The Assimilation of the Marvelous Other: Reading Christoph Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* (1529) as an Ethnographic Document

by

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The Assimilation of the Marvelous Other: A Broader Reading of Christoph Weiditz’s
*Trachtenbuch* (1529) as an Ethnographic Document

Andrea Satterfield

**ABSTRACT**

This study examines the watercolor drawings of indigenous Americans in the
*Trachtenbuch*, a small sixteenth-century manuscript by Christoph Weiditz. The
manuscript was titled as a *trachtenbuch* by the Germanisches NationalMuseum Library
when cataloged in 1868, and Theodor Hampe published the first facsimile under this title
in 1927. As this title suggests, the manuscript has long been narrowly defined and
examined by scholars as a costume book. I argue instead for broadening the reading of
the *Trachtenbuch* from a costume book, a subset of ethnographic documents that identify
individuals based solely on systems of dress, to a visual ethnographic collection, which
dокументs individuals in a more holistic fashion; examining them not only through their
systems of dress, but also through their customs, actions, and societal roles. By
addressing the *Trachtenbuch* as a visual ethnographic collection, I argue that Weiditz’s
manuscript visually frames the indigenous Americans as performers and laborers in their
new context in Imperial Spain.

The Imperial Spanish court was deeply affected both by the discovery and
subsequent invasion of the previously unencountered Americas, and it became a site
where the flow of new information from the Americas to Europe could be organized and
managed. This study suggests that Charles V’s presentation of the American natives as
his court performers reflects one strategy for propagandizing his control over the Americas and managing the influx of new information by placing the exotic indigenous Americans in the familiar role of court performer, thus neutralizing their foreignness.

Weiditz accompanied the court of Charles V as it traveled throughout most of the Iberian Peninsula and on through the Netherlands during the years 1529-1532, and he had the opportunity to view the indigenous Americans first-hand in a setting governed by the emperor. Reading the *Trachtenbuch* as an ethnographic document allows for broader interpretations based on both the dress and action portrayed in these likely eye-witness images. These depictions indicate that Weiditz internalized Charles V’s strategy by juxtaposing the indigenous Americans as performers with Europeans of various occupations or roles, thereby visually assigning the role of court performer to the indigenous Americans. However, through imbuing the images of American natives with similar bodily composition, action, and dress to his depictions of laborers, Weiditz enhances the indigenous American role in Imperial Spain from mere curiosity to both performer and laborer.
**Introduction**

“The fact is that the body, just like its uprightness, is ‘caught’ in a web of categories dominated by moral expectations.”

-Georges Vigarello

This study concentrates on the watercolor drawings of indigenous Americans in the *Trachtenbuch*, a small sixteenth-century manuscript from the hand of Christoph Weiditz, and argues for a new way of reading these drawings within the context of the manuscript as a whole. The *Trachtenbuch* has long been termed one of the first costume books of the early modern period. This is largely due to Weiditz’s inclusion of static images focusing on the dress of the depicted individuals, a benchmark of the costume

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2 The full title that the manuscript was first published under in 1927 is largely a description of the manuscript, and reads *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien (1529) und den Niederlanden (1531/32)*, but I will refer to it throughout this thesis as the *Trachtenbuch*. The full title of the manuscript is simply a description of its contents and was derived by Dr. Theodor Hampe, the director of the Germanisches NationalMuseum and the editor and translator of the original facsimile published in 1927. The manuscript itself is currently housed in the Germanisches NationalMuseum in Nuremberg, and it has been at this site since it was donated to the museum by Dr. Johann Egger, a physician from Freyung, in 1868. The *Trachtenbuch* is made up of 154 pages of heavy cotton and linen paper. The pages themselves are unevenly cut and measure around 150mm by 200mm, and they are bound in a plain pasteboard cover with a pigskin back and marbled paper on the inside covers. The pages are only painted on one side, though several large drawings with multiple subjects cover two side-by-side pages, indicating that the watercolor drawings were completed before the pages were bound. The drawings themselves are brightly colored in rich hues, and some bear silver and gold embossing. Scripted text appears on most pages, and the content of it has been attributed to Weiditz, but he may or may not have written it himself. Because of the fairly random grouping of the images, which has no discernable logic in its ordering, it is likely that the grouping and binding took place some time after the drawings were completed. Overall, the manuscript is in good condition, with some water wear, small patched areas and stray marks. See Appendix I for information on the categories of action in the *Trachtenbuch*.

3 The term “manuscript” may conjure up images of scribes copying extremely long religious texts by candlelight, but it can be used to describe any hand-written document, be it a book, scroll, or even cuneiform tablet. Though the *Trachtenbuch* is largely image-based, with some text, it has long been referred to as a manuscript.
book genre. I argue instead for broadening the reading of the *Trachtenbuch* from costume book, a subset of ethnographic documents that identify individuals based solely on systems of dress, to a visual ethnographic collection, which documents individuals in a more holistic fashion; examining them not only through their systems of dress, but also through focus on their bodies and actions. I examine strategies through which early modern Europeans, particularly Weiditz and his employer Charles V, used indigenous Americans as identity-negotiating tools and ultimately assimilated the American natives into their social structure.

The discovery of previously unencountered lands shook the foundations of early modern European science, scholarship, politics and personal identity. Early studies of the first Spanish encounters with the Americas usually focused alternatingly on the ‘discovery’ itself, on some aspect of the indigenous inhabitants, or on the subsequent exploitation of, and atrocities committed against, the American natives.⁴ In the past thirty or so years, however, scholarship has shifted the focus back across the ocean to Europe; to a discussion of how contemporary notions of distant lands and races informed

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the actions of the explorers, missionaries, colonizers, and naturalists who encountered them. The discourse locates embedded notions of the moral, physical, and mental characteristics of non-European men and women in sixteenth-century humanist thought, and analyzes how these individuals both fit into the European social structure and aided in the early modern European negotiation of identity and self.

Within the scholarship on discovery and first encounters, most scholars argue that the first visual and textual descriptions of non-Europeans connect these individuals more with Pliny’s “monstrous races,” marvelous beings, and objects of wonder than with the human race. In recent research, analysis of images points to inaccuracies in depiction of body, dress, or action as evidence of the vast chasm between the European notion of self versus the European notion of Other. Textual descriptions of “eye-witness” encounters with Africans, East Indians, and West Indians also reveal this chasm. Because of the

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7 Some of the most revealing sources on encounter psychology can be found in Columbus’ journals that he kept during each voyage to the Americas. Columbus scholar Samuel Eliot Morison’s comprehensive collection of Columbus documents includes Columbus’ journals from each of his voyages to the Americas alongside his correspondences with Ferdinand and Isabella. Reading all the documents together provides
immense amount of scholarship on the subject, however, some images and texts concerning European encounters with the Other have been only cursorily examined, found to be consistent with others in the genre, and neatly stacked away without the intense scrutiny that they deserve. Greater scrutiny reveals content resistant to easy classification and affirms both the intense complexity and liminal character of the encounter itself and of the colonial enterprises that followed.

I focus on one such understudied source: the so-called Trachtenbuch, a sixteenth-century German manuscript by Hapsburg court artist and medalist Christoph Weiditz. Featured in many texts concerning the first images of the “curious” and “marvelous” American natives, the manuscript contains images and descriptions not only of Americans, but also of Africans, Arabians, and Europeans. Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch, translated from the German as “dress-” or “costume-book,” actually defies easy classification not only because of its comprehensive nature but also because of the almost scientific quality of its images and text. I refer specifically to the manuscript’s images of people in movement, seemingly depicted in an eye-witness manner, as betraying an anthropologically observing eye.

This present work contributes to the scholarship on early modern representation of the foreign by reading Weiditz’s manuscript as an ethnographic document that depicts valuable insight not only into the sometimes conflicting motives of Columbus and the royals, but also into the conflicting thought patterns of Columbus himself, which will be discussed below. See Samuel Eliot Morison, ed. and trans., Journals and Other Documents on the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus (New York: The Heritage Press, 1963).

8 This title is a modern one, and as such was not given by Weiditz himself, nor does the word appear anywhere in the text of the manuscript. This title was apparently derived during the cataloguing process at the Germanisches NationalMuseum, and appears in pencil on the inside cover of the manuscript: it reads “8° Hs. 22474 Weiditz, Trachtenbuch”. Later, in his facsimile of the manuscript published in 1927, Theodor Hampe gives it the title Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien (1529) und den Niederlanden (1531/32). He derives this title both from the catalogue entry and from his own interpretation of Weiditz’s itinerary on his journey with the traveling court of Charles V.
the actions and customs of many regions, and thus opens up additional avenues of research that have been obscured by previous studies terming the manuscript a work on costume only. The scholarly focus on costume, in the case of the Weiditz manuscript, has in effect sublimated the vast array of depicted customs, performative and occupational actions, and religious and spiritual activities into an unstudied background. Just as costume books reveal the motivations and biases of their artists or perhaps the artists’ patrons, broader ethnographic works depicting customs and actions (alongside dress) also reveal these motives. In fact, because of the detailed attention Weiditz gives to the actions of his subjects, any comprehensive examination of the manuscript must at least fully consider them alongside the depicted costumes.

This study brings custom and action to the forefront, and analyzes both the motives behind the collection as a whole and the motives behind the visual treatment of the indigenous Americans. Reading the manuscript as an ethnographic collection of images reveals, in the case of the Weiditz, early modern artistic innovation and the methods by which a single artist built his knowledge and repertoire of skills. In the case of the manuscript’s historical subject matter, however, it sheds light on Charles V’s strategies for advertising ownership of the Americas and for assimilating the foreign American natives into Imperial Spain’s social framework; specifically, by presenting them as performers at his court. I locate both of these concepts within Weiditz’s imagery of the indigenous American body, and ultimately argue that his depictions, when analyzed in the context of the whole manuscript, suggest laborer and performer as the only possible roles for the American native in Imperial Spain.
The inclusion of the Indians alongside Europeans in the *Trachtenbuch* marks a shift in the visual categorization of the foreign body from mere object of wonder to fully human. However, this inclusion still insists upon sublimation by emphasizing primarily the performative nature of the non-Europeans rather than more valued qualities like hard work or austere religious practice. This portrayal insists upon the Amerindians’ value as purveyors of recreation, entertainers and gamblers, and as residents of the Spanish court—all familiar roles to the European residents of Colonial Spain, and demonstrative of the fact that the New World lay firmly under the thumb of the Hapsburg throne.

**State of the Scholarship on Weiditz, the *Trachtenbuch*, and the Identity of the Indigenous Americans**

When Weiditz began his career as a medal-maker in Augsburg in the mid 1520s, he received little better than an icy reception from the goldsmiths guild, probably due to the fact that he received his training as a sculptor’s apprentice and at this time in Augsburg, medal-making was primarily regarded as a job reserved only for goldsmiths. While the Augsburg goldsmiths guild held Weiditz in less than high regard, however, Weiditz’s patrons certainly enjoyed his talents and held his work in high esteem. In fact, his training as a sculptor probably informed the unusually narrative quality often found on the back of his medals and memorial coins, and may have contributed to his continued

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9 For the most complete biography on Weiditz and his time in Augsburg, see the Introduction to Christoffel Widitz; Theodor Hampe, *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien (1529) und den Niederlanden (1531/32)* (Berlin: Verlag von Walter de Gruyter, 1927). This publication was the first facsimile of the *Trachtenbuch*, and Hampe includes three translations of the manuscript’s text and of his introduction and plate analysis in German, Spanish and English.
patronage. The goldsmiths however, because of their intense complaints to the Augsburg council, created a harsh working environment for Weiditz.

It is unknown for certain, but Weiditz may have left Augsburg and journeyed to the court of Charles V to obtain imperial permission to practice medal-making in Augsburg (which he received in the form of an imperial decree in 1530), or he may have simply been responding to a call for work from patron Johannes Dantiscus. In any case, Weiditz served as court artist for Charles V circa the years 1529 through 1532, and he likely completed, or made the preliminary drawings for, the *Trachtenbuch* during this time.

The manuscript itself was never published, and only came to scholarly attention when it was donated to the Germanisches National Museum in 1868. Even though it was never published, however, Hampe hypothesizes that “it is possible that his [Weiditz] precise work was very well known in interested circles, and it is very probable that the sheets were sold shortly after his death in 1559.”

This theory is supported by many of the images in the Sigmund Heldt costume book that Hampe describes as based Weiditz’s images, and also by some of the images from a 1577 costume book by Hans Weigel, the woodcuts in which were done after woodcuts by Jost Amman. Heldt and Amman both had close working relationships

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10 Theodor Hampe in Christoph Weiditz, *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance* (Dover Publications, Inc., 1994), 15. This publication is also a facsimile of Weiditz’s work, and it reproduces the English translation of the above 1927 facsimile word for word.
11 Hampe, 22.
12 Ibid., 21. The Heldt costume images can be found in the Lipperheide Costume Library catalog. See Kunstbibliothek (Berlin, Germany), Eva Nienholdt; Gretel Wagner-Neumann and Franz Lipperheide, *Katalog der Lipperheideschen Kostümbibliothek* (Berlin: Mann, 1965).
13 The woodcuts that were similar to Weiditz’s drawings were the images of Basque and “Morisco” women. Though Weiditz may not have been able to observe these particular women from life, the similarities between these images and Amman’s woodcuts indicates at the very least that they were
with Frankfurt publisher Sigismund Feyerabend, and it is likely that they would have had access to the same prototypes. Whether these prototypes were originated by Weiditz or whether he simply also had access to them is unknown.\(^{14}\)

Typically lumped into the genre of early images of the New World, Weiditz’s most critically examined work has only two assessments of any length. The first is written by Theodor Hampe, the curator of the Germanisches NationalMuseum in 1927.\(^{15}\) Then the curator of the Germanisches NationalMuseum, Hampe wrote a lengthy description of the manuscript, arguing for its rightful place as the first costume book of early modern Europe. He may have argued in this direction because of the similarities to the Heldt costume book, or simply because the NationalMuseum’s catalogue entry for the manuscript, which reads “8° Hs. 22474 Weiditz, Trachtenbuch”. The title of Hampe’s facsimile of the manuscript is actually his description of its contents, *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien (1529) und den Niederlanden (1531/32)*. This is the title that has stayed with the manuscript, even though Weiditz himself gives it no name in the body of the text. This titling, of course, points focus only probably derived from the same source. See Hans Weigel and Jost Amman, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum tâm virorum, quàm foeminarum, olim singulari Johannis Weigelii proplastis Norimbergensis arte depicti & excusi: nunc verô debita diligentia denuò recusi*... (Vlm: Johann Görliins Buchändlers, 1639). This publication is a reprint of the 1577 edition printed in Nuremberg.

\(^{14}\) It is also interesting to note the similarities between Weiditz’s illustrations of occupations and Jost Amman’s woodcuts from his famous *Das Ständebuch* (1568), the Book of Trades. Though none of the images or personas in Amman’s Book of Trades appears to be based on Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* images, both depict occupational action. Because of this similarity as well as his relationship with Feyerabend, it is likely that Amman was at least aware of Weiditz’s images by the time he began work on his Book of Trades. The Book of Trades, however, while depicting occupational action, does not delve into ethnographic matters as Amman’s images do not emphasize the occupations of various regions. The *Trachtenbuch*, in turn, emphasizes more than just occupation and thus defies categorization as a trade book. What can be emphasized is that some of Amman’s and Weigels works from the latter part of the sixteenth-century portray certain degree of familiarity to Weiditz’s work from decades earlier. See Jost Amman, *The Book of Trades* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973).

