established a schema for the visual conditions of systematic comparison. Burgkmair's "ethnography" resides in the frieze as a forum for the study of anatomical similarities and differences, as well as the cultural sympathies of diverse peoples.

The frieze imposes a linear and modular arrangement on the structure of empirical experience. This linearity also holds in check the binary system of opposition seen in models that define the Other as an antipodal inversion of the self and interpret the New World as the world turned upside down. Its modular form militates against a positioned viewer.⁸⁰ Directing the viewer to consider phenomena side by side, the frieze encourages comparison versus pure opposition; it permits



13 Willem Janszoon Blaeu, map of Africa, *Nova Africæ descriptio*, 1630, engraving, 15½ × 21½ in. (40 × 55 cm). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Mapp. XX, 2 (artwork in the public domain)

cross-referencing. This ultimately promotes a study of the diversity of peoples as a function of their similarity rather than of analogically construed differences.⁸¹

The use of organizing principles, such as nuclear family units and the trees that divide each group, reinforces these peoples' significance as *comparanda*. The familial groupings are part of the construction of legibility that allows us to read these natives as commensurable, a familiar group through which differences and similarities can be read.⁸² As Traub has shown in similarly configured groupings in the margins of later maps, "there is nothing self-evident about representing the world's people as mature adults and in terms that explicitly situate them . . . as 'man and wife.' "⁸³ Nothing in Springer's text prescribes or even suggests such groupings; the artist has imposed them from outside the text. The imposition of this "fictive kinship" reveals how easily some of these conventions could absorb the exotic.⁸⁴

Burgkmair's frieze may indeed form the missing link between individually contained monsters in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*'s marginal strips and later maps that use heterosexual pairings in order to describe a region's peoples—for example, the 1630 map of Africa made by Willem Janszoon Blaeu (Fig. 13). Bernhard Klein maintains that this shift in the categorization of cartographic marginalia drove the Eurocentric projection of the natural social order as one of heterosexual pairing (Fig. 14).⁸⁵ Kinship is one of the conventions Burgkmair adopted to define *habit*, an overarching category that synthesizes "costume and custom, manners and morals."⁸⁶ Habit included traits like outward appearance, comportment, character, and disposition—characteristics emphasized by the division of peoples into familiar kinship and civil groupings.

Harnessing elements of the strange New World to familiar iconographic models such as recognizable kinship units, as

well as formal comparisons of "types" and "customs," Burgkmair structured powerful models of similitude for the cultures these natives represent. In this highly controlled universe, Burgkmair began the organization of the cultural space of what once had been the chaotic living quarters of the Other.

Types and Customs

Another method of relativizing the space of the Other was to place him into familiar compositional and iconographic paradigms. The scene that forms the coda to this woodcut series, the procession of the king of Cochin (Fig. 6), invokes decorative models such as the sculptural frieze. The format of Roman triumphal imagery has often been cited as the closest ancestor to Burgkmair's frieze, via contemporary Italian engravings of imperial imagery, and as the likely source from which Burgkmair's multiblock woodcut actually adopted its moniker "frieze."⁸⁷

Exposed to this format through his Italian influences and a trip to northern Italy in 1507, during which he visited Venice and possibly Florence and Milan, Burgkmair may have found a precedent for the king of Cochin in printed editions of Andrea Mantegna's designs for the *Triumph of Caesar*, a set of canvases then in the Ducal Palace in Mantua.⁸⁸ A series of twelve woodcuts inspired by Mantegna's engraved *Triumph of Caesar* was printed in Venice between 1503 and 1504 (Fig. 15), with designs drawn by the Venetian illuminator Benedetto Bordon and cut by Jacob of Strasbourg, a block cutter from Alsace who settled in Venice.⁸⁹

What recommends Bordon's woodcuts as a precedent for Burgkmair's frieze is primarily formal ancestry. The impressions of Bordon's multiblock *Triumph of Caesar*, when set end to end, form a unified visual field almost fifteen feet in length. The procession is conceived in linear format and



14 Detail of Fig. 13 (artwork in the public domain)

shallow relief like a sculptural frieze, with block capitals and text. Bordon's *Triumph of Caesar* relies on highly conventional forms and is universally noted for its crude linearity when



15 Benedetto Bordon after Andrea Mantegna, *Triumph of Caesar*, 1503–4, woodcut, $11\frac{1}{8} \times 15\frac{1}{4}$ in. (30 × 40 cm). Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett (artwork in the public domain)

compared with engravings made directly from Mantegna's series. While Bordon rendered the procession and architecture in the antique style, he did not develop a corresponding sophistication for the figures; his characters are marked by flattened, static poses and stereotypical visages.⁹⁰ Bordon's version has been noted as the only easily accessible model of a classical triumph in the period for artists north of the Alps, and it was probably the iteration with which Burgkmair would have been familiar.⁹¹

By choosing this familiar iconography of triumphal processions, Burgkmair incorporated previously unknown peoples into a syntax that the Western viewer would understand.⁹² Where the Italian precedents feature a victorious Caesar along with a train of loyalists, booty, and captives, Burgkmair's procession maps a similar event onto Malabar Indians.⁹³ He uses this familiar iconography to explore persons with unique physiognomic features and distinct roles.

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

For, after all, Burgkmair's Indians are not a band of first-century Romans but a host of newly discovered peoples. In contrast to Caesar, this king is not preceded by bombast or cartloads of booty. Native species take the place of booty: a feral dog trots alongside the elephant, a macaque on a leash

accompanies the march forward. What this procession lacks in discipline, it makes up for in specificity. In addition to Springer's description, Burgkmair must also have borrowed from other visual or textual sources, evident in the carefully depicted weapons and hairstyles used by the Nair, a Hindu caste in Kerala.

In Burgkmair's rendition of this episode, particularity reveals itself in the variety of tasks he assigned the participants. The artist outdid himself in the delineation of tasks, extrapolated only partly from the text. The very aimlessness of the activity betrays the artist's intention to show precisely the profusion of it. The division of labor seems to celebrate variety for its own sake, giving us a broad slice of life as ebullient as it is turbulent. An entire repertoire of roles is on display here—a troupe of musicians, litter bearers for the king on the palanquin, a mahout to drive the elephant, and an attendant whose job it is to protect the king from the sun with a shade.⁹⁴ These characters also exhibit a range of emotions: some half-dressed natives abandon themselves to music making while others let their unpredictable tempers flare, permitting accidents to give rise to skirmishes.

In the segment of the frieze devoted to natives of India with a herd of animals (Fig. 5), narrative threads knit together an array of individuals of both genders and a range of ages. The leftmost figure group, which includes a man grabbing the breast of the woman, suggests iconography of prelapsarian Adam and Eve. We know Burgkmair to have borrowed standard iconography for the purposes of setting his characters into familiar narrative contexts, such as the Rest on the Flight into Egypt for "In Allago," or the Garden of Eden here. But as he imported these motifs, he created new contexts. This market scene features the fauna of Africa and India; in the thicket a monkey sits in a tree, while cows look around and fat-tailed sheep (a breed found in Africa, the Middle East, and northern India) graze. He contextualized these peoples within the particularity and range of their habits, as diverse and specific as those of Europeans.

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

Elements of Style

The comparisons structured by the frieze's composition indicate that Burgkmair's purpose was to record and organize information, but the style in which he fashioned these natives announces another documentary claim, one that sought its legitimacy in the reproduction of life derived from empirical observation of nature. The degree of observation Burgkmair brought to African and Indian indigenes entails a new practice for the representation of the "exotic races." As we have

already seen in the case of travel reports, the print market did not demand that exotics be closely observed at all.

What accounts for the new standard of observation to which Burgkmair holds himself? On the one hand, original sketches made by an artist companion of Springer's from firsthand observation could answer for the specificity of customs and draperies. Local collectors were already amassing artifacts from Africa and India, and Burgkmair surely had occasion to view them.⁹⁵ Burgkmair also had opportunity to observe the Indians mentioned in Peutinger's marginal note, as these human subjects circulated in his own milieu.

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

In order to accommodate empirical observation, there had to be visual formulas into which it could be translated. The frieze exhibits the sum of technical refinements that transcribed empirically observed phenomena in the Renaissance: proportion, portraiture, and physiognomy. Burgkmair's contribution to verisimilitude also includes the inscription of a draftsman's hand into the print process. To assert that nature could be reproduced was a novel claim for the medium of print to sustain in about 1508, and a rarer one still for non-European subjects. The period of Burgkmair's activity in Augsburg is concurrent with a growing sophistication in composition and design, the result of an emergent group of block cutters who could successfully execute the designer's intentions.⁹⁶

Independent woodcuts did not develop in tandem with book illustration, which they predated, nor did they closely monitor their progress. The 1509 illustrated pamphlet version of Springer's journey printed after Burgkmair's frieze appeared provides an excellent case study of the relation between independent woodcuts and book illustrations.⁹⁷ Although probably based on source material identical to that used for Burgkmair's frieze, the illustrations, attributed to Wolf Traut, are universally considered crude and inferior. Traut's man from Algoa wears a long groin covering and awkwardly clutches a loose mantle of indeterminate fabric (Fig. 16). Many of Traut's artistic gestures lack Burgkmair's specificity; for example, where Burgkmair depicted the custom of binding young boys' genitals with intestines, Traut pictured the boy wearing simply a pair of small briefs. Following textual prescriptions or sketches, or both, Traut outfitted the adult with a walking stick and broad pancakelike sandals and showed his hair and beard to be knotted up with small stones. However, since no study of classical anatomy or proportions underlies this figure, these artifacts drape him as on a mannequin. This reminds us that what we see as stylistic refinement in printmaking did not constitute the kind of progress by which book illustration measured itself.

