CANNIBALISM IN A CULTURAL CONTEXT: CARTOGRAPHIC
IMAGERY AND ICONOGRAPHY OF THE NEW WORLD
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES DURING THE
AGE OF DISCOVERY

by

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation seeks to explore the imagery of the indigenous peoples as cannibals in the sixteenth-century cartography of the New World. This imagery represented the Amerindians of the South American interior on maps and in the minds of Europeans who relied on accounts and illustrations to inform them about the New World. The geographic specificity of cannibal imagery on New World cartography reflected the accounts by voyagers who returned from their transatlantic journey. This cartography provides present day scholars and historians with an additional resource for studying fifteenth-century Europeans and their understanding of the New World.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of my Transatlantic History studies, I have been fascinated with the images of Amerindians as cannibals in the maps of the sixteenth century. Initially, that imagery provoked empathy for the Europeans who faced unknown terrors and the worst type of savagery imaginable as defined by the European cultures that these explorers came from. Delving into the extant maps, travel logs and literature led me to a different perception of the imagery and the writers, cartographers and artists who created them. My empathy and sympathy shifted to those whose shores and lives were overwhelmed, by intolerant, suspicious, narrow-minded foreigners who defined the encounter with or “discovery of” these peoples, these “others” through the prism of their own biases and fears. The imagery that represented the peoples of this New World on European cartography ran the gamut from benign scenes of a loving family to depraved savages roasting and gnawing on human limbs. I seek to explore this dark side of maps that reveal much about the Europeans who created the imagery and may also speak of the peoples that they encountered.

In the process of exploring the motives and methods of the Europeans who painted the image of the radically different New World for the peoples of the Old, I initially sought to sort the truth from the misperceptions, from the politically and
religiously motivated misrepresentations, from the preconceived ideas, from the European mindset that was incapable of recognizing the worth of totally unknown cultures. I found this to be an impossible task. I wholeheartedly came to agree with Stephen Greenblatt about the difficulty of weeding out the truths from the falsehoods in the contemporary accounts and representations of the voyagers.¹

As such, in reading the earliest accounts of the New World, it is vital to keep in mind the widely different cultural contexts with which the authors viewed their voyages. Even when eyewitnesses reported on the same events (Columbus and Doctor Chanca on the second voyage), the accounts vary considerably. Additionally, I have turned to the historical influences and motivations, both religious and national that may have predisposed the cartographers who made cannibalism a vibrant part of their work.² These cartographers and illustrators of maps followed a tradition of translating travel journals into maps. These maps attest to the imagination and interest of Europeans, especially their interest in the exotic and Oriental. The earlier descriptions of Mandeville, and the later ones of Marco Polo, influenced the minds of the early explorers. Some of those descriptions translated into imagery on the cartography produced during the sixteenth century. Why did some imagery persist long after exploration and understanding of a fourth -- and seemingly new and unknown -- part of the world would have dictated a revision? As an example, Marco Polo’s description of

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the location of Japan appeared on maps from 1375 through the mid-1500s. Giants and a race of women warriors were both described as real in accounts of exploration during the first century of contact between the Old World and the New World.

It is important to understand that pictures or images were used for a number of reasons in the sixteenth century. In a study of the pedagogical literature of the 1530s, Conley notes that pictures served as memory-aids to students. They were used to reconcile vernacular and classical languages. Finally, for those without formal training, images served as a means of conveying and mixing the classical past, the regional cultures and languages, and the new information, ideas and experiences that the Columbian Encounter generated.

The maps and atlases from the sixteenth century that I used in my research were not used on board ships as a means of navigation. Those sea charts were concerned with coastlines and the depths of the sea when approaching land. G.V. Scammell makes a point of this in quoting John Dee: “The maps and gloves whose many excellencies and beauties” have often been remarked were not for seamen but, as John Dee observed, for gentlemen “to beautifie their Halls, Parlours, Chambers, Galeries, Studies or Libraries.” Those who possessed these maps were the movers and shakers

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3 J. B. Harley, Maps and the Columbian Encounter: An Interpretive Guide to the Travelling Exhibition. Assisted by Ellen Hanlon and Mark Warhus, (Milwaukee: Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, 1990), 43.
of their time. The policies and plans for the New World were formulated by those who gazed on the illustrated maps and read the travel accounts that included imagery and tales of many wonderous things and people. This multitude of new-found peoples included cannibals. Victoria Dickenson reiterates the need for caution in viewing an image as historical evidence. Citing Francis Haskell and Michell Foucault, Dickenson points out some of the problems inherent in the persistence of imagery. These problems, common during the sixteenth-century, included re-engraved or redrawn images, use of historic images to illustrate journals, and recurring images that leave a lasting impression, often believed to be historical fact.\footnote{Victoria Dickenson, \textit{Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World}, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 10-11, 15.}

European reports of cannibalism were not limited to the New World. It was not unusual for Europeans to label hostile or non-cooperative indigenous people as cannibals or witches. In 1505, Pacheco Periera observed that the Africans along the Niger Delta were involved in witchcraft and cannibalism. Christopher Slogar believes these descriptions were designed to ward off other Europeans from attempting to establish trade there. Certainly, there is a European propensity to label the people at the outer limits of the known world as monsters in form or custom. Whether the Africans were, in fact, cannibals may never be determined.\footnote{Victoria Dickenson, \textit{Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World}, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 10-11, 15.} The early modern European man believed in the power of magic and in a variety of superstitions, omens, evil spells and witchcraft. The Europeans labeled “uncooperative” indigenous people as “savage barbarians,” and attributed to them the worst behavior conceivable. This was true of the
Portuguese in Africa, and the practice continued during the encounters of the 1500s in the Western Hemisphere.

Was that imagery of Amerindians as cannibals based on fact or fiction? In both the imagery and the contemporary journals and literature, the indigenous people of northeastern South America were described and portrayed as cannibals. This portrayal is infused with the condemnation of a culture totally foreign to the indigenous peoples of the New World. The moral judgments of the Christian invaders are still with us today. If some of the indigenous groups were cannibals, what does that mean to us? What are the implications? Was this as horrible as enslaving people who would be worked to death in mines and on plantations? We view the idea of cannibalism as an unacceptable phenomenon; yet the accounts make it clear that there were indigenous peoples who held an entirely different view of cannibalism.

Cannibalism may have been practiced for several reasons. Among certain tribes, cannibalism was the last desperate action before death by starvation. These impoverished and starving people were not unlike Europeans who under similar circumstances felt impelled to consume human flesh to survive.9

The second circumstance where cannibalism existed is best categorized as part of the spiritual or ritual life of the tribe. The practice was linked to religious sacrifices to the gods or battle and victory celebrations where enemies were consumed to take

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9 Richard Hakluyt, Voyages, vol. 5, Everyman’s Library, *The voyage of M. Hore and divers other gentlemen, to Newfoundland, and Cape Briton, in the yere 1536 and in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8,*
revenge for past wrongs. The indigenous groups who practiced spiritual or ritual cannibalism were considered and labeled as the worst of the savages of the New World. They were labeled cannibals because that is precisely what they were. On cartography, the representations of Amerindians as cannibals reflect the geographic specificity of the accounts.

This first introductory chapter is followed by an exploration of the “Other” in the European mind during the Age of Exploration. Defining those who are different from oneself as the “Other” was not new to the Europeans of the early modern period. It is as old as mankind. It is also an essential element in understanding the imagery of the New World peoples as cannibals.

Cannibalism as a concept and reality is the focus of my second chapter. In it, I explore types of cannibalism and what has been uncovered through archeological excavations that substantiate the imagery and its placement on the cartography of the sixteenth century. This is followed by a chapter that discusses the movement by Europeans into the Atlantic. The Renaissance developed and furthered the rediscovery of ancient knowledge. Coupled with what was learned from contact with the Far East and Arabic worlds, Europe was ready to seek new trading routes. The Portuguese led the way out of the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic. This movement foreshadowed the movement across the Atlantic to the New World.

Once Columbus ventured west across the Atlantic, the Europeans and Amerindians were bound by that contact. The means by which the Europeans documented their contact and conquests varied. One of the mediums used was cartography. The Europeans used their maps for much more than graphic representation. They used cartography to display their accumulation of knowledge, denote their possession of territory, depict the political or military situation, highlight the progress of settlements, delineate the unknown, and portray the peoples, flora and fauna that they encountered. The next two chapters divide the New World geographically. Chapter 5, Meso- and North America surveys the literature and the cartography with respect to depictions and references to cannibalism. Chapter 6, Caribbean and South America also examines the imagery and accounts of cannibalism. My final chapter sums up what conclusions my research has led me to over the course of this dissertation.
CHAPTER 2

THE OTHER

The defining of self is a natural process of the human psyche. It is not particular to one culture or race, rather it is a universal trait shared by mankind. While not always centered on defining one’s self as unique from all others, in cultures that submerge the individual for a group conscience, the differentiation of self from other often takes the form of a “them-against-us” mentality. Throughout history, humans have sought to define differences between their culture and the culture of those who are unlike them. These differences may be as ephemeral as the need to differentiate oneself from all other living beings. This need may be gender-based or defining the “other” may be based on physiological, cultural or religious differences. The Greeks used the ability to speak their language as a distinguisher between self and other. They also considered all who were not Greek as barbarians. The elder Pliny populated the rim of the known world with monstrous races in his *Natural History*, an encyclopedic tome that offered misinformation about the far reaches of his world. He had acquired descriptions of monsters and marvels from Herodotus and Ctesias. Pliny’s descriptions of monstrous races, Mandeville’s literary exploits and Marco Polo’s travels were resurrected by New
World voyagers like Columbus, Vespucci, and Raleigh. They brought their literary milieu into their descriptions of the marvels of the New World.\textsuperscript{10}