\(^{15}\) This examination appears as introductions to facsimiles of Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch*. See Introductions for Theodor Hampe in Christoffel Widitz, *Das Trachtenbuch*; Theodor Hampe in Christoph Weiditz, *Authentic Everyday Dress*. 
to the dress of the depicted individuals. Perhaps another title should be considered at
some point in the future so that the ethnographic qualities other than dress—custom,
occupational, performative, and spiritual activity—will be given their due attention.
However, for the purpose of this thesis, I will refer to the manuscript as Weiditz’s
*Trachtenbuch*.

In his introduction to the *Trachtenbuch*, Hampe provides some biographic
information on Weiditz, identifying him as the younger brother of the more widely
recognized Hans Weiditz, and attempts to follow his career up to his death around the
year 1559.16 Besides providing the most comprehensive data on the life of the illusive
Weiditz,17 Hampe connects the images in the *Trachtenbuch* with a journey undertaken by
Weiditz with the court of Charles V, and groups them first according to those with a
definite connection to the Imperial court of Spain, followed by those from the Spanish
territories of Castile, Aragon (or Saragossa), Barcelona, and other images from Catalonia,
and finally images from other areas including Granada, and regions of present-day
France, Britain and Italy.18 Of intense interest to this present study, Hampe further
categorizes the images in this manner: “within these different groups [listed above] the
larger scenes portraying the *life of the people* and containing several figures have been

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16 Hampe, 16. Hampe identifies this year as the last year that taxes were paid in Weiditz’s name, thus
identifying this year as the time of his death.
17 I say illusive because various scholars have identified Christoph Weiditz as the son, older brother, or
younger brother to Hans Weiditz. Because of the comprehensive nature of Hampe’s archival research and
the similarities in form between some of Christoph’s images to those of Hans’ later images, I side with
Hampe in identifying Christoph as the brother of Hans.
18 The original grouping of the images is unknown, although they are currently bound in a slightly different
order than that chosen by Hampe in the 1929 facsimile. Because of the odd cutting of some of the pages at
the time of binding, Hampe argues that these may simply have been separate leaves of paper with no
particular order at the time of binding. See Appendix I, the Visual Analysis of the *Trachtenbuch*, for both
page sequences.
placed ahead of the *mere* costume pictures (emphasis mine).”¹⁹ This is a striking example of the ethnographic nature of Weiditz’s images—even the major proponent of the *Trachtenbuch* as a costume book recognizes the emphasis that Weiditz placed on depicting the lives and actions his subjects over depicting their dress. This is not to say, however, that Weiditz’s work bears no resemblance at all to a sixteenth-century costume book. On the contrary, several similarities between Weiditz’s manuscript and works on costume exist; particularly when considering Weiditz’s static images of figures from Britain, Portugal, Vienna and the Basque regions. These drawings, discussed in detail in the next section, represent regions through which the Hapsburg court did not travel during the time that Weiditz accompanied it. Hampe argues that Weiditz, in order to “complete the plan” for a finished manuscript,²⁰ probably completed these figures not from life but by copying extant models.

The second critical examination of Weiditz’s manuscript is similar in approach to Hampe’s 1927 work. However, the authors of the 2001 facsimile, José Luis Casado Soto and Carlos Soler d’Hyver de los Deses, concentrate more on the identities of the Amerindians depicted within.²¹ Soto and los Deses argue that some of the individuals termed “Indians” by Weiditz and subsequently by Hampe as “Aztecs” actually represented Brazilian Indians whom Weiditz never had the opportunity to observe in person. They argue this based largely on the dress of the individual depicted in Fig. 1,

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¹⁹ Hampe, 20.
²⁰ Ibid., 23.
²¹ This examination, like Hampe’s in 1927, appears as the introduction to a facsimile of the Weiditz manuscript. See José Luis Casado Soto and Carlos Soler d’Hyver de los Deses in Christoph Weiditz, *The Costume Codex: Trachtenbuch* (Valencia: Ediciones Grial, 2001).
and on the feathered necklace and shield bearing a Christian cross design.\textsuperscript{22} This argument is certainly a strong one, based on the fact that feathered accessories and accoutrement are not typically associated with Aztecs, and also on the fact that Weiditz also included other figures that he likely based on models by other artists.\textsuperscript{23}

With this in mind, it is interesting to note that Fig. 1 bears a striking resemblance to an image, seen in Fig. 2, by Albrecht Dürer from the \textit{Book of Hours of Maximilian}, dated (in Dürer’s own hand) 1515. Jean Michel Massing argues that this individual is intended to represent a Brazilian Indian, a statement he bases largely on the semi-accurate depiction of the “weapon” held in the Indian’s right hand.\textsuperscript{24} Due to the date of Dürer’s image, it is conceivable that Weiditz might have used it as a template to round out his images of American natives. This argument is especially compelling considering the likenesses between the two images, from the more obvious similarities in accoutrement to the more subtle similarities of the feathered necklace, the hairstyle, contrapposto stance, even down to the tilt of the head.

\textsuperscript{22} Hampe also addresses this when he discusses the final image of an American native, though he does not go into as much detail as Soto and los Deses.

\textsuperscript{23} The possibility also exists that these models were in fact derived by Weiditz himself. At this point in the state of the research on the \textit{Trachtenbuch}, however, a concrete solution to this speculation is simply unavailable. Weiditz’s images of “Morisco” women and the women of the Basque region bear significant resemblance to later printed works by Hans Weiditz, indicating that a template was likely used. Whether Weiditz was the originator of the template is unknown.

\textsuperscript{24} Jean Michel Massing, “Early European Images of America: the Ethnographic Approach,” in \textit{Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration}, Jay A. Levenson, ed. (Yale University Press, 1991), 515-16. Massing includes an image of a similar weapon of the Tupi-speaking tribes which is now housed in the Musée de l’Homme in Paris. In this article, Massing also argues that Dürer never actually observed a Brazilian Indian due to the decidedly European contrapposto stance, the length of the skirt, and the European style sandals.
When comparing this image to the other images of American natives (Figs. 3-12) in the *Trachtenbuch*, it becomes especially apparent that Weiditz himself may not have intended this image to belong with the rest. The distinctly different facial features and lack of facial adornment particularly betray this possibility as all of Weiditz’s other American natives (with the exception of the woman) have jewels inserted into their faces as well as similar facial features. The facial features of Fig. 1 are much more in line with those of Dürer’s “Brazilian” Indian. Though this fact begs an in-depth study of its own, it regrettably falls outside of my present focus as this thesis requires that I concentrate
primarily on the preceding active images of American natives—described by Weiditz as those whom “Ferdinand Cortez brought to his Imperial Majesty [Charles V].”

Figure 3. Indian Ballgame. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 4. Indian dice game, perhaps patolli. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

25 Hampe, 27. It is possible that Weiditz himself textually acknowledged that the last image, Fig.1, was not from the same group as the others. His quote, as translated from the Old German by Hampe, reads, “Thus they go in India with their arms two thousand miles away where gold is found in the water.” This could mean that this depiction reveals how the Indians within this group of Aztecs traveled, or it could be read as depicting other Indians who lived two thousand miles away from this group of Aztecs.
Figure 5. Juggling Phase One. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 6. Juggling Phase Two. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 7. Juggling Phase Three. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
Figure 8. Indian with mantle and plate. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 9. Indian with mantle. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 10. Indian with mantle and jug. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 11. Indian woman with mantle. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
Based on new and existing scholarship that continually sheds light on the ritual practices and everyday life of sixteenth-century indigenous Americans, the Americans brought to Charles V by Cortés and pictured in the midst of play or performance were most likely Aztecs, as Hampe theorized. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, these individuals are documented by Cortés’ secretary Francisco Lopez de Gomara as performers in Aztec ruler Motecuzoma’s court.26 Though some scholars like Soto and los Deses have argued otherwise based on the feathered clothing and weaponry featured on several Americans,27 it is likely that at least some of this featherwork was a later

26 Francisco López de Gómara, Cortés: The Life of the Conquerer by His Secretary, trans. and ed. by Lesley Byrd Simpson (University of California Press, 1966), 145, 390.
27 Because Weiditz observed the American natives in person, it is unlikely that he would have originally included the feathered skirt, as this was not a typical article of clothing for the Aztecs (or indeed any American native in North or Central America) and it has been widely misinterpreted by early modern
addition to the manuscript, either meant to cater to the sensibility of a more modest audience or owner,\textsuperscript{28} or to conform to pre-conceived notions of indigenous American dress.

While Hampe and Soto and los Deses are the only scholars to write lengthy studies on the \textit{Trachtenbuch}, they are not the only ones to reference it in discussion. In fact, Weiditz’s images of the American natives represent some of the most widely recognized depictions in early encounter scholarship, and are mentioned in myriad journal articles, exhibition catalogues, and books. However, though many scholars reference Weiditz’s work, most simply list it as an example, albeit a strangely straightforward one, of the first depictions of American natives on European soil.\textsuperscript{29} These references lend credibility to Weiditz’s drawings as eye-witness depictions, but most stop short of an in-depth study and concentrate instead on questioning the accuracy of the Amerindian dress, citing the \textit{Trachtenbuch} as one of the first attempts at a costume book, or simply using Weiditz’s images as proof of likeness.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{28} When critically examining the images, it is easy to detect the loincloths underneath the feathered skirts of the American men, and to realize the difference in tonal quality between Weiditz’s original watercolor sketches and the probably later additions. These later additions are consistent throughout the manuscript and are most prominent when examining the décolletage of the women. Almost all of the women, though each wears very different dress, have the same sort of sheer collar.

\textsuperscript{29} See Massing, pp. 516-17; for examples of a discussion on the forthrightness of Weiditz’s images, see Keith Sturtevant in “First Images of America: the Impact of the New World on the Old” (University of California Press, 1976); Bronwen Wilson, \textit{The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity} (University of Toronto Press, 2005), esp. p. 116 and the Notes on pp. 301-302.

\textsuperscript{30} For an example of using the images in the \textit{Trachtenbuch} to determine the likeness of Cortés, see Hugh Thomas, \textit{Conquest: Cortés, Montezuma, and the Fall of Old Mexico} (Simon & Schuster, 1995), 136; For an
Although little in-depth information exists on the *Trachtenbuch*, it is my hope that more studies such as this one will appear so that a more complete picture of this rich manuscript will take shape. I seek to expand the discourse on this manuscript by arguing here for a broader reading of the *Trachtenbuch* as a visual ethnographic collection of early modern Europe, with special attention given to the subjects of Imperial Spain, including the Americas. By reading this manuscript as an ethnographic collection, I hope to open more doors for research on several topics, including early modern artistic innovation; the ceremonial strategies through which Europeans asserted control over foreign cultures, particularly the Americas; and the manner in which these ceremonial strategies have been represented in the body of indigenous Americans and Europeans alike.

This work fits into the discussion of sixteenth-century Europe’s reactions to the New World, described as “the conditions of reception and the strategies of interpretation” by Claire Farago in *Reframing the Renaissance*. 31 This theory mandates the consideration of the conceptual environment of the sixteenth-century European when discussing visual works produced during this time. In this thesis, I identify visual strategies by which Europe received the New World and its inhabitants, and locate these strategies visually within individual images of American natives in the *Trachtenbuch*, as well as by examining the *Trachtenbuch* as a whole visual object.

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I begin by concentrating on the nature of the *Trachtenbuch* itself. From what genre does it spring and what does it reveal about its author, Christoph Weiditz? Is it only a costume book, as many scholars have classified it? Is it the visual equivalent of the early anthropological textual works of Herodotus, Pliny, and Isidore of Seville? Weiditz’s images, depicting customs, activities, and clothing, certainly exhibit several of the qualities of early costume books. However, by comparing compositional aspects of early costume books to those of Weiditz’s manuscript, I argue that many of the factors that point to a document’s status as a costume book simply do not apply to many of Weiditz’s images. These factors typical of works on costume include figures that are centered on the page, visual frames that are devoid of setting, lack of individual identification of figures and, above all, visual emphasis on costume. I suggest that due to Weiditz’s inclusion of active depictions of a cross-section of early modern Europe’s population and his lack of emphasis on costume, the *Trachtenbuch* exhibits a broader range of ethnographic qualities than would a typical costume book. This is not to say that Weiditz did not consider costume at all, as he includes several detailed static images of dress; rather, I posit that that the inclusion of active images depicting customs, occupations, and societal roles warrants investigation and begs a broader ethnographic reading of the document.

This idea springs not only from the visual and textual differences between Weiditz’s manuscript and the typical sixteenth century costume book, but also from the competitive environment of the Augsburg guilds and workshops. Christopher Friedrichs argues that in early modern Germany many artisans sought to establish themselves with their own distinctive product in order to avoid increased dependence on capitalist
I argue that the ethnographic quality of the *Trachtenbuch*’s imagery may represent Weiditz’s attempt to establish an innovative product that would give him an advantage over his competition.

Ethnographic and anthropological texts were not unusual at this time, though there has been no real discussion on the possibility of a predominantly visual work of this nature. Margaret Hodgen, in a pioneering review of anthropology in early modern Europe, identifies many largely textual works that exhibit the interest in customs and everyday activities so common to ethnographical works. Though largely devoid of imagery, I argue that these works bear a striking resemblance to Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* in terms of the interest the authors exhibit in the daily life of their subject.

The number of early modern European artworks described as ethnographic is slim, though recently Stephanie Leitch has identified the woodcuts of Burgkmair and Breu as ethnographic in nature by citing the artists’ extreme interest in daily customs of their subject. Prior to her research, the closest matches to early modern European ethnographic imagery were not found in Europe at all; rather, they were found in seventeenth-century Asia.

The Miao Albums of the early modern Qing dynasty, discussed as ethnographic documents by Laura Hostetler, are both text- and image-based, and closely resemble Weiditz’s manuscript in visual subject as well as in the tone of the text. Hostetler argues that the Miao albums act as vessels that adapt the dynasty’s social structure so that it may at once accept and subjugate new members, and that establish the dynasty’s dominance

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32 Christopher Friedrichs, “Capitalism, Mobility and Class Formation in the Early Modern German City,” in *Past and Present*, No. 69 (Nov., 175), pp. 24-49.
over its peripheral territories. This argument offers a lens through which to read Weiditz’s images and also the actions of Charles V.

I apply this theory to the *Trachtenbuch* and build upon it by examining the historical circumstances of the first encounters with the New World, following the court system that allowed Weiditz to depict the Indians, and arguing for Charles V’s reputation of using his court to bolster the Hapsburg political reputation as possessors of the newly acquired territories of the Americas. As Imperial Spain’s military campaign conquered the Americas by force, Charles V advertised his own identity as the New World’s possessor by exhibiting indigenous Americans at his court. Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch*, when read as an ethnographic document, reveals how Weiditz internalized Charles V’s strategy by juxtaposing the indigenous Americans as performers with Europeans of various professions or roles, thereby assigning the role of court performer to the indigenous Americans. Of course, Edward Said’s seminal *Orientalism* is crucial to this study, given that I argue as he does, for both the intentional and unintentional European authoring and domination, through representation, of the Other—in this case American natives.

Using Stephen Greenblatt’s notion of “self-fashioning,” I discuss Charles V’s methods of constructing his identity as ruler of the Americas by using a collection of artifacts and people brought to him by Hernan Cortés. By presenting the American natives, the first to appear in Europe, as his court performers, Charles V effectively neutralizes their “strangeness” and places them in a role familiar to his European

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34 For a comprehensive look at how the rise in ethnographic albums, such as the Miao, in the East mirrored the rise of ethnography in the West, see Laura Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China* (University of Chicago Press, 2001), 81-101.
subjects. This act expresses his control over the Americas in a highly visible material form. I also note his use of tapestries commemorating military victories as evidence of a continuous pattern of materializing his empire.

