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An Early Traveler's Compendium : Caspar Schmalkalden's Images of Asia

West- und Ost-Indianische Reisebeschreibung [Description of Travel to the West and East Indies] is an account of Latin America and Asia written by a seventeenth-century German traveler.⁽¹⁾ The text, a manuscript of 490 pages with nearly 100 illustrations, many of them colored, is kept in the research library in Schloss Friedenstein in Gotha (now part of the Erfurt University Library, Chart B 533). Author Caspar Schmalkalden (1616-1673), who came from the region of Thuringia in Germany, served the West India Company from 1642-1645, visiting Brazil (at the time controlled in part by the Dutch⁽²⁾) and Chile. Shortly after his return to Amsterdam he joined the East India Company or VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie), traveling to the East Indies, Formosa and Japan, returning to Europe in 1653⁽³⁾. The text finally saw publication (in part) in 1983⁽⁴⁾ and recently reappeared,

1. I thank Claude Guillot for drawing my attention to Schmalkalden, while Claudine Salmon, Marie-Odette Scalliet and Werner Kraus have made many useful suggestions. The staffs of the libraries in Gotha, Göttingen, Leiden and Copenhagen were also patient and helpful.

2. C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (London : Hutchinson, 1965), 100-101.

3. See his biography by Wolfgang Michel, "Caspar Schmalkalden", to appear in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, ed. (Berlin : Duncker und Humblot, various years). I thank Prof. Michel for making this, and other material, available to me.

4. *Die wundersamen Reisen des Caspar Schmalkalden nach West- und Ostindien 1642-1652* [The Marvelous Travels of Caspar Schmalkalden to the West and East Indies], Wolfgang Joost, ed. (Leipzig : Edition Leipzig and Weinheim : Acta Humaniora, 1983); hereafter referred to as "1983".

in a different garb.⁽⁵⁾ This article will look at the manuscript account, reflecting briefly on the two published versions.

Schmalkalden's work is of interest not only because of the extent of his travels, both to America and to Asia, but because he enriched his account with information of a geographic, ethnographic and historical nature. Above all, the colored illustrations make it an attractive and valuable contribution from a time when published works about foreign parts usually depicted them in black-and-white. Finally, as will be seen, two draft manuscripts exist in addition to the final version, which enables a look at the genesis of a work that spoke to the strong interest of that period in the armchair exploration of exotic lands and peoples.

The manuscript is part of a substantial corpus of travel literature from employees of the Dutch East and West India Companies that includes dozens of works in German. Those familiar with travel accounts of German employees of the India Companies, for example those collected and republished by S.P. L'Honoré Naber in the 1930s,⁽⁶⁾ know that their view of conditions in the Netherlands' domains differs, sometimes strikingly, from the "official" Dutch version preserved elsewhere. In the Netherlands, the East India Company lobby prevented too critical or too revealing accounts from circulating.⁽⁷⁾ Recruits from German-speaking areas made up the largest group of foreigners in the VOC and foreigners were about half of all employees, so the role of these commentators on the Indies experience is hardly marginal.⁽⁸⁾ In spite of Europe's thriving market for stories of travels and adventures abroad in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, some manuscripts, like Schmalkalden's, long remained unpublished and, even now, others await publication.⁽⁹⁾

5. Caspar Schmalkalden, *Mit Kompass und Kanonen : Abenteuerliche Reisen nach Brasilien und Fernost 1642-1652* [With Compass and Cannons : Adventurous Travels to Brazil and the Far East] (Stuttgart : Edition Erdmann, 2002).

6. *Reisebeschreibungen von Deutschen Beamten und Kriegsleuten im Dienst der Niederländischen West- und Ost-Indischen Kompagnien 1602-1797*, S.P. L'Honoré Naber, ed. (The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff, 1930-32).

7. Dutch travel literature flourished between 1595-1605 and continued to play an important role in Dutch publishing for another century, often appearing in languages other than Dutch. But the India Companies kept a wary eye on disclosure of negative information or such that might aid their rivals in trade (Boxer 1965 : 161-164).

8. Roelof van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur : Duitsers in dienst van de VOC* (Nijmegen : SUN, 1997), 53-56. Van Gelder follows the published and unpublished travels of forty-seven former employees of the VOC from German-speaking regions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, providing an excellent survey of early German travel literature on the East Indies. This valuable work recently appeared in German translation. An introduction to German travel literature of the East Indies is E.U. Kraatz, "The Journey to the East : 17th and 18th Century German Travel Books as Sources of Study", *Journal of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society* 54,1 (June 1981), 65-81.

9. For example, that of Albrecht Schmidlapp, who witnessed the destruction of Jacatra in

The Manuscript

The first third of Schmalkalden's manuscript deals with Brazil and Chile (to page 158r), where the author served as a common soldier. Compared to similar accounts, this one, although it mentions dates and places visited, is not primarily a travel diary. Instead it seeks to inform the reader about as many aspects of the newly discovered lands as possible. The text is complemented with maps, views of harbors and settlements, flora, fauna and, not least, sketches of some of the "wild" men and women who dwell there.⁽¹⁰⁾

The East Indian or Asian section, which will concern us here, begins with the voyage from Amsterdam in 1645 via the Cape of Good Hope.⁽¹¹⁾ In all, the author visited Batavia, Malacca, Aceh, Formosa and Japan. The account of his return voyage from Formosa via Batavia is incomplete, either because several pages of the text have been lost or, more likely, because it remained unfinished at his death.

A substantial, unillustrated appendix begins on page 319r of the manuscript with additional material about the New World. There follows (377vr) a map of Asia showing the author's travels. Pages 378r-491v expand the descriptions of the Cape, "Greater Java", Malabar (which Schmalkalden probably did not visit), Malacca, Sumatra and the Spice Islands (also not on his itinerary), Japan, Formosa and, briefly, Hainan. Except for the description of Japan (see below), none of this has ever been published. A look at the content follows below.

In general, Schmalkalden proceeds in the main part of his account from a brief relation of the journey to a description of typical inhabitants, the importance of ports, colonies or trading stations, peculiarities of local cultures,

1619, excerpted in Heinrich Seemann, *Spuren einer Freundschaft : Deutsch-Indonesische Beziehungen vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Jakarta : Cipta Loka Caraka, 2000), 28-30. Recently, excerpts of the long unpublished, colorfully illustrated (87 colored drawings in all) manuscript of Georg Franz Müller have appeared. *Der "Indianer" im Kloster St. Gallen Georg Franz Müller (1646-1723), ein Weltreisender des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Aus den Handschriften Nr. 1278 und 1311 der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen zusammengefasst und erzählt von Karl Schmuki (St Gallen : Verlag am Klosterhof, 2001). The original manuscript is dated 1683.

10. In addition to the publications of 1983 and 2002 mentioned above, this first part has appeared as a facsimile edition with translations of the text into English and Portuguese. *Brasil Holandês : the Voyage of Caspar Schmalkalden from Amsterdam to Pernambuco in Brazil*, Cristina Ferrão and José Paulo Monteiro Soares, eds. (Rio de Janeiro : Editora Index, 1998), 2 vols.

11. Although the Dutch settlement at the Cape was only founded in 1652, before then ships often stopped to obtain water and, from the local people called "Hottentots", provisions. Schmalkalden's illustration appropriately shows only two tents at the foot of the prominent Table Mountain (166r; 1983, 91). Compare Andersen's pre-1652 account of stopping at the Cape in Jürgen Andersen and Volquard Iversen, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibungen in der Bearbeitung von Adam Olearius*, Dieter Lohmeier, ed. (Tübingen : Max Niemeyer, 1980 [facsimile of 1669 edition]), 4-7.

and, sometimes, plants and animals of the region. The historical description of Batavia, where he again served as a common soldier, says almost nothing of what he did there, and in general he avoids personal remarks. Instead this section tells of Mataram's siege of the town in 1629, which took place before he arrived.⁽¹²⁾ He then describes the contemporary city, major buildings, and the inhabitants.

A longer section on the Chinese and their customs (as the "typical inhabitants" of the city) probably followed, but these pages have been renumbered (perhaps by a librarian?) and placed next to the description of Formosa. Many other visitors to Batavia, for example Johann Jacob Saar and Johann von der Behr typically appended descriptions of the Chinese to those of Batavia.⁽¹³⁾ Schmalkalden may have had more opportunity to observe Chinese life in that city than in Formosa, where the indigenous people especially attracted his interest.