The discovery of an unknown (to Europeans) land created a dilemma for the voyagers who crossed the Atlantic during the Columbian encounter. This dilemma is reflected in the literature and the imagery used to depict the indigenous people. How could this lush, bountiful world, filled with people who initially seemed to share all the riches of the land, become a deadly, carnivorous environment whose people, plants and animals proved to be so fatal? The contrasts posed by this New World were difficult for Europeans to reconcile. The linking of Old World myths and ideas to the New World was a natural step for these Europeans seeking to order a world, rather suddenly, turned upside down. Through the ages, these myths had served as a buffer for the psyche as the ancients and the medieval Europeans had moved beyond their own narrow borders and boundaries to face different cultures, whether in trade or holy wars. Pliny may have set the example for populating the far reaches of the world with monsters, but he was not alone in peopling the unknown. As Joyce Wright writes:

\begin{quote}
\ldots at the fringes of society, where our knowledge is thinnest, cosmologies are an insufficient buffer against the doubt that arises. It is here that fears assume the physical forms of monsters and where foreigners – who subscribe to alien cosmologies – must be incorporated into the context of “our” cosmology. To do otherwise would be to permit them to pose a threat to the whole and potentially thrust society into chaos.\textsuperscript{11}
\end{quote}

Certainly, the existence of the Western Hemisphere was an unprecedented shock for Europeans, both religiously and scientifically. Harley’s discussion of the Europeans’ use of the Bible as the “master map” gives us an idea of the astonishment that accompanied the understanding that a fourth part of the World existed.\textsuperscript{12} The very existence of the Western Hemisphere was both a shocking and a wondrous discovery. Applying the description of wondrous allows one to deny the existence of the Other by defining them as too peculiar or exotic to make one question one’s own values or frame of reference. The complimentary method of denial is to ignore their otherness.\textsuperscript{13} Columbus and the Europeans who followed used both of these methods to avoid questioning their own values. Like Tzvetan Todorov, I believe that using the theme of the Other as a point of departure for delving into the Age of Discovery is vital to an understanding of what followed between the Europeans and the indigenous people. For Columbus and the majority of the Catholics that followed him, the egocentrism of their mentality and the duality of their perception of the indigenous people created a schizophrenic element in the treatment of the Amerindians. The indigenes were both human beings that should be Christianized, implying equality, and inferior beings who were beneath consideration and whose land and riches may be possessed by Columbus.

\textsuperscript{12} J.B. Harley, \textit{Maps and the Columbian Encounter: An Interpretive Guide to the Travelling Exhibition}, assisted by Ellen Hanlon and Mark Warhus, (Milwaukee: Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, 1990), 49.
\textsuperscript{13} Bitterli, \textit{Cultures in Conflict}, 9.
What was lacking was recognition of the Amerindians as separate and unique entities, not an imperfect state of one’s self.\textsuperscript{14}

The encounter of Europeans with the Americas differed radically from any other encounter. It was a watershed discovery because there was no sense of prior knowledge of its existence. In fact, having rediscovered the ancient knowledge of the world, especially the geographic tradition of the Greeks and Romans, Europeans were forced to abandon their sense of self-absorbed certainty about the world. They had to recognize that the ancients knew nothing about the fourth part of the world. Additionally, the first encounters of Europeans with the people of the Americas were encounters between cultures so different from each other that understanding was next to impossible.\textsuperscript{15} This bears careful consideration into the depictions and written accounts of these encounters.

The Europeans had a long history of linking the unknown or strange with monsters and myths. Accounts and accusations of man-eaters abound in European literature and history. In the fifth century B.C., Herodotus of Halicarnassus, a Greek historian, warned of Androphagi or “the only people that eat human flesh.”\textsuperscript{16} In the fourth chapter of his works he lists a group of peoples called man-eaters or androphagi.


who live in the far north beyond the desert and the Scythians. In addition to the ancient Greek accounts, the Irish, the Picts, the Scots, witches (normally with babies), and the Jews were labeled as man-eaters throughout the centuries leading up to the European voyages of exploration and discovery of the New World. The fictitious John Mandeville’s widely read travels included encounters with:

…the anthropophagi [man-eaters], Amazons, one-eyed men, blemmyes and dogheads, one-legged men whose feet were so large they could be used as parasols against the blistering sun…

and the other monstrous races found at the ends of the world. These labels were all manifestations of the very human reaction to those who were different from oneself, those who were the “Other.”

In fact, xenophobia seems to have been widespread and intense, directed against stereotypes of the bloodthirsty Turk, the usurious and child-killing Jew, and the devil-worshipping witch. Added to this list in the late fifteenth century were the gypsies. In the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish laws recorded their first against gypsies in 1499. The Portuguese considered gypsies — along with convicts, New Christians, and lepers —

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21 Grafton, Shleford and Siraisi, New Worlds, Ancient Texts, 70-74.
as undesirables, people to be exiled overseas.\textsuperscript{23} ‘Hatred of outsiders,’ it has been suggested, ‘was so common as to make one wonder whether most ordinary people of the period were not what psychologists sometimes call “authoritarian personalities,” combining submissiveness to authority with aggressiveness towards people outside their group.’\textsuperscript{24} The Protestant Reformation would also force European society to confront ‘otherness’ in its midst. The Reformation split Europe into two warring camps, creating new stereotypes: the impious Protestant and the wicked Papist. It is possible that this internecine bitterness was displaced onto groups of ‘others’ already available in society – Jews, Gypsies and women – and the ‘pagan’ inhabitants of the New World. In fact the recognition and treatment of the indigenous people of the Americas would be further complicated by the differences in religious beliefs of the Protestant and Catholic Europeans emmigrating to the Americas.

Beginning with Columbus, European explorers, conquerors and settlers would quickly identify the indigenous people of the New World as the “Other.” The indigenous people looked, lived, and worshipped differently. They were not mentioned in scripture or by Greek or Roman scholars. Clearly, the indigenous people became the very personification of the “Other.”

The cartographers and illustrators of the sixteenth century created an image of the people of the New World using the experiences (most often secondhand), stories, and travel journals replete with their misrepresentations and the impressions of


\textsuperscript{24} Bitterli, \textit{Cultures in Conflict}, 10.
travelers. The voyagers’ own cultural biases and beliefs coulored these tales. Anthony Grafton used Jesuit padre José de Acosta’s writings to highlight the difficulty of recognizing and accepting the paradigm shift created by the discovery of the New World. Acosta notes that Aristotle’s Meteorology was completely erroneous in describing the Torrid Zone and its effects. Grafton points out that the educated Europeans had to replace their reliance on authoritative texts with the accounts rendered by returning voyagers.25

This reconciliation of the New World with the ancient truths was a difficult transition that was often resisted by the Europeans who wrote the books and mapped the discoveries of the fourth part of the world. Knowledge of the New World arrived in Europe in a piecemeal fashion as explorers and travelers returned. This knowledge had to be painstakingly put together in order to arrive at the image of America that we are so familiar with. In fact, the entire process of recognizing the Americas as a separate land mass from Asia and a land mass that included Alaska and Argentina would take two centuries.26

Great difficulty underlies our efforts to understand the imagery of the sixteenth century. Voyages to the Western Hemisphere began even before the widely publicized voyages of Columbus. According to Urs Bitterli, these encounters can be categorized into three different types of contact: superficial, sustained and collision.27

27Bitterli, Cultures in Conflict, 3-4.
Superficial contact occurred when the Portuguese, possibly the Basque, and the English fishing ships traveled to the secret cod fishing banks or, more distantly, when the Vikings set up temporary quarters in North America. This contact was unpublicized and fleeting.  

With Columbus’s second and subsequent voyages, however, contact was no longer superficial, for it now became sustained. Initially, this sustained contact was an effort to capitalize on and exert control over the indigenous population by using their beliefs, timidity, and (by European standards) deficient technology to claim the riches and lands of the New World. Of course, this sustained contact or colonization brought with it the need to categorize or define these new peoples. Columbus begins this characterization by introducing a Janus-like quality to these people. On the islands, those whom Columbus actually made contact with are “good Indians:”

The people of this island, and of all the others I have found and possessed or heard of, all go naked, men and women, as their mothers bore them, although some of the women cover themselves up in just one place with a leaf of grass or a slip of cotton…It is a fact that once they gain confidence and lose their fear, they are so ingenuous and so free with what they possess that no one would believe it without seeing it. Whatever, they have, if you ask for it, they never say no, but rather offer it with a full heart, and show so much good will that they would yield their souls. …So far on these islands I have found no monstrous beings, such as many people expected, but rather all the people are of very handsome appearance.  

By contrast, he notes that those who are on an island he has not been to are the “flesh eaters” or cannibals:

…So I have found no report even of any monsters, except for one island, which is ‘Carib’, the second as one enters the Indies, which is inhabited by a people who in all the islands are accounted very fierce and who eat human flesh. They have many canoes with which they travel over all the islands of India…and plunder all they can. They are not worse formed than others, but they wear the hair long like women, and use bows and arrows of the same kind of cane pointed with a piece of hard wood instead of iron, of which they have none. They are fierce compared with the other people, who are in general but sad cowards; but I do not consider them in any other way superior to them.30

Even before efforts began in earnest to plunder the New World’s wealth, Columbus and his crew made clear that the indigenous people had no right to their lands or their persons. The Europeans treated them as objects to be used as they saw fit. These were not civilized peoples on a commensurate level with Columbus or the Spanish. They constituted a new Other. The Muslims, Jews and heretics in their own land had been compelled by force to give up their lands, renounce their beliefs, or die for what made them different. David Ringrose noted that the initial treatment of the indigenous people quickly moved from curiosity to violence. One of the more unambiguous letters written concerning Spanish intentions and actions during Columbus’s second voyage was penned by Michele de Cuneo, a friend and crewmember. Since the Spanish identified the woman captured as a Carib, his behavior whether it consisted of rape or enslavement required no justification. The Carib were man-eaters according to Columbus and the members of this second voyage.

