



Fig. 2-1 *Brazilian Woman with Child*, painting by Albert Eeckhout, 1641; National-museet, Kopenhagen. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität, Vienna.

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# Between Science and Art: The European Representation of America, 1500–1800\*

# 2

In Europe in early modern times, the image of America was formed by various media and types of information. These included the earliest oral accounts of the country, the delivery of goods from the “colonies,” scholarly observations, and positive and negative representation in artistic works.<sup>1</sup> In my view, within the plethora of information available about America between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, there are five overlapping phases of perception about the New World. These five phases can be distinguished according to the mode of sensory perception that dominates.

## “Newspapers”: The Sense of Hearing (ca. 1500–1600)

Thanks to the technology of early book printing, a greater section of society was able to read, or have read to them, the letters of Christopher Columbus from 1492 to 1493, and of Amerigo Vespucci from 1502, describing “the newe landes and of ye people founde by the messengers of the kynge of Portygal.” The public learned of these letters through *newspapers* and illustrated broadsides.<sup>2</sup> Their illustrators who were distant from the sites of colonial activity were more dependent on stereotypes than those who were actual “discoverers.”<sup>3</sup> The first representation of *Indios*, found in a south German woodblock broadside from ca. 1505, already contains the basic elements of the European projection onto the non-European men.<sup>4</sup> The illustration of the “beautiful, brown, well-formed” nude person in the midst of nature addresses the idea, inherited from the classical world, of an idyllic environment in a “golden country.” On the other hand we see a love scene, human limbs dangling from a roof, and a character savoring his snack of a human arm. This is a frightening but

titillating illustration of the sexual freedom and cannibalism of “savages.” Even “scientific” knowledge was often pure rumor: witness the longevity into the eighteenth century of the classical and medieval images of headless and one-eyed people, or the identification of the ancient Amazons who were said to live by the Amazon River.<sup>5</sup> In spite of a growing tendency toward idealization, the good and the primitive “savage” were two images that coexisted well into the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> This is revealed in the illustrations for the 1704 Brussels edition of Antonio de Solis’s *Historia de la Conquista de Mexico*: one engraving shows the brutality of a human sacrifice to the god Huitzilopochtli (Fig. 2–4a), while another uses the seizing of King Moctezuma in order to emphasize the pride and human equality of Indians (Fig. 2–4b).<sup>7</sup>

The accuracy of information in illustrated sources improved with sketches prepared either at the scene of events or at least from memory of them. These sketches were mainly made by amateurs, primarily participants in wars of conquest.<sup>8</sup> One example was the Spanish officer Gonzalez Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes who had visited America a dozen times, beginning in 1514. In 1526 he published his *Sumario de la natural y general istoria de las Indias* with woodcuts based on his own sketches. Two generations later, the Dominican missionary Diego Duran’s *Historia de las Indias* includes primitive but accurately detailed colored drawings.<sup>9</sup> Understandably, missionaries were especially interested in the religion of the natives. Therefore not only Indian manuscripts, but also detailed documentation of Indian customs and gods were brought back to Europe. One report, for example, was that of the Franciscan Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, who was active between 1558 and 1569 in Mexico.<sup>10</sup> German trav-

ellers like Titus Neukomm and Hieronimus Koehler added personal illustrations from memory to their letters and travel accounts.<sup>11</sup> Many of these accounts were subsequently published and included much information about ethnography and natural history that was of great general interest. Illustrations were even found in the mission reports of the Jesuits. For example, there is a scene of Indians playing golf in Alonso d'Ovaglio's 1646 history of Chile (Fig. 2-2).<sup>12</sup> This type of report was prepared by European missionaries well into the eighteenth century. The Silesian Jesuit Florian Paucke (1719-1780), who lived for seventeen years with the Mocabi Indians in Argentina, created a particularly impressive example of this genre with his extensive manuscript illustrations executed in large format (Fig. 2-3).<sup>13</sup>

The Frankfurt printer Theodor de Bry and his family used similar illustrations as well as the watercolors made in North America by John White between 1585 and 1586 as the basis for the engravings in a multi-volume set of travel accounts.<sup>14</sup> Here for the first time is an encyclopedic approach to information dissemination. This approach continued in a very systematic manner in the early studies of ethnography in the eighteenth century (Fig. 2-5) and survives in the illustrations of school textbooks in the twentieth century (Fig. 2-6).

Unlike travellers, artists in Europe had fewer examples to serve as models. Apart from rare actual encounters with Indians, they mainly saw cult objects, feather costumes, weapons, and exotic animals and plants. Two south German artists, Hans Burgkmair the Elder and Albrecht Dürer<sup>15</sup> were the first to illustrate these objects. The woodcuts of the *Triumphzug* of Maximilian I (1516-1518) and the marginal drawings in the prayer book of the Emperor (1515) are so precise in illustrating the featherwork and weapons of the Tupinamaba that one must assume a knowledge of objects from the New World. This can first be proven in 1520 when Dürer visited Emperor Charles V in Brussels and became fascinated by the sight of the recently arrived treasures from Mexico:

I have seen the things brought to the King from the new golden land: a sun, wholly of gold, wide a whole fathom, also a moon, wholly of silver and just as big; also two chambers full of their implements, and two others full of their weapons, armor, shooting engines, marvelous shields, strange garments, bedspreads, and all sorts of wondrous things for many uses, much more beautiful to behold than miracles. These things are all so costly that they have been es-

timated at a hundred thousand florins; and in all my life I have seen nothing which has gladdened my heart so much as these things. For I have seen therein wonders of art and have marvelled at the subtle *ingenia* of people in far-off lands. And I know not how to express what I have experienced thereby.<sup>16</sup>

Nine years later Christoph Weiditz, an Augsburg sculptor and medalist, was at the court of Emperor Charles V in Toledo where he observed and made colored illustrations of Mexicans who were brought to Europe by Cortez in 1528.<sup>17</sup>

Notwithstanding Dürer's enthusiasm, there were hardly any close artistic encounters with America and her art.<sup>18</sup> Two early exceptions apparently arose under the direct influence of the arrival of accounts and treasures from the New World to the cities of the southern Netherlands. One exception is a gold-plated silver goblet made in 1525 in Antwerp which unites late Gothic ornamentation with rich illustrations of figures of Indians in an exotic environment.<sup>19</sup> Another is the painting *Westindian Landscape* by Jan Mostaert who worked for the governor of the Netherlands, Margarete of Austria. This work, while still using a traditional vocabulary of images, shows an exotic Arcadia threatened by Europeans.<sup>20</sup>

Since the late sixteenth century, illustrations of the last Mexican kings appeared in cycles of *uomini famosi* or genealogies. The most notable among these are the life-size portraits from around 1600, one series of which is now in Florence, the other in Cáceres, in the *Sala mejicana* of the palace then belonging to Juan de Moctezuma, the great-grandson of the last ruler of the Aztecs.<sup>21</sup>

The conquerors admired ancient American craftsmanship not only for its metalwork, but also for its illustrations and feather work and used these crafts to illustrate Catholic and historical themes for a European audience (Fig. 2-10).<sup>22</sup> Such admiration for craftsmanship appears in the following description in the *Atlas Minor* from 1651:

In all kinds of artistic crafts the Indians are masterful, especially in making rugs from all kinds of bird feathers and the skins of wild animals. They know how to weave all kinds of colors together in such a way as to amaze the viewer. They are so good-natured in work that often they work all day without eating. So that their handiwork is more beautiful, they often

look at a single feather many times, hold it up to the sun and the shade so that they may know exactly how to fit it into their weavings. Just the same, they are so good at carefully copying each animal, each flower and plant that it looks identical to the living thing.<sup>23</sup>

### “Theatrum mundi” : The Sense of Touch (ca. 1550–1650)

Silver and gold cult objects—valued by Dürer, a goldsmith’s son, not the least for their material—were soon melted down, so only stone statues and feather objects were added to the Hapsburg’s own collections or were given away as gifts.<sup>24</sup> In spite of a respect for the craftsmanship of the Indians, the “pagan” origin of these objects prevented a true acceptance of American crafts in European collections.<sup>25</sup> The products of the “New World” and other exotic curiosities were categorized together with plant and animal materials in the natural history sections of the *Kunst- und Wunderkammern* of the Renaissance.<sup>26</sup> Even the most important collection of American artifacts, that of King Philip II of Spain, with its silver filigree work, its crystal turkey, its gold vessels, and its featherwork, suffered this fate. The focus of Philip’s collection was natural science and geography. It included the skin of an armadillo as well as the work commissioned by the King during an expedition made between 1574 and 1577 resulting in Francisco Hernandez’s fifteen-volume *History of all the Animals and Plants one can find in the West Indies*. The antechamber of the King in the Escorial was even decorated with “*retratos del natural de muchas cosas que se ven en nuestras Indias*.”<sup>27</sup> Philip II also owned a painting of a volcano in Nicaragua and seventeen paintings “of the Incas and other things in Peru ... that the Viceroy of Peru Don Francisco de Toledo sent.” Four of these were dedicated to the American precursors of Spanish kings.<sup>28</sup> In 1599 he received a group portrait of three *mulattas* (Fig. 2–7) to commemorate the peaceful conquest of the Cimarron tribe in the area of Esmeraldas.<sup>29</sup> Philip also had a gallery in the Escorial decorated with monumental maps ornamented with the Spanish coat of arms showing *el mundo por sus partes y provincias* (Fig. 2–8).<sup>30</sup> Such a political interpretation of the Hapsburg collections is further supported by a work from the *Kunstammer* of Philip’s cousin Ferdinand of Tyrol: a life-size representation of Columbus placing the Spanish standard on a part of the globe called “Nueva España” (Fig. 2–9).<sup>31</sup>

The structure and ideology of the Hapsburg’s “Welttheater” can also be construed in the collection

of Rudolf II in Prague.<sup>32</sup> Rudolf was a nephew of Philip II and had been raised at his court. His collection, too, included feather coats, feather parasols, umbrellas, Indian weapons, tortoiseshell bottles, feather paintings *al indiana* (Fig. 2–10), and skins and trophies of exotic animals. According to its inventory the Emperor owned, among other things, four armadillos, one sloth, six toucan heads and numerous parrots—all from South America.<sup>33</sup> In the late sixteenth century there were comparable exotic objects in the art and treasure collections of the grand dukes of Tuscany in Florence<sup>34</sup> as well as in the collections of the secondary lines of the Hapsburgs in Innsbruck and Graz. These included some of the most well known objects such as the feather headdress and round shields of the Aztecs (Fig. 2–11), the Brazilian weapon then known as Moctezuma’s battle-axe, and various feather pictures accumulated from private collections in Germany, Spain and Italy, though not from their relatives in Madrid.<sup>35</sup>

Zoos and botanical gardens were created as living counterparts of the natural history aspects of the *Kunstammer*. The zoos of Philip II in Aranjuez and in the Escorial and the gardens of the Casa del Campo were models for the Hapsburg relatives in Austria and Italy. Emperor Maximilian II brought American birds and other animals from Spain to Vienna in 1552. The Flemish botanist and medical scholar Carolus Clusius was the director of his botanical garden there. In 1588 Clusius received the first illustration of a potato plant and shortly afterwards a plant specimen of the potato that had been available in Spain since about 1570.<sup>36</sup> Rudolf II followed the example of the royal menagerie in Kaiserebersdorf near Vienna when he created a zoo on the Hradschin in Prag. Envoys at the court of Philip II sent him American partridges, pumas, parrots, Aplomado falcons and snails.<sup>37</sup> In the case of some rare animals, the Emperor received only paintings. These paintings, as well as other objects from his collection and the exotic animals in his menagerie, were used as models for a zoological “museum” book created between 1605 and 1610 by court painters.<sup>38</sup>

In Antwerp, such animal representations soon appeared also as engravings. Adriaen Collaert (ca. 1560–1618), who was known as an engraver of allegories of the continents, also made etchings of two birds and various plants in a landscape background.<sup>39</sup> Two etchings, one comparing the European and American rooster (*Gallus cornutus*, *Gallus Indicus*), and one showing two kinds of parrots (*Pitaci duplex* genus; Figs. 2–12a and 2–12b) clearly indicate the scientific nature of these illustrations. A somewhat later series of engravings by Wenzel Hollar of Prague, on the other hand, shows

groups of animals representing each continent and thus refers to the universal conception of menageries in the Renaissance. America is symbolized by a lion, tiger, panther, unicorn (!), stags, bears, boars, monkeys and parrots (Fig. 2-13).