The draftsmanship Burgkmair brought to his early woodcut designs was guided by pictorial impulses that came from his training as a painter. Burgkmair's exercises in painterly



16 Wolf Traut, *Man and Child of Algoa*, in Springer, *Die Merfart*, 1509, woodcut, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (17.5 × 11.3 cm). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Rar. 470, fol. viii (artwork in the public domain)

modeling led to revolutionary advances in printmaking and contributed to naturalism in his printed oeuvre. His experiments with tones and tinted paper resulted in the *chiaroscuro* woodcut that simulated the quality of a finished drawing.⁹⁸ These crossover experiments freed Burgkmair's hand and catapulted the woodcut into a more refined artistic category.⁹⁹

Stylistic experiments with proportion also contributed to the development of naturalism. Critics have called Springer's account dispassionate because he avoided the exaggerations that characterized subsequent European obsession with the Khoisanid tribes of the Cape region, later known as Hottentots.¹⁰⁰ Marking Springer's "dispassion" is the blind eye the merchant turned toward anatomical anomalies like the stenotopygous swelling of the buttocks and the prematurely wrinkled skin that later travelers were to exaggerate and exploit.¹⁰¹ The "dispassion" of Springer's text, runs the suggestion, permitted a more scientific report. I maintain that we owe the report's dispassion, rather, to Burgkmair's attention to detail and proportion. These stylistic choices kept his images from entering the realm of exaggeration.

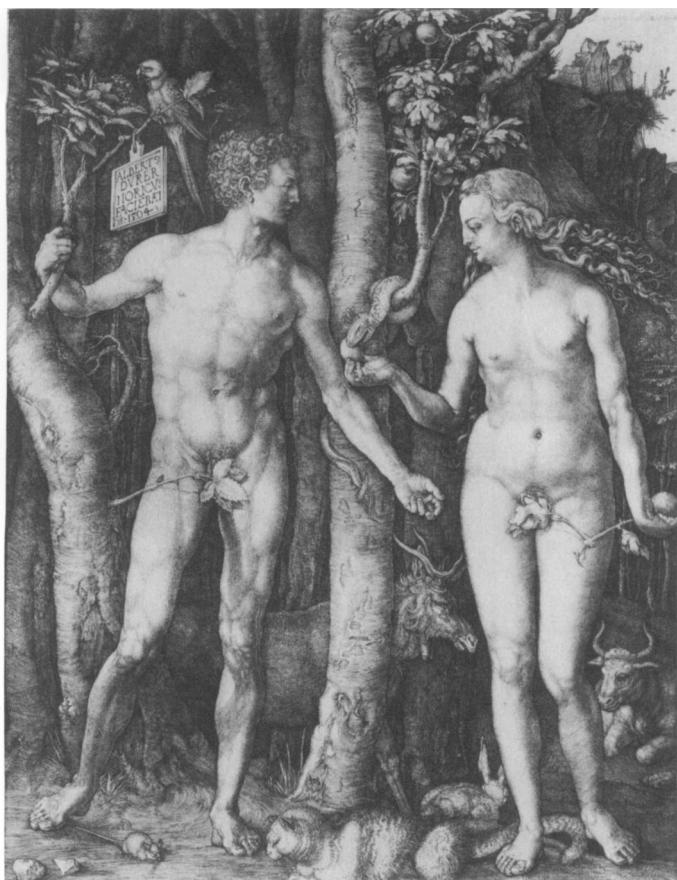
Systematization of proportion and perspective can in large



17 Burgkmair, *In Allago*, 1508? woodcut, 9 × 6 in. (22.8 × 15.3 cm). British Museum, London, 1856-6-14-105 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum)

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

Dürer's influence on Burgkmair is palpable in a later variation on the inhabitants of Algoa, in which the two adults seated in the frieze version instead stand (Fig. 17).¹⁰² This woodcut demonstrates Burgkmair's acquaintance with classical heritage transmitted through Dürer's 1504 engraving the *Fall of Man* (Fig. 18).¹⁰³ Dürer was an ardent student of the human body and, since his earliest studies from about 1500, the systematic translation of its anatomy into artistic vocabulary. Perfecting these technical skills allowed artists to better forge naturalistic impressions of figures in motion and to rationalize the conditions under which organic movement and adjustments for the beholder were made. Burgkmair's own interest in anatomy was awakened by prints like Dürer's and by his own knowledge of northern Italian techniques.



18 Albrecht Dürer, *Fall of Man*, 1504, engraving, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. (24.9×19.5 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, purchased with the Lisa Norris Elkins Fund, 1951, 1951-96-4 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Philadelphia Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY)

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

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

Burgkmair's early experiments with portraiture also antic-



19 Burgkmair, designs for Peutinger's *Kaiserbuch*, ca. 1500–1505, woodcut, $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$ in. (9.6×6.2 cm). Studienbibliothek Dillingen, Dillingen an der Donau, Sig. V, 1462 (artwork in the public domain)

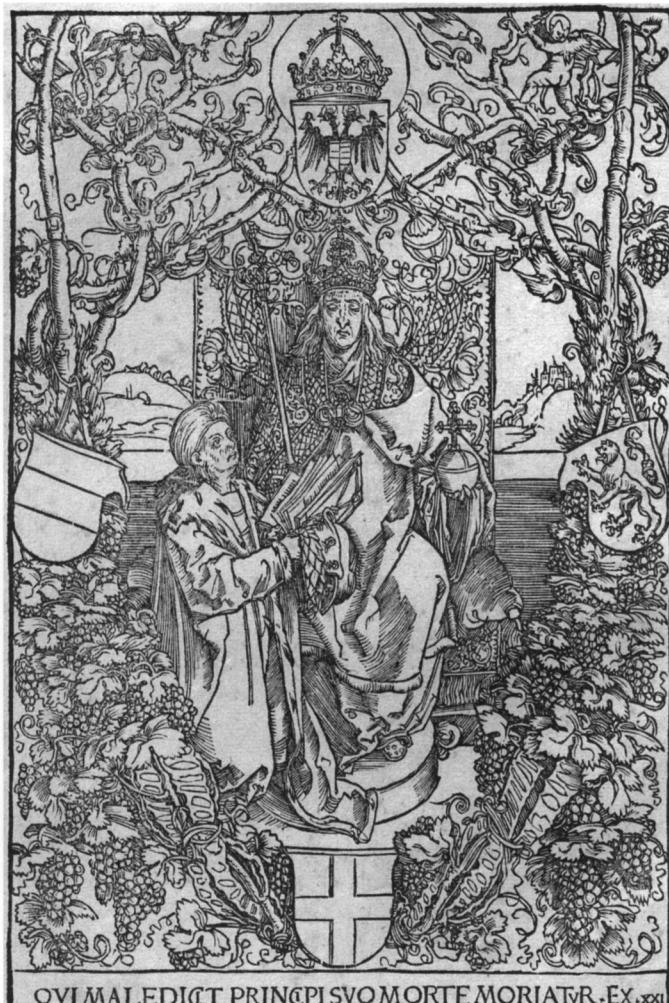
ipate the specificity with which he would later render ethnographic portraits. In the frieze, Burgkmair's formulas for torsion and proportion met the empirical practice of copying artifacts and incorporating sketches made from life. These empiricisms coincided with experimental forays Burgkmair had already made in bringing portraiture, one of the first genres to be born of closely observed nature, into the embrace of the graphic medium. The close observation critical to portraiture was a prerequisite for the ethnographic study of peoples.

Portraiture took its impetus from both the cult of personality central to northern European humanists and the antiquarianism that was their sport. Among the first print projects in the north to demonstrate that the medium of woodblock printing could support the weight of portraiture was Peutinger's *Imperatorum Augustorum et tyrranorum quorundam Romani imperii gestorum annotatio*.¹⁰⁴ Known in German as the *Kaiserbuch*, Peutinger's anticipated chronicle of emperors from Caesar to Maximilian was never published. Nonetheless, before 1505 Burgkmair produced twenty-odd surviving portraits, the *vera effigies*, or true images, of the Caesars (Fig. 19). Consistent with the humanist interest in authenticity, Peutinger's accompanying text vitae of the Caesars were the product of original research from primary sources, including documentary, epigraphic, and numismatic specimens.