Schmalkalden reports how he accompanied a mission of Joachim Rudolfs von Deutecom to the Queen of Aceh (Taj ul-Alam, r. 1641-1675) in 1647.⁽¹⁴⁾ En route to the Sumatran port, the mission stopped briefly at Malacca, allowing a short description of that city's prominent features. Major impressions of Aceh, apart from the royal reception of the delegation itself, included the staged fights of elephants and buffaloes.⁽¹⁵⁾ The account depicts, and illustrates, Aceh's "Malay" inhabitants and its influential *orang kaya*.

Remarkable was a thief, who for repeated offenses had lost both hands and feet, but was able to "walk, stand, dance, even to throw his stick into the air and catch it". This curiosity merited an illustration (209r; 1983, 114; see also Figure 3). Following the trip to Aceh, the author turns to descrip-

12. He includes the well-known tale of defending a citadel with chamber-pots when the ammunition ran out, which is, for example, in Arnold Montanus, *Denkwürdige Gesandtschaften der Ost-Indischen Gesellschaft in den Vereinigten Niederländern/ an unterschiedliche Länder von Japan*, (Meurs : Jacob Meurs, 1670), 28, and in many other works of the time.

13. Batavia was at this time, as Leonard Blussé has said, a "Chinese city". See Johann Jacob Saar, *Reise nach Java, Banda, Ceylon und Persien 1644-1660*, S.P. L'Honoré Naber, ed. (The Hague : Nijhoff, 1930 [1662]), 37-43; Johann von der Behr, *Reise nach Java, Vorder-Indien, Persien und Ceylon 1641-1650*, S.P. L'Honoré Naber, ed. (The Hague : Nijhoff, 1930 [1668]).

14. Merklein places this mission, which had to do with the pepper trade, in 1648, and also ascribes it to Deutecom. According to editor L'Honoré Naber, the ambassador in this mission was actually Johan Truijtmán. Dutecom or Deutecom was in Aceh in 1638. Johann Jacob Merklein, *Reise nach Java, Vorder- und Hinter-Indien, China und Japan 1644-1653*, S.P. L'Honoré Naber, ed. (The Hague : Nijhoff, 1930 [1672]), 61 and note. Did Schmalkalden simply follow Merklein here? The queen's dates are in Denys Lombard, *Le Sultanat d'Atjéh au temps d'Iskandar Muda, 1607-1636* (Paris : École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1967), 187, Table.

15. For another account of an elephant fight, see Lombard 1967, 144. Staged fights with elephants, tigers, or other wild animals also took place at other courts in the Archipelago.

tions of some exotic animals of the Indies and of its important plants, the spices.

In 1648, Schmalkalden arrived in Formosa, where he “turned in his weapon at the magazine and became a surveyor”. Views of the island (280v/r, 283v/r; 1983, 141, 143) and a depiction of an indigenous Formosan (284r; 1983, 145; Figure 12) follow. Another drawing shows Formosa’s “parliament”, to which the Dutch brought the headmen and elders of the villages for deliberation (289v/r; 1983, 147)⁽¹⁶⁾. Although many Chinese reside on the island, he emphasizes the indigenous people. Whereas the author supplies a number of vocabularies in foreign languages throughout the text, here an example of the Lord’s Prayer in a Formosan language follows with only a few vocabulary words.

From Formosa, Schmalkalden made a brief trip to Japan.⁽¹⁷⁾ He supplies views of Nagasaki and the Dutch station there (298 v/r, 300v/r) and a colored illustration of a Japanese man in kimono (304r; 1983, 151). In the manuscript, examples of the language follow, as well as the heading “Customs and Religion of the Japanese,” which leads only to blank pages, another indication that the Gotha manuscript remained incomplete.

Some images of Ambon also appear, and a picture of a “Bandanese” (234r),⁽¹⁸⁾ but Schmalkalden was, as far as is known, not in the Spice Islands, although he illustrates how spices grow. Schmalkalden soon began his return journey to Europe via Batavia, arriving in Amsterdam in May 1652.

As mentioned, in the Asia section Schmalkalden relates relatively little (compared to Brazil) about flora and fauna and, above all, little personal information. His feelings and experiences take a back seat to descriptive material. Although some sections begin with dates of ships’ voyages, wind and other navigational details, as does that of the journey to Aceh via Malacca, and include a few first-person remarks, the author quickly switches to detached, third-person narratives. Some personal tales relate to the ani-

16. Reproduced in *The Formosan Encounter : Notes on Formosa’s Aboriginal Society : A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources*, Leonard Blussé, Natake Everts and Evelien Frech, eds., Vol. II 1636-45 (Taipei : Shang Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2000), 284, 289.

17. According to Wolfgang Michel, “Japan in Caspar Schmalkaldens Reisebuch”, *Dokufutsu Bungaku Kenkyû* 35 (1985), 41-84, Schmalkalden’s recollection that this trip was made in 1650 is also wrong : the ship he names visited Nagasaki in 1648. Nevertheless, the author assumes that Schmalkalden really did visit Japan.

18. More probably an Ambonese, with his sword and shield and flowing headbands. The Ambonese and their warlike *cakalele* dance were a much-loved theme in depictions of the Indies. For example, Andersen includes a depiction of a *kora-kora* (ship) and, on land four dancers in martial garb perform, while two musicians accompany them. (Andersen 1980 [1669] : 185). Schmalkalden’s sketch is however more lively and realistic.

mals he describes (rhinoceros, casuary). A few times he thanks God for helping him survive, an even more frequent *topos* in other travel accounts.⁽¹⁹⁾ In contrast to many of his German colleagues, he does not criticize the policies of the VOC nor does he dwell the hardships of travel.

The manuscript also includes, as mentioned, word lists in several languages : Javanese (186r-194v, with an explanation of the script), Malay (223r-226r, Latin letters only), “Malabar” (Malayalam ? 231r-238r, also with examples of the writing system), Chinese (269r-273r, with characters and Hokkien pronunciations), Japanese (306r-308v, with Japanese script).⁽²⁰⁾ These probably derivative vocabularies complete the almost didactic impression the manuscript presents.

Everything indicates that Schmalkalden composed the main part of his work in Gotha after his return there in 1652, not during his travels. Among other evidence, Joost notes that some illustrations bear a faint date of “1663”,⁽²¹⁾ but there is other evidence as well.

In Gotha, he would have found many works to emulate. Some German travel accounts had already been published and probably some Dutch works were available, either because he had brought them with him or because these resources were available in Thuringia. From the end of the sixteenth century, the Dutch published accounts not only described the voyage to the East, the reasons for visiting certain sites and important stopovers, but provided descriptive images of the people, the landscape, the plants and animals, vocabularies in strange languages (the first to provide such a vocabulary was even earlier, a traveler with Vasco da Gama),⁽²²⁾ and other

19. Some of this is in the Brazil section. In contrast, Vogel’s travel recollections, Johann Wilhelm Vogel, *Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung* (Altenburg : Richters, 1704), are filled with prayers of thanksgiving for survival in perils at sea, references to homesickness and bouts of illness, his frustration at not being able to attend a proper Lutheran church, and so on. Vogel’s account went through three editions between 1690 and 1716 and unfortunately was not reprinted in the l’Honoré Naber series. His original manuscript is also in the Gotha collection.

20. Wolfgang Michel, “Ein frühes deutsch-japanisches Glossar aus dem 17. Jahrhundert”, *Kairos* 24 (1986), 1-26 discusses how Schmalkalden expanded on existing vocabularies from Portuguese missionaries.

21. Also, the author says that Brazil-wood, a major export of Brazil at the time, “is brought here”, that is, to Europe, and, although it is well-known, he adds a picture of a leafy branch to show how the tree grows (1983 : 52-53). As mentioned below, he also relates in the text (1983 : 118) that he presented a (stuffed) bird of paradise to the Duke after his return to Gotha and adds a drawing of the carcass.

22. A member of the first voyage with da Gama in 1497-99 produced a list of Malayalam words from Calicut. The tradition continued with missionaries and others during the following decades, and, like Schmalkalden, these authors included samples of writing systems. See Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. II : A Century of Wonder, Book Three : The Scholarly Disciplines (Chicago and London : University of Chicago Press, 1977), 493ff).

descriptive and scientific information. Thus the genre of informative travel account was already well established when Schmalkalden sat down to write.