Together with the *artificialia*, these natural phenomena create an encyclopaedic microcosm of the macrocosm.<sup>40</sup> What is interesting in this scheme is that the parallel representation of nature and art is mirrored in the Aztec museums discovered in Cuzco and Tenochtitlan. King Moctezuma's museum was said to have had not only art objects but also a menagerie of animals from all parts of his kingdom. That museum was thus not only "an abbreviated collection of the gifts of nature within his kingdom but also a collection of the other members of Noah's ark."<sup>41</sup> This seventeenth-century author's use of the terms "museum" and "ark," as well as the terms "theatrum" and "stage" used by sixteenth century theorists (for example Giulio Camillo and Samuel Quiccheberg) all point to the three dimensional character of such compilations.<sup>42</sup> Camillo used the form of an amphitheater when he created the "eternal places" of his "theater of memory," with objects placed on seven different levels.<sup>43</sup> The Florentine painter Giulio Clovio, who worked for Philip II, called the art and natural treasures collection a "three-dimensional picture of the cosmos."<sup>44</sup> These collections were in fact "touchable": around 1600 Mexican and Turkish costumes were not only displayed in collections but were worn during court festivals.<sup>45</sup> In 1570 Abraham Ortelius also entitled his first atlas *Theatrum orbis terrarum* after contemporary notions of a scientific collection. This is true for Jodocus Amanus's book about women's costumes which appeared in Frankfurt in 1586 under the title *Theatrum mulierum* and contained an illustration of a Peruvian woman. Similarly, the title pages of these works, and of later works like the *Atlas Minor* of Johannes Jansson of 1648, show the allegories of the four continents on stage-like architectural constructions (Fig. 2-14).<sup>46</sup>

This kind of ordering of a microcosm according to the four continents had been known ever since the publication of Sebastian Franck's cosmography *Weltbuch, Spiegel und Bildnis des gantzen Erdtbodens ... in vier Büchern, nämlich in Asiam, Aphricam, Europam und Americam gestellt und abgeteilt* (Tübingen, 1534).<sup>47</sup> An analogous personification of the four continents can be found on the title page of Abraham de Bruyn's costume book, *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus* (Keulen, 1577, Antwerp, 1581) which allegorically illustrates the contents of the collection.

These collections of the costumes of different peoples must have displayed an ethnographic character in the forming of the continents' personifications, as is particularly evident in Philip Galle's America allegory (ca. 1600, after a drawing by Marcus Geeraerts). This allegory has many animals and four depictions of North and South American peoples, one of them an Eskimo, as companions to the actual personification, i.e., the idea of America (Fig. 2-17).<sup>48</sup> In the same sense that a Turk could represent the continent of Asia *pars pro toto* (Fig. 2-19) America was at first represented as a Peruvian woman (Fig. 2-18) and only gradually, following scientific discoveries, represented as the fourth continent. The creation of the allegory of the continents did not happen suddenly, as Hugh Honour writes, but was an incremental development. The basis for this development was, on the one hand, the allegories of Europe, Asia and Africa that had been already created in the Roman Empire with the personifications of cities and provinces, and on the other hand the similarly ancient custom of displaying prisoners, or the free men of a conquered people, during triumphal parades.<sup>49</sup>

The fact that an abstract allegory was being developed through careful observation of American objects and animals can be seen in the design of a medallion which shows a portrait of Philip II. This medallion, dated 1562, also portrays "India" (i.e. America) with a llama hurrying toward one of the Spanish ships (Fig. 2-18). The Italian sculptor Gianpaolo Poggini writes in a letter to Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici about his nature study and scholarly discourse with Philip II:

I dressed men and women with the clothes they wear in Peru, as you see; and there is that animal which resembles both a camel and a sheep. I have portrayed it from one which is alive here in Madrid, and I have included it because it is a rare animal and a useful one, since like ours it gives wool, milk, and meat, and it bears loads like an ass. I have shown it burdened with bars of silver. The woman who bears the half glove as an offer represents the Indian province of Peru.<sup>50</sup>

Systematization of collections according to this four-part scheme became common around 1570-1580. The most consistent examples were in the *Kunstschränke*, which were *Kunstkammer* in miniature. The four elements, continents, seasons, times of day, world monarchies, all symbolized the geographic and temporal dimensions of the cosmos.<sup>51</sup> Such an ebony cabinet from Augsburg was owned by Archduke Ferdinand II

of Tyrol (Fig. 2–16).<sup>52</sup> A later Augsburg cabinet, dating from ca. 1620, still shows enamel illustrations of the cardinal virtues, the senses and the continents, while an amber cabinet from Königsberg (ca. 1700) is decorated with illustrations of the continents after engravings by Cornelis Visscher.<sup>53</sup> Another cabinet exists only in an engraved illustration. This was a coin chest from the third quarter of the seventeenth century which was displayed in the *Kunst-und Wunderkammer* of castle Windhag in Upper Austria (Fig. 2–15).<sup>54</sup>

Probably the first representation of the four continents in a *Kunstzimmer* was in 1580, in the collection of the Spanish Duke of Arcos. Combined with paintings of the seven planets, seven arts, and various city views, it formed a cosmological scheme. According to this the Spanish scholar Vicencio Juan de Lastanosa defines a *Kunst-und Wunderkammer* in 1639 as a collection “de cosas curiosisimas naturales y artificiales, criadas y hechas en las cuatro partes del mundo.”<sup>55</sup> Similarly, a frontispiece in the catalogue of the natural history collection of Levinus Vincent in Amsterdam not only has the title *Theatrum Naturae Mirandum*, but shows allegories of Africa and America on the ceiling of the fictional *Kunst-und Wunderkammer* (Fig. 2–20).

### “Newly opened World Gallery”: The Sense of Sight (ca. 1600–1700)

But around the middle of the seventeenth century interest in marvels and in encyclopedic collections began to decline, the result, in large part, of the scientific revolution. Since nature was now seen to be governed by general laws, it was not necessary to accumulate rare and remarkable things to gain a total view. The common or familiar object would suffice for the purposes of study. Curiosity collections increasingly came to be seen as inappropriate and inefficient instruments of learning. The idea of creating a microcosm, a theater that allowed one to observe the variety of God’s creation, seemed preposterous.<sup>56</sup>

In accordance with this intellectual process, the development of the personification of America had proceeded in two ways: one, the transformation of facts into an allegory,<sup>57</sup> and two, the independent allegorical creation of a fourth continent. The parameters of this personification of America show that a new cosmological world view had taken over the earlier Aristotelian one. The fundamental principle of matter in the system posits that all things belong to particular systems, governed by exact and inescapably regulated processes. The earth as the system of systems, as the

order of orders, is the model for the understanding of reality.<sup>58</sup> Following this model, around 1600 the allegory of America was developed and presented in a different series of engravings and in Cesare Ripa’s handbook of iconography. This printed representation of America came to serve more or less directly as the model for large paintings, crafts, festival decorations and masquerades.<sup>59</sup>

One result of this scholarly development was also the dispersal of the *Kunst-und Wunderkammern* of the Renaissance into specialized collections and, in the early seventeenth century, the rise of independent Baroque galleries of paintings. As the emphasis shifted from sculpture or three dimensional art objects to painting, the *Kunstzimmern* soon began to be overshadowed by the picture galleries and these came to be similarly regarded as constituting a *microcosmos*.<sup>60</sup> Between 1580 and 1582 Paolo Fiamingo painted, in large format, a series of the four continents, elements, seasons, periods of history, and the five senses for Fugger’s castle in Kirchheim.<sup>61</sup> After him, in 1607, the painter Federico Zuccari specifically defined a gallery as “a compendium of all things of the world, and a large mirror in which one can see the most famous acts of heroes of the royal family, the cosmography of the whole earth and the seas, as well as a representation of animals on land, in the water, and in the air.”<sup>62</sup>

Even the titles of printed compendiums show the effect of this change of taste. In 1658 Jan Amos Comenius called his illustrated schoolbook *Orbis sensualium pictus*, while costume books from about 1600 were titled *Theatrum*. Abraham of Santa Clara named his 1703 work (in which a west Indian royal couple appears), *Neu-eröffnete Welt-Galerie*.<sup>63</sup> A monumental example of this came into being around 1666. The Styrian nobleman, Johann Josef von Herberstein (1630–1692), created an ethnographic collection portraying individual persons as representatives of their people. Of the forty-seven extant life-size paintings in the museums of Maribor and Ptuj (Slovenia) there are numerous portraits of Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Persians, Chinese, Egyptians, Africans, and three Indians in bright feather costumes (Figs. 2–22 and 2–23). Von Herberstein no doubt commissioned the paintings to commemorate the battle against the Ottoman Empire, where he had been a general and commander-in-chief of the Maltese fleet; but in addition the paintings demonstrate an avid interest in non-European cultures.<sup>64</sup>

Peter Paul Rubens’ *Allegory of the Four Continents* (ca. 1615) seems to have had a different goal, namely to illustrate such a cosmography within a single paint-

ing (Fig. 2–21). The Antwerp painter used Baroque stylistic principles to expand on the heretofore static and additive single-figure allegory of the continents (Figs. 2–17 and 2–18). He creates a group which includes a female personification of the continent, a corresponding river god (Rio de la Plata, Amazon, Nile, Danube, and Ganges), exotic flora (corn, chilis) and fauna (alligator, tiger), all dynamically related in composition and scenery.<sup>65</sup> Rubens used his characteristic artistic and intellectual skills of indirect communication: the four groups are diagonally arranged so that they form the four points of the compass. The sail that provides shade and the clouds in the sky hint at sun and air, so that the painting also creates an allegory of the four elements. The representation of animal emotions—in contrast to the loving affection of the human couples—is mitigated by the motherly role of the tiger and the alligator who play with children. The content and composition of the painting clearly emphasize harmony between man and nature, continents and elements, matter and spirit, and thus create an allegory of *harmonia mundi*. This interpretation is further supported by the fact that, at the same time, Rubens was working with Jan Brueghel the Elder on a series representing the five senses. Each allegory combined a still life with interior architecture.<sup>66</sup> Already in 1611, Brueghel the Elder had executed a painting with a turkey, toucan, parrot and other birds representing an allegory of the air.<sup>67</sup>

Between 1660 and 1670 Brueghel's grandson Jan van Kessel the Elder continued these themes, creating in several series allegories of the four continents in a kind of painted *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* (Fig. 2–24) that presented people, animals, plants, art objects and personifications of the continents.<sup>68</sup> However, the most extensive representation of such an allegorical cosmography was Bernard Picart's 1726 engraving *L'Histoire composant le grand Dictionnaire Historique*. True to its encyclopedic character, not only does it show many allegories of the arts and sciences, but also places historical knowledge in the center of the universe, as explained below:

History composed the large historical lexicon. One sees it in the middle of the universe, accompanied by Memory, which presents the whole of important events since the origin of the earth, and which Time (Chronos) uncovers before its eyes. Even fables are not forgotten. History observes the four continents which tell it what has happened in their areas. It is surrounded by Chronology, which tells it the time; Genealogy, which organizes the order of reigns

and families; and Geography, which shows it the places on a map where events took place.<sup>69</sup>

In the spirit of the Enlightenment, nature worship and Islam are taken into account as well as Judaism and classical philosophy, and in the background the seven wonders of the world are architectural manifestations of historical importance.

