

Wolfgang Klooss (Ed.)

**Narratives
of Exploration and Discovery**

Essays in Honour of Konrad Gross

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Narratives of Exploration and Discovery.

Essays in Honour of Konrad Gross /

Wolfgang Klooss (Ed.). -

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Canadian Inuit in 16th Century European Illustrations

FRANZ OBERMEIER

When the 'new' world across the Atlantic began to appear and take shape on the (mental) maps of Europeans in the 16th century, illustrations depicting Indians (as imagined by Europeans) had a significant impact on what and how people in the 'old' world thought of the Americas and its inhabitants. Lately, in historical research about the Americas, there has been a strong interest in these illustrations; they are now recognized as a major element in information circulation about the new found lands.

Most of these documents have, in the past, already been of interest to historians or ethnologists, but certain aspects, such as the means of the circulation of iconographic material or its importance in certain communicational contexts, have been rather neglected. The following analyses will focus on the Inuit corpus of the 16th century, which is only known to a few specialists of Canadian history but deserves greater attention because of its importance and its singularly wide-spread distribution at the time.

The excellent ethnographic analysis by Sturtevant and Quinn has emphasized the authentic character of the corpus and has drawn parallels between the objects, clothings, tattoos and other ethnologic features in the series of illustrations. What has been rather neglected are the ways in which this corpus was spread throughout Europe – at a time when the book industry had already discovered the Americas as a theme for a long time. Is there any possibility to reconstruct the intentions of the early artists and book editors? Why did they choose to take notice of this corpus in such a prominent way? Can the ways the material took in European leaflets, frontispieces, drawings etc. be reconstructed to show us the channels of exchange of iconographic material? What was the importance of authenticity to the public? The Inuit corpus provides us with a good basis for investigating these questions because it was copied throughout Europe and is a rather homogeneous one.

The first illustrations about America were inspired by travels in the southern part of the continent. In my study about Brazil's iconography in the 16th century (Obermeier 2000) I have been able to show that the material – even though, certainly, a significant part of the original single leafs has been lost – is not only remarkable in number (even when compared with White's Virginia-corpus of the second half of the century) but shows us that in these documents an iconographic tradition emerges which would be "borrowed" throughout the century and even later. As the Brazilian Tupinamba-Indians were anthropophagous, cannibalism is one major element taken up in the whole illustrative history, even if there are slight differences in the evaluation of this custom. Léry, for instance, shows cannibalism in a rather neutral way, while Staden (1557) integrates his judgement in the figure of the traveller (i.e. Staden himself as pictorial "narrator") observing the Native traditions and customs with signs of despair and condemnation. Thevet (1558) shows brutal scenes of Indians dividing up human

bodies and devouring them. Theodor de Bry, in his collection *America*, edits the texts of Staden and Léry and prefers the rather obvious scenes of Staden to the neutral observations of Léry. Bry copies a few of Léry's illustrations in the second edition of 1580,¹ which depict demons torturing Indians to show that the Indians are the Devil's prey. It is very typical that this religious theme in Léry's iconography was copied many times up to editions in the 18th century, because it allows to editors and authors to display a negative, religiously motivated judgement of Indian shamanism and paganism.

The cannibalistic theme was widespread in European illustrations as early as the beginning of the 16th century. Some depictions in the first single leaf about Vespucci (an Indian family, a cannibalistic scene showing a man cutting up a human corpse and a woman with obscene gestures at a table) were copied in Grüninger's Vespucci edition of 1509 and became archetypal images in depictions of cannibalistic behaviour. They were copied later on in Münster's *Cosmography* (many editions from 1544 onwards) and also applied to people(s) other than Brazilian Indians – Asians were, for instance, portrayed as cannibals. As this example strongly suggests, iconographic elements were easily understood as representations of certain customs and became widespread throughout Europe. The common European public (certainly not only the literate one but also people who were shown the pictures in the books) had been educated and shaped by a great amount of religious iconography, and since this religious iconography was used in early depictions of cannibalism scenes (Kügelgen-Kropfinger 1990), Europeans easily understood the images according the traditional 'language' they knew.