The final section reveals how the further ethnographic considerations of custom, religious, performative, and occupational activity manifest in Weiditz’s manuscript. In this section, I visually analyze the individuals depicted in the manuscript and focus on the different regional groups and social hierarchy revealed by Weiditz’s drawing strategies. I identify five main categories of action depicted in the Trachtenbuch: labor (both voluntary and forced), punitive and civil administration, spiritual and religious activity, travel, and performance and play. Based on action, bodily comportment and dress of the American natives in comparison to that of the Europeans depicted in the Trachtenbuch, I argue that Amerindians visually occupied both the roles of performer and laborer. While their role as performer remains obvious due to the actions depicted, their possible role as laborer is more subtly identified through similarities in body and dress between Amerindians and laborers.

I plot the incorporation of these concepts on the body of the Amerindians as they are represented by Weiditz in his Trachtenbuch, and on the performance and play activities observed and conducted in the court of Charles V. Considering David Napier’s discussion of the foreign body, I suggest that the concept of self is completely dependent on the existence of the physical body of the Other; thus, the actions of and roles taken on by the physical body play a large part in identity formation, both in terms of Self and Other. Keeping this in mind, I apply the notion of bodily comportment as it relates to

societal status in order to identify a role for Amerindians in Imperial Spain based on their bodily depictions.36

This thesis examines the possible historical circumstances behind the inception of Christoph Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch*, and seeks to understand what the manuscript reveals about early modern European strategies for integrating American natives into a familiar social structure. By identifying Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* as an ethnographic collection, I reveal a physical location for this integration to take place, while Charles V’s court provides the historical setting. The images of the Amerindians’ performance at court illustrate how Charles V used the American natives as tools to espouse his identity as possessor of the Americas, and, when taken in the full context of the *Trachtenbuch*, argue for Charles V’s role in the incorporation of the Amerindian into Imperial Spain’s social structure as performer or entertainer.

Chapter One

Weiditz and His Manuscript: What is the *Trachtenbuch*, and Why was it Created?

Scholars have devoted much interest to manuscripts and printed books, written in antiquity through the early modern period, that categorize and catalogue curiosities. An equal amount of interest has also been directed to the classification of plants and animals, perhaps reaching a furor just after Carl von Linné’s development of a concrete classification system in 1735. Catalogues, in manuscript and printed form, which included all of the above-mentioned topics were fairly common, and tended to include brief sections on human curiosities, or on humans who lived nearby the catalogued curiosities or whatever flora and fauna was being discussed. Oddly, however, it is much harder to locate documents or imagery recording, cataloguing and classifying only humans, as humans are generally only included as relating to discussed subjects. While albums featuring humans only do exist, they are usually presented to the public eye as costume books.

Of course, several exceptions to this rule exist, with the most notable being a small, pocket-sized book by Johann Boemus. First published Augsburg under the title *Trachtenbuch*.

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it contained ethnographic data on the manners and customs of known peoples throughout
Europe, Africa and Asia. The book was widely circulated almost immediately, and it is
likely that Weiditz, working in Augsburg at the time, was familiar with it. I argue that
due to Weiditz’s inclusion of active depictions of a cross-section of early modern
Europe’s social structure, the *Trachtenbuch*, which has long been classified as a costume
book, exhibits more of the qualities of a visual ethnographic document, such as Boemus’s

Before turning to the active images as ethnographic observations, however, I
would like to address the *Trachtenbuch*’s classification as costume book, and suggest that
the static images, devoid of landscape or setting, that aided in this classification can be
explained by an artistic necessity to “round out” a product, rather than a desire to produce
a work documenting costume only. That is, due to the competitive nature of artisanal
work in Augsburg, and indeed much of early modern Europe, Weiditz may have felt
pressure to present an innovative product of his own—for use in his family’s workshop as
a model book, or in order to advertise his personal expertise and abilities. According to
Hampe’s itinerary for Weiditz’s travels with the Hapsburg court, the active images
correspond to regions through which the court traveled, thus allowing Weiditz the
opportunity to depict individuals from life. Most of the static images, however,

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38 See Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (University of
Pennsylvania Press, 1964). She references the Latin version Johann Boemus, *Omnium gentium mores, leges, & ritus ex mult"
clarissimis rerum scriptoribus*... (Augsburg: Augustae Vindelicorum, S. Grimm & Wirsung, 1520). She also references the English version Johann Boemus, *The fardle of facions containing the aunciente maners, customs, and Lawes, of the peoples enhabiting the two partes of the earth, called Affrike and Asie* (London: Jhon Kingstone and Henry Sutton, 1555).
correspond to regions that the court did not travel through.\textsuperscript{39} The inclusion of these images, some of which Hampe argues were probably copied from earlier sources, indicates a desire to present a complete work depicting individuals from as many regions as possible.\textsuperscript{40}

The voyages of discovery that took place in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries heralded a new desire to view individuals from foreign lands—their appearance, clothing, and at times, the landscape they inhabited. Mirrored literally in the curiosity about other cultures was the desire to define self, and national or regional identity by comparison. According to Bronwen Wilson, the emergence of the costume book sensation in the mid to late sixteenth-century reflected this growing interest with geographical boundaries.\textsuperscript{41} In fact, she compares the costume book to an atlas, saying “like atlases, costume books ordered the world by geography, rendering it legible and compact.”\textsuperscript{42}

Of course, the shift from script to print also allowed the costume book sensation to flourish, and most of the costume books from the sixteenth-century are printed works rather than manuscripts. This shift contributed to the costume book artist’s ability to order the world for a large slice of Europe’s population by providing graphic aids and a method for rapid reproduction and distribution.

Visually, this ordering was largely achieved by dividing a costume book by region, and placing one or more static individuals in a viewing plane devoid of architecture or identifiable landscape. In addition, these figures were placed at the center

\textsuperscript{39} These include primarily the regions of Grenada, Portugal, England and Ireland.
\textsuperscript{40} Hampe, 23.
\textsuperscript{41} Wilson, 70.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid, 72.
of the image, so that the viewer’s focus would land squarely on the costume of the depicted figures. Often, the costume book artists literally separated their subjects by a decorative frame, further removing them from any sort of discernable habitat (See Fig. 13).

Figure 13. Cesare Vecellio, Meretrici Publiche, De gli habiti antichi, et moderni di diverse parti del mondo (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590).

Rarely identified by an actual name, most of the individuals featured in costume books represent the social types of a region, termed “specimens” by Wilson.43 These characteristics of costume books emphasize the reasons why scholars have focused on the clothing itself, and rightly so. Because habitat, action and individual naming rarely exists in the image, the costume takes on an agency of its own. Indeed, historians and art

43 Ibid, 97.
historians alike have identified, in many cases, extremely codified systems for establishing national identity, reinforcing regional social structure or interpreting the foreign body.44

When comparing the visual aspects of typical costume books to Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch, however, several significant differences are obvious. Primarily, the active imagery of individuals from the Americas, Spain and the Netherlands points to Weiditz’s interest in visually identifying them by their actions, which variously portray occupation, religion, and leisure activities. While the artists of typical costume books often identify males by occupation, and sometimes include the accoutrement of that occupation, the artists rarely, if ever, depict their subjects in the midst of performing the duties of their occupation.45 Weiditz, however, depicts several individuals performing their occupational tasks. Figs. 14-16, for example, depict the acts of threshing corn, tugging boats, and ploughing, with Weiditz visually focusing the interest on the actions at hand, on the specifics of how the task is performed, rather than focusing the visual interest on the clothing. In fact, in these images, Weiditz centers the implements of action, the tools, at the center of the viewing plane, and relegates the bodies, especially in Figs. 14 and 16, to the periphery of the page. This is completely uncharacteristic of a typical costume

45 Though similar to Jost Amman’s Das Ständebuch (1568) in that both depict occupational action, Weiditz’s work cannot be termed a “trade book” because it focuses on so many other regional activities. The similarities, rather, likely indicate that Amman was familiar with the subject matter of Weiditz’s manuscript. See Jost Amman, The Book of Trades (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973).
book, where the subject, indeed the clothing of the subject, remains centered on the page and is intended as the sole focus for the viewer.


Figure 15. Tugging boats in Barcelona. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
Even more striking examples of Weiditz’s decision not to retain costume as the main focus can be found in the active images of the indigenous Americans. Fig. 4 portrays two indigenous American men playing a dice game, and, as in the case of the Europeans discussed above, the activity receives the visual focus. Even the gestures and body positioning of each man pull the viewer’s focus back to the game at hand. Weiditz depicts the two figures wearing the traditional loincloths typical of Aztec men under Motecuhzoma’s reign. The minimal nature of the loincloths would have been striking to Weiditz and any other early modern European; in fact, most of the first images of indigenous Americans focused on the lack of clothing worn by the native peoples by placing the figures facing forward, fully displaying their attire (See Fig. 18). Weiditz, however, relegates these shocking articles of clothing to the outskirts of the pages, focusing instead on depicting the game played by the men.

The accompanying text describes as “gambling,” and Hampe refers to it as similar to the Italian Morra. This image probably actually represents the Mesoamerican game of patolli, which was usually played with a playing “board” drawn on a thin strip of cloth.
This is not to say that Weiditz never focuses on the strangeness of the indigenous American attire; but when he does visually pull focus to attire in the active images, he does so in an effort to emphasize the role of the costume in the activity. For example, Fig. 3 portrays the indigenous American ballgame. Though the ballgame took on different forms in different regions of the Americas, this particular form consisted of hitting a ball with the hips and rear of the body. While Weiditz composes this image so that attire is featured more prominently, he does so to emphasize the clothing as protective gear related to the activity. Described by the accompanying text as “hard leather [to] receive the blow from the ball, they also have such leather gloves on,” the oddness of the clothing’s appearance has little to do with establishing any sort of codified

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48 Hampe, 28.
identity based on costume, and everything to do with depicting an activity that Weiditz observes as part of the indigenous American culture.

While Weiditz’s images of daily activities, with little emphasis on costume, argue against pigeon-holing this manuscript solely into the category of costume book, similarities between his *Trachtenbuch* and a typical costume book also argue against removing the manuscript from the costume book genre entirely. Though the original order of the manuscript pages cannot be known for certain, they may have been grouped by region, like the majority of the costume books from the sixteenth century. Also, the short labels, the text of which has been attributed to Weiditz’s notes, bear a strong resemblance to those that accompany typical images in books on costume. The most compelling of these similarities, however, is compositional. Weiditz’s inclusion of static figures in the center of the viewing plane, in stances that highlight costumes, along with text referencing the subject’s dress (Figs. 18 and 19), certainly points to his interest in depicting dress.

![Figure 18. Basque woman of fashion. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.](image1.png)

![Figure 19. Basque woman. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.](image2.png)
Even the figures in these images, however, seem to interact with someone or something outside of the viewer’s line of sight, betraying a commitment to active, narrative imagery. This commitment can also be observed in the case of Weiditz’s portrait medals, the reverse, or tail-side, of which often depict narrative scenes described by Hampe as characteristic of Weiditz’s work. Another explanation for these static images, discussed briefly above, may be that Weiditz either felt pressure to present a finished work for himself or for use in his workshop as a model book.

Prior to the early sixteenth-century, manuscripts depicting humans alone were found primarily in artisan workshops as model books. The humans within, however, largely represented biblical and allegorical figures—types and *exempla* that provided sources for masters and apprentices alike during the processes of manuscript illumination and the completing of alterpieces, frescoes and mosaics. These albums were not generally meant for public consumption, but for the private use of a workshop, though they were sometimes available for loan to other artisans. Robert Scheller, following Julius von Schlosser’s argument that artists of the middle ages used models from other artists rather than observing a subject from nature, cites “the concept of ‘authority’ [as] an important constituent of this process.” Process here refers to the transmission of models and examples from master to apprentice or from workshop to workshop, and implicates the author, or in some cases the owner, of the prototype from which all

49 Ibid., 13.
51 Ibid., 7.
subsequent models spring as holding some degree of power or authority over the copiers of the prototype.\textsuperscript{52}

This certainly rings true when examining artisan culture in early modern Germany and the concept of intellectual property. In his discussion on the class structure of early modern German cities, Christopher Friedrichs charts the process by which artisans began to have debtor relationships with wealthier merchants. The merchants supplied the materials and the artisans and craftsmen supplied the finished products.\textsuperscript{53} While these debtor/debtee relationships became more common through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,\textsuperscript{54} Friedrichs notes that upward mobility was still possible for the artisan through marriage and also through producing and marketing his or her own goods.\textsuperscript{55} As early modern Europeans increasingly created and delineated ranks among themselves, so too artisans sought to distinguish themselves from their contemporaries.\textsuperscript{56} Logically then, the more innovative the style, materials or technology involved in an artisan’s work, the more successful and sought after the work became.\textsuperscript{57}

In terms of Weiditz’s career, I locate the concept of innovation in his reactions to the continued complaints levied against him by the Augsburg goldsmiths guild. The majority of the work attributed to Weiditz is in the form of medals, which the goldsmiths

\textsuperscript{52} For different models of this transmission process, see Scheller, 27-33.
\textsuperscript{53} Christopher Friedrichs, “Capitalism, Mobility and Class Formation in the Early Modern German City,” in \textit{Past and Present}, No. 69 (November, 1975), pp. 24-49; this reference appears on p. 25. This process can be observed in the \textit{Verlagssystem}, through which a craftsman would run his own workshop, but obtain materials from and give finished products to a merchant, creating a debt relationship. Though the \textit{Verlagssystem} is largely studied in relation to the textile crafts, Friedrichs locates this system in other crafts, including those of metalworkers, like Weiditz, and even in the workshops of master artisans.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, 33.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, 31.
\textsuperscript{56} For a comprehensive investigation of artisan social status and self-definition, see James Farr, \textit{Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914} (Cambridge University Press, 2000), esp. 5-6 and 159-221.
vigorously complained about. Interestingly, during the times of the most intense persecution by the goldsmiths guild, Weiditz largely turns away from medals and focuses on painting, in the form of the *Trachtenbuch*, and later to woodcuts, in the form of a genealogical book illustrating Augsburg’s elite families. Thus, it is certainly plausible, if not likely, that the *Trachtenbuch* and the unusual ethnographic quality of its images points to Weiditz’s attempts to separate himself from his contemporaries and establish a craft and style for which he would not be persecuted. Indeed, Weiditz’s travels to and with the Hapsburg court may have been undertaken to obtain imperial permission to practice medal-making. If true, this would emphasize that Weiditz had the fate of his career in mind during the production of the *Trachtenbuch*. By including the static images of areas through which he did not travel, Weiditz would have been able to compile a complete product which he could use in many different ways: as a model book for his workshop, to loan out to other workshops, or as a sketchbook from which woodcuts could be completed for future publication.

That the images of active figures correspond to the areas that Weiditz traveled, thus indicating the likelihood that he depicted these individuals from life, firmly illustrates his commitment to narrative imagery and attention to the everyday activities and customs of the people he depicted. I argue that this element of Weiditz’s work bears some strong similarities to early ethnographic works such as Johann Boemus’s *Omnium gentium mores, leges, & ritus ex multis clarissimis rerum scriptoribus* (1520), published in English as *Fardle of Façions* (1555).