30 Ibid., 105,108.
While I was in the boat I captured a very beautiful Carib woman, whom the said Lord Admiral gave to me, and with whom, having taken her into my cabin, she being naked according their custom, I conceived a desire to take pleasure. I wanted to put my desire into execution but she did not want it and treated me with her finger nails in such a manner that I wished I had never begun. But seeing that (to tell you the end of it all) I took a rope and thrashed her well, for which she raised such unheard of screams that you would not have believed your ears. Finally, we came to an agreement in such a manner that I can tell you that she seemed to have been brought up in a school of harlots…31

Like Cuneo, Columbus, and the other European voyagers who followed, responded aggressively when the indigenous people resisted attempts to change their world. Most Europeans could not accept the indigenes as people and treated them accordingly. Oblivious to the devastation caused by kidnapping these people, the Europeans routinely returned from voyages with proof, i.e., human souvenirs of their voyages. Columbus began that tradition with the Taino captives that he brought back as proof of his success.32

At times, the cartographers and illustrators of the maps, atlases and books were able to view these exhibits for the European royal courts and the slave markets. While viewing the captives from the New World might have provided some visual information, the mapmakers still relied on returning Europeans to provide information and misinformation about the fourth part of the world. One must be careful in weighing

the impact that these captives had on the information and ideas about the Americas. Once removed from his natural setting, the Indian on display was shorn of the backdrop which was an essential element of his being. From the first voyage on, Europeans returned with Amerindians who were perceived and treated in every imaginable manner from slaves in chains, or objects of curiosity, to members of spectacles and royal visitors.33

Columbus began a trend that would continue into the nineteenth century. He paraded the Tainos he had brought back in front of his monarchs at their Barcelona court and along the route from the port. The Portuguese, English and French would do the same, sometimes displaying the Amerindians as curiosities and sometimes presenting them as royalty. Those not destined for court or the parlors of the wealthy, were sold as slaves to cover the cost of the transatlantic voyage. One of the most amazing displays of Amerindians occurred in Rouen, France. John Hemming writes:

When the city of Rouen wished to stage a lavish welcome for Henry II and Catherine de'Medici when they visited the city with their court in 1550, someone thought of importing more Indians and using them in a tableau. A meadow beside the Seine was decked out to resemble Brazil. New trees and bushes were planted. Existing trees were made more luxuriant with extra branches and festooned with imitation fruit. Parrots, monkeys, coatis and other American animals clambered about in this jungle. Thatched cabins were built at either end of the meadow, each surrounded by a log palisade: these were intended to represent villages of the Tupinambá and Tobajara, two warning tribes from the northern coast of Brazil. ‘All along this site as many as three hundred men busied themselves here and there. They were completely naked, tanned and shaggy, without in any way covering the parts that nature commands, and were decorated and equipped in the manner of those savages of

America from whom brazilwood is brought. Among their number there were a good fifty natural savages freshly brought from that country….The remainder of the company were French sailors who had frequented that country: they spoke the language as well, and expressed themselves as naively in the gestures and mannerisms of the savages, as if they were natives of the same country.34

Both the Spaniards and the Portuguese recognized the need for a work force to harvest the riches of the islands. They quickly began to enslave the indigenous people in order to acquire the needed laborers. The enslavement and the conversion of the indigenous people certainly represented sustained contact.

…you should say to their Highnesses that the good of the souls of the said cannibals, and even of those who remain here, raises the presumption that the more we send over there the better…The goods could be paid for with slaves, drawn from among the cannibals, who are folk so wild and naturally so well equipped, well formed and of good understanding, that once freed of their inhumanity we believe they would make better slaves than any other people. And they will lose that inhumanity once they are away from their land.35

Columbus displayed this propensity to link these new people with previous legends and folklore in his letter to Don Luis de Santangel. This letter was written at the Azores, 15 February 1493. In it Columbus appeared to evoke the Amazon myth in describing the women of the island. Columbus stated that:

These are they who trade in women, who inhabit the first island met with in going from Spain to the Indies, in which there are no men whatever. They have no effeminate exercise, but bows and arrows, as before said,

34Ibid., 11-12, 119; Christopher Columbus in The Torres Memorandum, dated 30 January 1494, Fernandez-Armesto, Columbus on Himself, 111.
35Ibid., 120.
of cane, with which they arm themselves, and use shields of copper, of which they have plenty.\textsuperscript{36}

With the return to Europe of Columbus, Vespucci, and the early voyagers, imagery of the Amerindians as cannibals became part of the iconography of the New World. It appeared on maps, in travel narratives, and in atlases. This imagery was an enduring iconographic statement of condemnation about the people of the New World. In general, the Europeans who were traveling to the New World were able to compress all the variety and cultural diversity of the indigenous peoples into one mold. Although the Europeans encountered a multitude of cultures, they reduced the various groups they met into one mass. Certainly the Tainos were markedly different than the Aztecs. Yet, in the few years between Columbus and Hernán Cortés, the indigenous people of the Western Hemisphere had been classified and their fate determined. Many Indians were labeled as the practitioners of one of the very worst taboos possible in European culture: they were cannibals. This practice alone would have condemned them as inferior. To support that categorization, the technology and living conditions of the indigenes were defined as clearly substandard. And the Europeans who first appeared on their shores were ethnocentric in their evaluation of the indigenes. Thus, by using their own standard of behavior and evaluating the simple living conditions, the lack of both clothing and advanced weapons, the disregard for gold and pearls that were precious to the Europeans and the willingness to share their daughters with these strangers, the only

\textsuperscript{36} B.F. French, \textit{Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida}. Historical Memoirs and Narratives, 1527-1702, second series (New York: Albert Mason, Publisher, 1875), 150-151.
conclusion available was that these beings were inferior. In reference to the inferiority of the “other,” Mitchell notes:

Thus the “other” fulfills a psychic need, but more importantly to the unfolding of history, he fulfills a pragmatic and selfish need, as well. Implicit in the concept of something other than myself is that of something lesser than myself, and he who is other and lesser is, by logical extrapolation, less deserving than I. Morality is a relative thing, and its measure more often lies less in what is done than to whom it is done. The “other” therefore can be exploited without the restraints on what is done to one of “us.” And this fact, in its constant reiterations, is very much an element in the construction of transatlantic history.37

Bitterli concludes that the most likely scenario in responding to other cultures often takes the form of extravagant value judgments, either demonizing that culture or beatifying it. While there were some, like Montaigne or Voltaire, who used the theme of Indians as “noble savages” to illuminate the decay and hypocrisy of European civilization,38 the majority of Europeans responded to the cultures of the Indians not with admiration but with condemnation. The Indians were not seen by Europeans as a unique people living by their own set of social rules and values. The Europeans considered them simply inferior — without values, religion or worth. Even when confronted by higher civilizations like the Aztecs or the Incas, the Spanish reacted predictably. Certainly it is more common to demonize another culture or people “by

ascribing barbarous vices to them, especially those vices which are repressed and tabooed in one’s own society.”

Additionally, the Amerindians could be easily associated with the Wild Man, a prevalent symbol of Medieval and early Renaissance mythology. In the southern reaches, the first indigenous people encountered were naked. This was typical of the wild men of European stories. In the northern areas, the Amerindians lived in the forest. They appeared to be primitive and were unintelligible. The inability to make a distinction between living naturally in the wild and choosing to isolate oneself in the wild was lost on the majority of Europeans.

I assert that there is a mix of truth and myth that confuses the issue of cannibals among the Amerindians. Columbus never actually witnessed any act of cannibalism by the island peoples. Both groups, Tainos and Caribs or Kalinas, were enslaved and decimated by the Spanish conquerors. Assertions of cannibalism among the island people had their origins with the initial attempts to communicate between Columbus and the Tainos. Having misinterpreted the initial Taino reaction and subsequent behavior during his first voyage, Columbus had mentally fashioned the perfect “other.” He would be one of many Europeans who believed that their perceptions of these people were accurate. On his first visit, he envisioned a future that was unrelated to the indigenous people’s reality. He stated:

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39 Bitterli, Cultures in Conflict, 8-10.
…looking ahead, they will become Christians, for they will incline to the
love and service of their Highnesses and of the whole Castilian nation,
and will try to join together to provide us with all the things which they
have in abundance and which are needful to us...  

Columbus’s mental image was of the “other” who would behave in a manner
that would allow exploitation of the natural resources, fulfill his promises to his patrons,
and comply with any and all demands made by the Europeans. He had already reported
his success to his sponsors.

Although I have taken possession of all of these islands for their
Highnesses, and although all are better provided than I have the skill and
knowledge to express (and I hold them so securely for their Highnesses
that they can dispose of them as well and as fully as of their kingdoms of
Castile), yet of all of them, it was in this Hispaniola that I took
possession of a great town to which I gave the name of Villa de Navidad.
There I have built a stronghold and fortress, which by about the present
time will have been completely finished. It is a most suitable place – the
best for gold mines, and for trade both with the mainland here and that
over there belonging to the Great Khan where great trade and profit can
be had. And in it I have left men sufficient for the feat of this sort, with
arms and artillery and victuals for more than a year, and one lighter, and
a master-shipwright qualified in all departments, to build more, all of
them in great friendship with the king of that land in such degree that he
prided himself on calling me brother and treating me as such.

Obviously, the indigenous people were unaware of this image. Undoubtedly
Columbus felt pressured to produce the riches promised and offset the expense of the
large, well-equipped second voyage. When he arrived after his second transatlantic
crossing, Columbus was stunned to discover his fortress on La Navidad destroyed and
his men vanished. Columbus’s undoubtedly considered this a betrayal by the

42 Ibid., 107.
indigenous people for failing to be what his mental image had constructed. Sale argues that Columbus chose to label as cannibals those who resisted encroachment on their island or the appropriation of their families for show or labor.\footnote{Sale, \textit{The Conquest of Paradise}, 129-139.}

While this has become the standard argument discounting the presence of cannibals in the Caribbean, it can only explain the earliest contact. As the Spanish established themselves in the New World, the practice of enslavement became increasingly commonplace. In 1494, while Columbus was exploring the Caribbean and discovering Jamaica, he left his brother, Diego Colón in charge of Hispaniola. Columbus charged Alonso de Ojeda and Mosén Margarit with exploring the interior of the island. This expedition did not find large quantities of gold but brought back another profitable commodity from the interior, slaves. Samuel Eliot Morison writes that Columbus:

\begin{quote}
…adopted the questionable policy of rounding up and enslaving Indians who had resisted Margarit’s men. Time and again Columbus had asserted that the Tainos were the most kindly, peaceful, and generous people in the world, and the Sovereigns had particularly enjoined him to treat them as such. But, by close of February 1495, when Torres was ready to sail to Spain, the Columbus brothers had collected 1500 Indian captives at Isabela. Torres loaded 500 of them, all his four ships could take. The Admiral then allowed every Spaniard at Isabela to help himself to as many of the remainder as he chose, and the rest were told to get out. Cuneo records how these wretched captives, when released, fled as far as they could from the Spaniards; women even abandoned infants in their fear and desperation to escape further cruelty. But at least they were free; the lot of the slaves shipped home was worse. Some two hundred of them died at sea. The survivors were landed at Seville where Andrés Bernáldez, the clerical chronicler, saw them put up for sale
\end{quote}
“naked as they were born.” He added that they were “not very profitable since almost all died, for the country did not agree with them.”