The same mechanisms of perception and understanding can be assumed when it comes to depictions of monsters, a theme also often present in travel books in the 16th century.² We, e.g., have two single leafs of 1565 showing a Brazilian monster (perhaps a sealion) found on the Brazilian shore near São Vicente. In that year, the German printer Matthäus Franck (Francus, flourishing in Augsburg between 1559-1568) copied a lost Portuguese single broadsheet, or an Italian one showing the same scene.³ We can deduce this from another copy of this iconographic material. The first Portuguese book about Brazil, the *História da província Santa Cruz* from Pero Magalhães de Gândavo (1575) shows the same illustration (32 v.), which is evidently derived from a lost Portuguese woodcut, and dedicates an own chapter to the story of this monster.

1 These copies were perhaps made without Léry's consent even though he was the curator of the text. (cf. Obermeier 2000, 51-55)

2 Travel books were, at the time, the main sources about nature and the biology of the new found countries before the first books about nature in the Americas were published in the 17th century (Laet 1630, Piso 1648) and the natural sciences were developed as their own research field in the 18th and 19th century.

3 Franck's broadsheet is today conserved in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich.

We also have a drawing based on this woodcut by the Dutch Adriaen Coenen in his two manuscripts – the *Visboek* (Fish-book) and the *Walvisboek* (Whale-book).⁴

Early Inuit Portraits in European Art: The Antwerp Corpus

The first altogether fantasy depictions of Greenland Inuit can be found in the *Carta Marina*⁵ by Olaus Magnus. This 'map' was published in 1539 in Venice (see title illustration), his history of the Scandinavian People was published as *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* 1555 in Rome. The map was for a long time thought to be lost, but re-appeared in the 19th century.⁶ There are Inuit on the map and a few illustrations in the *Historia*, but all are lacking authentic ethnological details.

More important are two other ethnographically relevant Inuit corpora from the 16th century.⁷ The first corpus consists of a few broadsheets with an Inuit woman shown for money in Antwerp with her daughter in 1567. There probably existed one low-German broadsheet (as there are a few low-German spellings in the high German broad-sheets; see Sturtevant and Quinn, 61) showing the two Inuit depicted in a rather artificial style (one arm of the woman is lifted as if she tries to protect herself from a light) by an artist who had seen them. Some ethnographic details such as the tattoos are correct, as later descriptions of people from the same region



4 * See the illustrations on pages 40 and 41 in Egmond and Mason 1994. The *Whale-book* has recently been republished (see Coenen 2003). The *Vishboek* is now at the Royal Library The Hague, the *Walvisboek* at the Antwerp zoo library, a third book, the *Haringkoninkboek* at the Cologne Municipal Archive.

5 For the *Carta* cf. Olaus 1539 and Knauer.

6 Today we know of another copy in the James Ford Bell Collection, Minneapolis.

7 The first one consists of illustrations of a woman with her daughter, painted around 1567 (cf. the three volumes of Strauss). A copy printed in Augsburg can be found in vol. 1, 201, of Strauss, the Nürnberg copy is also in vol. 1, 376, the Frankfurt print, dated 1567, in vol. 1, 135. Of the second series, a family portrait in front of a landscape, there was a copy printed in Straßburg, 1578, 272. A copy printed in Augsburg, 1578, is in Strauss, vol. 2, 667; a copy produced in Nürnberg, 1578, in Strauss, vol. 1, 423.

show; therefore the pictures must have been drawn with the Inuit being present.⁸ A Dutch broadsheet was copied very rapidly in three German broadsheets in a slightly different form, but all of these copies feature the same iconographic depiction of the Inuit mother and her daughter.