Burgkmair's portraits reflect the new empirical nature of antiquarian research, and the *Kaiserbuch* would have marked the first illustrated humanistic vitae produced in Germany. Burgkmair's portraits, made from coins, represent strides in concern for specificity over the "character portraits" featured in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, which, just a decade earlier, had liberally and haphazardly recycled a group of about a dozen



20 Dürer, frontispiece to Konrad Celtis, *Quatuor libri amorum*, 1502, woodcut, 8½ × 5¾ in. (21.5 × 14.5 cm). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Rar. 585, 9v (artwork in the public domain)



21 Burgkmair, recut woodcut for Johannes Cuspinianus and Burgkmair, "Cuspinianus Celti ultimum vale. . . ." 1504–8? woodcut, 8½ × 5¾ in. (21.5 × 14.5 cm). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Rar. 585, 3r (artwork in the public domain)

portraits to stand in for a vast succession of popes, emperors, and biblical characters numbering in the hundreds. The exercise of copying numismatic portraits put Burgkmair into contact with the material remains of antiquity as well as acquainting him with humanist antiquarianism. These humanists' location of authenticity in the minting of a coin is evident in the fact that their own portrait medals often carried inscriptions, like *vera effigies*, designating them as objects that could carry mimetic weight.¹⁰⁵

Artists in Renaissance humanist circles co-opted the mimetic guarantee believed to be ensured by coins to produce portraits in the form of medals and used numismatic conventions to testify to their authenticity.¹⁰⁶ The idea that authenticity was guaranteed by these medal portraits was reinforced by Burgkmair's artistic method; for the *Kaiserbuch* portraits, he was inclined to copy and kept artistic invention to a minimum. Even in profile, Burgkmair's heads carry features of individuals, giving definition to noses, foreheads, necks, eyes, and, to some degree, hairstyles. Some chins are strong, others weakly droop or bulge; mouths and noses are subject to the same unflattering scrutiny characteristic of Roman portraiture of the Republican period. These aesthetic infelic-

ties help us remember that the coin's primary function was not aesthetic but documentary.¹⁰⁷

Burgkmair's consultation of Peutinger's coin collection for the *Kaiserbuch* portrait heads provides an enlightening example of how humanists' antiquarian interests put the material remains of the ancient world at the disposal of artists, along with a new understanding of what it meant to consult them.¹⁰⁸ Access to these artifacts shaped the revival of classicism by Renaissance artists, but as important as the evolution of new stylistic techniques was the admission of such material evidence into the artistic canon.¹⁰⁹

The desire of contemporary art patrons for recognition was both the cause and effect of portraits launched into print. Maximilian I was one of the first easily recognizable emperors, owing as much to his distinct profile as to the popularity of his circulating image in *Theuerdank* and the *Weisskunig*, the elaborate narrative woodcut projects that featured him. From the ranks of artists and humanists engaged in his printed projects, as well as by the frequent exercise of his veto power over images, we know that Maximilian made a career out of tending to his portrait.¹¹⁰



22 Detail of Fig. 21 (artwork in the public domain)

We suspect that Maximilian also had a hand in Burgkmair's alteration of a woodcut originally made by Dürer in order to portray the emperor more accurately. By 1504 Burgkmair had in his possession the woodcut block that Dürer had originally carved for a dedication frontispiece to the 1502 printing of Konrad Celtis's *Quatuor libri amorum* (Fig. 20).¹¹¹ Leaving most of the composition unmolested, Burgkmair surgically removed the portrait heads of Celtis and Maximilian from the block itself and replaced them with new designs of his own (Figs. 21, 22), which display greater sensitivity than Dürer's. Burgkmair recut Dürer's stylized heads to bring them closer into line with reality, eliminating the curls from Celtis's head and refining facial characteristics of both subjects.¹¹² The unequivocal superiority of Burgkmair's version is echoed by Tilman Falk's judgment that only in Burgkmair's version do the heads distinguish themselves from the coiled ornament.¹¹³ Larry Silver concurs that Burgkmair transformed Dürer's rather generic faces into portrait likenesses.¹¹⁴ Burgkmair brought painterly qualities to these faces with lines that are more functional, dynamic, economical and that lend his figures greater organic unity. Projects such as these in the years directly preceding his work on the frieze were critical to Burgkmair's maturity as a portraitist.¹¹⁵

Burgkmair's depictions of African natives in the frieze, as well as in a few watercolor studies, depart radically from conventions that had previously articulated race; these studies approach portraiture.¹¹⁶ Perhaps this specificity resulted from encounters with Africans in Venice, a place where Burgkmair acquired general knowledge of African physiognomy and habit.¹¹⁷ In more canonical contemporary depictions of Africans, such as the black Magus in Adoration scenes, racial distinctions were noted by physiognomic particularities, but they were generally not founded on observation. Morphological distinctions in complexions can be found in the Moor's head emblazoned on medieval Euro-



23 Unknown artist, Hartmann Schedel's ex-libris from his personal copy of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, pen, ink, and wash, 11½ × 9¾ in. (29.6 × 24.7 cm). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Rar. 287, fol. 5v (artwork in the public domain)

pean heraldry.¹¹⁸ This conventional heraldic "Moor" carried generalized Negroid features that had passed down for centuries without change (Fig. 23). These faces were morphologically distinct, yet still stereotypical. For his frieze portraits, Burgkmair studied specific, and in some cases individual physiognomies. As we can see, the natives of Guinea are not simply stereotypical heraldic heads attached to otherwise classically conceived bodies. In the frieze, Burgkmair weds physiognomy to ethnography—he evokes the particular within the general—and in so doing, he gives a prescient view of organized human diversity.

Burgkmair's engagement with physiognomic particularity reflected a concern shared by experimental sciences like physiognomy. Contemporary printed physiognomies processed data collected from the physical world and circulated those data as usable information. Physiognomies depended on close scrutiny of facial features and capitalized on the recognition of the variance in physical traits of individuals. Bartholomaeus Cocles boasted that his extremely popular physiognomy, *Book of Complexions*, had outdone those of his predecessors by the sheer abundance of individual cases he observed.¹¹⁹ This claim to observational prodigiousness was not a hollow one in experimental science. The practice of physiognomy relied on a pursuit of particularities and, as



24 Burgkmair, self-portrait medallion, ca. 1500–1505, frontispiece to Bartholomaeus Cocles, *In disem biechlein wirt erfunden von Complexion der menschen*, Augsburg: Hans Schönsperger, 1515, woodcut, sheet 5½ × 7½ in. (14 cm × 19 cm). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Res. 4 Anthr. 8 (artwork in the public domain)

Cocles would have us believe, a systematic observation of phenomena. Curiously, certain editions of Cocles's *Book of Complexions* advertise the text as a practical aid to predicting the character of a slave from the sum of his physiognomic parts. According to the author, merchants engaged in the slave trade used it for this purpose.¹²⁰ Burgkmair surely would have found a more nuanced application for a book like this, possibly as a resource that encouraged the systematic observation of faces.¹²¹ Artists might have recognized the physiognomist's quest for particularity as a kindred one.

The similar nature of the artist's and the physiognomist's mandate to observe may help explain the curious appearance of Burgkmair's self-portrait on the frontispiece of an edition of *Book of Complexions* printed by Hans Schönsperger the Younger in Augsburg in 1515 (Fig. 24).¹²² The woodcut roundel carries initials that identify the profile as Burgkmair's and is inscribed "Hanc Propriam Pinxerat Eff(i)giem": "He depicted this *particular* (or *his own*) likeness."¹²³ Perhaps the editor who chose this image recognized in it a program compatible with contemporary physiognomies: an engagement with likenesses beyond the general, as well as beyond the ideal.¹²⁴

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

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Notes

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All translations, unless otherwise noted, are mine.