These slaves were not Caribs and they were not cannibals. They were the “friendly” Tainos. While it is obvious that not all those enslaved were cannibals, this does not negate the possibility that some of the New World people did indeed practice cannibalism. We must question the pervasiveness of the accounts of cannibalism and the localities that were affixed to these narratives before dismissing all accounts as groundless. There were warlike indigenes, like the Floridians, who were never labeled or depicted as cannibals, but were enslaved by the Spanish. There were also indigenes along the coast of northeastern South America (Brazil) who are labeled and depicted as cannibals, involved in trade with the French and Portuguese, and enslaved by the Spanish early in the century and later by the Portuguese.

It is necessary to keep in mind the incentives of the men who returned with accounts of the indigenous people. Antonello Gerbi summarizes these motivations noting that:

…the historian must expose differences among the sources not only in language and intent, but also in the enormously varying cultural contexts of each author. Their stock of preconceived ideas, their scales of values, and the very perspectives from which they scrutinize America are important references; they explain, for example, the differences between the latinizing humanist Peter Martyr and the rough and ribald Michele. While systematic description or analytic recordings are extremely rare,

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44 Antonio de Torres, commander of the 1494 fleet (12 ships) dispatched by Columbus. Torres began the regular trade route (carrera de Indias) between Spain and the Indies. He also commanded the follow-up voyage to Spain in 1495. Samuel Eliot Morison, The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A.D. 1492-1616, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 119-121, 135-136.  
the prevalent feelings and motives of the authors are personal profit, rivalry with potentially exploitative emulators, flattery of powers, real or imagined, journalistic flair, display of erudition, mercantile speculation, indulgent tale-telling, and the ever-prevailing greed for gold. ⁴⁶

Quite clearly the early voyagers were seeking trade, riches, and land. What is also clear is that the early accounts raise the specter of cannibalism and throughout most of the sixteenth century, that presence remains a viable element of the cosmography.

As mentioned earlier, not only were the Europeans returning with tales of the New World and its peoples, the ships bringing the voyagers home also carried Indians to Europe. Beginning with Columbus, the explorers returned with living proof of their journey. In addition to hearing or reading about the exploits of those who had traveled to the newfound lands, some Europeans also had the opportunity to view the Indians as they were paraded through Europe. Some Indians were captured so that they could become interpreters for future voyages.

I understood sufficiently from other Indians, whom I had already taken, that this land was nothing but an island...And as soon as I reached the Indies, on the first island I found I took by force a number of them so that they could be taught to give me information of what there was in those regions. ⁴⁷

However, most of the Indians were enslaved. Columbus brought back Indians on each voyage and related his vision for the New World to Antonio de Torres, dated 30 January 1494. In this memorandum he also reiterated that among the Indians were people who practiced cannibalism. In addition to saving souls, Columbus suggested

that these Indians be sold as slaves to defray the cost of the expeditions to the New World.

...we are now sending with the present sailing some men, women, boys, and girls, all belonging to the cannibal people. These their highnesses can order to be placed in the charge of persons with whom they can best learn our language and who can give practice in useful employment and who, little by little, can order them to be nurtured with more care than other slaves,...that the good of the souls of the said cannibals, and even of those who remain here, raises the presumption that the more we send over there the better. And their Highnesses can be served therein in this manner: seeing how badly cattle and working animals are needed here for the sustenance of the men who have to be stationed here, and for the good of all the islands, their Highnesses will be able to grant a licence and permits for a sufficient number of caravels to come here every year and bring the said cattle and other provisions and the things needed to settle the country and exploit the soil – and to do so at reasonable prices and at the carrier’s expense. The goods could be paid for with slaves, drawn from among the cannibals, who are folk so wild and naturally so well equipped, well formed and of good understanding, that once freed of their inhumanity we believe they would make better slaves than any other people....48

In fact, on board the vessels that returned to Spain in 1494, there were more than five hundred prisoners whom Columbus enslaved and sold in the market at Seville to underwrite the cost of the voyages. The names of both the illustrious and relatively unknown European explorers can be added to the list of those who profited from the sale of fellow humans.

These explorers included: Americus Vespucius – 222 Indians (sold after his first voyage); Alonzo de Ojeda – 232 Indians; Gaspar Cortereal – 50 indigenes from Labrador; Thomas Aubert (a pilot of Dieppe in 1508) – 7 Micmacs; as well as

47Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus on Himself*, 104, 106, 111; Carla Mulford, ed., *Early American*
Verrazzano, Córdoba, Cortés, de Ayllon, Gómez, de Narváez, Cartier, and Frobisher. This list merely scratches the surface. Some of these men kidnapped only a few Indians to use later as interpreters; others enslaved all they could capture for use in Europe or in the fields and mines of the settlers in the New World. For those indigenous peoples living north of the Lower Antilles during the sixteenth century, the specter of cannibalism never haunted their tribes. They were kidnapped, sometimes to be returned but often to die far from their homes and families at the whim or for the profit of these interlopers from the East.

In reading the accounts of European voyages and contact with the indigenous population, there was a clear demarcation concerning the practice of man-eating. The accounts of cannibalism emerged from the Antilles and on the South American continent. The French colonization efforts in present-day Canada and in Spanish Florida were replete with accounts of the indigenous people. No hint of cannibalism was ever mentioned. However, accounts from the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and German voyagers to South America all discuss or reference acts of cannibalism. In fact, both Protestant and Catholic voyagers -- who often gave different accounts, and certainly had somewhat different perceptions -- agree on one thing: the Tupinambá practiced cannibalism. These accounts were accepted as truth and the imagery of all indigenous people reflected it.

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CHAPTER 3
CANNIBALISM

Today, stories in the newspaper and on television depicting cannibalism fascinate and appall us. We follow, with a queasy sense of fascination and distaste, the criminal cases of psychopaths and serial killers who dismember and eat their victims. Books on past incidents of survival cannibalism are bought and read by an interested, repulsed, and enthralled public. Certainly, there have been both small incidents and mass outbreaks of survival cannibalism during famines and wars in the past and in our own lifetime. Incidents like the snow-trapped members of the Donner Party who survived in the Sierra Nevada Mountains during the winter of 1846-1847 by eating members of the group who had perished,\textsuperscript{50} or stories of cannibalism during Stalin’s forced collectivization in Russia or in post-World War I China, and during World War II in Auschwitz can be classified in survival circumstances of the last resort.\textsuperscript{51} We understand, at some intellectual level that sometimes, under the most egregious of circumstances, that people might eat those already dead in order to survive.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{51}Hans Askenasy, \textit{Cannibalism from Sacrifice to Survival}, (New York: Prometheus Books, 1994), 67, 80.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
However, in our world, any other reason for cannibalism is totally unacceptable. Our “civilized” moral standard and our condemnation are imposed on any society encountered where cannibalism as a cultural practice is uncovered. In this reaction to cannibalism and the possibility of cannibalism, not much has changed in the over five hundred years since Columbus first reached the shores of the New World. One change is the terminology used to describe humans eating humans. Before Columbus and his New World encounter, anthropophagy was the term used to describe this activity.

The most basic definition of cannibalism is “the practice [by people] of eating the flesh or other parts of the human body.” Of course, that rather simplistic definition does not offer a complete understanding of the host of customs and circumstances that are narrated and depicted in the literature about, and illustrated on the cartography of, the New World during the first century of contact. The very word, cannibal, began as a hybrid, confused mix of at least two languages and cultural misunderstanding. Douglas Taylor noted that in tracing the word origins “of ‘cannibal’ and ‘Carib’ go back to Arawakan designations describing some tribe or clan as manioc people.” Not originally pejorative, it quickly became that as a “result of Spanish errors of translation and interpretation.” The words canima, caniba, caritaba, caribana, caris, and carib (valiant warrior) all occur in the earliest documents without clear

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distinction.\textsuperscript{55} These designations for a group of man-eating people appear on cartography and in early accounts of the New World. To continue the confusion, Frank Lestringant notes in his book on the same topic, that:

\ldots the noun ‘cannibal’ derives from the Arawak \textit{caniba}, apparently a corruption of \textit{cariba}, the name (meaning ‘bold’, it is said) which the Caribbean Indians of the Lesser Antilles gave to themselves. To their enemies, however, the peace-loving Arawaks of Cuba, the name had a distinctly perjorative connotation of extreme ferocity and barbarity…\textsuperscript{56}

Moving past the origin of the word \textit{cannibal} itself, we also have a variety of forms or distinct practices associated with cannibalism. It is important to define cannibalism and understand what the behavior entails. There are various classifications of cannibalism based on the status of the person being consumed and the motive for consumption. The most generally used taxonomies include: (1) endocannibalism, which refers to eating a member of one’s own group; (2) exocannibalism, indicating the consumption of outsiders or human beings who are not members of one’s own group; and (3) autocannibalism, signifying ingesting parts of one’s own body.

The classifications are further compounded by adding the motivation for the act of cannibalism to the mix. There is (1) gastronomic or gustatory cannibalism, where human flesh is eaten for its taste and food value; (2) ritual or magical cannibalism, identifying an attempt to absorb the spiritual essence of the deceased; (3) survival cannibalism, indicating a resort to this normally prohibited behavior in crisis


conditions; and (4) spiritual cannibalism, as in the Catholic Church’s practice of transmutation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. In 1215, belief in transmutation became a primary tenet of the Catholic Church at the Fourth Lateran Council under Pope Innocent III. As a tenet, the faithful believe that the wafer is transformed into the actual body of Christ (transubstantiation). In 1995, the Vatican banned ordination of men with an allergy to gluten since they would be unable to “take of the body of Jesus Christ.”