A ceiling fresco in the library foyer of the Benedictine monastery Altenburg in Lower Austria transposes this kind of universal program of glorification of the spirit and of knowledge. In 1742 Johann Jakob Zeiller painted the theme, *Time brings truth to light*, surrounded by personifications of the continents, elements, temperaments, ages of man, scholarly faculties, seasons, and times of day. America appears here as a clothed woman with a crown of feathers flanked by a llama. The allegories of the earth and the air refer to the flora and fauna of the new world with a corn cob and a parrot.<sup>70</sup>

#### “East-and West-Indian and Chinese Pleasure-gardens”: The Sense of Smell (ca. 1650–1750)

In about 1690 Ferdinand van Kessel directly followed his father's example (Fig. 2–24) by painting a series of the four continents (Fig. 2–25). One significant difference was that the younger painter did not place the personification in the interior of a more or less closed *Kunst- und Wunderkammer*, but next to an open-air garden structure.<sup>71</sup> In the ~~allegory of America~~, a pointed hill is visible in the background, possibly depicting a volcano or the Potosi silver mine. The standard elements of the allegory have also been changed.<sup>72</sup> Instead of shells and snails on the ground there are flowers and fruits; a golden incense burner has replaced the representations of Indian customs; a tea set of Indian (i.e. Asian) porcelain takes the place of detailed images of butterflies. In addition we can see a chocolate vessel and a pipe with tobacco, while the mistress of this empire does not wear traditional feather costume, but an “Indian-style” costume of the European courts.<sup>73</sup> Van Kessel's change of style clearly illustrates the shift of exoticism in the allegory of America that took place between 1660 and 1690. In the course of the ~~seventeenth century~~ the received image of ~~America~~ ceased to be one of a “wild” continent in need of discovery and became increasingly replaced by that of a familiar colony.<sup>74</sup>

Such a shift is also apparent in the portrayal of Europeans in America. At the end of the sixteenth century, in his series of engravings *Americae relectio*, Jan van der Straet shows Amerigo Vespucci's discovery of America as the encounter of a European scholar (in the dress of a conqueror armed with technical tools) with a nude woman personifying untamed nature.<sup>75</sup> By contrast, Wolfgang Kilian's 1621 engraving for Abbot Kaspar Plautz of Seitenstetten in Lower Austria depicts the warm hospitality shown by natives to a travelling European (Fig. 2-26). This work, about the Benedictines' American missionary activity, portrays the Indians as friendly and also includes the first recipes for the preparation of potatoes.<sup>76</sup> In fact, as time passed, transatlantic ocean voyages became safer and travelling itself became a theme of art. In 1625 the anonymous work *Florians von der Fleschen ... Schiff-farten* appeared in Strasbourg and presented a radically different form of travel account with a fictional adventure story. Entertainment was also the primary goal of Michael Hemmersams' *Guinescher und West-Indischer Reissbeschreibung*, which first appeared in 1647.<sup>77</sup>

An America allegory from the second half of the seventeenth century shows a similar conception (Fig. 2-27). Not only does it illustrate the Indian reception of a traveller, but also the European observer's mixture of pleasure and repulsion. This painting was made after an engraving by Gilles Rousselet and Charles le Brun, but creates a more dramatic contrast in the scene: one side has a noble Indian couple and lush vegetation, the other a frightening cayman and group of cannibals.

Lust for adventure and thirst for knowledge also meet in Erasmus Francisci's work *Ost-und Westindischen wie auch Sinesische Lust-und Staats-Garten*,<sup>78</sup> which was printed in Nuremberg in 1668. In the foreword the author justifies his effort with the fact that the European man is motivated by the "desire for the knowledge of foreign things. That is why he travels bravely, on paper, in the writings of other people and thus looks at the world through others' eyes." Francisci consciously tried to combine entertainment and dissemination of knowledge.<sup>79</sup> The illustrations blithely mix scenes and views of America, India and China: a mango, a Mexican tiger lily, a stag hunt in Florida, Chinese fire fountains, American rivers of gold, and Chinese artificial lakes. Often the illustrations are direct copies from De Bry. Reverence and curiosity are similarly intertwined in the increasingly popular pictures of fantastic temples (Fig. 2-28) and the bowdlerized portraits

of the primary Mexican god Huitzilopochtli as a pagan idol.<sup>80</sup> This altered view of the non-European world is clarified when Francisci explains in his introduction that exotic treasures of nature are preferable to classical art, which was so highly treasured at the time.

The pleasure garden of the heathen Romans Lucullus, Servilius, Salustius and the tyrant Nero are admired. No matter how large and extensive those pleasure gardens may have been, this book shows an incomparably larger pleasure garden, extending through all of China, East- and West-Indies, and built by GOD through his servant, nature. In some places human art and industry decorated and extended these gardens. Where could a curious or interested glance get more satisfaction, than in those faraway lands, where not only beauty but also ugliness attract his astonished gaze? There, where nature itself creates that which our monkey, Art, tries to imitate, using light and shadow to draw some pleasure into our eyes?

Most important in the context here is that Francisci no longer gives this entertaining microcosm the appellation *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* or gallery of nature, but calls it a pleasure garden (Lust-Garten). "As Catharina II of Russia later declared, it was silly to enclose Nature in a cabinet—even a huge palace could not hold her."<sup>81</sup> So Francisci modelled his description of non-European nature on a relaxing and diverting Baroque garden thus:

A beautiful garden should above all contain flowers and herbs whose beauty or aroma pamper a person and make his spirit refreshed and free of cares. There should be many fruitful trees and shrubs whose ancestors are in foreign lands, and which were transported with much effort and cost. This flora should fill the garden—there one Indian flower after another smiles at you, one wondrous plant sprouts over another, greets you with an aromatic or healthy breath; welcomes you, yes, even playfully reaches out a hand to you. The pleasure of the garden is enhanced when through art one builds some small hill or shady grottoes and caves. When the first re-discoverers of the New World took their initial steps on American soil, they practically froze with delight at the grace that heaven had bestowed on that land. They thought they had arrived in paradise; everything looked so wonderful, decorative, and joyful.



The title page of the *Lust-Garten* (Fig. 2-30) illustrates this conception with the portrayal of two Americans, an Indian and a Chinese, as statues in a Baroque park with an artificial grotto. Personifications of East and West India, together with China, float above the scene.

The beginning of this development was the first scientific expedition to Brazil by the Netherlandish representative Johann Moritz von Nassau (1641-1643). The expedition was successful in two ways: not only in the artistic production of the painters Frans Post and Albert Eeckhout (Fig. 2-1), but also in the scientific discoveries noted in the *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* of Willem Piso and Georg Marggraf (Leyden 1648).<sup>82</sup> This work's comprehensive systematization of Brazilian flora and fauna revolutionized natural history in Europe and expanded the scope of knowledge to include animals that had not been displayed in the *Wunderkammern*.

The most famous result of Post and Eeckhout's expedition was that the Dutch imported pineapple plants to Europe. Dirk van Valkenburg,<sup>83</sup> who was active in Surinam from 1706 to 1710, had made paintings of the plant. A handbook of exotic gardening, published in Nürnberg in 1714, called pineapple "the queen of fruits and a quintessential plant so that hardly a more adorable fruit exists in all the four continents" (Fig. 2-31):

The marvellous realm of America first gave us this taste-thrilling wonder of nature along with other unpronounceable treasures. Though its wild natives are rumored to show their inhumanity by an unnatural taste for human flesh, Brazil is generally considered to be the home of this fruit delicacy. ... It would have been truly irresponsible if Europe, the core and crown of all other continents, had been prevented from having pineapple. In fact, all amazing plants flourish in European gardens and art replaces that which the northern sun takes from the plant's growth.<sup>84</sup>

Pineapple was first gazed upon in the Amsterdam botanical garden and then became available for the gardens of Nuremberg citizens. All over Europe, aristocratic garden-lovers had high ambitions to collect exotica in their parks and greenhouses.<sup>85</sup> In Vienna the gardens of the Emperor's summer palace of Favorita and Prince Eugene of Savoy's Belvedere competed in having the tallest cactus (*Cereus erectus*). In 1719 the Belvedere cactus measured 3.5 meters (Fig. 2-32) and ten years later the Favorita specimen was said to have reached a height of 6.3 meters (Fig. 2-34). In the Belve-

dere the Prince owned two Indian *Kabinette* and in his garden were other exotic plants that had come to Vienna from Florence, Genoa and Naples and in some cases directly from Peru, Malabar, India and Turkey. There were also prickly pear cactuses (*Opuntie*), pineapples, and agaves<sup>86</sup> from America (Figs. 2-39 and 2-40).

Duke Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig-Lüneburg was proud of his many 'oriental' plants too. A guide book dating from 1710 describes the pleasure palace in Salzdahlum:

In front of his small building there is a proportioned flower garden, a greenhouse with countless plants including an American aloe. The aloe is still growing, is 36 feet high and has 40 branches, and just as in 1701 it is showing many blooms. Because of a lack of space, other plants can not be described in detail. There are many other kinds of aloes rich in leaf: *Ficoides*, *Cereus*, *Leonorus*, olives, myrtles, and pineapple plants.<sup>87</sup>

Around 1700 court culture valued these exotic plants very highly and memorial medals were even made to commemorate the dates when the plants had bloomed. In Salzdahlum medals were created to remember the first bloom of the agave on 3 October 1701 and to commemorate other blooms as well (Fig. 2-33).<sup>88</sup>

Already the title page of a botanical book from 1640 visualized the garden as a microcosm (Fig. 2-35), and Volkamer characterized an early eighteenth-century European garden as containing all "that the four continents have so far produced in rare plants." This description fits well with the construction of allegories of the four continents in Baroque park grounds (Fig. 2-36). Examples of these allegories are statues of the four continents (copied from Versailles) in the palace park in Salzdahlum (1705; now in Hildesheim), and Herrenhausen near Hannover,<sup>89</sup> as well as statues in the park of Prince Eugene's Schloss Hof an der March (ca. 1730, Fig. 2-37). In 1709 Prince Johann Adam Andreas von Liechtenstein had statues of the continents by Giovanni Giuliani placed in a courtyard flanking an orangery and also commissioned allegories for the interior of his palace.<sup>90</sup> The floral swags in the stucco relief *America* by Santino Bussi (Fig. 2-38) are a reference to garden culture as are the ceiling frescoes in the Apollosaal in the Orangerie in Fulda, with their allegory of the four continents (1730).<sup>91</sup>

Botanical gardens were often combined with menageries. The Belvedere of Prince Eugene in Vienna

is the one example of this and was second only in importance to that in Versailles. This "zoo" contained many "Indian" animals, including American birds, mammals such as sloths (*Nasua nasua*), yellow-breasted ara (*Ara arauna*), green-winged ara (*Ara chloroptera*), musk duck (*Cairina moschata*), bare-necked heron (*Tigrisoma mexicanum*), king vulture (*Sarcoramphus papa*), Carolina-parakeet (*Conuropsis carolinensis*), sun parakeet (*Aratinga solstitialis*), and golden parakeet (*Aratinga guarouba*; Figs. 2-39 and 2-40).<sup>92</sup> Salomon Kleiner's engravings show exotic animals and plants peacefully coexisting and decoratively linked to the architecture and sculpture of the princely residence.<sup>93</sup> Non-European flora and fauna served to add status to courtly life. The views of the Vienna Favorita (Fig. 2-34) and the Salzdhalm palace (Fig. 2-33) link the plants symmetrically to architecture. In the engravings of "Indian House" of the Prince Elector Clemens August's 1750 exotic bird aviary of Schloss Augustusburg near Cologne, exotic animals and plants have become marginalized decorative ornaments (Fig. 2-41).<sup>94</sup> By contrast, in the seventeenth century, American animals had been shown in wild hunting grounds, as in Hollar's America allegory (Fig. 2-13) and one engraving in Romain de Hooghe's *Plantes et Oiseaux des Indes*, dating from 1682 (Fig. 2-41). It is no accident that the second part of this print shows Indian and African slaves on a pepper plantation, nor was it a coincidence that Francisci used the title "Lust-Garten" when he published his compilation, or that the younger Kessel rejected a painting gallery in favor of landscapes, flowers, tobacco, and exotic drinks (Fig. 2-25) in his allegory of America.<sup>95</sup> Such changes show that from the middle of the seventeenth century, exoticism had brought the "perfume of the wide world" into European homes.<sup>96</sup> Francisci expressed this Zeitgeist when he called his second compendium (1672-1674) *Acerra exoticum: oder historisches Rauchfaß*, "an exotic censer," which purveyed information about China, Indochina, Persia, Turkey, America, and Africa to the reader "not like incense" but instead as a "sweetly wafting smell."<sup>97</sup>

The center of the culture of exotic aromas was Tuscany. A lemon/orange hybrid had been raised there since 1640 and Grand Duke Cosimo III himself practiced the art of grafting exotic plants in the gardens of the Palazzo Pitti and the Villa in Castello. In 1688 he had received an Indian jasmine plant from the Portuguese envoy which he zealously guarded on account of its incomparable perfume.<sup>98</sup> Giovan Battista d'Ambra, master of the academy of perfumers in Tuscany, supplemented his *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* with a botanical garden containing the "rarest plants that both Indies could provide." His colleague Lorenzo Bellini had

written a poem to the perfumed earth of Bucchero, and in 1699 further describes the collection of "artificial and natural gifts" of both Indies, "reaching from the Chinese to the Peruvian sky":

His Kabinett is like the rest of his home,  
which is a noble palace,  
In which barbarian and Tuscan style  
Are expressed in architecture  
And Japan and Brazil are hidden. ...