The Author and his Manuscripts

In composing his manuscript, the author is not presenting an autobiographical account with exciting "adventures." Even the title "travels" is not quite appropriate. What is known of the author's life may better explain his purpose. Born in Friedrichroda near Gotha in 1616, Schmalkalden was employed, as mentioned, by the West and East India Companies first, as a soldier, then as a surveyor (*Landmesser*). Orphaned at the age of eighteen, he had at first been able to learn surveying in Germany before entering the University of Groningen in the Netherlands to study astronomy.⁽²³⁾ The turmoil in his homeland during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) left him isolated in the Netherlands, and his poverty left him little choice but to sign on for foreign parts. He thus departed for Amsterdam in 1642, where his career with the India Companies began.

After his return to Gotha in 1652, he entered the service of Duke Ernst I "the Pious" of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg (b. 1601, r. 1640-1675), who employed him as a clerk. At the time, the Duke was already at work on construction of Schloss Friedenstein (so-called because his territory had escaped the worst ravages of the Thirty Years' War), an imposing early baroque palace that still dominates the town of Gotha. Ernst I was also, like both great and petty rulers of his time, an avid collector of art works, natural curiosities, scientific instruments, books and manuscripts. Schmalkalden apparently recommended himself to his future employer by presenting him with some items for his natural history collection (1983, 118).⁽²⁴⁾ Probably the manuscript was also intended for Ernst I, although it is unclear whether it ever reached him. Schmalkalden died in 1673, before finishing, and the Duke two years later (1983, 171-72).

23. Although foreign employees of the India Companies are often described as uneducated riff-raff or worse, van Gelder (1997) has shown that at least those who wrote travel accounts often came from good families and had, like Schmalkalden, learned a trade or profession.

24. Joost, who gives biographical details, presumed that the author lived on wealth amassed in the Indies (1983, 170), but in fact he took on a regular job in the Duke's chancellery, perhaps with the help of his father-in-law. By 1659, Ernst I listed in his inventory, among other items, two compasses from Schmalkalden, see Wolfgang Zimmermann, "Sammlungsgegenstände aus Natur und Technik der Kunstkammer Ernst I von Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg (1640-1675)", in *Macrocosmos in Microcosmo: Die Welt in der Stube: Zur Geschichte des Sammelns 1450 bis 1800*, Andreas Grote, ed. (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1994), 637. The Duke bought more of Schmalkalden's mathematical instruments in 1663-64, for "13 Taler 9 Groschen" (Wolfgang Zimmermann, "Über die Anfänge naturhistorischer Sammlungen im Rahmen der Gothaer Kunstkammer", *Abhandlungen und Berichten des Museums der Natur Gotha* 16 (1990), 7, 9).

The potential recipient of the manuscript, Ernst I, had seven sons, and he took a lively interest in their education. Among other activities, they were expected, on finishing their schooling, to spend time on a “grand tour”, visiting foreign parts and reporting on land, people and the economy in their diaries.⁽²⁵⁾ Schmalkalden’s manuscript also fits well with this kind of travel report.⁽²⁶⁾ After the death of their father, the sons overrode the Duke’s wish that his realm be kept intact and divided the territory of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg among them.⁽²⁷⁾ As a result, by the time the manuscript was finished, or nearly finished, there may not have been a suitable recipient for it. What then happened is a puzzle.

About a century after Schmalkalden’s death, but before 1782, a professor at the University of Göttingen, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840)⁽²⁸⁾ bought Caspar’s manuscript at an auction in Gotha. Still later, he presented it to Duke Ernst II of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg (b. 1745, r. 1772-1804) for the library founded by his predecessor Ernst I in Schloss

25. The Duke’s sons were not necessarily the authors of these reports—their tutors took over that tedious job. On the education of the princes, see Antje Stannek, “Mit Cicero and Katechismus : Prinzenerziehung an thüringischen Höfen”, in Konrad Scheurmann and Jördis Frank, eds., *Neu Entdeckt : Thüringen—Land der Residenzen* (Mainz : Philipp von Zabern, 2004) Essays (3), 166-168. These travel diaries might also include drawings of important products and machines. Similarly, Schmalkalden devotes two illustrations to sugar mills in Brazil, another to a manioc press.

26. An alternative explanation is offered by Joost : The text and illustrations served to refresh the memory of someone recounting to friends or other audiences his adventures in exotic lands. The problem with this explanation is that the personal “adventures” are dwarfed by the didactic material.

27. Reinhard Jonscher, “Folgen eines Bruderzwists : Die Ernestiner”, in Konrad Scheurmann and Jördis Frank, eds., *Neu Entdeckt : Thüringen—Land der Residenzen* (Mainz : Philipp von Zabern, 2004), Katalog (1), 40-43.

28. Blumenbach refers to the manuscript in J.F. Blumenbach, “Einige zerstreute Bemerkungen über die Fähigkeiten und Sitten der Wilden”, *Göttingisches Magazin der Wissenschaften und Litteratur*, II : 6 (1782), 409-425. Professor of medicine and anatomy, his interests led him to become a proto-anthropologist, defining the long-lived classification of humans into five “principal races”, Caucasian, Asian, Ethiopian/African, American and Malay. Like other Enlightenment figures, he repeatedly insisted that all shared equal intellectual capacities. A theorist who never left Europe, he was an avid collector of travel literature, which provided him, as it did other eighteenth-century thinkers, with ideas about “wild men” and their customs. He even kept a meticulous catalogue of travel books from the early Portuguese accounts to those of Raffles and Crawfurd in the nineteenth century, organized by author, year and geographic area. See J.F. Blumenbach, *Litteratur der Reisebeschreibungen*, Manuscript, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek 20 Cod. Ms. Hist. Lit 179, 4 vols. For more about Blumenbach, see K.F.H. Marx, “Life of Blumenbach”, in Thomas Bendyshe, trans. and ed., *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach* (London : Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, for The Anthropological Society, 1865), 1-45 and the English translation of M. Flourens, “Éloge historique de Jean-Frédéric Blumenbach, un des huit associés étrangers de l’Académie” [originally published in *Mémoires de l’Institut de France XXI* (Paris 1847)] in the same volume, 49-63.

Friedenstein, where it remains today.⁽²⁹⁾ When the gift took place is unclear, but the Gotha manuscript bears a note that the Duke gave it to the library in 1798.

In fact, Blumenbach must have acquired two manuscripts. The library of the University of Göttingen has what must be an older draft of Schmalkalden's text (Caspar Schmalkalden, *West- und Ost-Indischen Reisebeschreibung*. Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, MF 80 Cod. Ms. Hist. 833, 233 pages).⁽³⁰⁾ The handwriting appears similar to that of (most of) the Gotha manuscript, and there are no illustrations. Carefully divided into chapters, it deals exclusively, but in considerable detail, with Schmalkalden's time in Latin America, except for a few scribbled remarks about China and other destinations added to the final pages in a different handwriting. This draft also includes material removed from the final version, for example it begins by relating the discovery and exploration of the New World.

Blumenbach liked to annotate his books; he wrote in the overleaf of the Göttingen manuscript how he acquired it. In the bibliography of travel books he compiled, he also indicates, on the one hand, that Schmalkalden only dealt with Brazil and Chile, as is true of the Göttingen text. On the other hand, he refers in an article of 1782 to Schmalkalden's colored illustrations, which appear in the manuscript presented to Gotha, not the Göttingen one, so he must have seen both.

Another draft of the travel account, a third manuscript, is in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Kongelige Bibliotek Thott 1295 4^o, 216 pages. *Beskrivelse over to Reiser, den eene fra Amsterdam til Brasilien af 1642, den anden fra Amsterdam til Ostindien 1646. cum figg.*).⁽³¹⁾ This is, unlike the Göttingen manuscript, illustrated and colored, but the text is incomplete and many pages are blank, even in the Brazil-Chile account. Little is known

29. See 1983, 7-8, 161-176 and, with more information on Schmalkalden's life, 2002, 7-29, 202. Some of the Dukes of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg (in the nineteenth century Saxe-Coburg-Gotha) were also patrons of the sciences, among them Ernst II of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (b. 1818 r. 1844-1893), who contributed to the Austrian Ida Pfeiffer's travels (see my "Woman on the Road : Ida Pfeiffer in the Indies", *Archipel* 68 (2004), 289-313). He constructed Gotha's Museum of Natural History and was a friend of the painter Raden Saleh. See Claude Guillot and Pierre Labrousse, "Raden Saleh, un artiste-prince à Paris", *Archipel* 54 (1997), 123-151 (here 126, 130) and Werner Kraus, "Raden Saleh : One Javanese – Two Personalities : An Exemplary Case of the Disastrous Effects of Dutch Language Policy in 19th Century Java", in Wolfgang Marschall, ed., *Texts from the Islands : Oral and Written Traditions of Indonesia and the Malay World* (Berne : Institute of Ethnology/Ethnologica Bernensia 4, 1994), 381-390.