In the case of endocannibalism, one could consume members of one’s own group under desperate circumstances in order to survive. A subset of survival cannibalism was the practice of medicinal consumption of human parts in the belief that ingestion would cure a disease. (Sixteenth-century Europeans practiced both these forms of endocannibalism.) Another form of endocannibalism involved consuming dead members of one’s own group as part of a ritual funerary cannibalism. This form of cannibalism expressed a reverence for the dead where the soul would be incorporated into living descendants, or as a ritual means of ensuring the soul would leave the body.

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References to survival cannibalism are found in the books of the Old Testament. In referring to overwhelming hunger when besieged for failing to obey the Lord, it was written of the Godless that you

…shall eat the offspring of your own body, the flesh of your sons and daughters…he will not give to any of them any of the flesh of his children whom he is eating…  


The Europeans have many stories of survival cannibalism in the New World. These accounts were scattered throughout the European countries and usually involved starvation while stranded either onboard a ship or on shore without supplies. Richard Hakluyt’s efforts to document the English voyages included several discovery expeditions. One of those voyages involved endocannibalism. Hakluyt spoke to M. Oliver Dawbeny, the last living member of the M. Hore voyage of 1536 to document that journey. Two ships departed in April. Several months later, after surviving a shipwreck, illness, and near starvation, some of the members of the crew resorted to cannibalism to survive. After the remaining members discovered that members of the crew were responsible for those missing, the indiscriminate murder of the remaining seamen ceased. However, in desperation, the remaining voyagers had agreed to draw lots to determine who would be sacrificed when they were saved by the appearance of a French ship.  

Richard Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. 5, Everyman’s Library, *The voyage of M. Hore and divers other gentlemen, to Newfoundland, and Cape Briton, in the yere 1536 and in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8*,

Survival cannibalism was also chronicled by other nationalities. In fact, Cabeza de Vaca commented on cannibalism by the Spanish. In desperation to survive,
some of his fellow explorers consumed members of the expedition. Cabeza de Vaca’s narrative included two accounts of the Spanish practicing cannibalism. In the narrative of his eight year odyssey, Cabeza de Vaca recounted in Chapter VIII, “How the Indians Came and Brought Andres Dorantes and Castillo and Estebanico,”

…And the others dried the flesh of the ones who died, and the last to die was Sotomayor; and Esquivel dried his flesh and, by eating it, survived until the first day of March…62

After being stranded, the explorers built boats that they planned to sail along the coastline to lands under Spanish control. In Chapter XIV “How Four Christians Departed,” Cabeza de Vaca wrote:

A few days after these four Spaniards had departed there came a time of cold and storms so severe that the Indians could not gather their roots and could make no use at all of the creeks where they fished; and as the houses were so flimsy the people began to die, and five Christians who were encamped on the beach came to such straits that they ate one another until only one was left, who survived because there was no one left to eat him. The names of these men were as follows: Sierra, Diego Lopez, Corral, Palacios, and Gonzalo Ruiz. The Indians were so indignant about this, and there was so much outrage among them, that undoubtedly if they had seen this when it began to happen they would have killed the men and all of us would have been in dire peril...63

It is apparent from the second narrative that these indigenous tribes did not practice cannibalism during this period. However, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, survival cannibalism seemed to be associated with some of the Gulf Coast groups. Among certain tribes, cannibalism was the last desperate action before death by

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63 Ibid., 110-112.
starvation. These impoverished and starving people were not unlike Europeans who under similar circumstances felt impelled to consume human flesh to survive. Spanish expeditions came into contact with several Amerindian groups including groups including groups, clans or tribes of Calusas, Timucuas, Apalachees, Pensacolas, Karankawas, Caddoes, Atakapans, Coahuiltecans, Jumanos, Conchos, Pimas, and Opatas. The Karankawas lived among the snake-infested islands along the coast of modern day, eastern Texas and inhabited the Isle of Ill Fortune (Galveston Island) described by Cabeza de Vaca. Of these groups, Cabeza de Vaca recounted that the Karankawa, whom he lived with for over a year, crushed the bones of medicine men and drank a mixture of crushed bone and water. They gained the label of cannibals; but there has never been concrete evidence to support that moniker. None of the other groups listed above were labeled cannibals although the Spanish encountered resistance from them. Much later, D’Ilse would include a cannibal scene in cartography of Texas.

The practice of consuming humans as a medicinal panacea or as a means of acquiring the victim’s essence was certainly not limited to the New World. Europeans should not have been surprised that the people of the New World consumed human blood and parts since Europeans used various parts of the body as medicinal potions. In 1483, King Louis XI of France drank the blood of children in an effort to fend off death.

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Every day he grew worse, and the medicines profited him nothing, though of a strange character; for he vehemently hoped to recover by the human blood which he took and swallowed from certain children.\textsuperscript{67}

Executioners selling the blood of criminals and body parts, grinding up Egyptian mummies, alchemist formulas requiring blood for life potions or as an ingredient for gold, all of these uses for humans were not unheard of throughout the history of civilized societies even after the Columbian Encounter.\textsuperscript{68}

In America north of Mexico, many tribes (though they were not known to the Europeans during the sixteenth century) have been mentioned in association with the practice of exocannibalism. Tribes mentioned in the Bureau of American Ethnology \textit{Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico} were the Montagnais, the Algonkin, Armouchiquois, Micmac, and Iroquois; and farther inland, several tribes were mentioned including Assiniboin, Cree, Foxes, Miami, Ottawa, Chippewa, Illinois, Kickapoo, Sioux, and Winnebago. Tribes mentioned as cannibals by the \textit{Handbook} in the southern part of the United States included the Tonkawa, Attacapa, Karankawa, Kiowa, Caddo, and Comanche. The Attacapa, Tonkawa, and Karankawa were called “man-eaters” by neighboring tribes.\textsuperscript{69} Tribes linked to cannibalism according to the \textit{Handbook} and that were also mentioned in Cabeza de Vaca’s narrative were the Attacapa (Atakapans or Akokisa) and, possibly, the Caddo (Caddoes). French explorers

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., 87-93; Askenasy, \textit{Cannibalism}, 27-28.
\textsuperscript{69} James White, ed., \textit{Handbook of Indians of Canada} (Ottawa: Appendix to the Tenth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada, 1913), 77-78 quoted by Claude Bélanger, “Cannibalism,” in \textit{The Quebec
labeled the Attacapans as cannibals but they were not described as such by early Spanish accounts. First identified by Hernando de Soto’s expedition, the Caddoes may have had contact with Cabeza de Vaca when he wandered as a trader during his journey.\textsuperscript{70}

As practiced in Latin America, exocannibalism celebrated victory over an enemy. The practice turned the enemy into a game animal, to be butchered and eaten immediately after victory on the battlefield. In the case of the Tupinambá, captured enemies could be returned to the village for eventual participation in cannibal rituals enjoyed by the entire village prior to killing, cooking and consuming the prisoner.\textsuperscript{71}

The second circumstance where cannibalism existed is best categorized as part of the spiritual or ritual life of the tribe. The practice became linked to religious sacrifices to the gods, both before, and after battle in victory celebrations where enemies were consumed to revenge past wrongs. The Aztecs definitely fit into this category - the use of captives as religious sacrifices to their gods. The indigenous groups who practiced spiritual or ritual cannibalism were considered by Europeans to be the worst of the New World savages. They were labeled and represented on European cartography as cannibals because that is precisely what they were. During the first century of contact, the accusations of cannibalism and the accounts by witnesses most commonly referred to Amerindians from Mesoamerica and the Caribbean and in northern and southeastern areas of South America. By contrast, the North American

encounters make almost no mention of cannibalism. Not all the peoples of the Caribbean and Latin America practiced literal consumption of their enemies, but certainly enough accounts and accusations existed to make the image of cannibals an enduring symbol on the cartography of the period.

The accounts of European voyages and contact with the indigenous population indicate a clear demarcation concerning the practice of man-eating. The accounts of cannibalism begin with the Caribs in the Antilles and then continued with indigenous people on the South American continent. The French colonization efforts in present-day Canada and in Spanish Florida provide us with accounts of the indigenous people. Cannibalism was not a factor or topic in the journals and reports of most of these northern travelers. However, accounts from the Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and German voyagers to South America all discuss or reference acts of cannibalism. In fact, both Protestant and Catholic voyagers agree on the Tupinambá practicing cannibalism. These accounts were accepted by sixteenth-century Europeans as truth and the imagery of the indigenous people reflected it. Often, the accounts mention the Amerindian cannibalism in passing. The very offhandedness that the travelers used to describe indigenous cannibalism points to a very well established belief in the veracity of this practice. During the 1526 Sebastian Cabot voyage for Spain, Luiz Ramirez, Cabot’s cabin boy or servant, wrote his father about the voyage. This letter described their stop at Recife, the harbor of Pernambuco, Brazil. It also mentions the Tupi Indians

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as “kind and good humored.” While they helped supply the ship with fresh provisions, Luiz noted that they (the Tupi) also ate war captives.\textsuperscript{72}

One of the few indigenous sources that we have of pre-Columbian life in the Americas is the work of Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca. Garcilaso was the son of Spanish conquistador Captain Sebastián de la Vega Vargas and an Inca princess Nusta Chimpu Ocllo. Born on 12 April 1539, Garcilaso, like other first generation mestizos, was educated like a Spaniard of noble birth. He learned the history of the Inca from his mother’s relatives. He traveled to Spain at twenty-one. He wrote three major works, two of them were about America. In his \textit{Royal Commentaries of the Incas}, Garcilaso’s first volume is divided into pre-Incan life and life after the Incan empire rose until the coming of the Spanish under Pizarro.\textsuperscript{73}

In the section on pre-Incan life, Garcilaso made it very clear that he considered these people as separate and different from the Inca. They are the “Other” in Volume One. In Chapter XI, \textit{The kinds of sacrifices they made}, Garcilaso discussed human sacrifice and consumption of those sacrificed. He quoted another mestizo, Jesuit Padre Blas Valera in his discussion of the religious and cultural cannibalism practiced by the American savages. Garcilaso noted that Padre Blas Valera “writes as follows, using the present tense, for the people he speaks of still practice these inhumanities:

Those who live in the Antis\textsuperscript{74} eat human flesh: they are fiercer than tigers, they…make a prisoner in war or otherwise and know that he is a plebeian of low rank, they quarter him and give the quarters to their friends and servants to eat or to sell in the meat market. But if he is of noble rank, the chiefs foregather with their wives and children, and like ministers of the devil, strip him, tie him alive to a stake, and cut him to pieces with flint knives and razors, not so as to dismember him, but to remove the meat from the fleshiest parts,…they all devour the flesh very rapidly, without cooking it or roasting it thoroughly or even chewing it. They swallow it in mouthfuls so that the wretched victim sees himself eaten alive by others…This is all done in a place of sacrifice with great rejoicing and lightheartedness until the man dies. They then finish eating the flesh together with all his inner parts, …The empire of the Incas did not reach them, nor so far has that of the Spaniards, so they remain in this state to this day. This race of terrible and cruel men came from the Mexican area and peopled Panama and Darien and all the great forests that stretch to the kingdom of New Granada and in the other direction to Santa Marta.\textsuperscript{75}

Garcilaso stated repeatedly that the Inca did not sacrifice people nor did they practice cannibalism. He made a point of comparing Peru to Mexico and noted that the latter sacrificed and ate people. While the Aztecs were the “other” indigenous civilization, less developed groups did not merit any defensive or offensive commentary about the practice of cannibalism.\textsuperscript{76}

In his book, \textit{The Florida of the Inca}, Garcilaso de la Vega discussed cannibalism among the indigenous in Florida. He based his account on documents and personal interviews with the Spaniards who explored the region. In it he noted that:

People who say that the Indians eat human flesh attribute this practice to them falsely, at least to those of the provinces our Governor discovered.