In her discussion of Boemus’s book, Margaret Hodgen asserts that his main concerns were:
“...first, to make accessible to the ordinary reader an already not inconsiderable body of knowledge concerning the variety of human behavior, to arrange it on a broad geographical plan, with the geographical features subordinated to the ethnological, and to use the printed page, as others had employed the ‘cabinet de curiosités,’ for assembling and exhibiting the range of human custom, ritual, and ceremony. Second, in the interest of improved political morality, he desired to inform his readers concerning the laws and governments of other nations.”

In this endeavor, Boemus completed his *Fardle* as a manual of customs and a predominantly textual resource, with little more than a frontispiece as his imagery. He felt his work was largely practical, and fit to inform his readers with enough information to decide which of these alternate customs might fit in their own society.

While Boemus’s work is textual in nature, Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* is, for the most part, a visual manuscript. Each image contains a brief caption explaining it, but Weiditz certainly neglects to go into as much detail as Boemus. As an artist, however, Weiditz’s concentration on imagery is not surprising. In his images, Weiditz depicts, much like Boemus’s texts, the mannerisms, customs, religious actions and civil administration of a region. For example, in Figs. 20 and 21 Weiditz depicts the punishment of criminals in Spain.

![Figure 20](image1.png)  
**Figure 20.** Female criminal in Spain.  
Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529).  
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

![Figure 21](image2.png)  
**Figure 21.** Spanish cut-purse.  
Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529).  
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

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58 Hodgen, 131.  
59 Ibid, 132.
In Figs. 22 and 23, he depicts two religious customs of Castile—mourning the dead and flagellating oneself (a penitent), respectively.

Figure 22. Mourning the dead in Castile. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 23. Penitent in Castile. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
There are several differences in the nature of the Trachtenbuch when compared to The Fardle of Façions, however. For example, Boemus includes much more detail on family matters than does Weiditz, highlighting differences in marriage customs between typical western monogamy and the polygamy, as Boemus describes, of Egypt and Medes. Boemus also goes into detail on the diet of various locales, which Weiditz excludes completely.

Weiditz includes many static images depicting the clothing of a region, which of course begets the Trachtenbuch’s historical classification as a costume book. Regarding this matter, however, I would argue that had Boemus’s Fardle been completely illustrated, many of the images might bear resemblance to Weiditz’s active images as well as his static images of costume. Logically, this possibility could simply be a reflection of the sixteenth century’s growing interest in clothing, and not necessarily an indication of the author’s true intention. Nonetheless, it is the inclusion of a region’s mannerisms and customs that marks the ethnographic genre, while the exclusion of these facets of society marks the costume genre. For example, Vecellio’s famous costume book, Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo (1598), includes woodcuts of the garments of depicted regions along with the titles of the individuals depicted, with little or no attention to any of the customs of the regions.60

The content of the Trachtenbuch, however, depicts the subjects of Imperial Spain, for the most part, including the Americas, and visually emphasizes their activities and some of their customs.61 Within these images, Weiditz includes the day-to-day actions of

60 Cesare Vecellio, Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo (Venice: Appresso i Sessa, 1598).
61 Weiditz also includes depictions of French and German individuals, but only very cursorily, and he does not include anything about their manners or customs.
a cross-section of Spanish society. He documents the activities of the clergy, the nobility, civil administrators, jurists, prisoners and prison officials, ransom collectors, performers, merchants, working class shepherds, farmers, sailors and spinners, peasants and slaves. Because of the thorough treatment of the subjects of Imperial Spain, and perhaps the promotion of their hardworking qualities, it is possible that the Trachtenbuch contained sketches meant to be made into woodcuts for eventual printing—either requested by or meant for Weiditz’s employer, Charles V. Of course, that it was meant for Charles V is at this point purely speculative, but reading the Trachtenbuch as an ethnographic document that classifies the individuals of Imperial Spain based on race, sex, region, and occupation could certainly contribute to a more thorough investigation of the possibility.

By another comparison, Weiditz’s images bear significant resemblance, at least in ethnographically documenting his interest in the daily activities and customs of his subjects, to some of the prints of two other Augsburg artists, Hans Burgkmair and Jörg Breu. Both men operated in Augsburg at the same time as Weiditz, and he was likely familiar with their work.

Stephanie Leitch asserts that they were the first to “release [the] native inhabitants from the shackles of an exotic visual tradition that had grouped them together with marvelous beings, monstrous races, wild men, and barbaric Others, and considered them instead as fully human.”62 By illustrating the natives in print, Burgkmair and Breu dually rescued them from the realm of the Wunderkammer and catalogued, at least partially, the vast amount of information that emerged from voyages both to the far East and the far West. She further explains that the artists accomplish the depiction of a fully human

62 Leitch, 2.
native by juxtaposing figures from the Americas, Africa, and Asia, against each other, accentuating their similarities and differences, but also by emphasizing the notion of eyewitness depiction. Though Burgkmair and Breu did not always view the various natives in person, their prints highlight continued attempts to present their subjects as empirically observed. Empirical observation, whether actual or insinuated, provided the artists with strategies for assimilating the Other—in this case, the artists’ prints represent a space where they could classify and catalog the various foreign peoples in relation to each other, but safely away from themselves.

By presenting the indigenous Americans in the same context as the Europeans, Weiditz also rescues them from the realm of the Wunderkammer. In fact, I would argue that he takes this rescue, and also empirical observation, a step further by directly comparing, within the same visual context, the indigenous American activities and the activities of the Europeans. This direct comparison illustrates perhaps the most daring visual strategy for assimilating the Other—by placing the American natives squarely within a visual European social structure.

Also, like Breu, Weiditz notes class distinction in his images as well as gives attention to the eating and drinking implements used by the indigenous Americans—Figs. 8 and 10 illustrate a plate and wooden drinking jug which Weiditz notes as being brought to Europe from the Americas.

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63 Leitch asserts that both men may have been able to view foreign natives in person, as Augsburg was, at this time, a major cultural center of information. As such, it was a site through which new information, objects, and people from foreign worlds were often trafficked.

64 While the text asserts that the jug and plate were brought from the Americas, it is more likely that they obtained the utensils on European soil, as they bear little resemblance to utensils used by Aztecs.
As made apparent in Burgkmair’s 1508 frieze of African and Indian natives, Figs. 24 and 25, and Breu’s woodcuts from Ludovico Varthema’s *Itinerario* (1515), Figs. 26 and 27, an important difference between Burgkmair’s and Breu’s prints and Weiditz’s manuscript is the formers’ absence of juxtaposed natives and Europeans.

Figure 24. Hans Burgkmair, *Peoples of Africa and India*, detail, 1508.

Figure 25. Hans Burgkmair, *Peoples of Africa and India*, detail, 1508.

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This difference indicates that Burgkmair and Breu wanted to stress the customs and daily activities of the natives, but predominantly in relation to other native subjects. Weiditz, however, places the American natives literally within the same visual context as the Europeans.

Several possible explanations for this difference exist; perhaps, as proposed above, Weiditz intended to develop an innovative product, or perhaps he simply intended for a direct comparison to be made, as did Boemus in his *Fardle of Façions*. With the Reformation in full swing, Weiditz, likely a Protestant yet still a member of the largely Catholic Holy Roman Empire, may have been interested in further delineating the roles of each member of that Empire. He includes an amusing image of a Toledan prelate riding away without his shoes, pointing to what would surely be an intriguing study on Weiditz’s ideas on Catholic and Protestant relations. In any case, viewing the *Trachtenbuch* strikes viewers with a sense that some sort of underlying ideological principle exists in the pages of the manuscript.
Other ethnographic documents that reveal an underlying ideological purpose include the Miao albums of the Qing dynasty, produced during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and recently discussed by Laura Hostetler. Hostetler argues that these albums, which identify non-Han peoples, the regions they inhabit, their garments and outward appearances, their disposition, marriage customs, funeral rites, and other religious and yearly ceremonies, contain an underlying subjective purpose directed toward the viewer of the albums. This subjective impression that a viewer received, Hostetler suggests, “conveyed a sense that the frontier was known, that there was an order to the exotic peoples and customs found in these regions, and that by uncovering it the officials could and did know what they needed in order to maintain harmony in the region.” By systematically cataloguing and categorizing unfamiliar groups, the Miao albums served as a method of assimilating the non-Han groups into the rest of the population of the Qing dynasty, and assuring the viewer either that these groups posed no threat to the majority population or that any posed threat was well under Qing officials’ control.

This same sort of geographic classification is typical to costume books as well as the broader category of ethnographic documents. However, where costume book artists bind the bodies of their subjects in clothing (or the conspicuous lack thereof), pose it in a static fashion, and attach a label indicating geographic region, ethnographic documents such as the Miao Albums portray dress as well as the actions and customs of the region. The addition of action and custom adds an extra element of necessary control, levied by colonial rulers and understood by the reader. The knowledge and depiction of an activity

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66 Hostetler, *Qing Colonial Enterprise.*
67 Ibid., 174.
or custom, the naming of it, and the continued placement of this action within the visual boundaries of the controlled empire indicates the colonial ruler’s power to the reader.  

I argue that the impression of an empire under control presented in the Miao Albums is similar to the impression the viewer receives when examining the American natives, and the African slaves to an extent, within the body of the *Trachtenbuch*. While the exotic individuals depicted by Weiditz are less in number than those depicted in the Miao albums, the necessity for such depictions is similar. To Europeans, the Americas represented the unknown, the foreign and the exotic. Imperial Spain, however, had a special stake in these perceptions. If Spain were to settle American land, indigenous American peoples would have to be encountered and communicated with. However, based upon classical and medieval texts that theorized that the nature of “foreign” humans was often brutish, violent, and exceedingly different from known society, and on Columbus’s often inconsistent versions of his encounters with the American natives, Imperial Spain had a real problem on its hands. How could Spain capitalize on American land while dealing with the exotic indigenous Americans? Were the American natives to be made slaves? Or was their nature such that they could be safely assimilated into Spanish society?

When visually comparing the images and textual descriptions in the *Trachtenbuch* with those of the Miao albums, a possible answer to these questions emerges. I suggest that the *Trachtenbuch* presented subjective ideological answers to questions related to foreignness and the exotic nature of the Other similar to those presented by the Miao albums. For example, in Fig. 28, the Six Types ethnic group, a sub-set of the “Bai Miao”
or “white Miao,” so-named for their dress, play a game which Hostetler refers to as a type of “Blind man’s bluff.”

Comparing this illustration to Fig. 3, Weiditz’s depiction of the American ballgame, the visual similarities are striking. Most notable is the absence of much of a landscape. I would argue that visually lifting the subjects out of their native landscape negates their status as anything other than members of the group to which the author or artist defines them as belonging. This is especially true of the Trachtenbuch, as almost every image—of Americans, Africans or Europeans—is devoid of an identifiable landscape. As such, these individuals become part of whatever visual or textual category that Weiditz designates.

Another similarity between the Miao albums and Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch lies in the textual descriptions. The Miao albums portray an extremely complex system for
classifying different ethnic groups. While the *Trachtenbuch* is only one manuscript, and categorizes only individuals appearing in Europe, the same textual desire to categorize takes place. Hostetler, in discussion of the Miao albums, designates 82 common names for Non-Han peoples living in the particular province of Guizhou and notes several bases for the names, such as location, dress, and custom. While the *Trachtenbuch*’s text, attributed to Weiditz,\(^68\) does not devise a naming system, the textual descriptions relay the same sort of information. For example, turning again to the description for Fig. 3,

> In such manner the Indians play with the blown-up ball with the seat without moving their hands from the ground; they have also a hard leather [cover] before their seat in order that it shall receive the blow from the ball, they have also such leather gloves on.\(^69\)

This description designates an identity, much like the Miao classification system, by location (Indians, from India), dress (hard leather cover for the buttocks and hands) and custom (in such a manner the Indians play with a ball). Thus, even the text of the *Trachtenbuch* exhibits definitive ethnographical qualities; and, much like the Miao albums, reading the text in conjunction with the images points to an underlying subjective categorizing of the individuals depicted within.

The classification of the Americas and the American natives based on text juxtaposed with image is not inconsistent with later ethnographic discourse on the Americas. In fact, the question of how to assimilate the Other into one’s social structure can be found in many nineteenth century documents. In her book *Imperial Eyes*, Mary Louise Pratt discusses inland journeys on non-European soil, and the subsequent classification and documentation of all the raw materials encountered therein, as evidence

\(^68\) I emphasize that the text is attributed to Weiditz because there is some debate on whether he wrote the text himself or rather that he had a scribe write the text from his notes. In any case, whether or not the handwriting is Weiditz’s the content of the text is believed to be his.

\(^69\) Weiditz, 28.
of western Europe’s desire to capitalize and profit from her colonies in Africa and the Americas.  

The documents that emerged from these journeys included Alexander von Humboldt’s *Views of Nature* (1808), which Pratt identifies as Humboldt’s attempt to combine the personal narrative aspects of travel writing with the scientific classification so inherent to the early nineteenth century. What resulted, Pratt argues, was a document extolling not only Humboldt as a “re-discoverer” of America, but also the region itself as a huge, undeveloped landmass ready for European taking. While this work illustrated plants and animals primarily, it led to Humboldt’s subsequent *Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Indigenous Peoples of America* (1810 and 1814). This ethnographic document, according to Pratt, built upon *Views of Nature* by presenting the people of America within the landscape. The underlying ideology is revealed by Humboldt’s own hope that the two aspects would be taken together to illustrate that savage nature begets a savage culture. He also solves his own insinuated quandary of what to do with such a culture by placing the indigenous Americans as servants for the Europeans. For example, in Fig. 29, an engraving from the 1814 version of *Views and Monuments*, Humboldt depicts the Americans carrying his baggage on his journey. In the accompanying description, he describes the baggage carriers as *cargueros*, literally translated as “cargo boats.” Thus, by depicting the indigenous Americans as serving the Europeans, Humboldt engineers a useful place for individuals raised by savage nature.

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70 Pratt, 15-37 and 132-135.  
71 Ibid, 125-129.  
72 Alexander von Humboldt, *Researches, concerning the institutions and monuments of the ancient inhabitants of America, with descriptions and views of some of the most striking scenes in the Cordilleras*! (Longman et al, 1814), 68.

47
Weiditz certainly illustrates a similar notion in the Trachtenbuch. By depicting the indigenous Americans as performers in the court of Charles V (Figs. 3-7), Weiditz categorizes them as providing a service for the Emperor. In Weiditz’s depictions as well as the historical setting of Charles V’s court, which will be discussed in detail below, Weiditz neutralizes the foreignness of the American natives by placing them in a role familiar to Europeans and reveals Charles V’s role in what amounts to the assimilation of the indigenous American into the social structure of Imperial Spain.
Though the visual and textual similarities certainly argue for the *Trachtenbuch* as an ethnographic document, such as the ones referenced above, so too does the underlying subjective perception of order and control over an empire or an empire’s peripheral territories. Reading Weiditz’s manuscript as an ethnographic document points to Weiditz as the eye-witness observer, indicating that he had some stake in presenting a document of this type.