And a thousand tanned hides and a thousand  
flowers  
Are added to it, and with unusual  
And novel aroma and new colors  
And so many soils, in which the plants are,  
That all came from abroad,  
And from the south and north, from the west  
and the east.<sup>99</sup>

In fact in Europe at that time the smells of the east (sandalwood, cinnamon, tea, and katechu) joined those of the west (vanilla, india-rubber, tolu-balsam, China-china [quinine cc], cocoa, and tobacco) so that Grand Duke Ferdinando could assert that "the aromatic is a thing of the Americas."<sup>100</sup> This assertion is confirmed by the performing and fine arts, since from the middle of the century "tobacco ballets" with Indian dancers had been presented.<sup>101</sup> Thus the allegory of America was expanded with pipes and smokers.<sup>102</sup> In addition to the portrayal of America by Ferdinand van Kessel (Fig. 2-25) noted earlier, two drawings by Gottfried Maes (ca. 1700) should be mentioned. One design for a tapestry, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, expands the female personification surrounded by plants with a parrot snacking on fruits and a cherub smoking a pipe.<sup>103</sup> A drawing of the four continents identifies America with tobacco consumption through pipe smoking (a custom that in the seventeenth century moved from England and Holland throughout Europe).<sup>104</sup> Asia's aromas of the orient are symbolized by an incense burner (Fig. 2-50).<sup>105</sup> In Holland the image of a smoking Indian was used as the personification of the sense of smell and as a trademark on tobacco containers.<sup>106</sup>

Upon Johann Moritz von Nassau's return to his native land in 1644, he maintained the atmosphere of exotic nature by decorating the stairway of his home in the Hague with paintings of his trip to Brazil. The governor then gave such *Indiaensche schildereyen*, containing lifesize portraits of the natives, animals and plants of Brazil (Fig. 2-1), to the Prince Elector and the Danish and French kings, in 1652, 1654, and 1679 respectively.

Johann Moritz suggested that the paintings should decorate a gallery or large room, as one would with tapestries since "that would be a very rare and unusual undertaking." Thus one could see the incredible country of Brazil and its native peoples, animals, and plants without the rigors of an ocean voyage.<sup>107</sup> After the Grand Duke of Brandenburg had commissioned wall hangings in Delft as copies of the Brazilian paintings (1667), Louis XIV in Paris then ordered the Gobelin series *Les Indes* (1687–1701). *Les Indes* were later copied repeatedly and show exotic landscapes, people, wild animals, and plants without any distinction between the West and East Indies (Fig. 2–43).<sup>108</sup>

Moritz's suggestion to use his paintings of Brazilian landscapes to decorate a gallery was in harmony with contemporary treatises on *Architectura recreationis*. Thus in 1640, Joseph Furtenbach had his palace corridors and stairways decorated with garden pictures. These pictures were to serve just like a *Galleria* or *Promenade* in the garden to "please daily the eye and refresh the human spirit."<sup>109</sup> In the last quarter of the seventeenth century a similar kind of gallery was designed in the stairways of the palaces of Versailles (Fig. 2–44), by Het Loo (Daniel Marot),<sup>110</sup> and also in the grand hall of the Petronell palace near Vienna. There the court painter of the Emperor's widow, Carpofofo Tencala, created frescoes (1668–1669 and renewed in 1690) that show local peasants and Indians and Turks with exotic fruits (Fig. 2–45).<sup>111</sup>

The *Kabinett* of the Schönborns' palace of Göllersdorf in Lower Austria further develops this form in the early eighteenth century (Fig. 2–46). Jonas Drentwett painted *Chinoiserie* walls with allegories of the continents, including America with a brown bear, while the ceiling showed a *trompe l'oeil* gallery of the four continents decorated with exotic plants.<sup>112</sup> The plants and flowers were painted from contemporary accounts. Prince Eugene of Savoy and Vice Chancellor Friedrich Karl von Schönborn, who commissioned the work, shared an enthusiasm for both the painter and for "Indian plants." As in Petronell, the Göllersdorf-*Kabinett's* location on the ground floor between a billiard room and a *sala terrena* with a grotto demonstrates its function as a showplace of courtly "summer recreation and freshness."<sup>113</sup>

The Glaswein palace, near Göllersdorf, has an *Indianisches Kabinett* (1762) that, too, was a showplace for aristocratic recreation. Johann Franz Greipel painted its combination of exotic landscapes with scenes of country hunting and hunting Indians (Fig. 2–47).<sup>114</sup> Among the many Austrian eighteenth-century exotic *Kabinetts*

in secular and religious residences, the most important are those of Empress Maria Theresia in Schönbrunn and Ober St. Veit.<sup>115</sup> In these residences as well as in the garden pavilion of the monastery at Melk (1763–1764),<sup>116</sup> the painter Johann Wenzel Bergl modelled his work after the Louis XIV Gobelin series. In contrast to the earlier frescoes in Göllersdorf and Glaswein, he presented still-life paintings of pineapple, melons, sugar cane, and other delicacies (Fig. 2–49) and thus showed the position these products from across the seas had gained in Europe in the course of the eighteenth century.

"Tea, chocolate and coffee sets interspersed with mirrors, Indian urns and pagodas":  
The Sense of Taste (ca. 1700–1800)

In 1722 Marcello Malaspina describes the "Botany of the Palate"—as it was called by Pietro Verri—extensively in his work *Bacco in America*:

Mexican chocolate, which fruitfully steams and perfumes, delights some. Sherbert, the delicate, icy food of the gods, colored by strawberries, delights others. The fiery juices of the grapevine, from the kingdoms of the west and east, delight others. He who listens to me should have Egyptian coffee and mild Chinese herbal tea.<sup>117</sup>

While turkeys and potatoes were only on royal menus around 1700,<sup>118</sup> chocolate and tobacco had already begun to enjoy widespread consumption in the course of the seventeenth century.<sup>119</sup> Therefore the "Mexican food of the gods" was described in travel accounts (Fig. 2–51) and chocolate was portrayed in eighteenth-century allegories such as Tiepolo's Würzburg fresco. Because of its alleged aphrodisiac quality, the hot drink became a popular beverage of fashionable men and women.<sup>120</sup> Consumption was expensive, not only because of transportation costs, but because of the necessity for serving it in cups made of genuine porcelain. The new drinks revolutionized European food customs<sup>121</sup> and had to be drunk in vessels made of flavorless Asian material because they were served hot. Contemporaries were aware of this requirement. In 1707 Eberhard Werner Happel wrote:

Porcelain services have never been as popular and well-used in Germany as in recent times, since we took on the Indian custom of drinking tea, coffee and chocolate. Everyone who

fancies himself a "galant homme" these days, procures one of these pretty services.<sup>122</sup>

Since the seventeenth century the connection between non-European delicacies and an exotic atmosphere was primarily cultivated in France and Holland.<sup>123</sup> This connection is visible in the etchings made by Romain de Hooghe for Simon de Vries' *Curieuse Aenmerckingen der bysonderste Oost- en West-Indische verwonderenswaardige dingen; nevens die van China, Africa, en andere gewesten des werelds*, published in Leiden in 1682 (Fig. 2-42). In our context, a particularly informative connection is that of chocolate production and coffee drinking with Chinese lacquer work (Fig. 2-48). Liselotte von der Pfalz makes an analogous observation in a 1699 letter from Versailles to Hannover:

Duchesse de Lesdiguières does nothing on earth except drink coffee or tea. When she takes coffee, she and her ladies in waiting have to be in Turkish costume, and when she has tea, all who serve her must be in Indian dress.<sup>124</sup>

In Germany such an exotic ambiance was originally part of the *divertissements* of the carnival season. The French root of that term, as well as the words "carnival" and "masquerade," indicate the French origin of the custom. In 1733 Julius Bernhard von Rohr's handbook of ceremonies describes how on such occasions boutiques were set up in the halls of the *Redoutes* and stocked with wares from other countries. Guests in American, African or Asian costume were offered "according to taste coffee, tea, chocolate, lemonade, liqueurs, rosolis, confections, fruit, pastries, biscuits and such snacks," and at times also "some Chinese, Japanese, or Indian porcelain."

Decoration and culinary treats from the West- and East Indies are two aspects of the late seventeenth- and eighteenth century palace *Kabinetts* found in many palaces. These *Kabinetts* were ornamented with mirrors and porcelain decorations. Von Rohr's 1733 description of this kind of room makes the previous connection obvious:

In many pleasure palaces one can see porcelain chambers or *Kabinette* which have gilded and sculptural decorations. There one can find the most beautiful porcelain artifacts, large pots, vases, bowls, trays, tea, chocolate and coffee services, and in between them mirrors, Indian urns, and pagodas. Everything is organized in a most beautiful and magnificent way.<sup>125</sup>

In spite of the Chinese or Japanese provenance of the porcelain displays, these splendid rooms were usually called "Indian."<sup>126</sup> The first *indiaansen Cabinetten* were made in the middle of the seventeenth century in the residences of the Netherlandish stadholders.<sup>127</sup> In the Holy Roman Empire we find porcelain cabinets at the court of the electors of Brandenburg, who were relatives of the Oranje-Nassau's in Berlin. Around 1700 this type of room was installed also in the imperial and aristocratic palaces in Vienna.<sup>128</sup> Prince Eugene of Savoy enjoyed exotic delicacies in the *Gold-kabinett* built in his city palace in Vienna (1708). The room was used as a breakfast and coffee room and there was a pass-through opening in the wall to serve hot beverages from an ante-room.<sup>129</sup> Schloss Salzdahlum, mentioned above, had a large porcelain cabinet (1710) with tea, chocolate and coffee services.<sup>130</sup> The mirrored *Kabinett* built for Friedrich Karl von Schönborn, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire, in his Würzburg Residenz, was decorated with exotic motifs on glass and stucco decorations of the four continents.<sup>131</sup> This room served as a community room for the court, for those who desired to drink coffee and play games after dining.<sup>132</sup>

From 1710 on, porcelain was made in Europe and the connection between exotic tastes and exotic forms is made even clearer. At first Indians appeared on teapots,<sup>133</sup> Chinese on coffee pots, as well as "Indian flowers" on chocolate cups and tobacco containers. Pastry holders were created in the form of cartwheeling turkeys (Fig. 2-52);<sup>134</sup> sugar containers took the form of Moors dressed in feathers.<sup>135</sup> The table could also be decorated with porcelain parrots<sup>136</sup> or gilded pineapple bowls (Fig. 2-53).<sup>137</sup> The portrayals of the four continents highlighted the European consumption of products from the entire world. These images appeared on glasses, porcelain plates<sup>138</sup> and ceramic vessels (Fig. 2-54). Since the middle of the century, the porcelain manufactories of Chelsea, Alcora, Meissen, Ludwigsburg,<sup>139</sup> Vienna<sup>140</sup> (Fig. 2-55), Fürstenberg, Berlin,<sup>141</sup> Limbo, and Fulda<sup>142</sup> produced decorative plaques displaying personifications of the four continents.