The spreading of iconographic material by broadsheets shows us that the public was eager to see the "new found people". Broadsheets at this time were a popular and cheap product mainly centred on political news, monsters (e.g. Siamese twins) or supernatural events (such as comets or celestial signs). In this context, the interest for the Inuit defines them in a sensational manner – a certain way of looking at these 'other' people we were still able to witness (even if in a more neutral manner) in the "Völkerschauen" (shows of foreign people) of 19th century zoos had begun to manifest itself.⁹

Frobisher and the Second Inuit Corpus

Martin Frobisher (1539-1594) made his first journey to Canada in 1576 and discovered, at Baffin Island, the bay which is today named after him. Looking for a North-Western passage to Asia he sailed to Canada twice again in 1577 and 1578 but found only worthless glittering stones, which he, however, mistook for gold. Frobisher accompanied Drake to the West-Indies and participated in the fight against the Spanish Armada, for which he was knighted. He died in 1594 of his wounds received in this battle.¹⁰

We have a few documents about Frobisher's travels to Canada. His lieutenant George Best published a *A true Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie For Finding a Passage to Cathay by the Northwest* (1578), which was later included in *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1600) by Richard Hakluyt. Another anonymous text is probably by Michael Lock.¹¹ The second voyage is described by Dionise (Denys) Settle, also published by Hakluyt and translated into French as early as 1578. Later translations into Latin and German were made from the French version in 1580 (both editions were

8 The Dutch author Joannes Becanus Goropius mentions the Inuit and their exhibition in his *Origines Antwerpianae* (1569; cf. Egmond and Mason 2000, 312-13). Adriaen Coenen describes the Inuit woman and her child in his *Visboek* but seems to have ignored the broadsheet and made no drawing of them, whereas he copied a drawing from the second Inuit corpus from White (cf. Egmond and Mason 2000, 313-14; for Coenen see below).

9 The Hagenbeck zoo in Hamburg, for instance, even had "Völkerschauen" up to the early 20th century.

10 For Frobisher cf. McGhee and the biography by McDermott (2001b). McDermott has also published documents about Frobisher's third voyage (McDermott 2001a).

11 The name is sometimes also written Lok. The original manuscript is in the British Library (cf. Birket-Smith, 14, note 5).

published in Nürnberg as single volumes). An Italian translation from Naples (1582) was also translated from the French. (cf. Settle)

There also is some original iconographic material about Frobisher's travels. Early portraits are lost but, the English painter John White made some watercolours of an Inuit man and a woman with her child who had been brought to England.¹²

John White is nowadays mostly known for his watercolours about the short-lived English colony in Virginia between 1585 and 1590. We know very little about White's biography. He was probably born between 1540-1550, but we only have documents about him from the years 1585 to 1593. A training as a miniature painter is probable, we know from one John White in 1580 in the London painter's guild, who may have been the same person as our John White. We don't know exactly whether John White accompanied Martin Frobisher in 1577 to Baffin Island, from where Frobisher brought two Inuit and a child to Bristol. As most foreigners from far-away lands at the time did, the Indians caused a sensation, but died of illness shortly after their arrival in Europe, the man having been injured as he was abducted after some fighting. Maybe John White also took part in two of Frobisher's voyages to other regions of Canada. His participation in the exploratory voyage by Amadas and Barlowe in 1584 to Virginia is likely, but not documented. We have a letter by White to the geographer Hakluyt from 1593 (the last document which certainly refers to him) speaking of his return to Virginia in 1590 as the "fifth voyage". Given the fact that he had been there in 1585/86 and probably with Amadis's and Barlowe's exploratory voyage in 1584, the other two voyages probably refer to two of three Frobisher voyages, but his name isn't mentioned in Frobisher's list of participants.¹³



The remaining watercolours with Inuit motifs don't prove affirmatively that White has been in Canada. We have a fighting scene between Inuit and Europeans in front of a Nordic landscape which may have been produced in Canada. The drawing of the Inuit taken to England may also have been made in Bristol, however, where the captives stayed after their arrival. What is certain is that White's Inuit portraits were made in

12 Some of White's originals and a few contemporary copies are still kept today in the British Museum and the British Library (Sloane collection).