30. The catalog indicates that it is a draft (*Concept*). A number of corrections appear in the text.

31. As far as I know, Roelof van Gelder was the "discoverer" of these two additional manuscripts.

of its origin, except that it is from the library of Otto Thott, a bibliophile whose collection became the basis of the Royal Library after his death in 1785.

The Copenhagen manuscript, after the part on Brazil and Chile, begins an account of the voyage to Asia, but breaks off before even reaching Batavia. The Latin American voyage is quite richly illustrated, with many, in part colored, illustrations of settlements, plants and animals (including fish and birds). However, Copenhagen has no illustrations of people in Latin America; these were apparently added later to the Gotha manuscript.

Some important artists worked in Brazil during the Dutch period,⁽³²⁾ and Schmalkalden may have copied from their illustrations (many of which closely resemble his and could have been found in published works about the New World). Perhaps, on the other hand, he met these artists during his service, and they may have encouraged him to make his own drawings.

The Asian section of the Copenhagen manuscript was barely begun, offering only a few pages about the route to the Indies with winds and weather. Many pages were left blank, and illustrations, here mostly of people, are interspersed among them, as if the author inserted the pictures first and left room to add text later. The illustrations, as will be seen, probably did not all come from the same hand. In addition, some illustrations appear to have been added later to the work, perhaps when it was bound. Toward the end of the manuscript a handwritten text about the Chinese appears (167r-173r), which seems to be in a different handwriting from the rest of the text. This is the basis for the slightly longer account of the Chinese in the final, Gotha version.⁽³³⁾

Thus, the author must have written – or better, compiled – at least three versions of his account, and the eastern tour, with its descriptions of Batavia, Aceh, Melaka, Formosa and Japan, only appears in the third, Gotha manuscript. Blumenbach passed it on, as mentioned, to Gotha (where he himself was born and where his parents lived) and retained the draft of the Brazil-Chile section for himself, leaving that to the University of Göttingen in 1839, just before he died. The existence of three versions of the account

32. By the mid-17th century a number of monumental works on the natural features of Brazil had appeared and Schmalkalden's illustrations clearly drew on the harbor views, flora and fauna they depicted. The governor of Dutch Brazil, Count Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen, employed two artists to accompany his mission there. Marie-Odette Scalliet, "The East India Company – 1600-1800", in Marie-Odette Scalliet *et al.*, *Pictures from the Tropics : Paintings by Western Artists during the Dutch Colonial Period in Indonesia* (Amsterdam : Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, 1999), 17.

33. Of this text, pages 167r to 173r, one page has been rewritten in yet another hand, perhaps because something happened to the original. The margins of these pages are drawn with double lines, which is not the case elsewhere in the manuscript.

offers a unique glimpse into the composition of a travel account in the setting of the seventeenth century.

The Books

While circumstances prevented the timely publication of Schmalkalden's work, fortunately parts of it are available in print today, although a full, critical edition has yet to appear. The first published version of the manuscript was edited by the late Wolfgang Joost and appeared in 1983. Joost reproduced nearly all the illustrations and added information about Schmalkalden's life, but he only brought out the body of the manuscript, not the vocabularies or the appendix. He also made suggestions about the possible origin of some illustrations. This book has been out of print for some time, but the re-edition of the manuscript in 2002 remains inexplicable. While editor Joost supplies some additional information about Schmalkalden's biography, this book does not include any additional material from the manuscript, nor does it provide a critical look at it. Furthermore, the illustrations are reproduced only in black-and-white. The racy title "With Compass and Cannons" hardly compensates for this disappointment.

The Appendix

An evaluation of Schmalkalden's contribution to contemporary knowledge of the Indies would only be possible if the appendix is taken into account. Schmalkalden added this substantial work to the final version of his manuscript. As mentioned, the Asian section of the appendix (parts IV-X, 418r-491v)⁽³⁴⁾ has remained, except for the part on Japan, unpublished.

The appendix contains no illustrations, and that may be significant, for illustrations in travel accounts typically serve to authenticate the tale and to emphasize the presence of the author in the places or situations he describes.⁽³⁵⁾ Some of these added pages describe places (Malabar, Spice Islands, Hainan) Schmalkalden did not even visit. This underlines the conclusion that information here and elsewhere in the appendix is often derivative.

Editor Joost believed that part of the Gotha manuscript where the handwriting differs, in particular the appendix, may have been copied or even compiled by Schmalkalden's son Christian Günther (1659-1727) after the father's death (1983, 171). In fact, these unpublished pages are – on cursory

34. The first three entries in the East Asia section deal with Teneriffa, the island St. Jago and the native peoples at the Cape of Good Hope, so that "Asia" only begins with part IV.

35. Ernst van den Boogaart, *Het verheven en verdorven Azië : Woord en beeld in het Itinerario en de Icones von Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Amsterdam : Het Spinhuis/KITLV, 2000), 1.

inspection – in more than one handwriting (which would seem to rule out the son of Schmalkalden as sole author).⁽³⁶⁾ Little is known of Christian Günther that would indicate that he had the expertise for the task. As a medical doctor (he submitted a dissertation on epilepsy to the University of Erfurt in 1687), he would hardly have been an appropriate author. Besides, when his father died in 1673, he was still rather young.

Although the appendix often speaks unpersonally of “the author”, indicating that it might not originate with the author of the main manuscript, it also uses the first person, referring back to what is in the text. Interestingly, the text sometimes refers to “us” or “ours” when it means the Dutch. Although it is possible that the son worked on the manuscript, it seems more likely that the appendix came from Schmalkalden himself. Caspar may have simply made use of clerks in the chancellery where he worked to copy parts of the final text, a procedure known from other manuscripts of the time.⁽³⁷⁾ Nevertheless, the information probably did not originate with him.

Where are the “borrowings”? Several years ago, Wolfgang Michel drew attention to Schmalkalden’s account of Japan, both the relatively short, published description from the body of the work (1983, 149-152) and that in the previously unpublished, but more detailed, part VIII (469r-482v).⁽³⁸⁾ Schmalkalden’s visit to Japan lasted only a few months. What he relates about that country was certainly taken from others, for example from Francois Caron (first appearance, in Dutch then in German, in 1648),⁽³⁹⁾ Jürgen Andersen (1669)⁽⁴⁰⁾ or many others, although the wording is not identical.

In contrast, Michel has shown that long sections of the account of Japan in the appendix are found almost word-for-word in Johann Wilhelm Vogel’s travel account, 1704 edition.⁽⁴¹⁾ Schmalkalden indeed describes events that

36. In some passages it is questionable whether the scribe understood what he was writing.

37. For example, in Engelbert Kaempfer’s manuscript about modern Japan five different handwritings appear, from Kaempfer, his nephew and at least three other persons. The nephew was responsible for much of the final copy. Engelbert Kaempfer, *Heutiges Japan*, Wolfgang Michel and Barend J. Terwiel, eds., Book 1 (Munich : Judicium, 2001), 31-43, in Engelbert Kaempfer, *Werke : Kritische Ausgabe in Einzelbänden*, Detlef Haberland, Wolfgang Michel and Elisabeth Gössmann, eds.

38. The appendix is divided by subject, with the parts having Roman numerals.

39. Francois Caron, *Beschrijvinghe van het Machtigh Coninckrijcke Japan* (Amsterdam : Joost Hartgers, 1648).

40. Andersen and Iversen (1980/1669), 108-114. A favorite theme, also related in Johann Jacob Merklein, *Reise nach Java, Vorder- und Hinter-Indien, China und Japan 1644-1653*, S. P. L’Honoré Naber, ed. (The Hague : Nijhoff, 1930 [1663]), 87-90, is the strict control of the Dutch ships and their personnel, especially on arrival and departure.