Nevertheless, the idea of sophisticated dining in the eighteenth century was not typified by porcelain decorations, but by sugar creations (Fig. 2-56), as described by Count Benvenuto Robbio of Savoy in a letter, dating from 1770, to an abbot friend:

I would like to send you a big kettle full of thick and well-whipped chocolate, made from authentic Soconusco cocoa, spiced by the most

sprightly vanilla, and topped with two points of biscuits from Vercelli. In the middle there should be a temple of little swirls, Cedro lime candy, peaches, quinces, and many other tasty things. On the outside there would be a lovely pattern of little statues and these statues could not be made out of crystal or porcelain, but should be out of the whitest, extra fine sugar.<sup>143</sup>

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## Notes

- \* This article builds on Friedrich Polleroß, Andrea Sommer-Mathis, and Christopher F. Laferl, *Federschmuck und Kaiserkrone. Das barocke Amerikabild in den habsburgischen Ländern*, exhibition catalogue Schloßhof, Vienna, 1992; see also *El teatro descubre América. Fiestas y teatro en la Casa de Austria (1492–1700)*, Andrea Sommer-Mathis, ed., Colección Relaciones entre España y América XI/19, Madrid, 1992. The author and editors would like to thank Christine Clark for her translation of this essay.
- 1 On the entire libraries of literature published around 1992 only in German see Ulrich van der Heyden, "Deutschsprachige Publikationen zum 500. Jahrestag der Entdeckung Amerikas durch Christoph Kolumbus," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1993, pp. 1009–1025 and 1091–1113.
  - 2 Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, "Amerika in den frühneuzeitlichen Medien Flugblatt und Neue Zeitung" in *Mundus Novus: Amerika oder die Entdeckung des Bekannten*, Peter Messenhöller, ed., Essen, 1992, pp. 19–34; Hans-Joachim König, "Von den neu gefundenen Inseln, Regionen und Menschen: Zu den Briefen von Christoph Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci und Hernán Cortés," in *America: Das frühe Bild der Neuen Welt*, Hans Wolff, ed., exhibition catalogue Munich, 1992, pp. 103–108; Tilman Falk, "Frühe Rezeption der Neuen Welt in der graphischen Kunst," in *Humanismus und Neue Welt*, Wolfgang Reinhard, ed., Weinheim, 1987, pp. 37–64; Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*, London, 1976, pp. 5ff.
  - 3 William C. Sturtevant, "First Visual Images of Native America," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, Fredi Chiapelli, ed., Berkeley, 1976, pp. 429ff (ill.); John H. Elliott, *Die Neue in der Alten Welt: Folgen einer Eroberung 1492–1650*, Berlin 1992.
  - 4 Hans-Joachim König, "Phantastisches und Wirkliches: Die Wahrnehmung Amerikas in den 'Neuen Zeytungen,'" in Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–110, cat. no. 15; Gloria Gilda Deak, *Picturing America 1497–1899*, Princeton, 1988, cat. no. 4; Mario Erdheim, "Zur Ethnopschoanalyse von Exotismus und Xenophobie," in *Exotische Welten—Europäische Phantasie*, exhibition catalogue, Stuttgart, 1987 pp. 48–53; Karl-Heinz Kohl, "Einleitung," in *Mythen der Neuen Welt: Zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Lateinamerikas*, Berlin, 1982, pp. 13–21.
  - 5 Franz Wawrik and Christopher Laferl, "Amerika wird 'erfunden,'" in *Federschmuck*, *op. cit.*, pp. 197–200, cat. nos. 1.1–1.7; Hugh Honour, "Wissenschaft und Exotismus: Die europäischen Künstler und die außereuropäische Welt," in Kohl, *Mythen*, *op. cit.*, pp. 22ff.
  - 6 Helga von Kügelgen Kropfinger, "El Indio: Barbaro y/o Buen Salvaje?" in *La imagen del indio en la Europa Moderna*, Seville, 1990, pp. 457–487.
  - 7 Antonio de Solis, *Historia de la Conquista de Mexico ... Nueva Edicion, enriquezida con diversas Estampas, y aumentada con la Vida del Autor, que escribió Don Juan de Goyeneche*, Brussels, 1704, fol. 266 and 310.
  - 8 Much of the first information was based on the records of conquistadors: Miguel Nieto Nuño, "Manuscritos Españoles de Asunto Americano en la Biblioteca Nacional de Viena," in *1492–1992: Spanien, Österreich und Iberoamerika: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 86*, Wolfram Krömer, ed., Innsbruck, 1993, pp. 119–130; Wolfgang Neuber: *Fremde Welt im europäischen Horizont: Zur Topik der deutschen*

- Amerika-Reiseberichte der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin, 1991, pp. 254–267.
- 9 *Los Austrias: Grabados de la Biblioteca Nacional*, exhibition catalogue, Madrid 1993, cat. no. 61; Tzvetan Todorov, *Die Eroberung Amerikas: Das Problem des Anderen*, Frankfurt am Main, 1985, p. 240.
- 10 Cruz Martinez de la Torre, "Obras de arte Americano en el patrimonio nacional," *Reales Sitios XXIX*, 1992, pp. 21–28.
- 11 Wolfgang Neuber, "Imago und Pictura. Zur Topik des Sinn-Bilds im Spannungsfeld von Ars Memorativa und Emblematis (am Paradigma des "Indianers")," in *Text und Bild, Bild und Text. DFG-Symposion, 1988*, Wolfgang Harms, ed., Stuttgart, 1990, pp. 248f.
- 12 *Federschmuck*, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 8.4; *La Palabra di España en America*, exhibition catalogue, Santiago, 1990.
- 13 Wolfgang Neuber, "Florian Paucke S. J. und sein Reisebericht über Paraguay," in *Österreich und die Neue Welt*, Elisabeth Zeilinger, ed., Vienna, 1993, pp. 67–79; "Österreichische Jesuiten und die Erschließung Amerikas," in *Die Neue Welt: Österreich und die Erforschung Amerikas*, exhibition catalogue, Vienna, 1992, pp. 43–60, here 56–58; *Zwettler Codex 420 von P. Florian Paucke S. J. Hin und Her ...*, Etta Donner-Becker and Gustav Ottruba, eds., 2 vols., Vienna, 1959 and 1966.
- 14 Bernadette J. Bucher, "De 'Grands Voyages' van De Bry (1590–1634): Europas eerste uitgebreide reportage over America," in *America: Bruid van e zon*, exhibition catalogue, Antwerp, 1992, pp. 129–140; William B. Ashworth, Jr., "Remarkable Humans and Singular Beasts," in *The Age of the Marvelous*, exhibition catalogue, Joy Kenseth, ed., Hanover, New Hampshire, 1991, pp. 135–136.
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- 16 Dürer's diary: Joy Kenseth, "The Age of the Marvelous: An Introduction," in *The Age of the Marvelous*, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Jean Michel Massing, "The Quest for the Exotic: Albrecht Dürer in the Netherlands," in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, exhibition catalogue, Jay A. Levenson, ed., Washington, 1991, pp. 115–119.
- 17 *Focus Behaim Globus*, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 5.9; Jean Michel Massing, "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach," in *Circa 1492*, *op. cit.*, pp. 514–520, cat. nos. 405 and 406.
- 18 Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art*, Chicago, 1992; Maria Concepción Garcia Safz, "La Imagen del Indio en el Arte Español del Siglo Oro," in *La imagen*, *op. cit.*, pp. 420ff; Helmut Schneider, "Verfremdende Spiegelungen: Europas Dialog mit der Kunst der Welt," in *Exotische Welten*, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–146; Donald Robertsen, "Mexican Indian Art and the Atlantic Filter: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," in Chiapelli, *op. cit.*, I pp. 483–494.
- 19 Leon Voet, *De Gouden Eeuw van Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1973, pp. 373ff.
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## Endnotes

1 *Kabinett* = Smaller Room of the apartment used for display of art and artifacts or for private talks.

2 *Kunst- und Wunderkammer* = cabinet or collection of art and wonders (or marvels, curiosities). Museum or "cabinet."

3 *Lust-Garten* = roughly means pleasure ground, garden, later some sense like amusement park.

4 *Lust-Schloss* = "pleasure palace," i.e., second and smaller palace used for recreation, often out in the park grounds of the main palace.

5 *Staatsgarten* = state garden, royal garden, literary word meaning the garden of the main residence in contrast to the garden of the pleasure palace.



Fig. 2-2 *Indians Playing Golf*, etching in Alonso d'Ovaglio *Historica Relatione del Regno di Cile*, Rome, 1646. Photo: Gudrun Vogler.

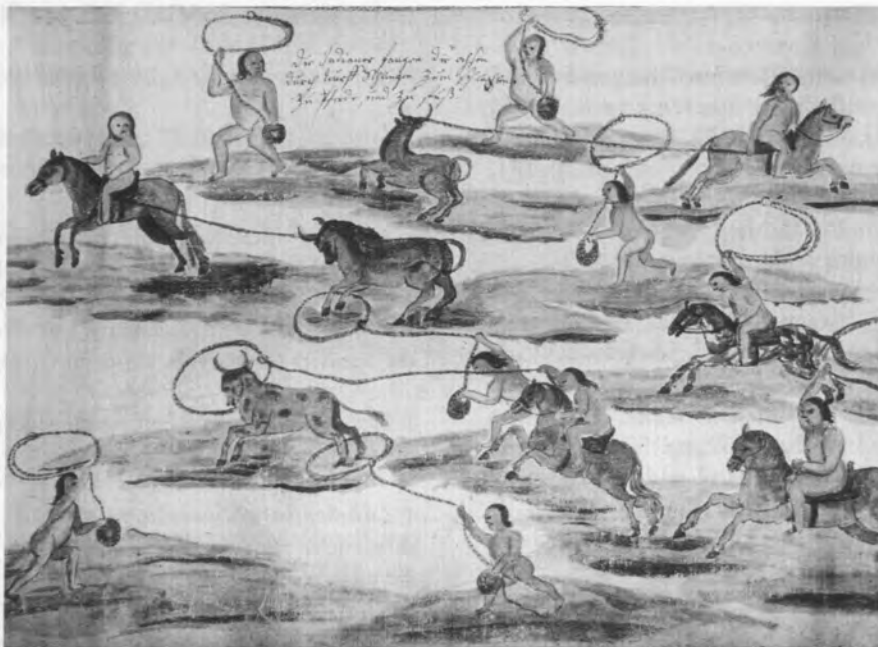


Fig. 2-3 *Mocobi-Indians Catching Oxen*, coloured drawing by P. Florian Paucke S.J., ca. 1775; Cistercian Abbey Zwettl, Lower Austria. Photo: author.

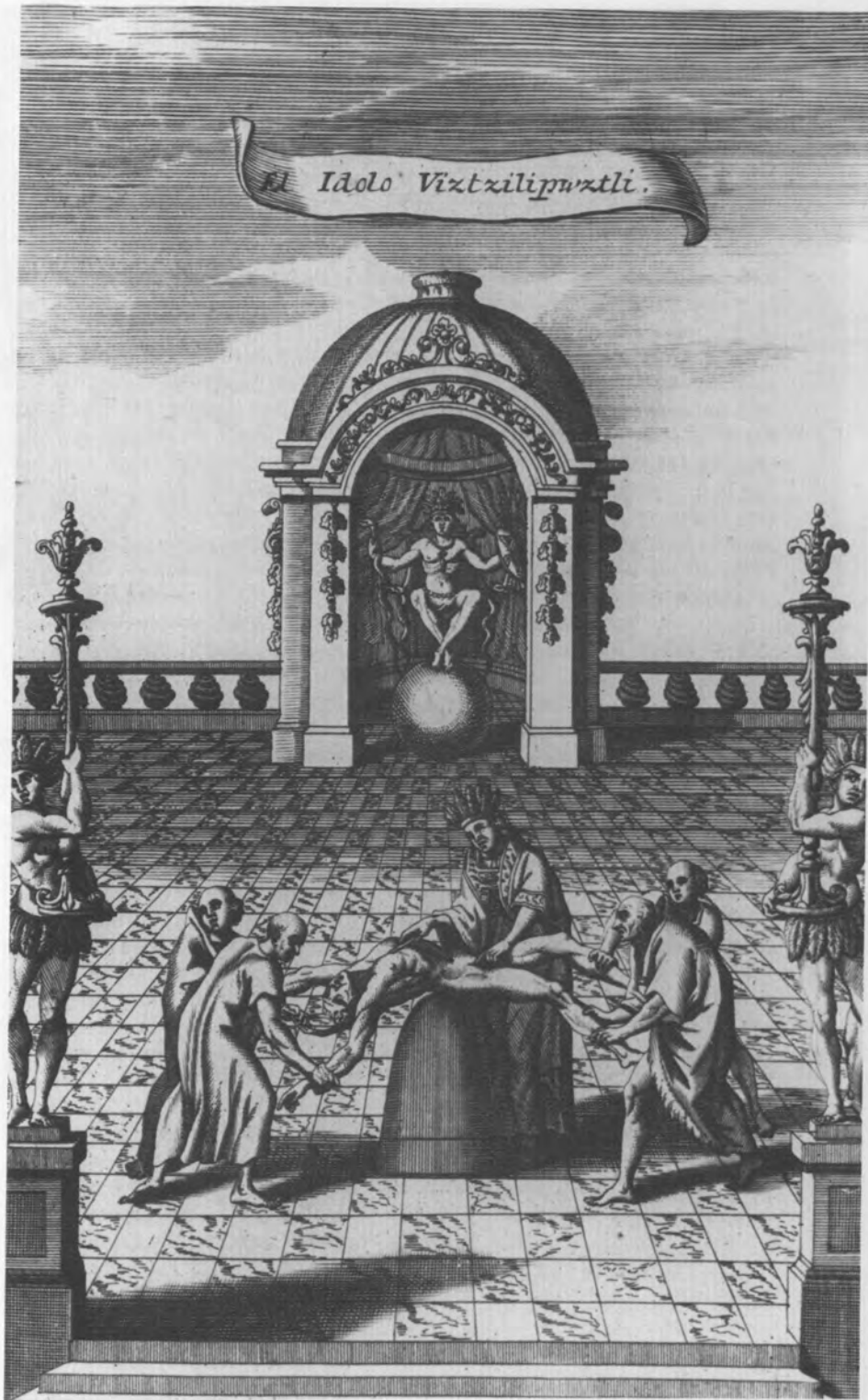


Fig. 2-4a *Human Sacrifice to the Mexican god Huitzilopochtli*, engraving in Antonio de Solis y Rivadenaira, *Historia de la Conquista de Mexico*, Brussels, 1704. Photo: Grudrun Vogler.