13 Cf. Birket-Smith, 12. White's letter to Hakluyt from 04.02.1593 is published in Quinn, 331-339. He mentions his five voyages in his title, l.c., 333.

the models' presence. Besides the Antwerp corpus, White's depictions of the Inuit are the second set of authentic Inuit drawings produced in Europe. And like the Antwerp pictures, they were subsequently copied many times. Their circulation presents us with an interesting example of how news were spread across Europe in the 16th century.

We know little about White's intentions for creating his early authentic portraits and drawings of and from America('s peoples). Maybe Raleigh had chosen White as a sort of artistic companion to his colonial expedition to Virginia in 1585 because of the early Inuit drawings. On the aforementioned earlier expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert a painter named Thomas Bavin was on board. He had clear instructions on what to paint during the voyage.¹⁴ In White's case we don't know of such instructions. Raleigh knew from the beginning that he needed public support and the court's agreement for his colonial projects, so he sent Thomas Harriot to Virginia as a scientific explorer to sound out the possibility of a permanent English settlement in Virginia, and White was to produce the iconographic material to illustrate Harriot's book. After his return to England (and the loss of many of Harriot's manuscript materials and White's pictures during the return voyage in 1586) White became a central figure of the Virginia colony. He was appointed governor on January 7, 1587 – a rather astonishing career for a painter. He returned to Virginia that year but soon travelled back to England to seek relief for the colonists.¹⁵ Due to the Armada battle, in which Raleigh was also involved, and the urgent need for all ships available for this fight, White was not able to return until 1590, but found no survivors in the abandoned colony. We have no trustworthy information about him after 1593. In 1606 a Brigit White, sister to one John White, inherited the belongings of her brother who died at sea. It may have been our John White.

The Lost English Single Leaf by John Alde with Inuit Portraits

The second Inuit corpus seems to have been propagated in a rather similar way as the first one. We know of a lost English broadsheet¹⁶ by the printer John Alde. In the stationer's register he received the permission to print in January 1577-8 (sic!) a "discription of the purtrayture and shape of those strange kinde of people" which can be linked to the Inuit. The small fee (4 d) strongly suggests that the item in question wasn't a book (usually charged with higher fees at that time), but probably only a single leaf.¹⁷

As there are a German broadsheet about the Inuit and originals and portraits derived from White's watercolours, which in turn served as Alde's models, we can reconstruct

14 See Hulton, 9.

15 White's report from this journey is published as "The fourth voyage made to Virginia, with three shippes, in the yeere, 1587" in Quinn, 314-321.

16 Hazlitt, 167, cited after Sabin, 297. We have today no items of this print.

17 We know little about the printer; only a few ballads are preserved. (cf. Livingston).

what was probably been shown in Allde's engraving or wood cut: most likely, it depicted a male Inuit with paddle and bow and a women with a child in her parka. In the background there seems to have been an Inuit in his kayak.

The lost broadsheet by Allde then seems to have been the major model for foreign copies of White's iconography. The German broadsheets were certainly copied from the English single leaf without having had unmediated access of White's models. In the time period we are concerned with here, pictures circulated and were copied often, as we can see if we take a close look at the Virginia corpus. John White knew Richard Hakluyt with whom he exchanged letters. Hakluyt had acted as mediator between the Dutch engraver Bry, who lived in Strasbourg, later on in Frankfurt, visited London in 1587, and who was able to get hold of White's drawings for Harriot's book. Bry was probably able to buy some copies (some originals are still in the British Library) which he used in his German, English, French and Latin editions of Harriot's book, the first volume of his travel collection *America* (1590) and the only one to be published in these four languages.