\textsuperscript{74} Antis refers to the Antisuyu area of Central Peru. It is located east of Rimac (Lima), northeast of Cuzco, and the eastern mountain range. Garcilaso de la Vega, \textit{Royal Commentaries}, 24, 222-223.  
\textsuperscript{75}Ibid., 33-34.  
\textsuperscript{76}Ibid., 86-87, 90-92.
They on the contrary abominate this practice, as Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca notes in his *Naufragios*, chapters fourteen and seventeen.\(^7^7\)

Additionally, Garcilaso related the ten year captivity of Juan Ortiz. Initially a slave for Hirrihiqua, Ortiz fled to another group and remained as a member of Mucozo’s tribe until rescued by Governor Hernando de Soto. During that decade, no acts of cannibalism were noted by Juan Ortiz. These were Amerindians who fought with and held the Spanish captive. They tortured and killed many of the Europeans. Logically, if all those indigenous peoples who resisted the Spanish were labeled cannibals, then the reports from the expeditions into Florida would be filled with depraved savages gnawing the flesh and bones of the Spanish enemies they fought.\(^7^8\)

Yet, this is not the case; the Spanish enslaved the indigenous peoples but did not indicate that *la Florida* was the home of cannibals.

Did other indigenous groups practice cannibalism? Certainly the narratives of this period cite some South American groups and the Aztecs. Reportedly, several North American groups may also have engaged in cannibalism for religious reasons or out of necessity. Earliest contact with the northernmost tribes would have been mentioned by Portuguese, French, English, and Basque fishing ships, followed by various explorers sponsored predominantly by England and France, like Cartier and Verrazano. With the exception of Verrazano, early reports and journals do not mention cannibalism. Later

\(^7^7\)Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Florida of the Inca: A history of the Adelantado, Hernando de Soto, Governor and Captain General of the kingdom of Florida, and of other heroic Spanish and Indian cavaliers, written by The Inca, Garcilaso de la Vega, an officer of His Majesty, and a native of the great city of Cuzco, capital of the realms and provinces of Peru*, trans. & eds. John Grier Varner and Jeannette Johnson Varner, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951), 15. Of the two groups mentioned in Cabeza de Vaca’s chapters, only Soto-Mayor survived. Later, he was De Soto’s lieutenant general in Florida.

\(^7^8\)Ibid., 63-86.
accounts by Jesuit priests noted that among the Iroquois, cannibalism of warrior captives (usually involving the heart) was a religious duty. One form of torture among Canadian Indians was autocannibalism (eating parts of one's own body). Autocannibalism was also purportedly practiced by the Aztec priests.  

In addition to the singular practice of one form of cannibalism, members of a group could practice more than one form of cannibalism, having funeral rites requiring consumption of members of their own group (endocannibalism) and consuming enemy warriors after capture (exocannibalism). Both types of cannibalism were reportedly practiced by the Aztecs. Fray Toribio Motolinia, one of the eleven friars who went to New Spain in 1523 noted in his *History* that the Aztecs sacrificed humans and also made sacrifices of their own blood taken from their ears and their tongues. He also noted that the victims were not always war captives but included local people.

There has long been a debate about the practice of cannibalism by Amerindians. Many scholars argue that Columbus, Vespucci and the other Europeans that came to the New World used the specter of cannibalism to justify the conquest, enslavement, and death of indigenous populations. Both in the Christian secular world

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and the ecclesiastic sphere, the condemnation and justification of the use of any means to subjugate the indigenous peoples of the Americas focused on the practice of cannibalism. Pope Innocent IV declared the practice a sin and Isabella, Queen of Spain allowed the enslavement of cannibals by colonists. While these pronouncements certainly provided added incentive and a monetary inducement to the labeling of New World peoples as cannibals, the Europeans did not do so except in the areas of present day South America and the Lower Antilles.\textsuperscript{81}

Certainly, stories of cannibalism are easily found in the myths and legends of the ancients as discussed in Chapter 2. While the term *cannibal* was not in use until the Columbian Encounter, the appearance of the phenomenon in literature first surfaced with Homer’s Cyclops in the *Odyssey*.\textsuperscript{82} In order to get to the heart of this subject, it is necessary to delve into this topic and flesh out our understanding of the many forms of cannibalism mentioned in contemporary sixteenth-century accounts of the Columbian encounter.

Those scholars who doubt the veracity of the early accounts point to the lack of actual eyewitnesses and the motivation of those Europeans who wrote about cannibalism. These accounts, they note, are hearsay. James Jacobs refers to this as a “Cannibalism Paradigm.” He uses the term *cannibalism paradigm* to “describe this gap between the admissible evidence and the hearsay that informs modern beliefs about

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\textsuperscript{82}Priscilla L. Walton, \textit{Our Cannibals, Ourselves}, (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2004), 2, 9
practices of consuming human flesh." ⁸³ The problem for many scholars has been that these are European accounts. Almost all early references to cannibalism and the accompanying illustrations in sixteenth-century literature refer to areas of the New World from Mesoamerica and the Gulf of Mexico to the southern regions of Brazil. During the first centennial of contact, journals, logs, letters and histories of the Columbian Encounter are replete with commentary about the practice of cannibalism. This literature is geographically specific. The cartography that accompanied the European exploration and mapping of this fourth part of the world is also geographically specific in its depictions of cannibalism. As stated earlier, the preponderance of journals represent encounters and accounts of cannibalism that occurred in the Gulf area (predominately the Lesser Antilles), Mesoamerica and South America. Cannibals placed within maps and not as a border decoration are located in the area of South America that will become Brazil.

Milanich and Milbrath note that more than eighty documented voyages occurred between 1492 and 1504.⁸⁴ The incredible number of expeditions and the variety of nationalities involved in these voyages need to be considered in studying the question of cannibalism. In addition to Spain and Portugal, other European powers were sending expeditions west across the Atlantic. Throughout the first century of contact, the European powers were vying for economic and political supremacy, seeking to carve out new empires. The French and English efforts to establish trade and colonies in

North and South America provide an opportunity to compare accounts of the indigenous people from a non-Iberian viewpoint. The French Huguenots and the English also offer a Protestant slant to accounts of the Amerindians and their cannibalistic proclivities. During this first century of New World cartography, the geographic specificity of the accounts and depictions of cannibalism make a point. Although the Europeans also encountered the indigenous people of North America, the northern Amerindians were not literally, nor graphically, depicted as being cannibals.

In his 1979 book, *The Man-Eating Myth*, William Arens created a sensation when he asserted that claims about cannibalism in the New World were untrue and politically motivated. According to Arens, the belief that institutional cannibalism was a vibrant Amerindian practice represented a myth produced by the prejudice and racism of the Europeans encountering unknown peoples, and used to enslave and oppress the hostile “other.” Excluding incidents of survival cannibalism, Arens claimed that there are no credible first-hand accounts of cannibalism. However, although Arens has backed off from his original claims, his position has been championed with a slight twist. Since his book appeared, anthropologists have found evidence of cannibal activity in several parts of the Western Hemisphere and several authors have taken Arens to task for his faulty analysis of the available first hand accounts. Arens’ champion, anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere, emphasizes that there is a clear distinction between the European accounts and the indigenous practices that need to be

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considered religious or ritual sacrifices. He asserts that the best known accounts of cannibal feasts should be considered fiction.  

This interpretation of the accounts allows for man-eating activity but attempts to mitigate the consumption because of religious or ritual ceremony. However, it does not address the continuing discoveries of clear evidence of cannibalism that are being uncovered by archeologists. A case in point is the excavation at Cowboy Wash, just west of Mesa Verde, Colorado. Examination of piles of human bones confirms that humans were eating humans. Though we will never know the reason for this activity, be it religion, acts of terrorism, or a craving for special protein, discoveries like this provide added weight to the accounts by the first Europeans who had contact with various Amerindian groups.