41. Johann Wilhelm Vogel, *Zehen-jährige Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung* (Altenburg : Johann Ludwig Richters, 1704). Michel 1985, 68-76, also finds close parallels to other accounts of Japan, but none as striking as that between Schmalkalden and Vogel.

happened after he left Asia. These include a major fire in Japan's imperial capital in 1657 (473r), and, from the section on Formosa (IX, 482v-455v), the fall of Formosa to Koxinga, Zheng Chenggong, in 1662.⁽⁴²⁾ Could these items have been added on the basis of Vogel's work? That would only be possible if the author of the appendix were not Schmalkalden but a successor.

In fact, the borrowing may have been in the other direction. An eyewitness has testified to Schmalkalden's last years. Johann Wilhelm Vogel himself was an apprentice clerk in Schloss Friedenstein in Gotha from 1672 to 1678. In the third edition of his own book in 1716, Vogel relates how he used his free time to listen in on conversations of other employees, especially Caspar Schmalkalden. "He liked to recount to good friends some of the recollections of his travels, praising the wonderful places, the many peoples, exotic products and other treasures of the Indies". This example enticed the young Vogel to head for the East himself as soon as his apprenticeship was finished, and he served in the Indies from 1678-88.⁽⁴³⁾ Vogel's book was first printed in 1690, in Gotha and Frankfurt, and the manuscript on which it is based (dated 1689) is also kept in the Gotha library. The 1704 edition was the second of three and is greatly expanded. Vogel himself was never in Japan, and the manuscript and the 1690 edition of his travel diary have no material about Japan.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Furthermore, the title of his first work honestly declares that the account is "partly from my own experience, partly written from many conversations with prominent officials in India [the Indies]".⁽⁴⁵⁾ In addition, except for its appended material, Vogel's account emphasizes his personal experiences, not so much the transmission of information. It seems more likely that Vogel was the borrower, or, alternatively, both he and Schmalkalden borrowed from a third source.

Another problem is the discrepancies in Schmalkalden's account. As mentioned, the date of Schmalkalden's voyage to Nagasaki (assuming he did travel on the *Patientia*, as he says) is not 1650 but 1648, probably a lapse of memory. On the other hand, on the basis of references in his Japanese vocabularies (themselves partly taken from other sources), Michel believes Schmalkalden was really in Japan, that is, that he added his personal

42. 488r, see Michel 1985, 62 for a partial transcription. Among other possibilities, Schmalkalden could have read about Koxinga in the 1663 German translation of Caron's work, published in Nurnberg. The event, a bitter loss for the VOC, was certainly widely known in Europe.

43. Johann Wilhelm Vogel, *Ost-Indiasche Reisebeschreibung* (Altenburg : Richters, 1716), 3. Only in this edition does the author reveal what aroused his interest in the Indies.

44. Vogel's account is much more personal, more of a travel diary than Schmalkalden's. He appends general information about Asian countries only at the end of the book.

45. Vogel 1690, title page.

experience of that country to the written material at his disposal, whether found in Asia or in Europe.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The appended material about Java (IV, “Groß-Java”, 418r-453v) leads to a similar conclusion. While the body of the text limits its comments about Java to Batavia, this section expands its treatment to the rest of the island and devotes considerable attention to the coastal ports, to the Kingdom of Mataram and its inhabitants, products and native animals. There is no reason to believe Schmalkalden might have accompanied one of the VOC missions to that realm or been able to observe it firsthand.

After describing the main ports of the island, the author turns to a fairly detailed description of the approaches to the capital of Mataram from Semarang and notes some details about the defenses of that realm. Then follows information about the Susuhunan, Amangkurat I (r. 1646-77), the government of the kingdom, and so on (423v-425r). Much of this account of Mataram follows closely that of Rijcklof van Goens,⁽⁴⁷⁾ which was published in 1666 in the Netherlands, another indication that the appendix was assembled after Schmalkalden returned to Gotha. Caspar’s text is shorter and does not go into as much detail as the original, but the organization is so similar that the author must have had access to van Goens. In describing the beautiful landscape around Mataram, the author indicates he did not view it himself, he relates this “according to the testimony of those who saw it”.⁽⁴⁸⁾

A brief description of the port of Bantam follows, but the author delves only briefly into local government or customs of that lesser kingdom. Then he returns to government and justice in Mataram, as well as the public spectacles in which hundreds of nobles ride appear in a kind of tournament on horseback (431v-432r). The female palace guard is another object of attention. Much of this closely follows van Goens. More information on the Javanese and their religion and customs follows, apparently taken from other sources (437r-448r). If Schmalkalden borrowed, at least he chose wisely. Van Goens offered the “seventeenth century’s most detailed information about Java’s interior”.⁽⁴⁹⁾

46. Wolfgang Michel, “Ein frühes deutsch-japanisches Glossar aus dem 17. Jahrhundert”, *Kairos* (Fukuoka) 24 (1986), 1-26.

47. *Javaense Reyse/Gedaen van Batavia Over Samarangh Na de Konincklijke Hoofd-plaets Mataram*, Door de Heere N.N. in den jahr 1656 (Dordrecht, Vincent Calmax, 1666). See *De vijf gesantschapsreizen van Rijklof van Goens naar het hof van Mataram, 1648-1652*. H. J. de Graaf, ed. (The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), 204-269. This version is in turn reprinted from “Reijsbeschrijving van den weg uijt Samarangh nae de konincklijke hoofdplaets Mataram”, reprinted in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* IV (1857), 307-350; the original manuscript (dated 1656) has been lost.

48. “...nach dem Zeugnis derjenigen, die es gesehen haben”. Gotha Ms., 424v.

49. Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. III A Century of Advance, Book Three : Southeast Asia (Chicago and London : University of Chicago

Nonetheless, borrowings from van Goens are not all that Caspar has to say about Java, and other, as yet unidentified sources are at play. Among the animals the appendix adds to those described in the body of the text are the nasty, aggressive and ubiquitous *Mückerlein* or mosquitos, perhaps this is a nod to his experiences in Batavia.

Intriguing is the view of the Susuhunan's dancers, their dress and jewels. "They are even more pleasant when they appear in the evening, by the light of lamps and torches, still more, when they play on small drums, flutes and other instruments. They dance back and forth with nimble jumps and quick movements, by which they win the eyes and hearts of all present (436vr)".⁽⁵⁰⁾ More details about Batavia follow (451v-453v). The picture of the city is highly favorable and the author reminds his readers here that he did experience it himself. Not only is the town attractive, well built, prosperous and populous, its environs offer an opportunity to stroll and enjoy oneself in complete safety. Not a single hint⁽⁵¹⁾ appears about something that occupied an entire chapter of Andersen's report : the "unhealthy air and sicknesses in Batavia", which became almost a stock phrase in later accounts.

After brief descriptions of Malabar and Malacca, (V and VI), the author turns to Sumatra (459r) and the Spice Islands (467r-469v). Many kingdoms exist on Sumatra but Aceh is the most important and the others are its tributaries, except for an area in the south subject to Bantam. Additional material about Aceh follows. After the sections on Japan and Formosa, the final two pages give a brief description of the island of Hainan.

The Puzzles

The manuscript presents several puzzles. The book certainly contains information from other works that the author may have consulted in order to refresh his memory, or to find more to tell. This was a common practice in the seventeenth century, but Schmalkalden chose his information wisely, soberly avoiding tall tales of strange people, and he used his experience of Asia to organize what he learned from others.

If we assume that Caspar Schmalkalden did indeed compose the manuscript and its appendix, leaving it unfinished at his death in 1673, this at least limits the body of travel accounts from which the author may have borrowed. Schmalkalden's education would have enabled him to read not

Press. 1993), 1304. De Graaf 1956, 37 calls *Javaense Reyse* "the first book about Java and the Javanese and it was to be the only one for many years".

50. However attractive, these swift movements of the Javanese dancers seem incongruous. Could the courtly dances have slowed since the seventeenth century?

51. Andersen 1980 (1669), 9.

only German sources, but works in Dutch and Latin. Whether he had access to travel literature during his travels or whether he found materials in Gotha, where the Duke also collected new books, would be difficult to prove.

Nevertheless, sorting out the genealogies of information about Asian countries would be almost a Herculean task. Some borrowings are evident from this first examination, but the manuscript awaits a more thorough analysis. Furthermore, not only the information in text and appendix but the illustrations have their own pedigrees.

The Illustrations : Visions of the Indies

Early Dutch travel accounts achieved a breakthrough with their many illustrations, especially copper engravings, of exotic places and people. Some works were “lavishly illustrated”, something relatively rare in the preceding Spanish and Portuguese accounts.⁽⁵²⁾ The best illustrations were from sketches produced by the traveler-authors themselves, but even these often left room for the engraver’s fantasy. In particular the frontispieces of these works often brought together humans, animals and vegetation in imaginative, and sometimes rather garish, constellations that were thought to typify the areas described. They were often only distantly related to the contents at hand.