1. Amerigo Vespucci, *Dise Figur anzaigt uns das Folck und Insel die gefunden ist durch den christlichen Kunig zu Portugal* (Augsburg: Froschauer, 1505) in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (hereafter BSB), Einblatt Sammlung V, 2. See Hans Wolff and Susi Colin, eds., *America: Das frühe Bild der Neuen Welt* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1992), 29; Friedrich W. Sixel, "Die Deutsche Vorstellung vom Indianer in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Annali del Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico* 30 (1966): 9–230; Wilberforce Eames, "Description of a Wood Engraving Illustrating the South American Indians," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 26, no. 9 (1922): 755–60; and Rudolf Schuller, "The Oldest Known Illustration of South American Indians," *Indian Notes* 7 (1930): 484–97.
2. Vespucci, *Dise Figur*: "Dise figur anzaigt uns das volck und insel die gefunden ist durch den christenlichen künig zü Portugal oder von seinen underthonen. Die leut sind also nackent hübsch. braun wolgestalt von leib. ir heübter / halsz. arm. scham. fuss. frawen und mann ain wenig mit federn bedeckt. Auch haben die mann in iren angesichten und brust vil edel gestain. Es hat auch nyemantz nichts sunder sind alle ding gemain / Vnnd die mann habend weyber welche in gefallen. es sey mütter. schwester oder freündt. darjnn haben sy kain vnderschayd. Sy streyten auch mit einander. Sy essen auch ainander selbs die erschlagen / werden. und hencken das selbig fleisch in den rauch. Sy werden alt hundert vnd fünftzig iar. Und haben kain regiment" (This figure shows us the people and island that have been discovered by the Christian King of Portugal or by his subjects. The people are naked, handsome, brown, and their bodies well-formed. Their heads, necks, arms, genitals, and the feet of men and women are partially covered with feathers. The men also have many precious stones in their faces and chests. No one has anything of his own, but all things are common. And the men take women who please them, regardless of whether it is their mother, sister, or friend. In this matter they make no distinction. They also fight with each other. They also eat one another and they hang and smoke the flesh of those killed. They live to be 150. And have no government.)
3. Some objects featured, however, have their origin in direct observation, for example, the vertical crowns worn by the Tupinamba, collars, arm and ankle bands, feather skirts, and the rosette, a characteristic but misplaced feather bustle. The first European depiction of a cornstalk has been identified in the bottom left corner. William Sturtevant maintains that this woodcut was based either on sketches made on-site or on the actual artifacts sent back by Portuguese explorer Pedro Alvarez Cabral rather than on the accompanying text. See Sturtevant, "The Sources for European Imagery of Native Americans," in *New World of Wonders*, ed. Rachel Doggett (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 27. Peter Mason suspects that the woodcut was made according to verbal descriptions; Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 17.
4. William Sturtevant, cited in Christian F. Feest, "Indians and Europe," in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Feest (Aachen: Rader Verlag, 1987), 610. See also Sturtevant, "Latupinambisation des indiens d'Amérique du Nord," in *Les figures de l'indien*, ed. G. Thérien (Montreal: Université du Québec à Montréal, 1988), 293–303.
5. The frieze in its original state was presented in an exhibition on Hans

- Burgkmair's graphic work at the Städtische Kunstsammlung in Augsburg in 1973, following the arrangement proposed in F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1954); see Isolde Hausberger and Rolf Biedermann, eds., *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk* (Augsburg: Städtische Kunstsammlungen, 1973), cat. nos. 23–26. The first three prints are hand-colored; they are preserved in the Freiherrlich von Welserschen Familienstiftung, the collection of the Welser family in Neuhof. Impressions of the procession of the king of Cochin can be found in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Albertina, Vienna, and Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, in addition to a copy housed in the Graphische Sammlung in the Schaezlerpalais in Augsburg, inv. no. G. 12123. I have viewed the impressions in Neuhof, Berlin, and Coburg, in addition to those in the graphic collections in Augsburg and Munich. For the complete series, see Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts*, vol. 5, nos. 731–36. See also Giulia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints* (London: Trustees of the British Museum by the British Museum Press, 1995), 131–33; and Mark P. McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India," *Print Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (2003): 227–44.
6. Balthasar Springer, *Die Merfart und erfahrung nüwer Schiffung* (n.p., 1509), Rar. 470, BSB, Munich. This pamphlet version, published after Burgkmair's frieze and referred to in the literature as the "long report," contains Springer's complete text and thirteen woodcut illustrations by Wolf Traut. For a facsimile edition, see Franz Schulze, *Balthasar Springers Indiensfahrt 1505/6: Wissenschaftliche Würdigung der Reiseberichte Springers zur Einführung in den Neudruck seiner "Merfahrt" vom Jahre 1509* (Strasbourg: Heitz und Mündel, 1902), 8ff. The text that accompanies the woodcut frieze is called the "short report."
 7. An *exotic* denotes an entity that exists primarily in the popular imagination, divorced from empirical experience and derived from a series of formulas that use the self as a point of departure, reminding us that "representations of the other are never unprejudiced and should be treated at the level of discourse"; Peter Mason, "Classical Ethnography and Its Influence on the European Perception of the Peoples of the New World," in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, ed. Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 139 n. 11; see also idem, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic*, 1ff.
 8. In German-speaking regions, the wild man was routinely called into service to represent peoples discovered by Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci. See Susi Colin, "The Wild Man and the Indian in Early Sixteenth-Century Book Illustration," in Feest, *Indians and Europe*. Alternatively, the classical tradition of the Marvels of the East provided a ready and diverse taxonomy of monsters from whose repertoire the inhabitants of Africa and Asia were regularly drawn. See Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159–97.
 9. Christian F. Feest, "'Selzam ding von gold da von vill ze schreiben were': Bewertungen amerikanischer Handwerkskunst im Europa des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts," *Pirkheimer Jahrbuch* 1992, 105–26, at 116. Feest provides examples of the overreaching embrace of this sixteenth-century term (now meaning products from Calicut, a city on the Malabar Coast of India) to describe Indian, Brazilian, or even African artifacts.
 10. See Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, cat. no. 26.
 11. Ethnography, in the sense of prolonged empirical and comparative study, is perhaps never applied confidently to any visual medium outside photography, film, and video, but for earlier use of the term, see John Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, no. 30 (1964). Although the words "ethnography" and "ethnology" were not coined until the late eighteenth century, *anthropologia*, in its Renaissance Latin form, implied the study of man and approximated moral history's study of life and customs. By and large, ethnographic observations were often made and collected by amateurs and, if published, were usually for the purpose of describing curiosities rather than the collection of systematic information. See also Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964).
 12. See Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Travel Writing and Ethnography," in *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 243. Rubiés maintains that nineteenth-century ethnography found its roots in the humanistic disciplines of early modern Europe in the form of travel writing, cosmography, and history. See also Jean Michel Massing, "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach," in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, ed. Jay Levenson (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 516–17.
 13. See Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints*, 132.
 14. See n. 5 above and Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, 2–6.
 15. The original blocks, probably of pear wood, survive as part of the Dereschau collection of the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, an early-nineteenth-century collection of woodblocks. For these blocks, see McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze," 227; for a newly inventoried block, see *idem*, *Print Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (2004): 159–60.
 16. See McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze," 227; and see his much-needed study of the inventory of Ferdinand Columbus's print collection, *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539): A Renaissance Collector in Sevilla* (London: British Museum Press, 2004). According to his reconstruction of Burgkmair's prints after an entry in an inventory of Ferdinand Columbus's print collection, McDonald argues that the frieze as we know it today is missing five sections. He speculates that these missing impressions would have elaborated on the "customs," or activity and behavior, of each depicted race, in the manner in which the people of "Gros India" (Fig. 3) are followed by a seminarrative scene of their customs. A costume book in the Lipperheidsche Kostümbibliothek that includes other sets of peoples derived from Springer's report may confirm McDonald's hypothesis. See Sigmundt Heldt, "Abconterfaiitung allerlei Ordenspersonen in iren klaidung und dan viler altern klaidungen," ca. 1560–80, Lipperheidsche Kostümbibliothek, Berlin Kunstabibliothek, Lipp Aa 3 mtl.
 17. This false impression is also preserved in the British Museum. Surviving impressions of the reversed print come from an eighteenth-century printing of a broken block then in the collection of William Mitchell. This block was printed in reverse order so that the impression of the animals precede the impression of the figure group beneath the monkey; the original version places this triad on the left. See Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints*, 131–33.
 18. These include a pirated version printed in Nuremberg by Georg Glockendom in 1511, a bas-relief in a chapel in Saint-Jacques, Dieppe, a boxwood relief now in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart, several tapestries, and other drawings. See Jean Michel Massing, "Hans Burgkmair's Depiction of Native Africans," *Res* 27 (Spring 1995): 39–51. Perhaps one of the reasons for its many incarnations was the novel format, which lent itself to the chopped-up re-interpretations and permitted shuffling and repetition at no great detriment to the composition.
 19. The copy in the Neuhof collection is missing the right half, an image of indigenes known from copies.
 20. For Columbus's use of medieval travel accounts as a gauge for his modernity, see Wolfgang Neuber, *Fremde Welt im europäischen Horizont: Zur Topik der deutschen Amerika-Reiseberichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1991), 35; for the role of John Mandeville in Columbus's search for a route to the Indies, see Beate Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Springer und der frühneuzeitliche Reisebericht* (Munich: Iudicium, 1999), 148. Columbus's familiarity with Mandeville is attributed to a group of English merchants in Seville who brought the latter's work to the Iberian Peninsula. See Mason, "Classical Ethnography," 141.
 21. One notable exception, Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (1486), was furnished with illustrations that try to reproduce his experience. Breydenbach took along the illustrator Erhard Reuwich for the purpose of recording aspects of his travels: prospects, sites, and peoples he saw along the way. For Breydenbach, see his *Die Reise ins Heilige Land: Ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1483*, ed. Elisabeth Geck (Wiesbaden: G. Pressler, 1961); Hugh William Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land 1483–4* (Utrecht: Haentjens, Dekker en Gumbert, 1968); and David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 34–35.
 22. For humanist Willibald Pirckheimer's wrath over such images, see Christine R. Johnson, "Buying Stories: Ancient Tales, Renaissance Travelers, and the Market for the Marvelous," *Journal of Early Modern History* 11, no. 6 (2007): 405–46.
 23. For the discursive function of medieval authorship, see Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?" in *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*, ed. Josué V. Harari (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979), 148ff.
 24. Joan-Pau Rubiés maintains that the act of submitting the traveler's rough data to the critical scrutiny of a humanist points to a rupture in late medieval travel literature, one in which the individual "experience of otherness" would be checked against the concerns of European intellectuals revising and expanding the classical canon. Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnography in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
 25. Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1992), 5.
 26. *Ibid.*, 48–68.