Delving into the extant maps, travel logs and literature, I have come to a different understanding of the accusations and, often, graphic imagery of savages roasting and gnawing on human limbs found on, and in, the early primary sources from the Columbian Encounter. The Europeans wrote about, and depicted, the practice of cannibalism based on their encounters with it and their perceptions of the Amerindians in Mesoamerica, the Gulf of Mexico area and South America. I assert that the lack of literary or graphic reference to the indigenous peoples of North America as cannibals, ca. 1500-1620, is not an omission. It is instead an affirmation that during the first century of contact, Europeans did not encounter the practice of cannibalism by

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86 Frank Lestringant, Cannibals, 6; Joan-Pau Rubies, review of Cannibal Talk, by Gananath Obeyesekere, Times Literary Supplement (17 March 2006), 23.
indigenous peoples in that area of the New World. J.B. Harley noted that cartography in early modern Europe was concerned with the acquisition and maintenance of power by claiming land and riches. He also discussed the “concept of cartographic silence.” He noted the many meanings that cartographic silence may have had. Harley pointed out that both what is present and what is absent are proper fields for enquiry when studying cartography. He noted that:

Silences should be regarded as positive statements and not as merely passive gaps in the flow of language. So, allowing for those gaps on the map which make the pattern of lines and points a comprehensible image, we should be prepared to regard silences on maps as something more than the mere absence of something else.88

Going one step further than Harley, I believe that the absence of cannibal images on the North American continent indicates that the voyagers, travel logs, and journals did not provide the cartographers with suggestions that Europeans had encountered man-eating in the northern lands of the New World. By contrast, the cartographers of the 1500s often placed depictions of cannibalistic activity in the unexplored interior areas of South America.89

While many references to cannibalism make it clear that the writer was repeating hearsay, there are eyewitness accounts that cannot be ignored or swept aside simply because the witness or the chronicler did not meet present day ethnohistorical

89 See Appendix B.
standards. The diseases that destroyed the cannibals of the sixteenth-century European accounts left behind only remnants of their culture as it was remarked upon and imaged by the interlopers who imposed their culture upon the New World. Certainly, literature and cartography served more than one agenda. In reading the earliest accounts of the New World, it is vital to keep in mind the widely different cultural contexts with which the authors viewed their voyages. Even when eyewitnesses reported the same events, the accounts vary considerably. Philip P. Boucher cites Neil Whitehead’s caution in accepting Spanish accusations but notes that Whitehead did not discuss French sources. Additionally, his examination of the historical accounts of Carib cannibalism notes that the accounts of cannibal activity were multinational (English, French, and Dutch observers) and transcend the obvious personal and national motivations.

The cartographers and illustrators of maps followed a tradition of translating travel journals into maps. These maps attested to the imagination and interest of Europeans, especially their interest in the exotic and Oriental. It is essential to keep in mind those historical influences and motivations -- religious, economical and national -- that may have predisposed the cartographers who made cannibalism a vibrant part of their work.

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92 J.B. and the Columbian Encounter: An Interpretive Guide to the Travelling Exhibition, assisted by Ellen Hanlon and Mark Warhus, (Milwaukee: Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, 1990), 43.
In addition to accounts of cannibalism, both giants and women warriors were described as real in travel journals and histories of exploration (i.e., Orellana, Schmidel, and Garcilasso Inca de la Vega) during the first century of contact between the Old World and the New World. Since giants and Amazon women were exaggerations or repetitions of myths carried over the Atlantic in the minds of the Europeans, why should credence be given to the commentary about the practice of cannibalism?\textsuperscript{94} Basically, it is the persistence of accounts of cannibalism and the continued specificity of location that give pause to outright dismissal of this practice by Amerindians as myths.

The most interesting discovery allowing present historians, anthropologists and ethnohistorians an opportunity to comprehend and accept cannibalism among some of the indigenous people of South America occurred recently when contact was made with the Wari’ (wah-REE) or Pakaas Nova people of western Brazil. Between 1956 and 1969, groups of Wari’ and Brazilian government expeditions began interacting. Beth Conklin outlined what the outsiders found:

…the Wari’ practiced two forms of cannibalism. One form occurred in warfare: when Wari’ warriors killed enemies—Brazilians, Bolivians, or members of other Indian groups—they often took body parts to be roasted and eaten. Warfare cannibalism expressed hatred and hostility; it marked the enemy victim as sub-human, and symbolically equated enemy flesh with animal meat. The second, more common form of cannibalism took place in Wari’ funerals. The Wari’ traditionally disposed of nearly all their dead by eating the flesh, brains, heart, liver, and sometimes the ground bones. In funeral rites the eating of the dead

expressed honor and compassion for the person who was eaten. It also expressed key religious values and affirmed social commitments between the dead person’s consanguineal relatives (who did not eat the corpse), and their affines (who were the ones who ate the corpse), and between the society of living Wari’ and the otherworld of ancestors, animals, and spirits.95

Like their ancestors, the Wari’ had almost no immunological resistance and hundreds died of various diseases including, influenza, measles, mumps, and whooping cough. Within the first three years of contact, sixty percent of the Wari’ were dead. Unable to combat illness and carry on their pre-contact life of farming, hunting and fishing, they were forced to rely on the government and missionary groups for subsistence. These entities used coercion and persuasion to end Wari’ cannibal practices.96 It is noteworthy that

…Horror, disgust, and an emphasis on primitive Otherness were part of Brazilian public discourses about Wari’ cannibalism, but so were empathy, cultural relativism, and an emphasis on the humanity of the cannibals. Some of the strongest efforts to keep Wari’ from being stereotyped as savages came from the Protestant missionaries, Catholic clergy, and government officials most closely involved in pacifying them.97

These reactions were not very far removed from the reactions and commentary approximately five hundred years earlier when Europeans first arrived in the Americas. The urging of religious figures and philosophers to understand and protect the peoples

96Conklin, Consuming Grief, xv-xviii; Conklin, “Consuming Images,” 69.
97Ibid., 68.
of the New World by Bartolome de Las Casas and Montaigne seems to be echoed in the efforts of the religious and Brazilian government officials from 1956-62.\(^{98}\)

The Wari’ are not the only South American people who practiced forms of cannibalism during the twentieth century. Several lowland indigenous groups in South America were still practicing a form of funerary cannibalism in the twentieth century.\(^{99}\) For example, Panoan, Yanomamö and other indigenous tribes consumed ground-up bones and ashes mixed into a plantain soup. Another indication that the cannibalism of the indigenous people of the Amazon has been practiced for centuries is their beliefs about death and the gods. The Cashinahua (Panoan people) believe that the gods practice celestial cannibalism. As described by McCallum in her ethnography of the Cashinahua:

> The gods kill newly arrived human souls and consume their flesh and bones, thus both divesting them of memory of their living kin and making them eternal. The souls are reborn and themselves become gods.\(^{100}\)

The belief systems of the indigenous peoples of South America apparently had continued to the extent that the practice of cannibalism remained and closely resembled what the sixteenth-century voyagers chronicled in their accounts of the New World. After uncovering indigenous groups still practicing cannibalism in the twentieth century, the imagery generated by those five-hundred year old accounts becomes more

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believable beyond the economic, political and religious agendas that cartography of the period incorporated.

100 Cecilia McCallum, “Consuming Pity: The Production of Death among the Cashinahua.” Cultural Anthropology 14, no. 4 (1999), 446-447, 455.
INTO THE ATLANTIC

The appearance/depiction of cannibalism on maps must be placed in the broader context of early modern European -- and especially Portuguese -- cartography. At the start of the sixteenth century, those Iberians involved in the movement out of the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic were also at the forefront of mapping of the Western Hemisphere. This global focus on exploration began on the Iberian Peninsula with Portugal. With the fall of the old Muslim Kingdom of the West in the Algarve by the middle of the thirteenth century (1250-1256), the Portuguese secured their country’s borders and by 1383 had laid the foundations for the birth of the first “modern” European nation state. By the next century, they would lead the way in overseas colonization on the islands of the Atlantic.101 The Portuguese exploration officially began as early as 1336 with an expedition headed by the Genoese Lanzarotto Malocello, who is credited with the rediscovery of the Canary Islands (Fortunate Isles). While there is some doubt concerning the date, by July 1341, there is no argument that the Portuguese king outfitted the first official expedition to the Canaries. The Portuguese


Under the auspices of Prince Henrique (Henry the Navigator, 1394-1460), Duke of Viseu and Lord of Covilhan and his military Order of Christ,\footnote{Pacheco Duarte Pereira, Esmeraldo De Situ Orbis. Translated and Edited by George H. T. Kimble, M.A. (Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967. Reproduced from the edition originally published by the Hakluyt Society in 1937), 2.} settlers farmed the unpopulated islands of Madeira and the Azores. These colonies not only provided wheat and maize to Portugal, but also would serve as the colonial models that the Portuguese used for the next three hundred years. The Portuguese were the leading force in the exploration of coastal Africa and routes to the Indies. From 1425, Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, traveled extensively for three years acquiring knowledge of trade and scientific developments elsewhere in Europe. Both Pedro and his famous brother Henry were involved in commercial activity in the Atlantic and in raiding the northern coast of Africa. Consequently, their forays promoted advances in navigation and cartography.

In 1385, the illegitimate brother of King Ferdinand I (1367-83) established the Avis dynasty when he defeated the Castilian contender to the throne. King João I (1385-1433) quickly secured his throne with a mutual trade and military assistance treaty with England. In February 1387 to cement the alliance, he married Philippa, daughter of the English Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt. That alliance would help
confirm Portuguese independence from Castile. They had five sons (Duarte, Pedro, Henrique, João and Fernando). João I and two of his sons, Duarte and João, actively sought to extend the *Reconquista*, and succeeded in capturing the African city of Ceuta in 1415. With its capture, the Portuguese initiated their age of expansion. They put to use the scientific knowledge bequeathed by the Muslims who flourished in Portugal before the mid-1200s and expanded their maritime knowledge and skills with their voyages down the coast of Africa.104 Along with these advances in navigation and shipbuilding, came an expanding knowledge of the world and encounters with the unknown.

Cartography was one of the vehicles by which this knowledge was expressed. The maps created during this period were more than a visual geography of the world; they reflected the religious, political, and cultural experiences that the European nations carried with them into the New World.105 The maps and sea charts used by the Portuguese comprise an important element, or body of evidence, in this study/dissertation. They evolved with the movement out of the Mediterranean and into the Atlantic. Characteristics of portolan charts are rhumb lines and wind roses (the center for radiating lines). Usually a portolan chart has a central point of radiation with eight or sixteen other focal points found in a circle around it. In contrast to charts used in the Mediterranean with 16 to 24 rhumb lines (*rumos*), the Portuguese maps grew to

32 rhumb lines when charting the Atlantic. The roses showed the orientation of the winds.\textsuperscript{106}

As exploration progressed, so too did the development of cartography. According to Armando Cortesão, the whole of the Canary (Spanish) and Madeira (Portuguese) archipelagos are found in the so-called \textit{Medici Atlas} in c. 1370. In 1380 and 1385, charts showing other islands in the Atlantic appeared. These islands may have been imaginary, or they may have been attempts to place the Azores. This practice of using imaginary and known geographic locations in cartography dates back to ancient times. The first known depiction that included an accurate location and names given to the Azores islands by the Portuguese was Cristoforo Soligo’s chart of the Azores in c.1475. These Mediterranean — primarily Majorcan, Genoese and Venetian — cartographers greatly influenced early Portuguese cartography. In turn, Portuguese cartography would influence French and English cartography. Beginning in the 1440s, the Majorcan mapmaker Jafuda Cresques (a.k.a. Master Jacome) worked in Portugal under the patronage of Prince Henry at his School at Sagres.\textsuperscript{107} Additionally, the mapping of the islands in the eastern Atlantic and the coastline of Africa would represent a dress rehearsal for Iberian exploration and conquest in the Western Hemisphere.\textsuperscript{108}


\textsuperscript{107} Buisseret, \textit{Mapmakers’ Quest}, 75; Pereira, \textit{Esmeraldo De Situ Orbis}, xii.