Although the lack of personal records impedes the development of a single, concrete theory explaining why Weiditz completed the manuscript, it gives researchers the unique ability to theorize on a number of contributing factors. As discussed above, the historical climate in Augsburg surely contributed in one way or another to the manuscript’s development; either by encouraging Weiditz to develop an innovative product or by inspiring him to participate in the same spirit of “ethnographic engagement” as Burgkmair and Breu,\(^73\) or through a combination of the two. Also, like the prints of Burgkmair and Breu, Weiditz’s manuscript provided a venue for him to devise his own strategy for incorporating the Other into his conceptual framework. By producing an ethnographic work that classified the peoples of early modern Europe, especially the subjects of Imperial Spain, according to profession or rank, Weiditz designates a role for the American natives—as performers in the service of Charles V. It follows that the historical setting behind the *Trachtenbuch*’s images of American natives, the Hapsburg court, also deserves attention in the context of the manuscript’s development.

\(^73\) Leitch, 3.
As will be discussed below, the arrival of the American natives in the Hapsburg court provided an unstable situation that demanded a strategy for order. I argue that in this case, while Charles V safely neutralized the foreign by displaying the American natives as court performers, he also solidified his identity as a strong and far-reaching Emperor. In fact, as the next section discusses, Emperor Charles V had quite the reputation for using people and objects to bolster his reputation as ruler of both Imperial Spain and the American colonies.
Chapter 2

Physical Assimilation at Court: Indigenous American Performance and the Negotiation of Identity

“Having named we have recognized and, having recognized, we have also taken possession.”  -Anthony Pagden 74

“Non sufficit orbis.” -From an inscription on a Hapsburg Imperial medal (“The world is not enough”).

While the Trachtenbuch contains images of individuals from across the European continent, along with individuals from its periphery, Weiditz refers to only a few of these individuals as personally interacting with Charles V. Specifically, I refer to the American natives, whom Weiditz describes in the text appearing in Fig. 4: “These are the Indian people whom Ferdinand Cortez brought to His Imperial Majesty from India and they have played before His Imperial Majesty with wood and ball.” Cortés brought these individuals back as part of a collection of New World phenomena, much of which he subsequently gifted to Charles V.75 In this section, I posit that Weiditz’s images of Amerindians performing at court reveal an early modern strategy for integrating the New World into a familiar conceptual framework; that is, Charles V neutralizes the foreign American natives by displaying them as performers in his court and part of his New World collection, and thus as evidence of his possession of New World and its peoples.

74 This quote is taken from Anthony Pagden, European Encounters with the New World (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 26.
75 The fate of the American natives is unknown. They are not included in the list of items that Cortés gifted to Charles V, nor have I been able to find any documentation of their whereabouts after Weiditz’s depictions of them at court c.1529.
By displaying the indigenous Americans as performers, Charles V effectively names them “performer.”\textsuperscript{76} Weiditz’s images of the performances and games provide a visual record that at least one member of Charles’ traveling court (Weiditz) internalized the natives in this given role. In all likelihood, however, many court residents and visitors internalized this role.

Two questions arise immediately when considering the above statements. How could Charles V give a group of individuals a societal role simply by displaying them in that role? And why would he see the giving of a role as necessary? I argue that the answer to the first question lies at the convergence of theories from Norbert Elias and Mary Louise Pratt.

In Elias’ sociological assessment of self-consciousness, the self is a series of learned roles for use within the different social groups in which an individual interacts,\textsuperscript{77} and the self can gain independence and power from successfully navigating these interactions, taking advantage where advantage is available. In \textit{The Court Society}, Elias applies this idea to the question of how rulers become rulers, and how they or their lineages gain and keep power. He notes the court setting as a site where ceremony and etiquette-driven interactions enforce and enhance the power of the ruler.\textsuperscript{78} In the case of Charles V, the court setting provided him with a highly-charged stage on which he presented the indigenous Americans to his subjects.

\textsuperscript{76} These Amerindians were presented to Charles V by Cortés, and Cortés definitely observed them performing in Mexico. This gives Cortés some amount of agency in presenting them as performers. However, the venue in which the majority of Europeans observed the Amerindians was Charles V’s court, and this is the venue in which Weiditz depicted them. Thus, the historical circumstances surrounding Charles’ court are of most interest to this present study.


According to John Elliott, “no man was more acutely aware of the way in which symbols could be deployed and manipulated for political effect [than Charles V].”\textsuperscript{79} As a master manipulator of his own public image, Charles V endeavored to imbue his position as emperor with the power befitting a world ruler.\textsuperscript{80} By presenting the American natives as his court performers, he symbolizes his rule in the Americas.

I argue that Mary Louise Pratt’s description of assigning names to natural phenomena, as well as humans, applies here. She discusses previous analyses of natural history as a verbal enterprise, but notes that they fail to “underscore the transformative, appropriative dimensions of its conception.”\textsuperscript{81} Here she refers especially to the eighteenth-century European obsession with classification, which I discussed briefly in the previous section, and argues that by classifying a person or object, the European effectively removes that person or object from its natural setting and presents it literally in European terms. She further argues that naming, whether of a human, plant, animal or region, “brings the reality of order into being.”\textsuperscript{82}

I posit that Charles V names the indigenous Americans “performers” by presenting them in his court as such. He thus establishes the “reality of order” in his American colonies by presenting the American inhabitants as known, and as taking on a familiar role within Imperial Spain’s social structure. Weiditz then internalizes this naming, and follows Charles V’s suit by depicting the American natives in a performative role.


\textsuperscript{80} For information on Charles V’s reaction to the possibility of ruling a world empire, Elliot, \textit{Spain and its World}, 7-8.

\textsuperscript{81} Pratt, 31.

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 33.
While Charles V had the power to place the Amerindians into a role within his court, why would he feel it necessary? What were the historical circumstances that necessitated a propagandized control over the Americas, and the assimilation of the indigenous Americans? I argue that the atmosphere of his court, along with discovery of the Americas and their inhabitants presented Charles V with a unique opportunity to consciously bolster his identity as a powerful emperor. By presenting the American natives as his performers, he also acknowledges his identity as their owner, and further builds his identity as possessor of the Americas.

Stephen Greenblatt refers to the philosophy of the individual as “an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process.”83 This theory has been widely criticized for its insistence that the self, though able to form an identity, must form itself from within his or her culture’s set of norms or control mechanisms.84 I argue that in the case of Charles V’s identity negotiation, the acknowledgement of control mechanisms within which he both functioned and that he sought to uphold is completely necessary. Indeed, according to Elias, the court setting was rife with extremely complicated control mechanisms in which court residents zealously participated and sought the upper hand.85 Any self-fashioning done by Charles V would have been done in order to enforce his rule and his identity as ruler.

83 Stephen Greenblatt. Renaissance Self-Fashioning (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p.2. This process has several critics
85 Elias, 83-88. Here he discusses ceremonies of the court of Louis XIV predominantly, but also discusses the broader ranging theories behind the specific occurrances.
According to Greenblatt, the power stemming from self-fashioning lies not only in fashioning one’s own identity but also in constructing the identities of others.\(^{86}\) In order to form a self-identity, then, one must have a counterpart. This counterpart, commonly referred to as the Other, operates if not in opposition to, then at least from within a different cultural framework than the “I.” Usually found marginalized within European society or in Europe’s geographic peripheries, the Other existed as anyone who was not a healthy, white, European male. The fundamental differences between the Other and the early modern European, based on race, class, and gender, laid the foundation for European identity negotiation because the self only existed as it could be prised apart from the worldwide populus. Highlighted within the realms of literature, historical chronicles, the visual arts, and personal style, identity negotiation was an intricate process, and became even more so with the “discovery” of the New World in the late fifteenth-century.\(^{87}\)

The presence of a hitherto unknown continent further complicated identity creation by revealing a seemingly endless stream of information concerning the indigenous inhabitants and their lands, animals, and objects. The discovery built upon the contemporary European notion of Other, and provided a new location for identity negotiation. Charles V took advantage of this new information, location, and necessity for order within his court setting. He ordered and managed the information by providing

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\(^{86}\) Greenblatt, p.1.

\(^{87}\) Obviously, the Americas existed before Europe stumbled across them, so the term ‘discovery’ is not adequate. I use it here because it is the term that early modern Europe used, and this study attempts to penetrate the framework that informed the term. For more on the notion of the “invention” vs. the “discovery” of America, see Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1984); Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Stephen Greenblatt, *New World Encounters* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993); and Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
his court visitors and residents with visual affirmation that the indigenous Americans were indeed controllable, and that he controlled them.

The Particulars of Possession: Columbus Invents the Indigenous American

I want to briefly discuss the first European perceptions of the New World to determine why the indigenous inhabitants and their crafted objects became part of Charles V’s traveling court and collection as well as tools in his identity negotiation. These first perceptions reveal a European need to sublimate the indigenous Americans into a manageable role within early modern European society. Christopher Columbus’s texts provide a good starting point for this venture, as they inaugurated a tradition of unstable literary constructions of the American natives and questions of Amerindian humanity, and further muddled the problem of how the natives should be treated.

Was the nature of the indigenous Americans’ humanity such that they could and should be assimilated into the “civilized” European world? This question loomed large over the first encounters and through the subsequent period of conquest. The Spaniards, as the first Europeans to interact on a wide scale with the indigenous Americans, approached it in one of two ways: either they engaged in an in-depth analysis of indigenous character, like Las Casas and Sahagún, or they largely avoided the question in order to take personal advantage of the American Indians while keeping a clean conscience, like Cortés and many of the conquistadores. These two philosophies were arguably born of Columbus’ texts, as in his attempt to understand and compartmentalize the first encounters with the natives, he oscillates back and forth between a discussion of their aptness as Christians and their ability to provide him with gold.
Some of the more recent readings of Columbus’s documents, undertaken in the spirit of postcolonial discourse, target the sense of ownership that Columbus exhibits upon encountering the unknown lands which would become the Americas. They reference his frantic search for gold and titles as self-aggrandizing behavior at the expense of the inhabitants of the Americas. Columbus’s furious naming becomes the signpost of European hegemony as it reaches westward, and his assumptions of any sort of understanding between himself and the indigenous Americans becomes the subject of scholarly high-browed chuckling. Tzvetan Todorov marshals this theory in *The Conquest of America* (1984), a book that endured some intense criticism as a result of Todorov’s stance, based in semiotic method, that the natives were unable to withstand the conquest because of their inability to read the European signs.

Also noted in these more recent readings of Columbus’s documents is the incompatible nature of his textual descriptions of the indigenous inhabitants of America. In the prologue to his journal of the first voyage, for instance, he speaks of his objective to convert those he encounters thus: “Your Highnesses… resolved to send me… to see the said princes and peoples and lands and the disposition of them and of all, and the manner in which may be undertaken their conversion to our Holy Faith.” Then, later in his account of the first voyage, in the entry for October 12, Columbus details his first contact with land and natives: “I, in order that they might develop a very friendly disposition towards us, because I knew that they were a people who could better be freed

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88 See especially Todorov, *The Conquest of America* for a full sense of the ironies of the first linguistic encounters. Todorov retells an encounter where, in order to put the natives at ease, Columbus has his men dance and sing on the bow of his ship. This sign is immediately misunderstood as threatening, and the American natives begin to rain arrows down on Columbus and his men.

and converted to our Holy Faith by love than by force, gave to some of them red caps and
to others glass beads, which they hung around their necks.” He continues by describing
them as handsome, well built, docile, timid, and argues that they would make good
Christians for these reasons.

Frequently in his journal, Columbus reveals his shock at the civility of the natives he encounters. In his book *Spain and its World: 1500-1700* (1989), John Elliott observes
Columbus’s surprise when, in the first letter on discovery, Columbus notes, “I have so far
found no human monstrosities, as many expected.” Columbus, however, quickly
follows this information with descriptions of “people who are regarded in all the islands
as very ferocious and who eat human flesh; …and [they] pillage and take as much as they
can.” In his third voyage, Columbus runs afoul of some American natives in Hispaniola
and the mainland, and frequently accuses them of malice and trickery for leading him
astray in his search for gold.

Thus, taking his sometimes sincere analyses of the “giving” indigenous character
along with his almost flippant disregarding of it, Columbus establishes the precedent for
the unstable perception of the inhabitants of the New World. As he initiates this line of
thought, he also initiates the framework for using the indigenous Americans as tools to
aid Europeans in the search for their own personal goals. In his first letter of discovery

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90 Ibid., 64-5.
91 This quote comes from Columbus, *Journals and Other Documents*, p. 185. For Elliott’s full essay on the
Discovery of the Americas as it relates to the discovery of self, see John H. Elliott, *Spain and its World: 1500-1700*
92 Columbus, *Journals and Other Documents*, p. 185
93 Ibid., 292.
94 Ibid., 183. This transition is obvious when reading Columbus’s Letters to the Sovereigns, in *Journals*, in
sequence. His first letter gushes about the generous and timid nature of the indigenous inhabitants, but by
the third letter, he refers to them as dishonest and full of malice as they continually lead him away from
gold.
Columbus states “I took by force some of them [Indians] in order that they might learn [Castilian] and give me information of what they had in those parts… and they have been very serviceable.”95 Both of these aspects of the initial encounters; that is, the unstable perception of the indigenous Americans followed by the use of natives as tools toward European goals, indicate the problem/solution strategy employed by Columbus to at once neutralize the threat of the unknown peoples and also to assimilate the American natives into a familiar social structure.

In Orientalism, Edward Said has identified an entire discourse concerning how “Europe was able to manage—even produce—the Orient…during the post-Enlightenment period.”96 I would argue here that a similar discourse, albeit a less comprehensive and much less prominent one, in part due to the America’s geographic distance from Europe, was produced by Imperial Spain in the years just following Columbus’s first encounters with indigenous Americans. This discourse would include Columbus’s accounts on indigenous American civility, or lack thereof, which were spawned by his interactions with the Amerindians on American soil. It also includes the first interactions between Charles V, Amerindians, and indigenous American objects on European soil, and how these interactions propagandized the Emperor’s power over the Americas.

Though identity negotiation often took place in texts, as in the case of Columbus’s letters to Ferdinand and Isabella concerning first contact with the New World and Cortés’s Letters of Relation [concerning the conquest] to Charles V, it also manifests through the early modern collection. I refer specifically to American objects and

95 Ibid., 184.
indigenous animals collected by Cortés, and also to the human collection he acquired in Mexico, which served as his traveling court. To be sure, this court also consisted of Spanish nobles and conquistadores, but it primarily consisted of indigenous elite men, non-elite “very white” men and women, performers, and “dwarves and monsters.”

From these collections, Cortés gifted indigenous men and women, animals, and natural and manmade objects to Emperor Charles V in the year 1528. During this time, while Charles’ court sat at Toledo, Weiditz depicted the indigenous Americans in the Trachtenbuch. The activities illustrated in these images indicate that the Indians not only sat at court, but also performed, or were forced to perform there.

Because this was the first time that American natives were observed or interacted with on European soil, these images are important to the scholarship concerning first encounters. They represent a second phase of liminality concerning the encounters with the Americas. The first phase took place on American soil, and how the Europeans involved dealt with and interpreted what they saw was detailed above. This phase indicated the European confusion concerning the civility, at times even the humanity, of the American native. In the second phase, Cortés presents the American natives to Charles V, who in turn presents them for the first time on European soil as Imperial court performers.

98 Charles inherited the Iberian territories upon the death of his grandfather Ferdinand, and was named Charles I of Spain. He was elected as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V upon the death of his other grandfather Maximilian in 1519.
Before discussing the presentation of Amerindians in Europe, it is necessary to establish the precedent for perceiving the American native both as performer and as a tool for identity negotiation. Interestingly, this pattern stems back from Charles V in Europe to Cortes in Mexico; indeed, this pattern stems all the way back to, and is appropriated from the Aztec leader Motecuhzoma.