A variety of illustrated works existed. In addition to travel reports, there were herbaria, collections of maps, views of important harbors and settlements, domestic or market scenes, and a tradition of “ethnic” representations of human couples in native dress (“costume books”), designed to typify the various peoples, a tradition begun with European peoples and later expanded to those of foreign parts.⁽⁵³⁾ Schmalkalden reflects these diverse models.

Schmalkalden’s illustrations, however, have a special charm, not only because they are hand-drawn and colored, not having passed through the hands of an engraver, and they often seem more authentically Asian. No brawny, muscular figures (a specialty of baroque engravers, it seems) adorn his work. Nonetheless, just as parts of his text contain information from other (but unnamed) sources, so do his drawings reproduce the work of others.

Maps and Townscapes

Examining Schmalkalden’s depiction of Japan, Michel has shown that the maps of Japan and views of the Dutch settlement of Deshima are deriva-

52. Boxer 1965, 162.

53. Boogaart 2000, 3-5. However similar collections depicting foreign peoples were made, somewhat earlier, in China.

tive.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Schmalkalden of course redrew them, adding, in the case of the map of Japan (originally Portuguese), details from a later period. Although he was himself a surveyor and map-maker during his Formosa service, Schmalkalden would probably not have been allowed to retain any copies of maps he drew for the Company, for they represented classified information. He would thus have had to rely on published examples. Schmalkalden's Batavia map is also borrowed, this time from a well-known and often copied map of 1650 published by Clemendt de Johghe, Amsterdam, Calverstraat.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The views of Formosa are probably also derivative.

Human Figures

The famous *Itinerario* of Linschoten already presented a collection of drawings of people, scenes, and plants found in Asia when it appeared in 1596.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Decades later, the collection of travel reports *Begin ende Voortgangh...*, which first appeared in 1645, added considerably to the growing body of visual material.⁽⁵⁷⁾ These two, and other works, appear to have influenced both Schmalkalden's choice of subjects and the execution of his illustrations. The 1628 edition of Linschoten, for example, is still in the Gotha library, although that does not prove that it was there in Schmalkalden's day, and Schmalkalden's organization of his account resembles that of some of the travel reports in *Begin ende Voortgangh*. One example of borrowing is the view of the port of Aceh, which combines a cityscape with two "typical" figures in the foreground. The engraving in the Dutch work (below, Figure 1) represents the entrance to the river, with a fortification, and shows several houses, which nevertheless do not resemble Sumatran dwellings, and a castle. One of the foreground figures is a turbaned Malay in a long coat and short *sarong*, possibly a trader or a Malay *orang kaya*. The other is a quadruple amputee, legs encased in bamboo cylinders, with crutches tied to his arms to enable him to move about. The

54. Michel 1985.

55. The map is also the frontispiece to Peter Kirsch, *Die Reise nach Batavia : Deutsche Abenteurer in Ostindien, 1609 bis 1695* (Hamburg : Kabel, 1994).

56. *Itinerario : Voyage ofte Schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien inhoudende een corte beschryvinghe der selver landen ende Zee-custen...* (Amsterdam : Cornelis Claesz, 1596).

57. *Begin ende Voortgangh Van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie. Vervatende de voornaemste Reysen by de Inwoonderen der selver Provincien derwaerts gedaen* [Isaac Commelin, ed.] (Amsterdam : 1646), Vol. I, 11 : 14. The first printing of this collection was in 1645. See John Bastin and Bea Brommer, *Nineteenth Century Prints and Illustrated Books of Indonesia with Particular Reference to the Print Collection of the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam : A Descriptive Bibliography* (Utrecht and Antwerp : Het Spectrum, 1979), 1.

severity of strict Islamic punishments for thievery made a lasting impression on European observers⁽⁵⁸⁾ and this subject crops up in other works.

Schmalkalden takes over this image in the Copenhagen manuscript (page 191r; Figure 2), but the houses are now Sumatran houses, raised above the ground, and only a single figure, the amputee, graces the foreground. In the final version (Gotha Ms., 209r; 1983, 114; Figure 3), only the thief appears, but unlike the others, he is dancing on his stumps and waving a stick, as described in the text (above). His clothing (a headcloth and a sarong draped over one shoulder) is similar to that of the engraving, but the figure is much less leaden. A view of the settlement, with mosque, palace and houses on stilts, appears on another page (204r; 1983, 111), and there is a separate sketch of a Malay man (208r; 1983, 113), which does not resemble that in the older publication.

Published works were one possible source of models for the illustrations, but another was existing collections of illustrations by European artists who visited the Indies. Marie-Odette Scalliet has examined a collection of representations (*gouaches*) of people and animals now in the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal in Paris. The collection, which belonged to the Marquis de Paulmy (1722-1787), is attributed to Andries Beeckman. He was in the Indies at about the same time as Schmalkalden and, in about 1656, painted a monumental scene of the market and fort in Batavia. A second painting of the same motive, slightly different in composition, is also attributed to him.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In all, Beeckman included over a hundred drawings in his Album, but only fifty-five are in the Paris collection. Other copies of the Album exist,⁽⁶⁰⁾ but it is unknown how often it might have been reproduced. Striking is that Beeckman utilized the figures from his Album in his paintings of Batavia, where a number of them are easily identifiable.

Schmalkalden apparently also had access to some of Beeckman’s works. A number of his illustrations can be traced to either the Paris collection or the paintings. Although their execution in the Gotha manuscript might leave room for doubt, some illustrations in the Copenhagen manuscript quite closely resemble those of Beeckman’s Album and thus confirm the origin. In particular, these include a Chinese trader (Gotha 255r and 1983, 128, Figure

58. The title of this illustration leaves little doubt, “Depiction of the horrible justice in Achin”.

59. Marie-Odette Scalliet, “Une curiosité oubliée : le ‘Livre de dessins fait dans un voyage aux Indes par un voyageur hollandais’ du marquis de Paulmy”, *Archipel* 54 (1997), 35-62. The paintings are reproduced on pp. 47-48. That by Beeckmann is now in the Rijksmuseum, the other in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. Unfortunately, in this article, the captions of the two paintings have been reversed.

60. In 2002, another collection attributed to Beeckman was offered for sale in the Netherlands. Only a few of the items, however, would seem to be from him.

4; Copenhagen Ms. 166r; Figure 5; compare Scalliet 1997, 50),⁽⁶¹⁾ and a slave woman or vegetable seller (Gotha 228r and 1983, 99, Figure 6; Copenhagen Ms. 185r, Figure 7; compare Scalliet 1997, 58).

A third figure in the Album (but not reproduced in Scalliet 1997⁽⁶²⁾) is a "Moor", dressed in long white garb and bright red sash, wielding sword and shield (Gotha 229r and 1983, frontispiece). Again, the Copenhagen version (189r) is very close to the Album figure. Although such a "Moor" seems at first an incongruous figure for the Batavian scene, he also appears in the painting in the Rijksmuseum, although not in the foreground and without martial attributes.⁽⁶³⁾ In addition, Schmalkalden uses a kneeling figure of an Ambonese or "Bandanese" (as Schmalkalden calls him) with sword and shield, which may have come from Beeckman's Album (Gotha 239r and 1983, 156; Copenhagen 186r; not reproduced in Scalliet 1997).⁽⁶⁴⁾ The dancing Ambonese performing the warlike *cakalele*, however, was such a common motive in travel illustrations that the model for Schmalkalden may have come from many versions.

Given the prevalence of borrowings in works of the time,⁽⁶⁵⁾ none of this is surprising. Poses and attributes of these figures are the same, but the execution of the drawings differs somewhat, with the Copenhagen version closest to the original and some changes made to the Gotha version. Copenhagen's Chinese is a close copy of Beeckman's, for example, down to the color of his coat and purse. Such a rendition probably came from the artist himself. The final, Gotha version adds more detail to the clothing of the long-fingernailed Chinese, who like Beeckman's,⁽⁶⁶⁾ poses with an awkwardly held umbrella and a fan, but the shoes are not authentic, suggesting that the picture was redrawn by someone who did not recall or did not know Chinese cloth shoes. The Gotha Moor, probably an Indian or Arab trader, has even exchanged his half-slippers for sturdy shoes with black shoelaces!