27. Both Vespucci and Columbus sent back to their respective patrons letters that passed through their hands into those of humanist publishers who consigned them to press. See Bernard Quaritch, *The Spanish Letter of Columbus to Luis de Sant' Angel* (London: Piccadilly, 1891), viii; and Samuel E. Morison, *Christopher Columbus, Mariner* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1955), 200ff. Vespucci's letters were brought to press by his Tuscan editors. For Vespucci's letters and the essential difference between the marketing of Columbus's letters and his own, which were printed sixty times in the period between 1503 and 1529—a sum that represented three times that of circulating Columbus editions—see Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 11ff.
28. *Roteiros* were pilots' written sailing directions, mostly consisting of two parts: the first, a treatise on theoretical navigation, which included calendars, rules for latitude, and tables for dead reckoning, and the second, written sailing directions between Portugal and their destinations in India and Indonesia. See Charles R. Boxer and J. Blackmore, eds., *Tragic History of the Sea* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 13.
29. *Den rechten weg ausz zu faren vo[n] Lisszbona gen Kallakuth* (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, ca. 1506), Universitätsbibliothek, Munich, inv. no. 4H.aux.1270:7. For an English translation, see John Parker, ed., *From Lisbon to Calicut*, trans. Alvin E. Prottergeier (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956). See also Irmgard Bezzel, "News from Portugal in 1506 and 1507, as Printed by Johann Weissenburger in Nuremberg," in *The German Book 1450–1750*, ed. John L. Flood and William A. Kelly (London: British Library, 1995), 31–44.
30. This frontispiece tries to develop pictorially and in three dimensions what had earlier been expressed in terms of pure geometry in the published editions of Vespucci's account of his third voyage, a triangle whose legs are labeled "hier sind wir," or "we are here," and "hier sind sie," or "they are here," with commentary detailing the direction in which the respective heads should point. With his diagram, Vespucci indicated the location of his landfall on his third voyage (a coordinate hovering around 50° S. latitude, which Vespucci called San Julian) by crudely plotting its distance from Lisbon, about 40° N. The resulting triangle represented a latitudinal difference of 90 degrees, with a 5-degree displacement in longitude. The frontispiece illustration is clearly based on Vespucci's diagram: it preserves his orthogonal triangle model and the text is in keeping with the language of his letter. I am grateful to both Robert Karrow and Neil Swerdlow for their assistance in interpreting this image.
31. A Ptolemy map on the verso of the first sheet indicates the location of both Nuremberg and Calicut. See Parker, *From Lisbon to Calicut*, 4.
32. Burgkmair honed his own artistic skills in the patronage of the Welser family, under whose auspices Springer sailed and to whom Peutinger was related through his marriage to Margarete Welser in 1498. Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Sprenger*, 39, posits that the Welser family probably requested the woodcuts from Hans Burgkmair. The author and artist were then probably brought together as a collaborative entity by Peutinger. See also Mark Häberlein and Johannes Burkhardt, eds., *Die Welser: Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002).
33. Balthasar Springer, quoted in McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze," 230. See also Henry Harisse, *Americus Vespuccius: A Critical and Documentary Review of Two Recent English Books Concerning the Navigator* (London: B. F. Stevens, 1895), 43; and Renate Kleinschmid, "Balthasar Springer: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung," *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 96–97 (1967): 150ff.
34. Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Sprenger*, 88–90.
35. For the role of merchants in mediating discovery in early modern Europe, see Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
36. Springer, *Die Mperfart*, fol. 1: "It was the size of a man in length, but resembled a pig worth about four gulden . . . its beak resembles that of a bird's, but wider with many sharp teeth in it. Such a fish is said to feed one hundred and twenty men; I have also sampled it."
37. Ibid., fol. 2: "Auch in diesem Königreich und auf den Inseln sahen wir merkwürdigerweise Menschen beiderlei Geschlechts ohne Scham untereinander wie die wilden Tiere: Manche bedeckten nur die Scham, andere ließen gänzlich nackt herum, und alle waren Schwarz wie die Mohren, wie wir sie nennen."
38. Text over "In Gennae" and "In Allago": "Das genannt morenland ist / m / cccc / meyl weyt wöliche ganzt nackt und gulden ring an armen und füßen tragen / . . . in dem land (Allago) gat das volck in maßen wie hie niden angetzaigt ist / Sy schlagnen umb sich fur ir kladding heüt unnd felz von thieren / . . . Die man tragen köcher oder schayden von holtz oder leder über yr scham / . . . Den yungen knablin binden sy ire schwenzlin über sich / . . . Sy haben ain schnalt-
- zende red / Das ist kain gelt sunder von eysen nimpt es für sein war / Sie tragen weisse stablin. . . . Sie tragen praita leder an den fiese . . . Als hie angetzaigt ist."
39. For Burgkmair's relationship with Konrad Peutinger, see Tilman Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien zu Leben und Werk des Augsburger Malers* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1968), 81–86. For Peutinger's relationship with the Welser family, see Helmut Zäh, "Konrad Peutinger und Margarete Welser: Ehe und Familie im Zeichen des Humanismus," in Häberlein and Burkhardt, *Die Welser*, 449–509.
40. Peutinger's library has recently been reconstructed by Hans-Jörg Künnast and Helmut Zäh, *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers: Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände*, vol. 1, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers: Der nicht-juristische Bibliotheksteil* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2003).
41. It is also likely that Peutinger shepherded it through the press. The frieze's roman majuscules, triangular interpuncts, and leaflike ornaments (see "In Allago," for example) all resemble the repertoire of typographic marks in Erhard Ratdolt's printed edition of Peutinger's *Romanæ vetustatis fragmenta* (Augsburg, 1505); see the edition in the New York Public Library, fol. 7v, reproduced in Christopher S. Wood, "Early Archaeology and the Book Trade: The Case of Peutinger's *Romanæ vetustatis fragmenta* (1505)," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 94.
42. The special privileges granted to the Welser and Vöhlins families over other German merchants are outlined in a contract dated February 13, 1503. See Heinrich Lutz, *Conrad Peutinger: Beiträge zu einer politischen Biographie* (Augsburg: Verlag Die Brigg, 1958), 55, 363 n. 11. For Fernandes and Peutinger, see Künnast and Zäh, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers*, no. 81.3, for the presentation copy for Peutinger, June 1505.
43. See Jim Monson, "The Source for the Rhinoceros," *Print Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (March 2004): 50–53. Monson suggests that both Dürer and Burgkmair (who made a more "accurate" rhinoceros in 1515, now in the Albertina, Vienna, absent the armorlike plates and dorsal horn) saw a sketch similar to the one recently discovered in a Chigi manuscript in the Vatican. For a general discussion of the rhinoceros, see Pamela Smith and Paula Findlen, "Commerce and the Representation of Nature in Art and Science," in Smith and Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels*, 1–8.
44. Konrad Peutinger, handwritten marginalia in Ptolemy, "Cosmographia" (Rome, 1490), fol. A3v, preserved in the Bodleian, Oxford, Gough Gen. top. 225: "Hodie Socero nostro sunt Serui Indi coempti duo / consanguineo nostro Ambrosio Hochstetter unus / Conrado Vehlin cognato nostro unus qui sani in Suevia degunt." Bound in this edition is also a letter from the Madeira-based Johannes Eggelhofer written to Peutinger in 1505 about the Welser expeditions. See Künnast and Zäh, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers*, no. 697. I am grateful to Hans-Jörg Künnast for this reference.
45. Konrad Peutinger, *Sermones convivales de mirandis Germanie antiquitatibus* (Strasbourg: Johann Prüss, 1506). Helmut Zäh is preparing an edition of this work.
46. Between 1506 and 1507, Fernandes collected a series of handwritten reports about the Portuguese explorations and transmitted these to the Welsers. In an inventory of Peutinger's library taken in 1597, "Inventarium bibliothecæ Peutingerianæ" (BSB, Munich, Clm 4021d, fol. 43r, no. 163), these Portuguese and Latin reports appear as the entry "De Insulis et peregrinatione Lusitanorum: Liber manuscriptus." Preserved today in the BSB, Munich, is "Cod. Hisp. 27: Berichte aus Portugal zur Entdeckung Afrikas und Indiens," a codex that includes reports of the west coast of Africa by Fernandes himself and several accounts of the discovery and conquest of Guinea. A Portuguese transcript of the Almeida mission by the Welser family's official recorder Hans Mayr is also assembled in this codex. See José Pereira da Costa, *Códice Valentim Fernandes* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1997). For Peutinger's catalog entry "Res Indiae," see Künnast and Zäh, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers*, nos. 88, 470. For Peutinger's cosmographic activity, see Klaus A. Vogel, "Neue Horizonte der Kosmographie: Die kosmographischen Bücherlisten Hartmann Schedels (um 1498) und Konrad Peutingers (1523)," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* 1991, 77–85.
47. Konrad Peutinger, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg, 2° Cod. Aug. 382a. For an edition of this codex, see Benedikt Greiff, "Briefe und Berichte über die frühesten Reisen nach Amerika und Ostindien aus den Jahren 1497 bis 1506 aus Dr. Conrad Peutingers Nachlass. Im Anhang zu: Tagebuch des Lucas Rem aus den Jahren 1494–1541. Ein Beitrag zur Handelsgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg," *Jahres-Bericht der historischen Kreis-Vereins im Regierungsbezirk von Schwaben und Neuberg* 26 (1860): 111–72.
48. Konrad Peutinger to the imperial secretary Blasius Hözl, January 13, 1505, in Erich König, *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel* (Munich: Beck,