By all accounts, modern as well as those of his contemporaries, Cortés was a shrewd and perceptive leader. Though, like Columbus, Cortés frequently takes possession of indigenous Americans for his own uses, he uses more subtle tactics with Motecuhzoma. Both consummate military men, Motecuhzoma and Cortés read as wary cats in the accounts of their first meetings. It was immediately obvious to Cortés that a simple military campaign would not suffice in the face of the vast numbers commanded by Motecuhzoma. Instead, Cortés tried to build the Aztec leader’s trust, as well as bolster his own reputation, by molding his identity toward that of an Aztec prince.

In Bernal Díaz’s account of the conquest, several factors prove Motecuhzoma’s princely stature. Díaz describes gifting as one of these factors:

…The Great Montezuma had already at hand some very rich golden jewels, of many patterns, which he gave to our Captain, and in the same manner to each one of our Captains he gave trifles of gold, and three loads of mantles of rich feather work, and to the soldiers also he gave to each one two loads of mantles, and he did it cheerfully and in every way he seemed to be a great Prince.

100 Gómara uses the term “acquires,” which implies some sort of agreement. However, even Cortés notes that he takes by force, making “taking possession” a more accurate assessment.
101 Díaz, The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, p. 205.
In one of the shocking displays of cultural difference so common to first encounters, gift-giving in many early Mesoamerican societies was a tactic by which a giver could raise his or her status while effectively lowering the status of the recipient, if an equal gift could not be returned.  Not aware of this, Cortés simply assumed that Motecuhzoma was operating as a European gift giver might, acting to ingratiate himself with or ask favors of a perceived leader, as Cortés himself does with Charles V upon return to Spain. In the American context however, Cortés gave Motecuhzoma only “certain twisted cut glass beads” in return. He participated in the indigenous gift-giving process, but he did so through his own European concept, the terms of which will be further discussed below.

A second factor that both Gómara and Díaz note as princely about Motecuhzoma, and that Cortés incorporates into his own identity, is the indigenous court. Gómara describes the members present at Motecuhzoma’s meals as “twenty of his wives… the most beautiful and shapely…, dwarfs, hunchbacks, cripples, and so on, all for his entertainment and amusement, and these, along with the jesters and mountebanks, were given the leavings to eat.” Immediately after the meal, the jesters and the “foot-jugglers,” entertained the court. These jugglers, the likely subjects of some of Weiditz’s

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103 In fact, a cultural comparison on gift giving in Europe and in pre-hispanic America might provide a useful alternate reading of the conquest. For more on gifting practices in Europe as they relate to identity fashioning, see Lisa Jardine, Worldly goods: A New History of the Renaissance (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1996), 418-421.
104 Díaz, Discovery and Conquest, p. 184. Gómara also describes this necklace in Cortés, 139. I use Díaz because he was actually a soldier in the conquest and is more likely to have seen the necklace in person. Gómara never actually went to the Americas, he merely records as he is directed by Cortés.
105 Gómara, Cortés, 144.
sketches, are referred to as “tumblers” in section 192 of Gómara’s biography on Cortés. This section chronicles Cortés’s 1528 return voyage to Spain, and the description of the accompanying court and collection reads thus:

He took with him Gonzalo de Sándoval, Andres de Tapia, and some of the noblest and most renowned of the conquistadores; also a son of Moctezuma and a son of Maxixca, this latter now baptized as Don Lorenzo, and many gentlemen and lords of Mexico, Tlaxcala, and other cities; eight tumblers, several very white Indian men and women, and dwarfs and monsters. In short, he traveled like a great lord. Besides the above, he brought along as exhibits: tigers, albatrosses, an ayotochtli [armadillo], an animal called a tlaucuachi [opossum], which carries its young in a pouch while running and the tail of which, according to the Indian women, is of great help in childbirth. For gifts he carried a large quantity of feather and hair mantles, fans shields, plumes, stone mirrors, and the like. He arrived in Spain toward the end of the year 1528, while the court was sitting at Toledo. The whole kingdom was agog with his fame and the news of his coming, and everyone wanted to see him.106

Similar to descriptions of Motecuhzoma’s court, with the notable exceptions of the addition of Spanish nobles and conquistadores, this hybrid court served to espouse Cortés’s authority both in Mexico and in Spain. By appropriating the makeup of Motecuhzoma’s court, likely even the very members of it, Cortés symbolically slips into place as a ruler of high status in the Americas, both to the indigenous Americans and to the Spanish.107 When the court traveled back to Spain, Cortés used both it and his collection to portray his identity as a competent ruler. He also used them as gifts, both in the hopes of clearing the charges that had been levied against him, and to obtain his requested titles from Charles V. Of particular interest to this study, he provided Charles V with a model for displaying the American natives and objects and also a model for how an individual with power in the Americas should portray that power. As will be

106 Gómara, Cortés, p. 390.
107 Ibid, p. 145. Gómara states “Cortés brought several of [Motecuhzoma’s] these foot-jugglers to Spain and showed them at court,” so we assume that these performers were also members of the Aztec Imperial court.
discussed below, gift-giving played a very prominent role in the shifting of this power, and possession to a degree, to from Cortes to Charles V.

The European Context: Gifting and the Collection as a Display of Propaganda

Lisa Jardine explains the European process of gift-giving among elites in this way: “For the rich and powerful, lavish gift-giving was part of a highly codified way of establishing networks of personal indebtedness, which could be called in times of need.”\(^{108}\) Cortés’ collection from the New World was indeed lavish, and also personalized to an extent. In his second Letter of Relation to Charles V, Cortés mentions some of these objects and relates that he had Motecuhzoma commission several likenesses of European items—crucifixes, medals, jewelry and the like.\(^{109}\) For Cortés, gifting his collection and part of his court to Charles V provided a way to get out from under the accusations of violence against both Spaniards and Indians.\(^{110}\) It also set the stage for Cortés to request titles and property of his Emperor. The strategy worked, as Charles V granted Cortés all of the numerous requested titles and also cleared him of all charges.

In full possession of the collection, Charles V wasted no time in having the Amerindians perform and displaying them in his court, where they were depicted by

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\(^{109}\) Fig. 3 depicts an Amerindian with a feathered shield bearing a cross. Since no iconography of this type was used in Mexico, it is possible that this is an image of one of the commissioned pieces. It might also simply be a visual garnish from Weiditz.

\(^{110}\) At this time Cortés had several enemies, and he himself decries that he has been a victim of a conspiracy headed by Diego Velazquez. Among the most serious charges is that he has not sent the “King’s Fifth”, a fifth of the spoils of Mexico, that he was illegally appointing officials, and that he was seriously violating the human rights of the natives. See Gomara, 383; Hernando Cortés, trans. F. Baynard Morris, *Five Letters, 1519-1526* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1962), 243-286, esp. 247.
Weiditz in 1529. While Cortés used his court and collection to negotiate his identity within the Americas and in Spain to lobby for territory in Mexico, Charles V used the indigenous Americans, their animals and objects for a different purpose. In her book *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*, Jardine discusses the notion that works of art, exotic objects, and the collections in which they resided were meant to display the material wealth and worldly knowledge of the collector.¹¹¹ I would like to expand this notion to include the display of exotic objects and peoples as exhibiting possession, and argue that for Charles V, exhibiting the indigenous Americans at court was a propagandistic enterprise.

Long known as a master manipulator of court spectacle, Charles V was also skilled in military and political propaganda.¹¹² In 1535, he commissioned a series of tapestries commemorating his campaign in North Africa. Entitled *The Conquest of Tunis* (Fig. 30), this series of tapestries depicted Charles V’s victory at Tunis.¹¹³ While more a morale booster than a serious blow to the Ottoman Empire, the battles were nevertheless portrayed as a great victory for Charles V’s forces. The extremely ornate and lavishly threaded tapestries, with their enormous size, depict a literal “opening up” of Turk controlled Tunis. Each expansive view, covered with Charles V’s forces overrunning the darker skinned and turban-wearing Turks, delivers the assurance of a decisive and successful invasion of the hitherto mysterious Ottoman Empire. This series of tapestries traveled with the Hapsburg court, and Charles V displayed them prominently as part of his royal collection and as advertisement of his military might.

¹¹² For information on spectacle in the Hapsburg court, see Elliott, *Spain and its World*, 142-161.
¹¹³ This particular tapestry was woven by Jodocos de Vos between 1712-21 after the original cartoons commissioned by Charles V and designed by Jan Vermeyen in the 1530s.
Though the American natives appear at court in 1529, five to ten years before the tapestries, it is easy to see their presence as the same type of militaristic and political propaganda. Just as the *Conquest of Tunis* tapestries, displayed at court, advertised Charles V’s military identity, so too the presence of indigenous Americans, their objects and animals displayed his presence in the Americas. By exhibiting the American natives along with the lavish objects that Cortés brought, and the hybrid ones that Cortés had commissioned, Charles V affirms to Europe that his empire is strong in the Americas.

Along with military and political propaganda, however, Charles V also endeavors to advertise his scholarly identity. Paula Findlen describes the patrician desire to advertise worldly identity via collections in this way: “Travel, discovery, and collection all served to deepen one’s sense of identity. Only by going out into the world and
bringing the world into the home could one achieve the sort of knowledge that constituted “identity,” as most early modern patricians understood it,” and further, that by “the sixteenth century, displaying knowledge was a prized courtly virtue.”114 As stated earlier, the outside world primarily existed as it related to the inner self, so sixteenth century individuals used the world around them to display their desired identity. Certainly Columbus, Cortés, and Charles V used their American collections to demonstrate control over the New World and to espouse their political import, but they also used the collections to reflect their knowledgeable and scholarly identity. Columbus bolstered his scholarly identity by relaying knowledge that he obtained through the forcibly collected and trained indigenous interpreters. Cortés and Charles V, however, provided a more visceral knowledge of the Americas by physically appearing with the traveling court of indigenous Americans, and the collections of animals and American objects. Using these collections as tools, each man negotiated a powerful, scholarly, and politically important identity, and successfully navigated what Greenblatt termed the “manipulable, artful process” of early modern self-fashioning.

While the above men were successful in navigating the process of identity formation and manipulation, one wonders about the individuals who fell victim to this process. Specifically, I refer of course to the indigenous American performers, but also to the existing European entertainers and performers at the Hapsburg court. During this time, as mentioned above, all Europeans were seeking to separate themselves from their inferiors, and to distance themselves by comparison. How were the European court performers affected by this sudden, unavoidable comparison to indigenous Americans?

These questions beg further research concerning a cultural comparison of conceptions of court performers, and the strikingly different ways in which Europeans and indigenous Americans perceived them. For example, in the Americas, court performers and residents were quite revered, and often thought of as holding a special place between gods and humans because of their performative talents, talents as craftsmen, or in some cases their deformities—anything that set them apart from the typical populus. In western Europe, however, performers, jugglers, and acrobats were often thought to be transgressors in their own societies. In a large part, this was because of the fleeting nature of their work and the extreme amount of travel it required. Performers were people of talents, from odd to amazing; however, they had to travel to receive their livelihood; thus, their viewers often perceived the performers as destabilizing people without a permanent past or future. Traveling great distances in general was also perceived by many as destabilizing, and the traveling space was noted as a liminal space in which encounters with the foreign or forbidden might take place. This brings up travel as another interesting comparison between Amerindian performers and performers in Europe. In order to arrive in Europe, the American natives crossed the vast and fairly uncharted expanse of the Atlantic, while European performers also had to travel great distances to reach new audiences. Thus the Amerindians, without even

115 See Mary Helms, Craft and the Kingly Ideal (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 56. For information on this theory’s place in antiquity, see Chapter 9 of Marcel Detienne and Jean-Pierre Vernant, Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society (Hassocks and Sussex: Harvester Press, 1978).
performing, already bore comparison to the more familiar European traveling performers, acrobats and entertainers.

Examining this idea in reverse, how did the appearance of Amerindian performers in Charles V’s court impact the European court performers already in place there? Did they add any of the Amerindian talents to their repertoire? Were European performers further marginalized as a result of being categorized alongside American natives? These questions are difficult to answer as the indigenous Americans virtually disappear from the historical record at this point.

What it is possible to theorize is that by presenting the American natives as court performers, Charles V assured his court and his empire that he was well in control of the Americas. Indeed, the indigenous Americans were in his employ, most likely by force, as entertainers. While the Hapsburg traveling court provided an historical setting for Charles V to exercise this power, Weiditz’s manuscript provides the visual record of Charles V’s strategies for incorporating the indigenous Americans into his empire. In addition, Weiditz provides his own model for assimilation through developing a visual hierarchy of Europe’s social structure into which he places the American natives.
Chapter Three

Visual Assimilation in the *Trachtenbuch*: Christoph Weiditz’s Images
Compartmentalize a Nation

The images in the *Trachtenbuch* depict a wide variety of actions, from the flogging of a criminal to the transporting of a horse from land to a sea-going vessel to the plowing of a field. These actions, and the attention given to habit and dress, all bear witness to the ethnographic nature of the manuscript, as discussed above, and they also testify to the placement of the depicted individuals within European society. This section discusses visual markers of hierarchic status present within the active images in the *Trachtenbuch*, with specific reference to those depicting performance and play and with the intention of revealing images that indicate Charles V’s role in the assimilation of indigenous Americans into early modern Europe. By examining the visual hierarchy present throughout Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch*, I argue that the bodily depictions of the American natives suggest two possible stations for them within Imperial Spain: as laborers or as playful entertainers of the court.

This argument peels even more layers away from the solidly costume book exterior of the *Trachtenbuch*, by focusing directly on the illustrated body. Bronwen Wilson argues that since foreign bodies did not live up to their theorized monstrosities, the costume, and consequently the costume book, was then “charged with articulating
geographical differences.” In the case of Weiditz’s ethnographic images, however, this is simply not the case. While Weiditz indeed depicts the clothing, or lack thereof, of the indigenous Americans in his active images, the clothing in no way takes center stage. Likewise, in his other active images throughout the manuscript, clothing takes a backseat to depicted activity. In fact, when the viewer notices clothing at all, is it because Weiditz has made it apparent that adaptations were made to the clothing to accommodate the activity at hand. Weiditz calls the viewer’s attention to the body in motion, emphasizing the action—whether it be a simple task, like kneading bread, or hard labor, like tugging boats in to harbor.

I argue that there are five main categories of action depicted in the Trachtenbuch: Labor (both voluntary and forced), punitive/civil administration, spiritual and religious activity, travel, and performance/play. Although each category, and indeed most images in each category, deserves an in depth individual study, I focus primarily on the labor and performance/play images and their relationships with the images of the Amerindians. However, in order to properly contextualize these images within the manuscript, I discuss all five categories of action as they make up the visual hierarchy of the Trachtenbuch.118 Only by viewing the Amerindian images within the context of the whole manuscript is it possible to extrapolate their station within a visual hierarchy.

Mary Louise Pratt discusses a similar theory in the spirit of reexamining the travel writings of Alexander von Humboldt.119 As discussed in the first section of this study, Pratt identifies the nineteenth century European interest in classification of American raw

117 Wilson, 77.
118 Refer to Appendix I for a list of each image and corresponding category.
119 Pratt, 111-143, esp. 132-135.
materials as evidence of the European re-opening of the Americas and the desire to capitalize and draw profit from them. Later in her study, she locates this desire within the body of Humboldt’s *Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Indigenous Peoples of America* (1810 and 1814), arguing that by placing engravings of indigenous monuments alongside engravings of the lush and undeveloped landscape of America, Humboldt begs the comparison “the more savage the nature, the more savage the culture.”  