German Single Leafs after John White

We have three German broadsheets clearly citing White's Inuit portraits and combining them (as in the French edition of Settle's work, 1578) with an Inuit in a kayak. These German single leafs were produced as early as 1578, thus indicating how quickly the iconographic information was spread at the time. Following an aesthetics later used in many costume books,¹⁸ the Inuit are shown in an imagined pageant in



18 We find American Indians in the early costume books in the mid 16th century (see, e.g., Descerpz). In the costume book *Habitus praecipuorum populorum*, published by Hans Weigel (1577), we see a high-quality engraving of Brazilian Indians by Jost Amann, which had been

front of a landscape. It is likely that the broadsheet reproduces the lost model by Alde without making any changes or that it only adds some details in the landscape. A German edition of Settle's book copies the frontispiece of the French edition. A convincing argument would be that Alde's broadsheet, perhaps added to letters sent from England to Germany, fell into the hands of a printer, who copied it as authentic material. The other very similar German copies may derive directly from this first German copy.

As we can see, broadsheets with American motifs moved through Europe along a well-known travel route of the 16th century. Most of the German travellers going to the New World via Spain took a ship at Antwerp to get to Spain. It is not astonishing that these contacts then created as rapid an exchange of pictorial information as it can be re-constructed in the case of the first Inuit corpus. In addition, personal contacts may have also been important, as, for instance, in the case of Theodor de Bry visiting London, who could also get hold of White's watercolours with the help of Hakluyt.

Lucas de Heere's Inuit Portrait

There are many other copies of White's drawings besides the ones already mentioned, in which sometimes only a few elements were copied in another context. One interesting example of these copies is a drawing in the unpublished manuscript of the costume book by Lucas de Heere. Sturtevant and Quinn believe this illustration to be a copy based on the lost Ketel portrait of the first Inuit brought to England by Frobisher. While it is possible that Ketel gave copies of his portraits to Flemish friends, the travel route of the portrait may have been a completely different one as well. The attitude of the Inuit depicted by de Heere is very similar to White's works and the date "1575" on the drawing may be erroneous. De Heere might have heard of the first Inuit in London (painted by Ketel) and/or the second group. When dating his own work, he probably confused the date he put on his portrait, which clearly resembles White's watercolour, with the date of Ketel's earlier portraits; or he might have confused the dates of Frobisher's voyages. He also might not even have seen an original image, as these were in the Queen's collection or in the private one of the company's owners who financed Frobisher's travels. Perhaps de Heere also did not know White personally or had not taken notice of him as the painter of the second Inuit group in Bristol. In any case, his portraits are most likely derived from other copies of White's originals.

De Heere's intention clearly was to collect all possible information about foreign people for his never accomplished custom book (kept today in the University Library of Gent). His manuscript in French is entitled "Théâtre de tous les peuples et nations

copied one year later in an Indian portrait in Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil* (1578). Cf. Obermeier 2000, 47-50.

de la terre avec leurs habits, et ornements divers, tant anciens que modernes diligemment depeints au naturel Par Lucas Dhere, Peintre et Sculpteur Gantois".¹⁹

De Heere's Inuit portrait bears the following inscription: "Homme sauvage amené des pais septentrionaux par M. Furbisher L'an 1576". The only notable change in de Heere's portrait is that he depicted his Inuit as rather thin, while White preferred them to appear rather stout, perhaps stressing the protective fur coats a little too much. De Heere had first been a Catholic supporter of Philip II. He later changed to Protestantism and therefore had to go to England in 1568. He was head of the Dutch community in London and returned to his native Gent in 1577, when peace made it possible. He died there aged only 50 in 1584.

The already mentioned Adriaen Coenen, always eager to find new iconographic material for his *Visboek* and his *Walvischboek*, copied an Inuit portrait in his *Vishboek* (39 v.) which closely resembles other copies of White's depictions (but adding an Inuit's capture scene of his own invention inspired by the contemporary descriptions he might have known from letters or from the lost *Allde* broadsheet).²⁰ Maybe the landscape is inspired by the aforementioned fighting scene (White) which was perhaps copied as background in the *Allde* broadsheet.