- 1923), 50: "Und uns Augspirgern ains groß lob ist, als für die ersten Teutschen, die India suchen. Und ku. Mt. zu eren habe ich in die brief gesetzt, wie er als der erst Romisch kungig die schickt: dan solchs von kainem Romischen kungig vor nie geschehen ist."
49. For a lively account of how creative and destructive Maximilian's archaeology could be, see Christopher S. Wood, "Maximilian I as Archaeologist," *Renaissance Quarterly* 58 (2005): 1128–74; and also idem, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
50. This effort included the emperor fashioning himself as the original wild man. For a discussion of how the rediscovery of Tacitus in this period nationalized the wild man, see Stephanie Leitch, "The Wild Man, Charlemagne, and the German Body," *Art History* 31, no. 3 (2008): 283–302. For a broader discussion of the Renaissance reception of Tacitus, see Christopher B. Krebs, *Negotiatio Germaniae: Tacitus' Germania und Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Giannantonio Campano, Conrad Celtis und Heinrich Bebel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005).
51. See Colin, "The Wild Man and the Indian," 5–36; and Sixel, "Die Deutsche Vorstellung vom Indianer."
52. Not only do the verse and the typeface link Dati's edition to this popular literary form, but also the frontispiece may have found its inspiration in contemporary Florentine *cassone* paintings that depicted scenes from Trojan epics. See Hugh Honor, *The New Golden Land* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 7.
53. The larger scale of broadsheet illustration discouraged direct recyclings from blocks used to illustrate the frontispieces of quarto editions of travel reports. Additionally, broadsheets were novelty driven, and the larger format encouraged elaboration.
54. See Hans Wolff, "Die Münchener Portolanarten einst und heute," in *America: Das frühe Bild der Neuen Welt* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1992), 127–44; and T. Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
55. The sumptuously decorated Cantino planisphere of 1502, for example, reflects the world redrawn as a result of Portuguese exploration from 1484 to 1502, including the voyages of Diogo Cão, Bartolomeu Dias, the Corte Reals, Vasco da Gama, and Pedro Alvarez Cabral—in addition to showing Portuguese economic involvement on the African subcontinent. By 1502, this territory was fairly familiar to the Portuguese: Africa's north and west coasts had been the site of Portuguese exploration since the fall of Ceuta in 1415, after which several bases were set up on the Gold and Ivory Coasts. Traders established themselves here to traffic in ivory, slaves, and gold. In addition, Henry the Navigator sponsored expeditions to find a direct maritime route east, and the search was on in earnest by the mid-1400s. See Geoffrey V. Scammell, *The First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion c. 1400–1715* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 46–49, 58.
56. Before astronomical navigation, navigators relied on dead reckoning, a method that estimated the ship's position according to compass readings and distances run by the log, with adjustments made for current and leeway. The practice of *costeggiare*, or hugging the coast, depended on a close and cautious observation of the coastline. See Edward Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 189.
57. Ibid., 180.
58. Such as the pirated version printed by Georg Glockendorf in 1511. See inv. no. 1 63, 33 in the collection in Veste Coburg.
59. Interestingly, the spatial organization of Burgkmair's frieze anticipates later ethnographic museum practice in which specimens and artifacts are displayed in shallow planar dioramas behind glass.
60. The first portolan atlases were set on successive pages and often pasted on wood or thick cardboard that would have protected them from saltwater damage. See Harley and Woodward, *History of Cartography*, 376. I am grateful to James Akerman of the Newberry Library's Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography for sharing his expertise in early modern cartography.
61. The original map (no longer extant) probably dated to the third century CE, and Peutinger's map (21 feet by 1 foot), probably made in the thirteenth century by a monk in the region of Colmar, surfaced in the Rhine region in about 1496. In the summer of 1507, it was first mentioned in conjunction with the humanist Konrad Celtis, who bequeathed it to Peutinger a few months later. The map was in Peutinger's collection by the end of 1507. Peutinger was granted a privilege from Emperor Maximilian to print the map in 1511, but this did not happen before the end of the sixteenth century. See Max Weyrauther, *Konrad Peutinger und Willibald Pirckheimer in ihren Beziehungen zur Geographie: Eine geschichtliche Parallele* (Munich: Theodor Ackermann, 1907), 15–16; and H. F. Tozer, *A History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), 310. For a facsimile, see Ekkehard Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324; Kommentar und Tafelband* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976; reprint, 2002).
62. "Inventarium bibliothecae Peutingerianae," BSB, Munich, Clm 4021d, fol. 2v: "I Indianische Mappa vff tuech gezongen." See Hans-Jörg Künast, "Die Graphiksammlung des Augsburger Stadtschreibers Konrad Peutinger," in *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas: Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. John Roger Paas (Augsburg: Wissner, 2001), 12.
63. For example, Jacopo de' Barbari's *View of Venice*, printed from six blocks for the Nuremberg merchant Anton Kolb in 1500. See Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 43–46.
64. We know from the inventory of the Sevillian print collector Ferdinand Columbus that Burgkmair's frieze was mounted in this scroll format; see McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze," 230; and idem, *Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus*, 169.
65. According to Valerie Traub, this idea of race was not necessarily determined by physical appearance; "race" was not a distinction that assigned skin color and biological idiosyncrasies to distinct ethnic groups but a designation based on geographic separation. See Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," in *Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 44–97. See also Bernhard Klein, "Randfiguren: Othello, Oroonoko und die kartographische Repräsentation Afrikas," in *Imaginationen des Anderen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ina Schabert and Michaela Boenke (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), 190.
66. It is this Renaissance notion of race that this argument rests on and not the noxious racism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For an introduction to early modern racial thinking, see Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800–1960* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1982); and Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995).
67. Springer's description of the customs and dress of the Khoisanid tribes of the Cape region includes distinctions between the sexes, and the text directs the reader to find the details "as illustrated below," or, per the 1509 pamphlet version of Springer's report, "abkunterfeit." While the Khoi were first sighted in 1480 and described by Portuguese manuscript accounts over the next half century, Hans Burgkmair's are the earliest known depictions.
68. In inclement weather, Khoisanid women and men wore a sheepskin mantle (*karas*) with the wool turned inward; women often wore hoods of the same. See Ezio Bassani and Letizia Tedeschi, "The Image of the Hottentot in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of the History of Collections* 2, no. 2 (1990): 173. An illustration of 1542 shows the range of iconographic variations to which these mantles were subject; indistinct dark figures borrow the mantle from Hercules iconography; see Helen Wallis, ed., *The Maps and Text of the Boke of Idrography Presented by Jean Rotz to Henry VIII* (Oxford: Roxburgh Club, 1981), 46–47 (see fols. 15v–16r).
69. This detail comes from the longer text version of Springer's report, to which Burgkmair would have been privy.
70. For example, their staves and broad leather sandals are characteristic accessories used for mobility in the sandy terrain. We know that Peutinger had coral, mussels, South American parrots, and examples of Indian feather work in his collection of curiosities. See Künast, "Die Graphiksammlung des Augsburger Stadtschreibers Konrad Peutinger," 12.
71. Text over "In Arabia": "Als wir in Arabiam kamen sahen wir sy beklaidet / als hie nach figurirt ist unnd auß dem künigreich daselbst ist gewesen ainer von den hailigen drey künigen / daselbst binden sy den ochsen Arabisch gold umb ire hörner unn oren / . . . / lx / meil von safalen ligt ain stat heißt quiloa die gewunnen wir schlügen vil zu tod und blünderten die stat. . . / Von quiloa / lxx meil ligt ain stat heißt bonbasa verbranten wi und erschlügen vil volcks / blünderten sy auch mit übertrefflichem gut." For a modern edition of the text, see Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Springer*, 37.
72. See text over "Gros India": "Alda findet man / Ingber / Pfeffer / Negelyn Zyment und sunst allerlay spccerey und edelgestain umb ain gering gelt zu kaffen / Es hat seltzam frucht / feigen / vii domen lang und dreier bratit ains guten geschmacks / Da seind vil büffel unn küh die küh töten sy nit / Da wachbt guter wein vil hönig / reiß köstlich korn gibt gantz weyb als semmelmeil" (There one can find pepper, clove, cinnamon, and all manner of spices and precious stones which can be bought for very little. Peculiar fruits can be found there, tasty figs the length of seven thumbs and three wide. Many buffalo roam there as well as cows; they do not kill the cows. You can get good wine there, honey is in abundance, rice as well, delicious grain as white as bread flour.)
73. See McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze," 234. The version pirated by Georg Glockendorf in Nuremberg in 1511 radically reduces the text.