Although Pratt certainly takes the order of the engravings into account, which cannot be done with the *Trachtenbuch*, the basic model that she uses can be applied to this present study. That is, by examining the visual strategies by which Weiditz depicts individuals of different groups and regions in relation to each other, it is possible to address the question of how indigenous Americans were perceived during the original “opening up” of the Americas in Europe.

Depicting the foreign through an ethnographic document, in the words of Jonathan Friedman, “embodies the authority to represent and, by logical implication, the authority to maintain the Other in silence. Now this is a serious political act since it identifies the Other for us.”  

For the viewer, author or patron of the *Trachtenbuch* then, the Other, in this case the American natives, comes to embody the performer and the entertainer because he or she is depicted in the midst of entertaining actions.  

Within *Orientalism*, his seminal critique of Western thought and attitudes concerning the East, Edward Said discusses the mythological and almost occult elements

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120 Ibid, 133. Interestingly, Humboldt himself wished that these images be taken in such succession with each other to indicate how the climate and landscape influenced the style and technique by which a region’s art is made.

of the Western Orientalist attitude, saying “It shares with magic and with mythology the self-containing, self-reinforcing character of a closed system, in which objects are what they are, for once, for all time, for ontological reasons that no empirical material can either dislodge or alter.”¹²² This logic is also very apt to describe the first representations of the Americas, but it is especially apt in describing the first representations of American natives on European soil because it allows for the possibility of myriad, actual eyewitness experiences. Historically, as the previous section details, the indigenous Americans performed at Charles V’s court, making the representation of American native as performer twofold: in ceremonial and in painted form.

Categories and the Visual Hierarchy of the *Trachtenbuch*

Before discussing the images of the American natives’ play and performance, I will outline some of the literature in which the concepts of Self and Other manifest in depictions of the body. This literature represents a model for creating what I term a possible “visual hierarchy” within the *Trachtenbuch*. I use the term “visual hierarchy” to delineate possible stations in the *Trachtenbuch*’s social structure, which in turn reveal

¹²² Said, 70. Said discusses this notion in response to a quote from Isaiah Berlin, *Historical Inevitability* (Oxford University Press, 1955), 13-14. This quote, taken from *Orientalism*, reads “In [such a] … cosmology the world of men (and, in some versions, the entire universe) is a single, all-inclusive hierarchy; so that to explain why each object in it is as, and where, and when it is, and how far it successfully fulfills it, and what are the relations of coordination and subordination between the goals of the various goal-pursuing entities in the harmonious pyramid which they collectively form. If this is a true picture of reality, then historical explanation, like every other form of explanation, must consist, above all, in the attribution of individuals, groups, nations, species, each to its own proper place in the universal pattern. To know the ‘cosmic’ place of a thing or a person is to say what it is and what it does, and at the same time why it should be and do as it is and does. Hence to be and to have values, to exist and to have a function (and to fulfill it more or less successfully) are one and the same. The pattern, and it alone, brings into being and causes to pass away and confers purpose, that is to say, value and meaning, on all there is. To understand is to perceive patterns…. The more inevitable an event or an action or a character can be exhibited as being, the better it has been understood, the profounder the researcher’s insight, the nearer we are to the one ultimate truth. This attitude is profoundly anti-empirical.”
certain aspects of Imperial Spain’s social structure at the time of the *Trachtenbuch*’s creation. To determine the *Trachtenbuch’s* visual hierarchy, I take into account the deportment of the body, clothing, and the accoutrement surrounding the body of the indigenous Americans and compare these characteristics with typical sixteenth-century European notions of bodily and behavioral ideals. Though these ideals differed from region to region (as illustrated by images in the *Trachtenbuch*), they are consistent enough to contrast with those of the wholly unfamiliar lands of America, especially when backed up by Weiditz’s textual descriptions.

Anthropologist A. David Napier argues that “the concept of the stranger is central to—even, perhaps, the central metaphor for—any discussion of the body.”¹²³ In other words, any discussion of the self as body is only made possible by accessing the concept of the stranger’s body, a body inherently different than our own. Thus, noting differences between peoples based on the body and the actions or deportment of the body is an inherent activity, and an activity that has taken place for centuries in the determination of an individual’s, or group of individuals’, conceptions of self. In this case, depicting the American natives as performers or laborers effectively neutralizes them, or removes a component of the “unknown,” and renders them as conquered individuals taking a familiar place in society.

Georges Vigarello discusses bodily comportment as it relates to societal status. His main argument states that in the sixteenth-century, the emergent courtier class “seemed to generate rules of deportment for the body,” emphasizing upward deportment,

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or straight posture, as indicators of one’s civility and morality.  

This upward deportment was ideally hereditary, and a result of generations of elite activities, such as fencing and riding.  

These were, of course, leisure activities for the nobility, and were never more than moderately strenuous.  

Examining this idea of bodily deportment, it is apparent that early modern men and women, especially those of the upper classes, believed that one’s daily activities influence the appearance of the body.  

The more strenuous the activity, the greater the toll taken on the body; the more obvious the bodily effect, the less that body resembled the ideal.  Less resemblance to the ideal equaled a less civilized person.  

It follows then that one’s social station could be interpreted by images of bodily appearance and physical characteristics as well as the more widely studied dress—depicted in the myriad costume books of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries.  

I find that the active images in the *Trachtenbuch* offer a promising location to begin this interpretation as they portray not only the apparel of the subjects, but more importantly active representations of the body at leisure, work or play.  

In line with Vigarello’s assessment of riding as one of the main activities for elite exercise, travel riding constitutes the only depicted activity of individuals described by Weiditz as “rich” or “noble”.  In fact, only three such images exist out of the 154 images in the *Trachtenbuch*.  Fig. 31, with Weiditz’s caption reading “this is a Spanish nobleman riding horseback” depicts a small bearded man; fully-dressed, whip in hand, with a

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124 Vigarello, 151.  
125 Ibid., 156.  Vigarello also mentions dance here. However, he refers to the dances of the European nobility, not to the dances of the lower class in the Basque region, or to Moorish dances.  
126 Vigarello points out that the strenuous exercises were believed to be “more appropriate for tumblers.” This was quoted by Vigarello from J. Du Chesné, *Le portrait de la santé où est ou vif représenté la règle universelle et particulière de bien sainement et bien longuement vivre* (Paris, 1606), 309.  
128 The definition of civility, of course, differs from region to region.
straight posture and a stern countenance. The second image, Fig. 32, depicts noble riders in Valladolid.\textsuperscript{129} This image reveals the same body types as the nobleman in Fig. 31; a small couple, fully dressed with straight postures, in stark contrast with the loincloth-wearing American natives who squat bare-footed on the ground.\textsuperscript{130}

Other travel images are made up mostly of depictions of merchants traveling with their wares, such as Fig. 33, which bears an image of a Castilian water-seller and his ass. Here, the merchant is fully-dressed in bulky pantaloons and walks behind the somewhat deflated animal with a prodding stick.

\textsuperscript{129} Although Weiditz’s text simply reads “In this manner they take their wives out riding in Vollodoliff behind them”, the adjoining image reveals an individual trailing them who is identified by Weiditz as a slave. This addition indicates the elite status of the couple.

\textsuperscript{130} The third example of an action of an ‘upper class’ citizen breaks from the first two in that Weiditz describes this man as a Toledan prelate. Though the identity of this individual may never be known, he represents one of only two images in the \textit{Trachtenbuch} that depict members of the clergy. In posture and countenance, Weiditz depicts the prelate in a similar fashion to the two aforementioned nobles. With a straight posture and stern expression, the prelate clearly fits the bodily mold occupied by the individuals described as “rich” or “noble.” However, in a rich display of humor very common to the images in the \textit{Trachtenbuch}, Weiditz depicts a servant running behind the prelate carrying his shoes. The servant gestures, trying in vain to get the attention of the prelate who has obliviously ridden off in his stocking feet. Adding to the humor, or perhaps simply attempting to obviate any misunderstanding of the intended humor, Weiditz sits the prelate on an ass instead of a horse! Though Weiditz depicts asses and horses in a very similar fashion, he carefully delineates one from the other by his modeling of the ears and facial expressions. The ears of the asses are very long, while the ears of the horses are so short that it is close to impossible to confuse one for the other. Also, the expressions on the faces of Weiditz’s asses are usually very animated, from sly (similar to this one) to weary and even to laughing. In contrast, the faces of Weiditz’s horses are usually fierce, stern, and alert. The only other images featuring a person riding an ass are of a slave and a criminal, which makes Weiditz’s stab at humor here all the more evident. The presence of this type of humor certainly begs for a more in depth study of this image and others like it. One of the more frustrating aspects of this project has been encountering idiosyncrasies such as these and discovering that they are simply beyond the scope of the present study. However, it has also been a joy to encounter these images as they promise many threads of intriguing study for the future.
Figure 31. Spanish nobleman riding. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 32. Noble Riders in Valladolid. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
In addition to travel images, a second type of activity depicted in the *Trachtenbuch* is punitive or civil administration. This category features primarily Spanish criminals and civil administrators, including court ushers, bailiffs, police officers, and ransom collectors. As in Fig. 34, Weiditz often depicts the police officers riding horses, with posture and dress similar to that of the nobles and elite mentioned above. Weiditz depicts the criminals (see Figs. 35 and 36), however, riding asses while being flogged. The dress of the criminals and cut-purses remains one of the most telling sets of images, as they are the only individuals, other than the Amerindians and a religious penitent, whose upper bodies are in a state of undress.\(^{131}\)

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\(^{131}\) These two images remain very frustrating to interpret because of the likelihood that they were doctored at some point. As mentioned in the Introduction, many of these images appear to have been altered in attempt to adhere to the more modest sensibility of one of the manuscript’s later owners. In these particular cases, it seems obvious that the images were indeed changed due to the entirely different tonal quality of the rendering of the upper body undergarments, as compared to the rest of the depicted clothing, on both the male and female criminal. Due to this addition, it is possible only to speculate that these two criminals

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Figure 33. Castilian water-seller. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
were once entirely topless. This theory seems especially plausible when examining the male criminal as well as the second image of the female criminal—their upper body garments seem to simply have been added with no attention to the volume of the rest of the clothing depicted throughout the manuscript.
Spiritual and religious activity represents the third category of action depicted in the *Trachtenbuch*. This category contains five images of spiritual activities, such as Fig. 37, and exemplifies the only category in which confraternities are likely identified; that is, the penitential confraternities of Castile and Saragossa (now Zaragoza).
The majority of the active images in the Trachtenbuch depict labor, forced in the case of galley and attendant slaves and voluntary in the case of working class farmers and sailors (Figs. 38-39, 15-16). No less than twenty-nine images make up this category, and they are spread throughout the body of the manuscript, which is currently grouped very loosely by region.

When visually analyzing the body of the laborers, it is apparent that Weiditz emphasized the toll that labor took on the musculature and posture of the body. Although Weiditz’s main profession as a medalist certainly influenced his drawing technique—his
bodies are very sculptural in appearance; squat with shallow lines marking contours rather than the subtle tonal gradation that marks the early modern masters—it is still possible to recognize the differences in representational strategy within Weiditz’s own visual style.

Figure 38. Taking in water in Barcelona. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 39. Spanish galley slaves. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
In Figure 15, for example, Weiditz depicts two sailors tugging boats into harbor at Barcelona. The angle of the body on the right reflects the tension of the rope, and the heavily muscled legs and buttocks are clenched with the effort of pulling the weight of the boat. Even the line of his jaw and his right hand, outstretched toward a goal just outside of the viewer’s gaze, indicate the difficulty of the task at hand. The figure on the left reflects an element of urgency, and allows the viewer an eye-witness account of the action.132 Taking into consideration his planted left foot, which bears the weight of his body, his twisted upright posture and open mouth, this man was captured in the act of momentary interaction with someone or—thing just outside the viewing area. Also heavily muscled, the contours of the buttocks and neck reflect the strain of holding this precarious position. In addition, Weiditz employs distinctive strategies in the representation of the clothing of laborers, and their respective states of dress/undress. In this case, the pantlegs have been pulled up and the shoes removed—presumably to preserve their dryness or for ease of movement underwater.

These same strategies are also employed in Fig. 16, which depicts a Spanish tiller preparing soil for planting. His forward motion is apparent in the line of his body as well as in the positioning of his legs. His left leg is planted behind him, and his heel raises as he pushes off onto his right leg. The clenched muscles of the legs and massive shoulders and back indicate the strenuous nature of this activity as well as imply many years of hard labor. In terms of dress, his coat has been pulled up and tucked into his waistband to

132 By eyewitness, I refer to the notion that some images give a real sense of the ‘present’, or of a momentary snapshot of an actual event. That eye-witness depiction was important to Weiditz can be located within his series of images of the indigenous American jugglers. Though the jugglers are different individuals, Weiditz depicts the act of juggling in a sequential fashion—something that could only be achieved by an eye-witness.
avoid soiling it and to ensure that it will not get caught under the plow. As a result, however, the tiller’s legs have been exposed (or stockings in this case), emphasizing the musculature, much like the boat tuggers’ legs discussed above. Thus, their bodily actions seem to dictate adaptations to their dress that lead to the visual emphasis in musculature.

Considering the depictions of the indigenous Americans, it is evident that their bodily actions influence their dress as well. Especially evident in Fig. 3, the image of the Amerindian ballgame, the American natives have adapted their dress according to their activity, something consistent only with the other depictions of labor. In this case, the hard leather covers for the buttocks and hands are most obvious. In this image, similar to the labor images mentioned above, Weiditz emphasizes the musculature of the American natives, and depicts them in the midst of a strenuous activity—an act which Weiditz reserves solely for laborers and indigenous Americans.

Figs. 5-7 present a more obvious comparison between American natives and laborers, in this case forced laborers, pictured in Figs. 38 and 39—the ankle bracelet. Interestingly, all of Weiditz’s images of forced labor feature an ankle bracelet, similar to the feathered ones on the ankles of the Amerindian jugglers. On the forced laborers, the ankle bracelets represent the method by which an owner could secure a slave by threading a chain through the loop on the bracelet itself. This is also evident in Fig. 40, which depicts a slave whom Weiditz has identified as wearing the chain as a result of an attempted escape. While the jugglers’ anklets do not have loops, nor any other method designed to restrict movement, the visual similarity remains.
Historically, the possibility of American native as forced laborer represented a familiar problem for Imperial Spain. Both Columbus and Cortés obtained indigenous Americans by force, in order that they could aid them in exploratory ventures and, in the case of Cortés, militaristic enterprises. Both men also brought American natives back to Europe and presented them as in their service. Columbus even went so far as to bring numerous indigenous Americans back as slaves, though Isabella had them returned to America within a period of months.\textsuperscript{133} In fact, according to records, over one thousand indigenous Americans were sent to Europe as slaves.\textsuperscript{134} This issue was not resolved until

\textsuperscript{133} For more information on this event, see Christopher Columbus, \textit{Journals and Other Documents on the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus}, trans. and ed. by Samuel Eliot Morison (New York, NY: The Heritage Press, 1963).