The vegetable-seller of Beeckman, shown in profile with a cheroot and a basket on her head, seems cruder than the slavewoman in Gotha, where the

61. Claudine Salmon first pointed out this similarity, leading to other comparisons.

62. Mme Scalliet has made a reproduction available to me.

63. The original in the Rijksmuseum was not available for viewing in 2005, and the identification, based on a reproduction, must remain tentative.

64. Mme Scalliet has kindly shared images from the entire Paris Album with me, where the kneeling Ambonese and the Moor are to be found. The painting in the Koninklijke Instituut voor de Tropen has two Ambonese performing a *cakalele* or martial dance, but it is only one possible source.

65. The "Hottentots" of the Cape appear regularly in illustrated works from earliest voyages, accompanied by a description of their surprising customs and strange language. Beeckman and Schmalkalden also have their Hottentots.

66. Scalliet 1997, 50.

facial features are finer and more appealing, but her stance, the pattern of her sarong and her load of vegetables are very similar. The Copenhagen version is an intermediate one. This figure is also in the painting attributed to Beeckmann in the Koninklijke Instituut voor de Tropen.

Prominent in the foreground of both paintings is a couple, a man in European dress and a woman, probably a mestiza, with *slendang* and sarong (the execution and the colors differ slightly in the two paintings). Schmalkalden also reproduces such a female figure (she is not in the Paris Album), down to the small round container in her left hand, her diaphanous blouse,⁽⁶⁷⁾ and the lovely detail of her sarong. Her right arm is invisible because, in the paintings, she has taken the arm of her companion. This is one of the most attractive illustrations in the entire manuscript (Gotha 227r and 1983, 101; Figure 9).⁽⁶⁸⁾ The Copenhagen version is very similar, but someone has lightly sketched a right arm (184r).

Other illustrations are of undetermined origin. In addition, a number of those in Copenhagen are not adopted in the final manuscript. One example is that showing two Chinese couples in rather formal pose (178 v/r), which Schmalkalden may have also acquired from someone else. One of the women, however, may have been a model for the Chinese woman in Gotha (299r, 1983, 130, Figure 10). In the final version, she carries an embroidery frame as well as a fan.

Not only people but also animals were part of any good traveler's tale. In fact, certain animals appear repeatedly as emblems of their landscapes. Africa had its lions and ostriches, and sometimes rhinoceroses; for Asia the emblematic creatures were the elephant, the rhino, the crocodile and the tiger.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Except for the tiger, Schmalkalden provides illustrations of all.

A curiosity is the painting of a rhinoceros (Gotha 218r and 1983, 117).⁽⁷⁰⁾ Schmalkalden reports, "This Rhinocer was drawn by a Chinese painter from a living one that was in Batavia (1983, 118)". As Werner Kraus has shown, it is actually a mirror image of Albrecht Dürer's familiar depiction of a

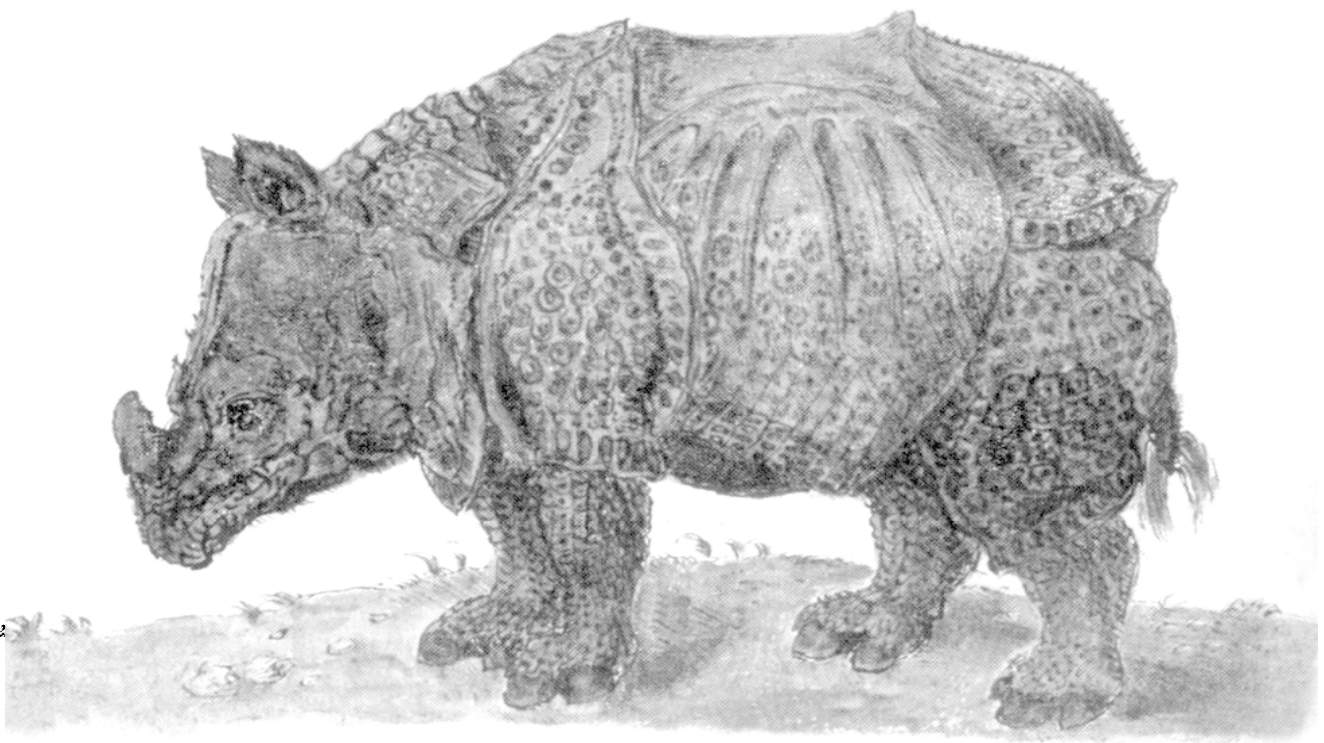
67. The see-through blouse was almost a convention for Asian women, going back to Linschoten. Among them, only Chinese and upper-class Indian women were opaquely clothed. Compare Boogaart 2000, 6-7.

68. As Werner Kraus pointed out, the detail of the batik sarong could only have been drawn by someone familiar with such textiles.

69. For some reason Schmalkalden overlooks the tiger; the other three are described at length and illustrated.

70. See Werner Kraus, "Chinese Influence on Early Modern Indonesian Art? Hou Qua : a Chinese Painter in 19th Century Java", *Archipel* 69 (2005), 61-86. A reproduction of this illustration appears on page 69, Figure 3, and here. The Gotha rhino is painted on paper unlike that of the rest of the manuscript, which seems to confirm that it was received from someone else and inserted into the manuscript. In the Copenhagen manuscript there is only a crude and un-lifelike drawing of a rhino (158r).

218.
Rhinoceros, Ein Nasenhorn.
Javanisch Bada. Malayisch Badaek.



Rhinoceros, Gotha 218 r. (By permission)

rhinoceros from 1515. Dürer's woodcut, which erroneously shows an animal with a second horn on its back, was copied and recopied all over Europe and must have been known in Batavia. Actually depicting an Indian and not a Javanese animal, it strongly influenced later drawings of rhinos everywhere. Kraus has traced the path of this animal from Dürer to Batavia to the anonymous Chinese artist, who did not repeat Dürer's mistake, for his rhino has, correctly, only one horn.⁽⁷¹⁾ The artist may indeed have seen a live rhinoceros in Batavia, for the animals were frequent in Java at the time. A young one was captured and held in Batavia in 1647, and skins, horns or heads were often brought in for bounties. Schmalkalden himself recalls seeing such a skin.⁽⁷²⁾

The Copenhagen manuscript also has a pen-and-ink drawing of an elephant (197 v/r; Figure 11), which is different from both elephants in the final version. Its style suggests that it is of even different origin. All this leads to the conclusion that Schmalkalden collected images from different artists or printed sources and reworked them for the final draft.

Finally, some figures are probably original. In particular the Formosan native (Gotha 284r and 1983, 145; Copenhagen 181r; Figure 12) seems to have been drawn by the author, possibly from life. The Javanese man with pike, kris and shield, and Javanese woman with a tea service (Gotha 180r, 181r and 1983, 105) may also be from Schmalkalden himself.