Communication in the Early Press

The Inuit corpus shows us that iconographic material was widespread even in the 16th century and that it may be justified to speak of early press and communicational contacts that served to transmit the material without delay in other countries. In the copies spread throughout Europe, there were few changes in the iconographic material except that some of the isolated person portraits, which were part of White's set of drawings, are combined, probably as in the lost *Allde* broadsheet. This careful handling of the iconographic material indicates that the early printers and copyists were

19 Cf. Birket-Smith, 13 (note 3), and 7 (illustration 1.c).

20 The copy of White's picture can be found in Hulton, 136. Coenen's illustration is in Egmond and Mason 2000, 341. Coenen has never been in England and seems to have ignored the de Heere version, even if his presentation of one male Inuit in front of a landscape is similar to it, perhaps due to common costume book features or to the *Allde* broadsheet. Egmond and Mason 2000, 317 (1.c) suppose an unknown third source. It is likely that Coenen used the *Allde* broadsheet together with letters or an eye-witness account.

aware of the authenticity of White's drawings or of the copies in their hands. White's material was circulated in various ways: via the German broadsheets and via frontispieces in translations of Settle's works. Some elements of White's works survived in other, private copies, as in the copy done by de Heere for his manuscript costume book.²¹ Some of these copies were produced to show the copyist's artistic skill, others were meant to be merely decorative. In these copies, only a few elements of White's watercolours survived, as ethnological correctness was not important for their makers. The broadsheets show us that the circulation of the iconographic material depicting the Inuit followed routes which were, at the time, reserved for popular and cheap information. The pictures were obviously regarded as highly topical or sensational. Broadsheets were sold from door to door by itinerant street-traders or in local printers' offices and certainly had a very high print run at the time. The ethnographic descriptions in the legends of the first corpus are rather extravagant as far as the Inuit's anthropophagy is concerned – a theme certainly derived from other observations concerning Brazilian Indians or expected by the contemporary reader who had read Herodot or medieval geographic literature. The legends of the second corpus seem to have been more authentic, even if the printers had certainly copied the legends either of the Allde version or added additional information perhaps contained in letters they received with the broadsheets or orally transmitted by travellers from England.

As for the printing profession, there seems to have been a certain specialization already on subject areas such as geographical literature. The Augsburg printer Manger took over the printing house of the Augsburg printer Frank who had produced the above mentioned broadsheet about the Brazilian sea-monster and one of the broadsheets connected to the first Inuit corpus. Manger knew that these products attracted a great deal of interest from buyers and produced one new broadsheet from the second Inuit corpus as soon as he had authentic iconographic models.

The 16th century, a time when the conflicts caused by the reformation and later the fear of a Turkish invasion created a great need for actual prints, was the most important time for broadsheets.²² The broadsheets of Vespucci were made around 1505, and apart from the Brazilian single leaf examples, there are very few broadsheets depicting Indians were produced later than the very beginning of the 16th century. Indians did not seem to constitute a major sensation in Europe any more from this time onwards – at least in the Iberian countries or in other countries with regular exchange or contacts with the New World.

From the short-lived French colony in Maranhão²³ we have two single leaf copies showing Brazilian Tupinamba dating from about 1614. Even though the French Court sent Capuchin missionaries with the first settlers in 1612, this French colony was a

21 For more details cf. Sturtevant and Quinn.

22 For the German broadsheets in general cf. the catalogues by Geisberg (1974) and Strauss (1975) and the collection-based commented catalogue by Harms (1980 seq.).