Fig. 2-4b *Capture of King Moctezuma by Cortés*, engraving, 1704 (see Fig. 2-4a).



Fig. 2-5 *North American Indians and Eskimos*, engraving in Joseph F. Lafiteau, *Mœurs des Sauvages américaines ...*, Paris, 1724. Photo: Gudrun Vogler.

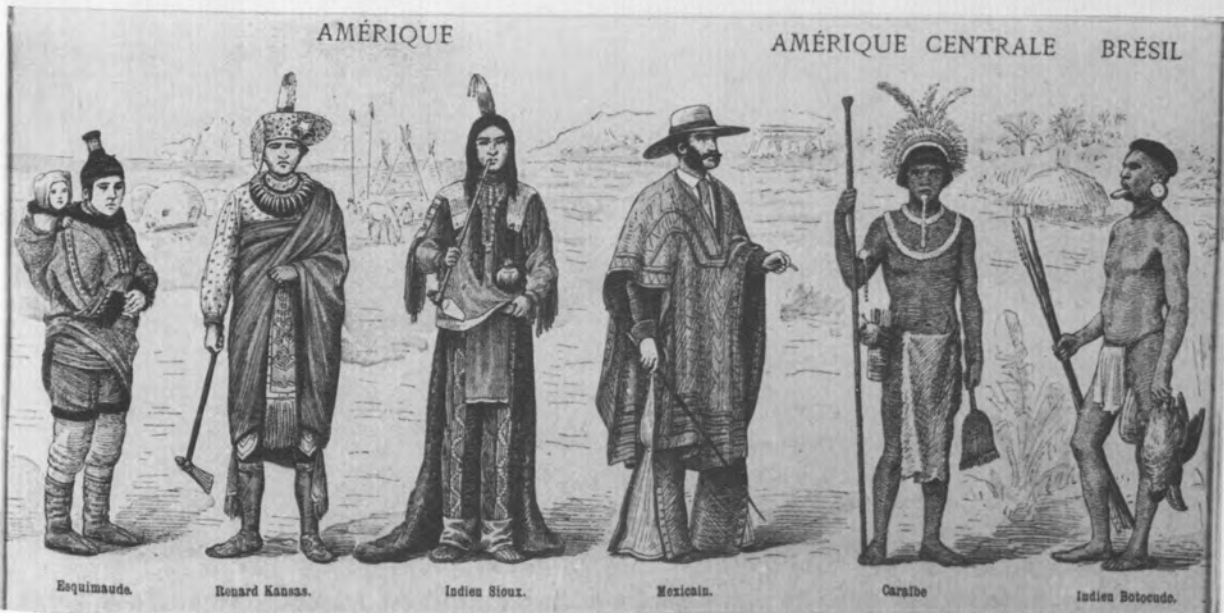


Fig. 2-6 *American Indians and Eskimos*, lithograph in a French schoolbook, 19th/20th century. Photo: Gudrun Vogler.





Fig. 2-7 *Mulates of Esmeralda*, painting by Adrián Sánchez Galque, 1599; Madrid, Museo de América. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2–8 Map of Spanish America, coloured woodcut, middle of 16th century; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Photo: Library.



Fig. 2-9 *Christophe Columbus*, Spanish (?) painting, end of 16th century; Innsbruck, Ambras-Collection. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2-10 *Annunciation and Last Supper*, feather mosaic, Mexico, ca. 1560-1570; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo: Museum.



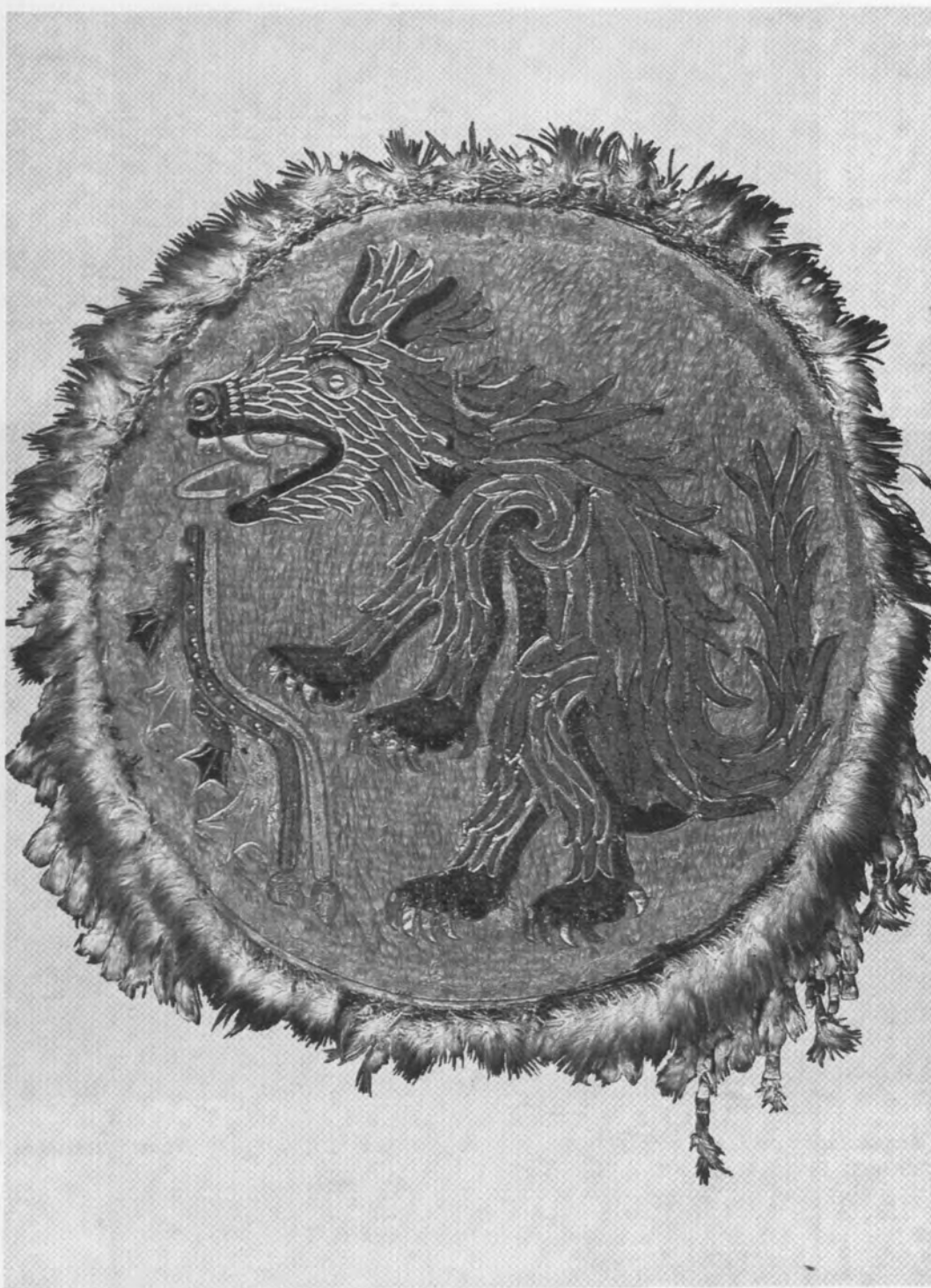


Fig. 2-11 Featherwork Shield, Aztec, around 1520; Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. Photo: Museum.

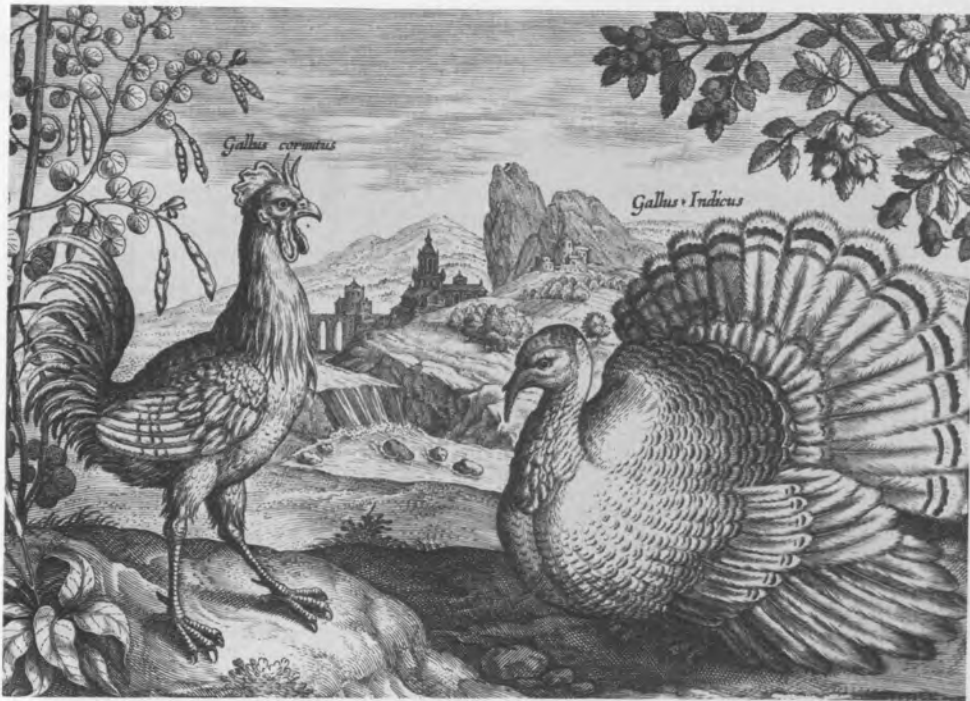


Fig. 2-12a *European Cock and American Turkey-cock*, engraving by Adriaen Collaert, early 17th century; Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2-12b *American Parrots*, engraving by Adriaen Collaert (see Fig. 2-12a).



Fig. 2-13 *Animals as Allegory of America*, etching by Wenzel Hollar, mid-17th century; Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2-14 *Allegories of the Four Parts of the World*, frontispiece of the *Atlas Minor*, Amsterdam, 1651. Photo: author.