\textsuperscript{134} Hodgen, 111.
the middle of the sixteenth century. By then, of course, the damage had already been done.\textsuperscript{135}

The fifth and final category of action that I identify in the *Trachtenbuch* is that of performance and play. This category represents the most obvious physical strategy by which Charles V, and consequently a visual strategy by which Christoph Weiditz assimilated indigenous Americans into the social structure of Imperial Spain. The *Trachtenbuch* features nine instances of performance/play—six of these depict American natives, one depicts individuals converted from the Islamic, one depicts a woman of the Basque region and the last depicts women in the French region of Narbonne.\textsuperscript{136}

The images of the female dancers provide a good entry point for a discussion of images of performance/play in the *Trachtenbuch* because they represent the only images of Western European dance. This first image, Fig. 41, contains text written by Weiditz that reads “In this manner they dance in Biscay.”\textsuperscript{137} Oddly reminiscent of John Travolta in “Saturday Night Fever,” the woman pictured raises her hand, fingers held in an elegant manner, and shifts her weight to her right foot, as if about to push herself up on tip-toe. We get a sense of movement both from her body stance and the movement of her

\textsuperscript{135} For a more detailed look at this debate, see Elliott, 7-26 and 43-63. Bartolomé de las Casas was one of the biggest criticizers of the earliest Spanish encounters with America; see Bartolomé de las Casas, *An Account, Much Abbreviated, of the Destruction of the Indies*, trans. Andrew Hurley (Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2003).

\textsuperscript{136} Weiditz refers to all the individuals formerly of the Islamic faith from Granada as Moriscos. Because of the severe punishment leveled on those of the Islamic faith by Ferdinand and Isabella, Muslims in Granada were forced to convert to Christianity or they would be expelled from Spain into north Africa. Granada was thus the only region where some fixtures of traditional Islamic culture could be observed. That Weiditz made it a point to so completely capture aspects of life in Granada, especially aspects of womens’ lives, deserves a study of its own.

\textsuperscript{137} Weiditz, 50.
clothing, which sways with her body to the right.\textsuperscript{138} The second image of female dancers in the French region of Narbonne, Fig. 42, reveals a similar body stance to that of the Basque dancer. Both of the women raise their hands in an elegant fashion, one holding what may be an instrument. Of note in this image, one woman has removed her shoes and stockings and has rolled up her dress indicating an instance of the adaptive clothing discussed above. It is also important to note that this woman represents one of very few individuals depicted with bare feet; the others include only the American natives, two sailors, all five depictions of slaves, and several depictions of Morisco women in “house dress.”\textsuperscript{139}

The only other image of performance/play aside from the images of indigenous Americans is a two-page spread, Fig. 43, depicting “The Morisco dance” with Weiditz’s text reading “In this manner the Moriscos dance with each other, snapping with fingers at the same time” and “This is the Morisco dance music they make noises also like calves” (text following has been mutilated).\textsuperscript{140} In this image, three individuals play instruments while a male dancer manipulates his cloak and a female dancer maneuvers toward him (or perhaps around him) with outstretched arms. In his accompanying description, Hampe notes that though this dance was typically considered a “Morisco” one, it became popular in Germany and the rest of Europe during the first half of the sixteenth-century which indicates that Weiditz was probably familiar with it.

\textsuperscript{138} Her face reveals a coy expression, and she faces the artist/viewer. Interestingly, very few of Weiditz’s subjects face the viewer. Of the individuals that do face the artist and thus, the viewer, all save one are women.

\textsuperscript{139} The term “Moriscos” represents the Muslims who were forced to convert to Christianity in order to avoid expulsion to Africa. These regions in which “Moriscos” lived, however, were the only regions in Spain to reserve many Islamic customs. This certainly raises one of the more interesting anomalies of the manuscript. Did Weiditz actually observe these women in their homes? If so, how did he gain access? If not, who or what was his source of information?

\textsuperscript{140} Weiditz, 43.
Figure 41. Basque dancer. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 42. Dance in Narbonne. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

Figure 43. Morisco dance. Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1529). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
Turning to the images of American natives, the viewers see individuals clothed at the most in a feathered skirt and at the least in a loincloth.\footnote{As mentioned earlier, however, the feathered skirts on the jugglers were likely added at a later date, indicating that the jugglers probably only wore simply the loin clothes and, in two cases, feathered anklets.} Considering the dice game, Fig. 4, the two players are depicted in the squatting position engaged in a game described by Weiditz as “gambling.”\footnote{The full caption over the figure at left reads “With their hands they gamble like the Italians,” Weiditz, 27. This game resembles the Italian game of Mora, which may be why Weiditz likens the Amerindians to Italians. However, this game likely represents the Aztec “board game” of Patolli, which is played with stones and a game board which could be rolled up. Weiditz has not included the game board, so perhaps he simply assumes the game is Mora, which would certainly have been more familiar to him; or perhaps he made a conscious decision to make a foreign game more familiar by likening it to an Italian game.} The caption on the left reads “These are the Indian people who Ferdinand Cortex brought to His Imperial Majesty from India and they have played before His Imperial Majesty with wood and ball.”\footnote{Ibid, 27.} Of particular interest is the use of the term “play.”\footnote{For a helpful study on leisure during this time period, see Peter Burke, “The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe,” in Past and Present, No. 146 (Oxford University Press, Feb., 1995), 136-150.} While recreation was a familiar concept at this time in the West, Weiditz only uses the term in regard to this image and Fig. 3, the depiction of indigenous Americans playing ball. In addition, that Weiditz clearly identifies for whom the individuals play, His Imperial Majesty Charles V, only occurs within the images of the American natives. This indicates their role as playing and performing in the service of Charles V.

The third performance activity that Weiditz identifies as taking place before Charles V is the juggling of the wooden plank, pictured in Figs. 5-7. In these images, American natives lie prone on their backs and manipulate a large piece of wood with their feet. These are the only images depicting an individual in a prone position; indeed, only the images of the American natives depict body positions other than upright or sitting. This is a striking difference, and when coupled with the fact that the performing
Amerindians wear only loincloths, it is immediately apparent that the depictions reflect the intensely foreign nature of the New World natives.

Though Weiditz highlights their foreignness in his depictions by visually placing them in the context of other images of inhabitants of Imperial Spain and beyond, he also neutralizes their “strangeness” by textually placing them in the service, if not the custody, of Charles V. In so doing, he reveals Charles V’s role in displaying the American natives as performers at his court and thus presenting them to his empire as Other, but as an Other who has safely been conquered. By placing them as his court performers, Charles V physically assimilates them into Imperial Spain’s social structure not as unknown or unstable beings, but in the firm and controllable roles of harmless entertainers.
Conclusion

In this thesis, I have argued against classifying the *Trachtenbuch* as a work on costume only, and argue instead for a broader ethnographic reading that includes acknowledging Weiditz’s emphasis on the customs, occupational, and religious activities, as well as the dress of the depicted regions. I argued that the ethnographic quality of the *Trachtenbuch* reflects the artistic innovation so prevalent in early modern Europe, and that this manuscript represents Weiditz’s creation of a distinctive product that would give him an advantage over his contemporaries. Also, by analyzing Weiditz’s broader ethnographic considerations, I compared the *Trachtenbuch* to other ethnographic journals, such as the Miao albums of the Qing dynasty, and identified the possibility of similar underlying ideologies of order and control behind the creation of both.

Historically, I located these ideologies in Charles V’s naming of the indigenous Americans as “performers”, and his displaying them at his court. The early modern court was a setting in which a ruler managed and presented information to his subjects, so the court of Charles V provided a fertile setting to order and manage the vast influx of information spawned by the discovery of the Americas. By presenting the American natives as his court performers, Charles V propagated his identity as their ruler, and thus as the ruler of the Americas.

Finally, I analyze how the ordering of the New World and the assimilation of the indigenous Americans manifests in Weiditz’s images. By examining the broad ethnographic qualities of the document, I identify five main categories of action: labor
(both forced and voluntary), punitive and civil administration, religious and spiritual activity, travel, and performance and play. By comparing the depicted actions and bodily comportment of the various Europeans to those of the indigenous Americans, I note that Weiditz visually assigns the role of court performer to the American natives. This indicates that he internalized Charles V’s strategy for assimilating the indigenous Americans into Imperial Spain’s social structure as performers. Further, by imbuing the American natives with similar bodily composition, comportment, and action to the laborers, Weiditz enhances the role of the indigenous American to include both performer and laborer.

The intended function of Christoph Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* may never clearly be identified, in part because Weiditz left no concrete intentions or instructions in the manuscript’s images or text, but also because of the lack of information on Weiditz himself. However, this thesis provides entryways into several different theories regarding Weiditz’s intentions for the manuscript, as well as points to new avenues of research based on an ethnographic reading of the *Trachtenbuch*.

Though the manuscript’s visual and textual nature argues for its place alongside other ethnographic journals or albums, like the Miao albums of the Qing dynasty, it has long only been studied for its value as a work on costume. By broadening the reading to include other ethnographic qualities such as customs and occupational and religious activities, however, the *Trachtenbuch* has much to reveal about the relationships not only between American natives and early modern Europeans, but also between European class structures and geographical regions. It also provides alternate avenues for study within
the Orientalism discourse and possibly within the discussion on Catholic and Protestant relations.

Certainly further research can be undertaken concerning a cultural comparison of conceptions of court performers, and the strikingly different ways in which Europeans and indigenous Americans perceived them. How were the European court performers affected by this sudden, unavoidable comparison to indigenous Americans? European performers in general already had the reputation of being unstable and transgressive, simply because of the contemporary ideas on the liminal and variable nature of travel, which was a huge part of the European performers’ existence. Of course, court performers were able to stay in one place—the traveling court—through being in the employ of the Empire, but their talents still sprang from the volatile nature of the traveling performer. Also, how did the existing court performers receive the indigenous American performers? Did the American performers try to establish identities for themselves? How did their privileged status at the court of Motecuhzoma prepare them to deal with their new home, and were they kept by force? These questions are difficult to answer as the indigenous Americans virtually disappear from the historical record at this point.

Due to its comprehensive nature and Christoph Weiditz’s status as court artist to an emperor, however, the *Trachtenbuch* remains an excellent arena within which to begin inquiries such as these. Indeed, the persistent study of early modern strategies for assimilating the American natives into either the conceptual framework or the literal social structure of the European world, combined with an ethnographical approach to the
early images of the Americas, will surely continually provide insight into early modern notions of identity and representation.
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Appendix I

Visual Analysis

All images are listed by Hampe’s Roman numerals. The actual sheet numbers from the Trachtenbuch are listed in parentheses. This analysis categorizes the active images by type, and also includes a list of the static images. Some of the images, indicated by an asterisk, belong to more than one category. The text of several static images indicates that an activity has or is about to take place. These images are thus included in the static category as well as the category corresponding to the insinuated activity.

Types:

Travel:
I (78) Weiditz*
VII and VIII (35, 36) Imperial baggage wagon
IX (59) Mendoza
X (66) Army drummer*
XI and XIII (12, 13) Indian ball and dice game*
XXV and XXVI (33, 34) wine transport*
XXXIV (39) corn/flour transport*
XXXV and XXXVI (41, 42) waterseller*
LII (19) peasant going to market
LXXV and LXXVI (51, 52) Catalanian married couple traversing the country
LXXVII (109) woman walking in Valencia*
LXXXVIII (64) Citizens riding in Valencia*
LXXXVII and LXXXVIII (105, 106) Morisco traveling w/wife and child in Granada
XCIII and XCIV (24, 25) Riders in Valladolid*
XCV (18) Women in Galacia (Dalmatia?) go to the spinning room
CXXVI (48) Country Woman Riding to Market in Perpignan
CXLV (142) Genoese Woman Going for a Walk*

Punitive/Civil Administration:
XXXIX (29) Spanish court usher
XL (30) punishing a Spanish cut purse
XCIII and XLIV (75, 76) Flogging female criminal in Spain
XLV (62) punishing female criminal in Spain
XLVI (21) ransom collector
Spiritual:
LIII and LIV (26, 27) Bewailing the Dead in Castile
LV (28) Penitent in Sagrossa
LVII (28) Penitent in Sagrossa
LVIII (16) Women Mourning in Sagrossa
L (23) Castilian Woman Going to Church *
LXIII (43) Catalonian Noblewomen in Mourning
XCVI (123) Woman Going to Church in Santander*
CX (118) Old Basque Woman Going to Church*
CXXXV (149) Bride Going to Church in Holland*
CXXXVI (150) Flemish Woman Going to church*

Labor:
II (85) Ship’s Captain
III (86) Steersman
XXV and XXVI (33, 34) Transporting wine*
XXIX and XXX (55, 56) Spanish Peasant Ploughing
XXXI and XXXII (37, 38) Threshing Corn
XXXIII (40) Cleaning Corn
XXXIV (39) Corn/Flour Transport *
XXXV and XXXVI (41, 42) Waterseller*
LIX and LX (79, 80) Ship Manuevering
LXI (82) Caulking Ships in Spain
LXII (81) Loading Horses on Ships
LXIII and LXIV (73, 74) Ships Taking in Water
LXXXIV (44) Spanish Water Carriers
LXXXI (101) Morisco Woman Spinning
LXXXII (103) Morisco Woman Sweeping
CXII (119) Basque Woman Spinning
CXXXII (94) Girl Carrying Water in Hennegau
CXXXIII (148) Woman Sewing in Hennegau
CXXXIV (147) Mixing Dough in Zeeland

Forced Labor:
XLVII (22) Slave with Wineskin
LXV and LXVI (53, 54) Spanish Galley Slaves
XCIV (25) Slave with Riders in Valladolid

Performance/Play:
X (66) Army Drummer*
XI and XIII (12, 13) Indian Ball and Dice Game*
XIII and XIV (10, 11) Indian ballgame
XV (8) Indian Juggling Wooden Block
XVI (6) Indian Juggling Wooden Block
XVII (9) Indian Juggling Wooden Block
LXXXIX and XC (107, 108) Morisco Dance
CXIII (116) Basque Dancing in Biscaya
CXXVIII (92) Dance in the District of Narbonne

Other:
I (78) Weiditz*
IV (77) Cortes
V and VI (83, 84) Andreas Doria and Ship Owner
XVIII (1) Indian Woman
XIX (2) Indian Man
XX (3) Indian
XXI (5) Indian with Wooden Drinking Jug
XXII (4) Indian Chief
XXIII (7) Indian with Accoutrement
XXIV (17) Toledan
XXVII and XXVIII (45, 46) Toledans Riding
XXXVII (31) Spanish Bailiff
XXXVIII (32) Spanish Policeman
XLI (63) Spanish Policeman
XLII (61) Spanish Beadle
XLVII and XLIX (57, 58) Spanish Noblewoman
L (23) Castilian Woman Going to Church*
LI (47) Spanish Nobleman Riding
LV (20) Castilian Shepherd
LXVII and LXVIII (71, 72) Escort of Barcelona Noblewoman
LXIX (68) Unmarried Barcelona Woman
LXX (69) Unmarried Barcelona Woman
LXXI (67) Women’s Dress in Barcelona
LXXIII (43) Catalanian Noblewomen in Mourning *
LXXVII (109) Woman Walking in Valencia
LXXVIII (64) Citizens Riding in Valencia
LXXIX (99) House Dress of Morisco Women in Granada
LXXX (100) House Dress of Morisco Women and Children
LXXXIV (97) Street Dress of Morisco Women
LXXXV (98) Street Dress of Fashionable Morisco Women
LXXXVI (96) Street Dress of Morisco Women and Girls
XCI (104) Morisco Carrying Bread
XCII (60) Dress of Women in Seville
XCVI (123) Woman Going to Church in Santander*
CLI (138) Dress Worn by Unmarried Men in England
CLII (136) Women’s Dress in Ireland
CLIII (14) Dress Worn by Portuguese Men
CLIV (15) Dress Worn by Portuguese Women

*Indicates an image that appears in more than one category.