23 For the history of this colony cf. Obermeier 1995.

private undertaking. The need for public support and new fundings inspired one of the capuchins, Claude d'Abbeville to write an enthusiastic *Histoire de la mission* (1614) when he returned to Paris, stressing the wealth of the new country and the easy conversion of the Natives there. In this book, Claude describes how three Brazilian Indians (three more had died of disease before) were baptized with great solemnity in presence of the King and the Court in Paris. He adds portraits of six Indians showing the dead ones as savages (nude and in their traditional attire with arms and bows) and the baptized ones in European clothes. The progression from savage to civilized person is obvious and intentional and may have later influenced Eckhout's portraits of Brazilian Indians and mestizos done in the Dutch colony in northern Brazil.²⁴ The engravings in Claude's book are the first genuine illustrations of acculturated Indians in European art. The Natives were shown around in French society and their dances with their maraca (a traditional object in shamanistic rites looking like a rattle) found great interest in France. We have two single leaf copies showing their dance and another coloured broadsheet with the baptism of the three Indians in the presence of King Louis XIII. These broadsheets may be the last to stress the strangeness of foreign people in single leafs, even if many travel collections and geographical compilations typically show Indians as strange beings up to the 20th century, their aesthetics deriving from the custom books ("Trachtenbücher"), a new genre in the 16th Century. In the colonies, the actual Native people(s) of the Americas were marginalized and oppressed, without political influence and decimated by illness and hard work. There were very few illustrations in colonial times showing "real" Native Americans and their way of life. It was not until the 19th century that noble travellers and scientists started to seek and paint the 'last representatives' of the supposedly nearly lost, once dominating Native inhabitants of the Americas in their 'savage' kind of life.

Conclusion

Even if we take into consideration that a great part of the single leaves showing American Native peoples may be lost, we can, by closely examining the few surviving documents, detect certain common features in the prints. Even though the iconographic material was carefully copied, the broadsheets were part of a vast production of mostly sensational items.²⁵ The wide circulation of the Inuit corpora seems to be due to the population's interest in sensational topics. However, the broadsheets were not merely shaped by the public's expectations or based on the artists' or printers' imagination and fantasies. The original sources of the images copied throughout Europe always were actual contacts between Europeans and (Native) Americans – be it in Europe or in the Americas – as in the corpus spreading from Antwerp to Germany

24 For these portraits (now in the Copenhagen State Museum, Ethnological section) cf. Herkenhoff 2003/2004, 167-188.

25 In the first corpus of Inuit depictions, the legend even says that the appearing of the Inuit announces the end of the world.

and the one brought from England to the continent. Allde's lost broadsheet was probably produced to record the presence of the Inuit, who in Bristol astonished their 16th century European contemporaries with their skills in using weapons. The iconographic material was then proceeded to show and propagate the "strange features" of "those strange kinde of people" (word for word in the title of Allde's broadsheet in the Stationers' register) to those who might have only heard of them instead of having seen them in person. The translations and the copies of the illustrations, especially those in German broadsheets, show that there were good contacts between England, Antwerp and German printing centres and that there was an efficient German printing tradition.

Perhaps without White knowing about it, as he was at this time travelling back to Roanoke, his Inuit drawings became part of a European-wide communicational system based on broadsheets, prints and manuscript copies. The wide-spread Inuit material is a well documented case in point: first, there were White's originals, then copies of his illustrations in broadsheets, which later turned into book illustrations and which also turned up in drawings such as those by de Heere. Europeans had a great interest in knowing all about America's Native peoples; and even if this was mainly due to a strong general interest in sensational pictures, the printers carefully copied the original material available.

List of Illustrations:

1. Single leaf showing an Inuit-Women in Antwerp with her daughter 1566/67
2. John White: Inuit woman with her daughter
(British Museum. Copyright The Trustees of The British Museum)
3. German single leaf (Jobin, ascertained, Straßburg) after a broadsheet by Allde (lost) and John White
(Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Graphische Sammlung Pas II 15/32)
4. Lucas de Heere: Inuit copied from White 1576 [or later]
(Gent University library, ms 2466: Luces d'Heere, Theatre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre avec leurs habits et ornements divers..., Title of the illustration: Homme Sauvage amené des païs Septentrionaux par M. Furbisher L'an 1576, f^o 124r.)

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Trying to uncover the meaning of this term while planning an exhibition I came across a wide range of songs, cultural activities and artistic accomplishments covering several hundred years up to the present in the history of the Inuit.