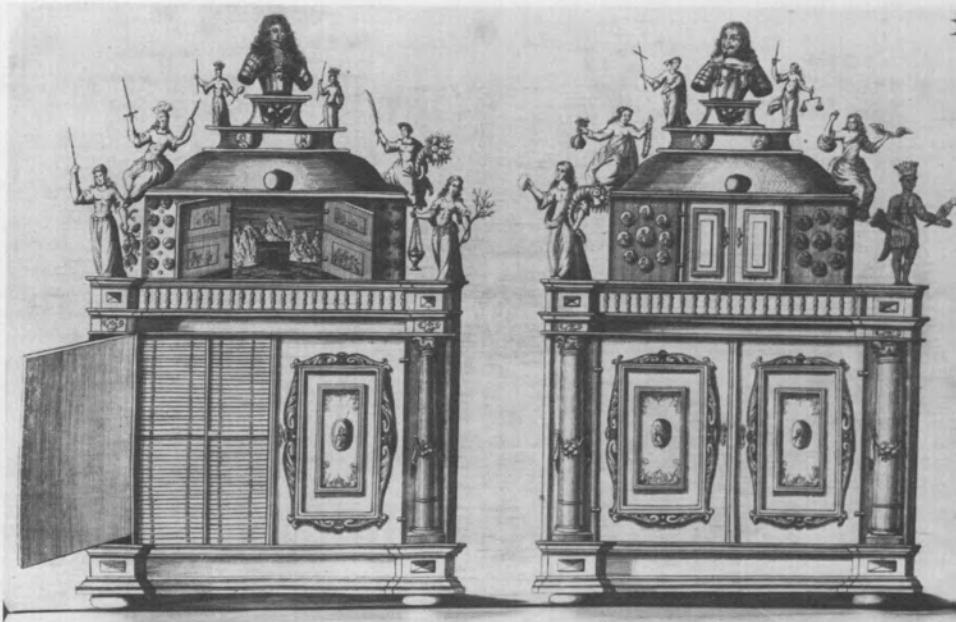


Fig. 2-15 *Coin Cabinet with Allegories of the Four Parts of the World*, engraving by Clemens Beuttler in Hyacinth Marian Fidler, *Topographia Windhagiana aucta ...*, Vienna, 1673. Photo: Gudrun Vogler.



Fig. 2-16 *Allegory of America* from the cabinet of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, Augsburg, ca. 1560-1570; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo: Museum.





Fig. 2-17 *Allegory of America* with personification and two Indians and two Eskimos, stucco relief after the engraving by Philippe Galle and Marcus Gceeraerts (ca. 1590); formerly Eggenburg, Lower Austria, ca. 1620-1630. Photo: Bundes-denkmalamt, Vienna.



Fig. 2-18 *Allegory of Peru and America*, medal by Gianpaolo Poggini, 1562; Madrid, Museo Archeológico. Photo: Gudrun Vogler.



Fig. 2-19 *Allegories of the Four Parts of the World*, engraving, 17th century. Photo: Karl Pani.

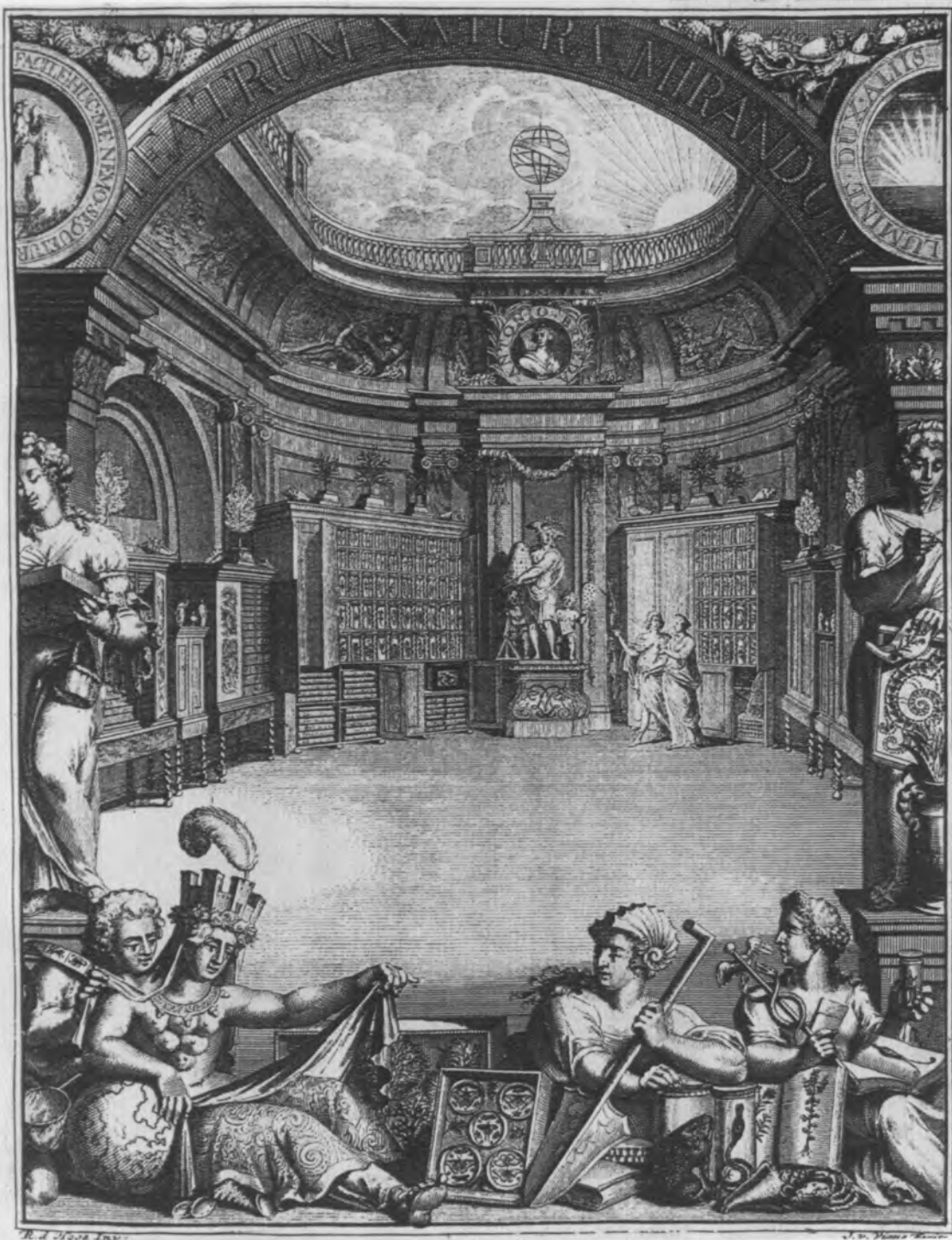


Fig. 2–20 *Cabinet of Curiosities with Allegories of America and Africa*, engraving by J.v. Viane and R. de Hooghe, frontispiece of L. Vincent, *Wondertooneel der Nature*, Amsterdam, 1706. Photo: Karl Pani.



Fig. 2-21 *Allegory of the Four Parts of the World and the Elements*, painting by Peter Paul Rubens, ca. 1615; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo: Museum.





Fig. 2-22 *Indian Woman*, painting, Styria, ca. 1666; Ptuj, Pokrajinski muzej. Photo: Museum. (See page 4 for color image.)



Fig. 2-23 *Indian Woman*, painting, Styria, ca. 1666; Ptuj, Pokrajinski muzej. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2-24 *Cabinet of Curiosities as Allegory of America*, painting by Jan van Kessel, 1666; Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Photo: Museum.





Fig. 2–25 *Garden Pavilion as Allegory of America*, painting by Ferdinand van Kessel, ca. 1690; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2–26 *Reception of a European Traveller by Indians*, engraving by Wolfgang Kilian, 1621. Photo: author.



Fig. 2-27 *The European Spectator of American Curiosities*, painted allegory of America after the engraving by Charles Le Brun and Gilles Rousselet (ca. 1650), Colecio Brasiliana, Sao Paulo. Photo: Parisini, Vienna. (See also color detail on page 8.)





Fig. 2-28 *The Temple of Mexico*, engraving, 1704 (see Fig. 2-3).



Fig. 2-29 *The Mexican god Huitzilopochtli*, German etching after the illustration in N. Mallet, *Descriptions de l'Univers*, Paris, 1683. Photo: Karl Pani.



Fig. 2-30 *East and West Indian and Chinese Pleasure Garden*, engraving by C.N. Schürtz, frontispiece of E. Francisci, *Ost- und West-Indischer wie auch Sinesischer Lust- und Stats-Garten*, Nuremberg, 1668. Photo: Inge Kitlitschka.



Fig. 2-31 *Pineapple Plant*, engraving by Johann Adam Delsenbach in J.C. Volkamer, *Continuation der Nürnbergischen Hesperidum*, Nuremberg, 1714.  
Photo: Karl Pani.

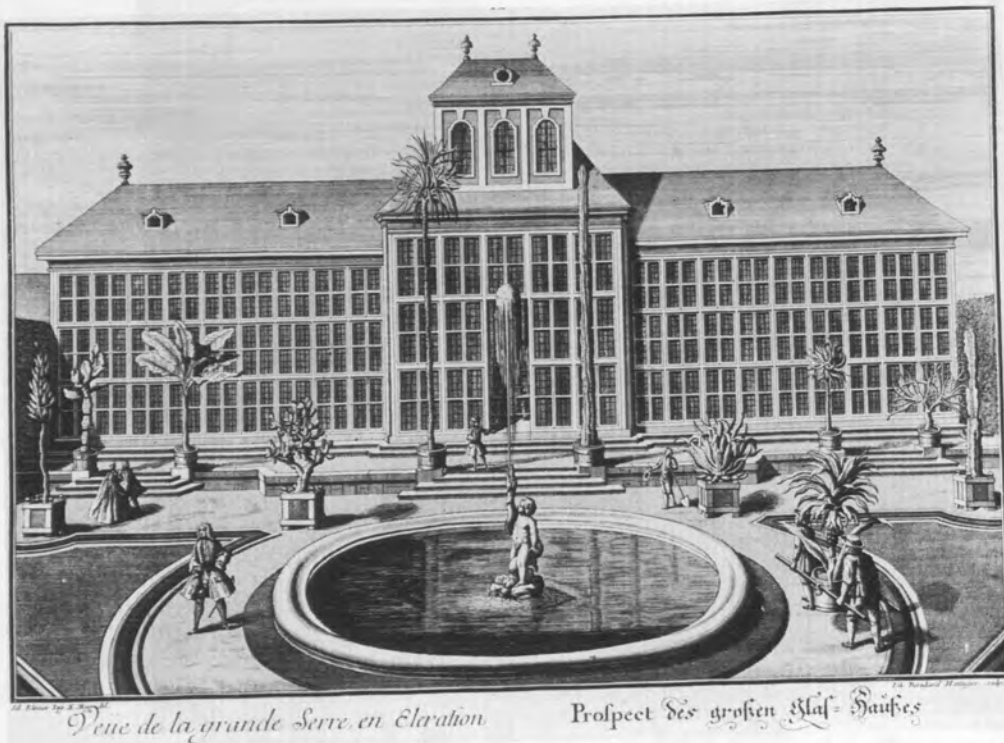


Fig. 2-32 *Orangerie of the Belvedere in Vienna* with American column-cactuses and agaves, engraving by Salomon Kleiner and Johann Bernhard Hattinger, 1734.  
Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Vienna.



Fig. 2-33 Medal to commemorate the blossom of the American agave in the pleasure-garden of Salzdahlum, 1720, engraving in Ph. J. Rehtmeyer, *Braunschweig=Lüneburgische Chronica*, Braunschweig 1722. Photo: Karl Pani.

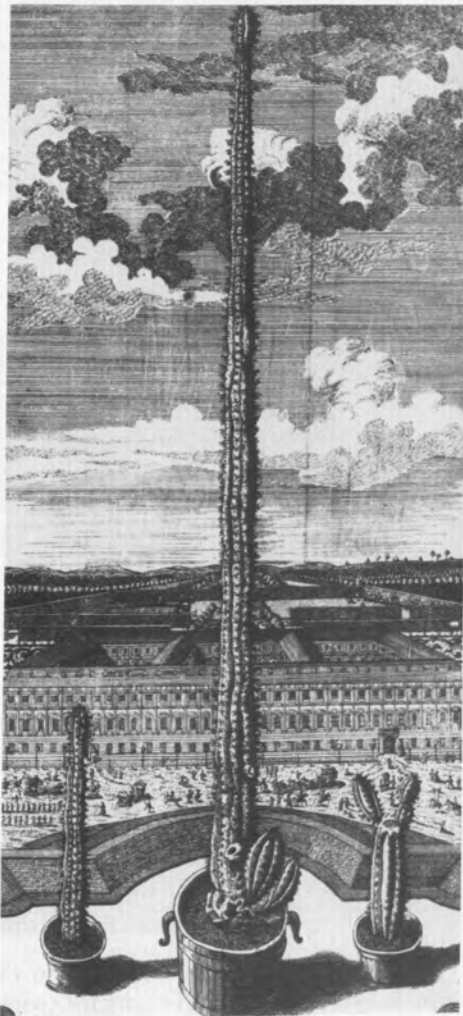


Fig. 2-34 Column-cactuses in the Imperial Summer Residence Favorita in Vienna, engraving by Johann Georg Schmidt, 1730. Photo: Gudrun Vogler.