Compared to Latin America, relatively few flora or fauna appear in the Asian section, except for spices, which of course were the most valuable products of the Indies at the time. The passionfruit, beautifully drawn and described in Copenhagen (73r) carries a note that it is found in the East Indies as well as in Brazil, but it is not in the Gotha manuscript, perhaps an oversight. A small crocodile, another emblematic animal of Asia, does appear (Gotha 196r, not reproduced in 1983). The other illustrations include maps or views of towns, harbors and fortresses. Again, many are probably derivative.

The Verse Captions of the Illustrations

The illustrations serve to typify certain kinds of people in the Indies and elsewhere, continuing the tradition of the "costume books". In addition,

71. For the artistic career of these remarkable animals from Roman times through Dürer and his successors (including the illustrator of *Itinerario*), see Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. II A Century of Wonder, Book One, The Visual Arts (Chicago and London : University of Chicago Press, 1970), 79-81 ; 158-172 ; plates 119-129.

72. Johann Jacob Merklein, *Reise nach Java, Vorder- und Hinter-Indien, China und Japan 1644-1653*, in *Reisebeschreibungen*, Vol. 3, S. P. L'Honoré Naber, ed. (The Hague : Nijhoff, 1930), 13, relates that a young, wounded rhinoceros was captured and held in Batavia, but it refused to eat and soon died. The tale is repeated in von der Behr 1930, 30-31. On bounties, see Peter Boomgaard, *Frontiers of Fear : Tigers and People in the Malay World, 1600-1950* (New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 2001), 64, 88-89.

verses sometimes accompany Schmalkalden's illustrations of individuals. Putting thoughts into poetry was another device well known to travel writers. Like Schmalkalden, for example, Franz Müller⁽⁷³⁾ also captioned some of the illustrations in his two travel manuscripts with verses. Frequently books had a rhymed introduction or a dedication to the person who sponsored the publication. Schmalkalden's ironic and sometimes irreverent fourliners serve to further typify, perhaps to stereotype, the figures illustrated.

Here are some examples of verses accompanying the figures reproduced here. Schmalkalden's rather chaotic spelling and punctuation, as in the rest of the manuscript, make them difficult to decipher, and he pays no attention to (modern) rules of capitalization.

The Thief ("A Man without Hands and Feet", Figure 3) :

As mentioned, the mutilated thief seems to have been a popular image, reflecting how Westerners viewed what they perceived as cruel punishment.

Diebstahl hat mich viermal in groß unglück gestürzt
 Dafür mir meine händ und füß sind abgekürzt
 Nun geh' ich auf die straß, ersuche groß und klein,
 Zu meiner dürfftigkeit, behülflich mir zu seyn.

Four times thievery brought me great misfortune
 For it, my hands and feet were cut off
 Now I go out on the street and ask great and small
 To help me in my need.

The Slavewoman or Vegetable Vendor (Figure 6) :

Wir werden zwar verkauft wie unvernünftig viehe
 Doch dienen wir getreu und scheuen keine mühe
 Den deütschen helffen wir mit sorge rath und that
 So dass Batavian an Uns nicht schaden hatt.

We are sold like ignorant animals
 But we serve loyally and exert any effort
 We help the Germans [Dutch?] with care, advice and deed
 So that Batavia has no trouble with us.

The Mestiza (Figure 9) :

Her revealing dress may reflect a judgment on her moral qualities, but the author is interested first in her mixed descent and in her marriageability.

Sucht iemand mein geschlecht, der müh sich ümbzuschawen
 Nach einem Weißen Mann und einer schwartzen frawen.
 Macann Syri pinang, und wenn ich Mannbar bin,
 So fragt mich mehren theils ein Niederländer hin.

73. In fact, one of Müller's manuscripts is retold in rhyme, in addition to the captions. See *Der "Indianer"* 2001, 8. Müller's illustrations do not resemble Schmalkalden's or Beekmann's.

Anyone looking for my ancestry should search
 For a white man and a black woman.
 Chewing betel [makan sirih pinang], and when I am of marriageable
 age,
 Usually a Dutchman asks for me.

The Chinese Trader (Figure 4) :

Chinese traders were important figures in the East; Schmalkalden may have observed them first in Batavia, but they were already plentiful in Formosa, too.

Sucht iemand kaufmannschaft und kostbar teure Wahren,
 Damit nunmehr erlaubt, in Unser land zu fahren,
 Wir haben Seidenwahr und reines Porcelan
 Macht Mars uns nicht berühmbt, so hats die Kunst gethan.

If someone is looking for commerce and valuable, expensive wares,
 It is permissible to travel to our country.
 We have silken ware and fine porcelain
 If Mars does not make us famous, the arts have done so.

The Chinese Woman (Figure 10) :

Here the poem reflects the fact that upper-class Chinese women were secluded at home where possible. The author seems to approve of the custom. She carries an embroidery frame, which first draws his attention.

Ich liebe kunst und zucht, drümb kann ich künstlich sticken;
 Doch darff mich nimmermehr ein frembder mann anblicken,
 Ihr Frawen wolt ihr treu, und unbeflecket seyn,
 So sucht gelegenheit, und sperrt eüch mit mir ein.

I love art and fine manners, so I can embroider artfully;
 But never may a strange man look at me,
 Ye women, if you want to be loyal and unsullied,
 Then look for an opportunity to be locked away with me.

The Moor (Figure 8) :

Wir geben gutes kauffs, Mouris und seiden Wahren,
 Den, so nach Cormandel, Suratt und Persen fahren,
 Sonst hatt uns die Natur zwar braun und schwartz gefärbt;
 Doch ist die Tapfferkeit Uns gleichsam angeerbt.

We offer good prices, Mouris [cotton fabrics] and silken wares,
 To anyone who travels to Coromandel, Suratte and Persia,
 Otherwise nature colored us brown and black
 But at the same time we are heirs to bravery.

The Formosan (Figure 12) :

Although the text offers a fair amount of information about Formosan natives, it was their hunting practices, their ability to run swiftly and for a long distance, and their metal bracelets that made a noise when they ran (to startle the prey?), that impressed Schmalkalden.

Wir lauffen in die Wett und traben gantze tagen
Nach unser klincker klangh, die wir in Händen tragen,
Wir leben von der Jagt, es jagt, wer jagen kann,
Und wenn wir schießen fehl, so gehen die Hunde dran.

We run as in a race and trot for whole days
To the sound of our ringing bracelets that we hold in our hands,
We live from the hunt, anyone who can, hunts,
And if we shoot amiss, the dogs go after [the prey].

Conclusion

As a study of travel reports from India concludes, the final product of travel accounts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was often a “complex amalgam”, melding first-hand experiences with any number of exotic themes and often stereotypical descriptive material, all somehow combined.⁽⁷⁴⁾ That description fits the work at hand, but, unlike many other authors, Schmalkalden was especially qualified to meet the interest in foreign and exotic matters, having visited the ends of the earth, South America, Africa and Asia, and his work reflects that breadth.

Although we can be grateful to Joost for drawing attention to this neglected treasure and for solving some of the puzzles about its origins, the need for a critical edition of the text and a more careful evaluation of its other puzzles remains. Much of what has been said here has to be seen as provisional. A more careful examination of the manuscript (and its predecessors), the style, the handwriting and even the paper, as well as a comparison with other contemporary accounts, may bring additional information to light. Especially the previously neglected appendix, whether from Schmalkalden or another author, deserves attention.

Furthermore, in view of the present interest in types and stereotypes and their role in building up an image of Asia in Western perceptions, a study of aspects of the visual presentation of its peoples would be most welcome. Schmalkalden's visions of Asia, although not published until the twentieth century, would be an important contribution to such a study.

74. Gita Dharampal-Frick, *Indien im Spiegel deutscher Quellen der Frühen Neuzeit (1500-1750) : Studien zu einer Interkulturellen Konstellation* (Tübingen : Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1994), 62.

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Figure 1. – View of Aceh, from *Begin ende Voortgangh Van De Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie. Vervatende De voornaemste Reysen by de Inwoonderen der selver Provincien derwaerts gedaen* [Isaac Commelin, ed.] (Amsterdam : 1646). Vol. I, 11 : 14.

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Figure 2. – View of Aceh, Copenhagen, Kongelige
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Figure 3. – “A Man without Hands and Feet”. Caspar Schmalkalden, *West- und Ost-Indianische Reisebeschreibung (Ms.)*, Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Chart B 533, page 209v.
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