74. This particular illustration is used to head a section on German history in Münster's *Cosmographia* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1550; reprint, 1552), fol. 262.
75. Mason, "Classical Ethnography," 156.
76. McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze," 230.
77. This epistemology defines the nature of comparisons that structure scientific thinking and the processing of new discoveries in a system that included hermeneutics of varying degrees of rationality. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 32.
78. Ibid., 17–25.
79. Mason, "Classical Ethnography," 156.
80. Like a map, the frieze has integrity from multiple points of view. Borrowing Svetlana Alpers's claim for Dutch maps and descriptive landscapes, this frieze is also an "additive work that cannot be taken in from a single viewing point." Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 122.
81. This contrasts with the way in which "classical ethnography" functioned in the A/not-A model. Mason, "Classical Ethnography," 145–48, indicates that names given to monsters like Blemmye and Cyklops point directly to alterity.
82. Burgkmair alluded to familiar biblical iconography in order to concretize groups as a series of nuclear families. The composition of the group marked "In Allago" recalls the Rest on the Flight into Egypt. With "In Arabia," the adults who flank the child allude to the iconography of Adam and Eve.
83. Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 50. See also Klein "Randfiguren," for the connection between literature and geography more generally.
84. For a discussion of the cultural shaping and historical determination of kinship structures, see Raymond De Mallie, "Kinship: The Foundation for Native American Society," in *Studying Native America*, ed. Russell Thornton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998).
85. Klein, "Randfiguren," 205–7. Klein sees these decorative borders not as merely marginal but rather as an important component of packaged geocultural information and a merging of three separate genres: costume books, city atlases, and national or continental maps.
86. Traub, "Mapping the Global Body," 51.
87. See Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 178. Burgkmair's use of multiple block prints to create a woodcut frieze was an innovation in the north, and if it has any precedent at all, Landau and Parshall find sources south of the Alps, in particular, Jacob of Strasbourg's *Triumph of Caesar*, published in 1504 in Venice.
88. For Andrea Mantegna's Mantuan cycle painted between 1486 and 1501, see Stephen J. Campbell, Evelyn Welch et al., "Mantegna's Triumph: The Cultural Politics of Imitation 'all'antica' at the Court of Mantua 1490–1530," in *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300–1550* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum; Chicago: distributed by University of Chicago Press, 2004), 91–105. For one of the printed editions, see Jean Michel Massing, "The Triumph of Caesar by Benedetto Bordon and Jacobus Argentoratensis: Its Iconography and Influence," *Print Quarterly* 7 (1990): 2–21. Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar* is also believed to have inspired the *Triumph of Maximilian I*, a serial printed encomium to Emperor Maximilian to which Burgkmair substantially contributed. See Stanley Appelbaum, *The Triumph of Maximilian I: 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others* (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), v.
89. The most complete edition, once bound in a folding, accordionlike format known as a *leporello*, is preserved in Basel's Kupferstichkabinett. See B. Aikema and B. L. Brown, *Renaissance Venice and the North: Cross-currents in the Time of Bellini, Dürer, and Titian* (New York: Rizzoli, 1999), 252.
90. For the influence of Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar* on sixteenth-century followers, see Andrew Martindale, *The Triumph of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (London: Harvey Miller, 1979), esp. 97–102.
91. See Aikema and Brown, *Renaissance Venice and the North*, 252.
92. See Massing, "Hans Burgkmair's Depiction of Native Africans," 46 and n. 27; and idem, "The Triumph of Caesar."
93. Curiously, enslaved "exotics," typically the mainstay of triumphal processions, are conspicuously absent in Bordon's version.
94. It was precisely these signifiers of local prestige, such as the palanquin, that the Portuguese would later outlaw in their evangelizing missions in Goa. See Joseph Thekkedath as quoted in Ines G. Zupanov, "Compromise: India," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 357.
95. For example, shells, hides, clubs, and parrots were mentioned by Peutinger in a letter to Sebastian Brant; see König, *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, 77–78. For other Augsburg collections, like that of the Fugger family, see Mark Meadow, "Merchants and Marvels: Hans Jacob Fug-
- ger and the Origins of the Wunderkammer," in Smith and Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels*, 182–200. For objects in later European collections, see Bassani and Tedeschi, "The Image of the Hottentot," 173.
96. For a good account of the nascent printing trade in Augsburg, see Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 33–34. See also Hans-Jörg Künast, "Getruckt zu Augsburg": *Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997); and Norbert Ott, "Frühe Augsburger Buchillustration," in *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997). In the case of Burgkmair's frieze, we can identify the work of the *Formschneider* Cornelis Liefrinck by initials on the block's verso. Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien*, 21.
97. For a facsimile of the German report with Traut's illustrations, see Schulze, *Balthasar Springers Indienfahrt*, 9. An edition in contemporary German is included in Andreas Erhard, *Die Meerafahrt: Balthasar Springers Reise zur Pfefferküste* (Innsbruck: Haymon Verlag, 1998).
98. These woodcuts are formed by a multiblock process in which a line or key block is printed with one or more tone blocks that adds color or highlight. This technique was developed in conjunction with the block cutter Jost de Negker, and it expanded on experiments in color printing initiated by the printer Erhard Ratdolt. See Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 180–84.
99. Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien*, 21. Falk positions this type of development in opposition to the innovation in craft practice represented by Albrecht Dürer, who unified both practices in the hand and mind of one artist to produce a characteristic "style." Naturalism in print resulted from an organic grafting of design and execution, a confluence of a painter's invention and a craftsman's technical ability to reproduce it.
100. This obsession with the Khoi is tracked in Walter Hirschberg, ed., *Schwarzafrika* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1962), an important anthology of texts, maps, and illustrations of early modern Africa, in which "half of the thirty-two authors included . . . deal more or less extensively with this numerically inconsiderable people," according to Bassani and Tedeschi, "The Image of the Hottentot," 173.
101. Urs Bitterli contends that the next generation of artists drastically enlarged the breasts and buttocks in the Khoi females, fueling the stereotype of these natives as hideous in appearance. See Bitterli, *Die Wilden und die Zivilisierten: Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1976), 26; and Borowka-Clausberg, *Balthasar Sprenger*, 123.
102. Tilman Falk dates this woodcut in the British Museum (inv. no. 1856-614-105) to after 1508; no other members of a set have been identified. See Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, cat. no. 27; and Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien*, 106 n. 419.
103. Burgkmair would have been familiar with the works of Dürer in Peutinger's collection; Peutinger's inventory of 1597 reflects an almost complete collection of the printed works of contemporary Augsburg artists, as well as those of Dürer, including his later work on proportion and perspective. See Künast, "Die Graphiksammlung des Augsburger Stadtschreibers Konrad Peutinger," 13; and Künast and Zäh, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers*, no. 584. See also Bassani and Tedeschi, "The Image of the Hottentot," 164.
104. These were found in an edition of Suetonius in Peutinger's library. According to Peutinger's preparatory notes in his "Nachlass" (BSB, Munich, Clm 4009), over one hundred portraits were made for the project, which, although largely complete by 1505, never made it to press. See Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien*, 46. Falk posits that Burgkmair continued work on this monumental project throughout the first two decades of the sixteenth century. See Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, 76–77; Künast and Zäh, *Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers*, no. 380; and Campbell Dodgson, "Die Cäsarenköpfe, eine unbeschriebene Folge von Holzschnitten Hans Burgkmairs d. Ä.," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, vol. 2, *Augsburger Kunst der Spätgotik und Renaissance*, ed. Ernst Buchner and Karl Feuchtmayr (Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser Verlag, 1928), 224–28. For a discussion of Burgkmair's work with material artifacts, see Ashley West, "Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–1531) and the Visualization of Knowledge" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 100–154.
105. For humanist medals, see Stephen Scher, *Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson in association with the Frick Collection, 1994).
106. See Andrée Hayum, "Dürer's Portrait of Erasmus and the *Ars Typographorum*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 668. Quentin Massys's 1519 portrait medal of Desiderius Erasmus carried the inscription "Imago ad vivam effigiem expressa" (an image cast from a living representation); Dürer used this medal for his own studies of Erasmus. For other Renaissance portrait conventions borrowed from