Fig. 2-35 *Allegory of America*, sculpture by Antonio Laghi (?), ca. 1705; garden of Herrenhausen, Hannover. Photo: author.



Fig. 2-36 *Allegory of America*, sculpture by Jean Cornu in the garden of Versailles (ca. 1682), engraving by Louis Desplacé and Nicolas Bertin; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional. Photo: Library.



Fig. 2-37 *Allegory of America*, sculpture by Johann Wolfgang von Auwera, formerly in the garden of Schlosshof, ca. 1730. Photo: Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.



Fig. 2-38 *Allegory of America*, stucco relief by Santino Bussi, Liechtenstein garden palace, Vienna, 1706. Photo: Jacob Werner.



Fig. 2-39 American Opuntie and Agaves in the Garden of the Belvedere, Vienna, engraving by Salomon Kleiner and Jakob Andreas Friedrich, 1734. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Vienna.



Fig. 2-40 Column-cactus and American King Vulture in front of the Belvedere, engraving by Salomon Kleiner and Jakob Andreas Friedrich, 1734. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut, Vienna.





Fig. 2-41 *Indian House of the Castle Augustusburg near Cologne with exotic animals and plants, engraving by Johann Martin Metz and Nikolaus Mettely, mid-18th century. Photo: Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität, Vienna.*

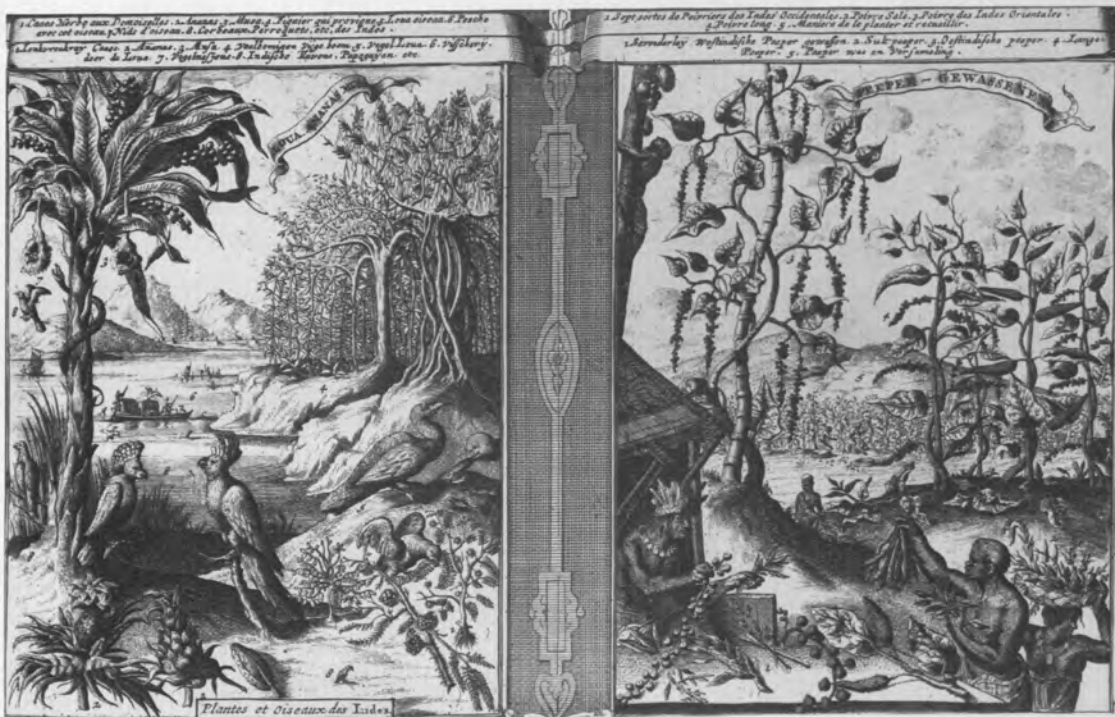


Fig. 2-42 *Pineapples, parrots, and other animals and plants from East and West India; pepper plantation in South America, etching by Romain de Hooghe, 1682; Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna. Photo: Museum.*



Fig. 2-43 *Jaguar attacking a zebra and other animals and plants from East and West India*, gobelin by Jacques Nelson, Alexandre-François Desportes and Maurice Jacques, 1774–1778; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2-44 *The Nations of America*, engraving after the fresco by Charles Lebrun in the *Escalier des Ambassadeurs* in Versailles, ca. 1680; Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Photo: Library.



Fig. 2-45 *Indians on a Garden Gallery*, fresco by Carpoforo Tencala, 1668-1669; castle of Petronell, Lower Austria. Photo: Studio Mayer, Vienna.

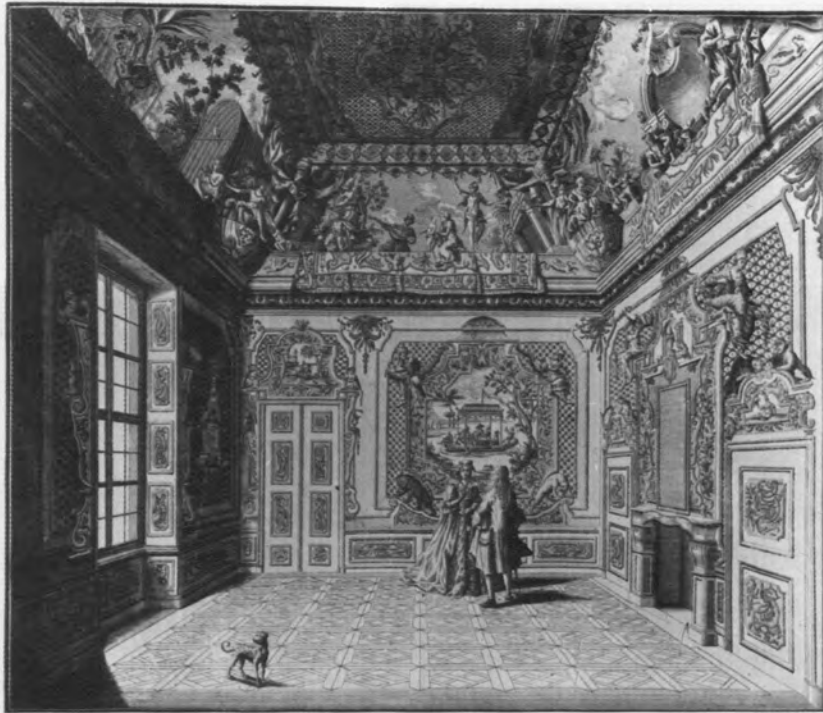


Fig. 2–46 *Exotic Cabinet in the Schönborn Castle near Göllersdorf, Lower Austria, ca. 1715–1720, engraving by Salomon Kleiner. Photo: Bildarchiv der Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.*



Fig. 2–47 *Hunting Indians, fresco by Johann Franz Greipel, 1769; Indian cabinet in the castle of Glaswein, Lower Austria. Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna.*





Fig. 2-48 *Chocolate, Tea, and Coffee Plants, and preparation of these drinks; Chinese Lacquer Painting and Tea Drinking, etching by Romain de Hooghe, 1682; Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna. Photo: Museum.*



Fig. 2-49 *Indian with Fruits* after the gobelin by Desportes, fresco by Johann Wenzel Bergl, 1763-1764; Garden Pavilion of the Benedictine Abbey, Melk, Lower Austria. Photo: Bundesdenkmalamt, Vienna.





Fig. 2-50 *Allegories of the Four Parts of the World*, drawing and aquarell by Godefried Maes, end of 17th century; Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Cologne.



Fig. 2-51 *Indians Preparing Chocolate*, engraving in Olfert Dapper, *Die Unbekannte Neue Welt*, Amsterdam, 1673. Photo: Karl Pani.



Fig. 2-52 *Pie Tureen* in form of a turkey, porcelain by the manufacture of Höchst, ca. 1750; private collection. Photo: Karl Pani.

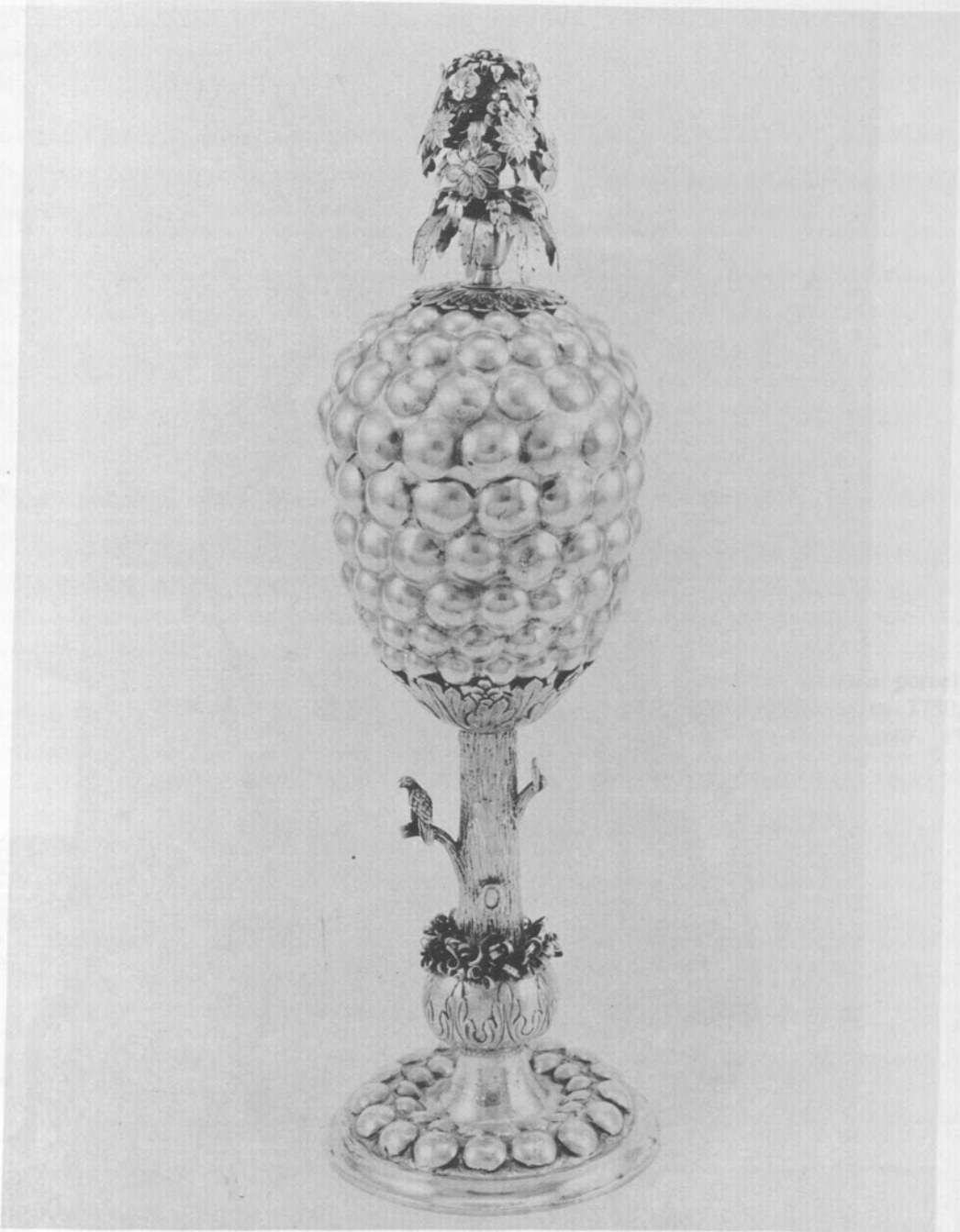


Fig. 2-53 *Pineapple Goblet*, Braunschweig, end of 17th century; Muzej za umjetnosti obrt, Zagreb. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2-54 *Allegory of America*, ceramic cup by the manufacture of Gmunden, Upper Austria, 1744; Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2-55 *Allegory of America*, porcelain manufactured in Vienna, ca. 1750; Muzej za umjetnosti obrt, Zagreb. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2-56 *Allegories of the Four Parts of the World*, sculpture of sugar on the table of the Duke of Alba, Paris, 1707, detail of an engraving by Gerard Jean Baptiste Scotin; Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna. Photo: Museum.