- Roman coins, see Larry Silver, "Prints for a Prince: Maximilian, Nuremberg and the Woodcut," in *New Perspectives on the Art of Renaissance Nuremberg*, ed. Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Austin: Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, 1985), 8.
107. See Luke Syson, "Circulating a Likeness?" in *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*, by Nicholas Mann and Syson (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 113.
108. See Wolfgang Kuhoff, "Markus Welser als Erforscher des römischen Augsburg," in Häberlein and Burkhardt, *Die Welser*, 587–617; and, for antiquarians' privileging of material evidence, Anthony Grafton, "Jean Hardouin: The Antiquary as Pariah," in *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), in which Grafton argues that coins and inscriptions became the new "texts."
109. See Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950): 285–315. Momigliano's essay develops the role artifacts and primary sources such as coins and inscriptions played in antiquarianism and the challenge they presented to textual sources. For a discussion of how these sources were translated in print, see Wood, "Early Archaeology and the Book Trade," 83–117.
110. Artists in Maximilian's employ were subject to review by a circle of advisers including Konrad Peutinger, the court historian Johannes Stabius, and the emperor's private secretary Marx Treitzsauerwein. See Silver, "Prints for a Prince," 15.
111. Friedrich Dörnhöffer speculates that the new design was intended for a planned edition of Celtis's *Rhapsodia* that made it only as far as a manuscript presentation copy for Maximilian, now lost. Celtis probably brought the blocks to Augsburg and deposited them between 1504 and 1506 in the print shop of Erhard Oeglin, where Burgkmair received the commission to alter them. The altered version of the woodcut appears only in a bound collection of prints entitled "Cuspinianus Celi ultimum vale," by Johannes Cuspinianus (1508) in BSB, Munich, Rar. 585, with a copy in Edmond de Rothschild's collection in Paris. See Dörnhöffer, "Über Dürer und Burgkmair," in *Beiträge zur Kunsts geschichte, Franz Wickhoff gewidmet* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1903), 111ff., 123–27. See also Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, cat. nos. 14, 15.
112. Celtis's altered look seems closer to his appearance in other contemporary portraits; his cap seems to reflect the reality of his premature baldness. See Dörnhöffer, "Über Dürer und Burgkmair," 128.
113. Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien*, 20. Portraits would become one of Burgkmair's specialties. The woodcut portraits of Pope Julius II in 1511, as well as those of Augsburg patricians Jakob Fugger and Hans Paumgartner made the same year, represent a new pictorial genre that used the medium of woodcut to express subjects usually reserved for medallion production and painting. See Larry Silver, "The Face Is Familiar: German Renaissance Portrait Multiples in Prints and Medals," *Word and Image* 19, nos. 1–2 (2003): 10.
114. Silver, "The Face Is Familiar," 10, also suggests that this change was made at the express command of Maximilian I.
115. See R. T. Risk, *Erhard Ratdolt, Master Printer* (Francestown, N.H.: Typographeum, 1982), 40–43. See Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, cat. no. 6. We can trace Burgkmair's physiognomic improvements in another group of surrogate cuttings he made for the head of Saint Pelagius in the *Breviarium Constantiense* (Augsburg: Ratdolt, 1499). In a plug that replaced the saint's head when it was reprinted in the frontispiece to Ratdolt's 1505 *Missale Constantiense*, we see how a crudely cut generic face has been transformed into a portrait. Burgkmair marshaled these technical developments in defining heads and faces to enable the "reproduction of physiognomic traits to produce portrait-like specificity"; Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien*, 19–20. It is also supposed that Burgkmair reworked a Crucifixion group originally designed by Jörg Breu for a missal printed in Constance in 1504. Burgkmair refashioned the head of John the Baptist for an undated Augsburg missal printed by Erhard Ratdolt shortly thereafter. See Dörnhöffer, "Über Dürer und Burgkmair," 119–20.
116. For Burgkmair's watercolor studies, see Massing, "Hans Burgkmair's Depiction of Native Africans," 46; and idem, entry to cat. no. 405, in Levenson, *Circa 1492*, 571, for further references.
117. Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, cat. no. 26. Falk suggests that through Peutinger's intervention, Burgkmair was also made familiar with African physiognomy in Augsburg.
118. The emblem of the black Moor was popular among humanists and patricians. Dürer emblazoned coats of arms for the Scheurl and Tucher families (Hollstein, *German Engravings*, vol. 8, 291), as well as his own 1523 emblem (Hollstein, 288). Hans Schäuflein's design for Hartmann Schedel's coat of arms about 1513 similarly included a Moor (Hollstein, 139). The crowned Moor was also the emblem of the archbishopric of Freising, near Munich. The head of Saint Mauritius has been the emblem of the Franconian city of Coburg since the late fourteenth century, after his skull was brought back from Constantinople and became the focus of devotion. For the popularity of this motif in the German-speaking regions, see Paul H. D. Kaplan, *The Rise of the Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1985), 71–85.
119. Bartholomaeus Coclites claimed that none of his predecessors "were so great observers of an abundance of individual cases as I am"; quoted in Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 5 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), 57. Coclites, *Anastasis*, VI, prologue, and see also chaps. 240, 328.
120. See Bartolomeus Coclites, *In disem biechlein wirt erfunden von Complexion der menschen* (Augsburg: Hans Schönspurger, 1513), BSB, Munich, Res/4 Anthr. 7x: "Und wie wol dise kunst in unsren landen unbrauchlich und seltzam ist sy doch in andern landen in hohen eren und werd gehalten / unnd sonderlich in der haydenschafft und in der Türcke / Als ich von denen die solliches selber gesehen erfahren. Und auch in glaubwirdigen Cronicken gelesen hab / nämlich das die menschen in den selben gegenden gekaufft und verkaufft werden und die kauffer und verkauffer der Phisonomey so gewis / wenn sy die menschen und in ire geliden beschauen als bald erkennen sy ains yeden geschicklichait und natur / ob er endlich trág oder warzu er genaigt sey / dadurch er yn teurer oder wolfyaler kauff / Wie auch bey uns die rosstauscher das alter und auch annder natur der pferd an irn zenen unnd gelidern und andern zaichen erkennen und urtailen" (For as uncustomary and unusual as this art [physiognomy] is in our country, it is held in high esteem in other lands, particularly in the lands of heathens and of the Turks / Such as I have seen myself and read about in credible chronicles / that is to say, the slave traders in this region are so versed in physiognomy / that they can immediately discern the abilities and qualities of slaves by simply inspecting their limbs / to tell if they are indolent or what their inclinations are / so that [the trader] can know if he is paying dearly or getting a bargain / just as it is the custom of our horse traders to recognize and judge the age and quality of the horse by its teeth and limbs and other signs).
121. Even if we doubt the scientific rigor that such books enjoyed in the humanist community, the sheer popularity of this book in the first two decades of the sixteenth century certainly argues for its general vigor. While Tilman Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien*, 52 and n. 310, maintains that humanists in Maximilian's circle about 1514 probably found the "scientific" content of this volume on physiognomy and palmistry specious, Anthony Grafton (e-mail to author, fall 2003) thinks otherwise. Thorndike, *History of Magic*, 53–57, claims that its use of unabashedly medieval sources did not represent a conflict of interest for humanists, who were only too happy to consult these authors in the field of physiognomy and chiromancy. Perhaps we can take seriously Coclites's claim that even humanists wanted to become physiognomists.
122. Hans Schönspurger printed several editions of this volume between the years 1510 and 1517. It is the 1515 edition, published in Augsburg, that concerns us here.
123. "A.B.C." probably stands for Augustanus Burgkmair Civis. The 1515 publication date of this volume provides only a terminus ante quem for the woodcut. Tilman Falk, *Hans Burgkmair, Studien*, 52, proposes a date between 1500 and 1505, a date more in line with Burgkmair's actual appearance known from a contemporary drawing, as well as on stylistic grounds. Incidentally, that date would also place the self-portrait medallion in the period of Burgkmair's activity on Peutinger's *Kaiserbuch* project, during which time he made numerous portrait roundels. The idea that scholars date Burgkmair's work by the particularity of his visage says a great deal about our expectations of him as a portraitist. See Hausberger and Biedermann, *Hans Burgkmair 1473–1531: Das Graphische Werk*, cat. no. 72; and see also Erwin Panofsky, "Conrad Celtes and Kunz von der Rosen: Two Problems in Portrait Identification," *Art Bulletin* 24, no. 1 (1942): 51.
124. For physiognomy in late medieval and Renaissance portraits, see Syson, "Circulating a Likeness?" 118; and Valentin Groebner, "Complexio/Complexion: Categorizing Individual Natures," in *The Moral Authority of Nature*, ed. Lorraine Daston and Fernando Vidal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 332ff. Burgkmair made several woodcut roundel versions of Christ's profile fashioned from medals that followed textual descriptions in the Lentulus letter. This letter, which proliferated in humanist circles in Augsburg and Nuremberg in about 1500, purported to relay an eyewitness account of the true physical appearance of Christ that images made from it sought to replicate. See Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 116–17; and Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, 155–64.