When Prince Henry (the Navigator) died in 1460, he left behind a tradition of Atlantic exploration and cartography that would be continued. His nephew, King Afonso V, continued to fund exploration down the African coast. After Afonso V, his son King João II (1481-1495) took up the enterprise of exploration and discovery. During his reign, the islands of São Tome and São Antonio were populated and São Jorge da Mina established. Additionally, Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. The exchange of information and the printing of maps influenced the cartographers who were employed to capture the knowledge acquired with each seagoing venture. Unfortunately, few early Portuguese maps are extant.

What did survive and develop from early exploration, however, was a Portuguese tradition of acquiring intelligence from indigenous people and adapting to whatever situation the early explorers found themselves faced with in Africa, the East Indies and, eventually, the Americas. Certainly, as the smaller of the two Iberian nations, the Portuguese were adept at forging alliances (especially with the English) and making use of their available assets. The small Portuguese population and the continued defense against encroachment throughout her history by larger forces, especially by the Spaniards, combined to establish amongst Portuguese explorers and settlers a propensity to rely on the indigenous people to aid in their exploration. In this, they used indigenes as guides and adapted their methods of survival. Diplomacy and

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111 The Spanish would also use indigenous peoples as guides and allies in the New World. An early example of a Spanish explorer/conquistador who did so would be Cortéz.
negotiated agreements with the leaders of the indigenous peoples became the preferred methods employed by the Portuguese in their explorations. However, when negotiation failed and the Portuguese outnumbered or could overpower the indigenous people, they resorted to force in order to establish their presence. Like the other Europeans, the Portuguese were very intent on acquiring wealth and overseas possessions. Although they had been exposed to new lands and peoples through their exploration of the Atlantic and along the coast of Africa, the discovery of the Western Hemisphere also astonished the Portuguese.

Portuguese exploration was not restricted to traveling down the coast of Africa in the quest to reach Asia. These Iberians mariners were also searching for new islands in the Atlantic and became involved with expansion into Morocco. Throughout the 1460s until about 1475, these expeditions produced mixed results. The Portuguese captured Arzila and Tangier in 1471. These victories led to a strong push within Portugal, particularly among the Order of Christ, to continue the Moroccan campaigns. While these campaigns diverted men and money from Atlantic exploration, by 1474 cartographic references to “Terra dos Bacalhaus,” or Codfish Land, suggests that the Portuguese expedition of João Vaz Corte-Real and Alvaro Martins Homem succeeded in reaching Greenland or Newfoundland. How long Portuguese fishing fleets had been harvesting the riches off these lands is unknown. Perhaps to prevent other fishing fleets from exploiting the codfish schools, these discoveries were downplayed. During the next decade, Christopher Columbus would capitalize on his seafaring experiences in

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Lisbon and on Madeira by formulating a plan to reach the East by sailing west. Indeed, we know that in 1483 or 1484, Columbus offered his plan to King João II who, nevertheless, rejected it. He correctly believed that the tip of Africa had been reached during the Dias voyage and that the continuance of an eastern exploration would be the shorter route to the Indies.\textsuperscript{113}

A Renaissance ruler, King João II (1481-1495) was intent upon creating a centralized government under strong royal authority. Well prepared to take command, he had essentially co-ruled Portugal with his father, King Afonso V, from 1477 to 1481. Beginning in 1474, his father delegated control of overseas operations and expansion to the young Prince João. Initially, the Portuguese goal was economic exploration of the coast of Africa and the search for the lands of Prester John. These goals were unrealized because war with Castile (1475-80) emptied the royal coffers, thus diverting Portuguese efforts to consolidate its hold on the west coast of Africa. King João II furthered his efforts to control the nobility by dismissing the representative body or Parliament. After consolidating his hold on the throne, João II turned back to exploration and trade. By 1487, his coveted goal became the source of spices and wealth. In 1488, Bartolomeu Dias reached the end of Africa where he named the two capes at the southern tip. He named the southwestern cape “Cabo da Boa Esperanca” or Cape of Good Hope before sailing north to Portugal. By December 1488, Dias had shared the news with King João II in Lisbon.\textsuperscript{114}

Portugal’s maritime exploits brought more than wealth to this small country. It attracted the attention of Europe. This sparked a more intensified exchange of philosophies, arts and knowledge. Scholars, traders, students, and painters traveled to and from Portugal contributing to its cultural development. Although still centered in the Gothic style of architecture and painting, a school of artists flourished in Portugal from the early 1470’s through the beginning of the sixteenth century. Little is known about this school but it is clear from the extant maps of the early 1500’s that its cartographers/artists were gifted. Extensive contact developed between Portugal and Flanders in commercial, political and cultural areas. During this period, the Portuguese used some of their wealth to import many works of art from the Low Countries. Cortesão, citing Piersantelli, asserts that the Portuguese cartographers were influenced “by the art of Vrelant and Bening, the two illustrious masters through whom in particular Flemish miniature painting found in the Iberian Peninsula a new and remarkable field for its wonderful activity.”

Acknowledged by scholars as one of the most influential and commercially successful illuminators working in Bruges, Willem Vrelant (1430-1481) included among his patrons, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. Vrelant produced numerous manuscripts for export. His connection with Burgundy certainly provided a tie to the Portuguese royal house because Philip married Isabel, daughter of King João I of Avis


Simon Bening (c.1483-1561) trained under his father, Alexander Bening (1444-1519). Around the turn of the century, he moved to Bruges. He worked for several royal patrons including Prince Fernando, Infânte of Portugal. As the sixteenth century dawned, change in both spiritual and artistic fields became evident. Artists increasingly moved from religious painting to secular themes. This change influenced the mapping of the period and the iconography used to represent society and the earth. As the humanist movement took hold, secular art moved to the forefront.¹¹⁷

An intensely religious country with strong ties to Rome, Portugal followed the precepts of the Catholic Church in its overseas expansion. The Catholic Church encouraged, and its adherents expected, the conversion of conquered people. The Catholic Church confirmed the legitimacy of rulers in Europe. Thus, God tied the monarchs’ authority to ordination, and recognition of these duties also required subjects of the monarch to believe these claims. Toward this end, the Catholic Church authorized priests and friars to conduct missionary work. Several religious orders undertook evangelical campaigns. These campaigns began in the Atlantic Islands and continued to the distant shores of the Far East and the Western Hemisphere. The

Portuguese voyages included brethren from well-established orders like the Dominicans and Franciscans, as well as the newly-created Jesuits after 1540.\textsuperscript{118}

\textsuperscript{118} The Dominicans and Franciscans were both engaged in Tunis by the 1200s and the Franciscans contributed to the Canary Island conquest beginning with the first voyage. David R. Ringrose, \textit{Expansion and Global Interaction, 1200-1700}, (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, Inc., 2001), 31.
CHAPTER 5
MESO- AND NORTH AMERICA

The invasion of the New World was an ongoing effort by the European nations who hoped to claim the riches and exploit the peoples found there. During the first twenty years following Columbus’ first voyage, the Spanish efforts to settle and colonize focused on the Antilles, predominantly Hispaniola. They founded Santo Domingo in 1496. The Spanish came in search of wealth and land. Using the Antilles as a springboard, expeditions were sent out to discover new treasures and enrich those who risked their lives to gain fame and fortune. The need for slaves to labor in the mines and fields as disease decimated the indigenous population, the search for wealth or a passage to the Pacific, and the increasing demand for land as more Spanish settlers came to the New World, resulted in a move to the mainland.119

However, the Spanish were not the only ones seeking wealth using the ocean as an avenue to riches. From late in the fifteenth century, Bristol merchants carried on trade with Iceland and fishermen returned from the north of England with cod. They were involved in trade with Madeira; and some Englishmen were granted land by the Spanish after the people of the Canaries were subdued in 1490. Henry VII wanted to

acquire the riches of the East without disrupting his friendship with Ferdinand and Isabella. England’s first Tudor king joined Spain to prevent French absorption of Brittany. He also succeeded in arranging a marriage between Ferdinand and Isabella’s daughter, Catherine and his son, Prince Arthur by 1496 and the wedding took place five years later.  

John Cabot (Giovanni Caboto) left Spain c.1494 (the same year as the Treaty of Tordesillas) and settled in Bristol. In the summer of 1496, he made an abortive attempt to cross the Atlantic after acquiring letters patent from Henry VII. In 1497, John Cabot and his son, Sebastian sailed the Matthew to North America. James Williamson writes that according to Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish representative in London, John Cabot had originally approached the Portuguese and Spanish before proposing a voyage to Henry VII. On John Cabot’s first successful voyage, they made landfall on 24 June 1497 on Cape Breton Island. Taking possession of the land for Henry VII and England in typical European fashion, Cabot erected a wooden cross and planted banners. The rest of the voyage consisted of cruising in the Matthew along the coastline without making another landfall. A secondary source of information about the Cabot voyage was the Duke of Naples’ agent in London. Raimondo de Soncino dispatched two letters to the Duke of Milan documenting the voyages in August and December 1497. In his 18 December 1497 letter, he wrote:

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_Cultural Consequences of 1492, Contributions in American Studies No.2, with a foreword by Otto von Mering, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972), 47._  
_120 Lacey Baldwin Smith, _This Realm of England 1399 to 1688_, (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1992), 100._  
Messer Zoane Caboto...started from Bristol, a port on the west of this kingdom, passed Ireland, which is still further west...After having wandered for some time he at length arrived at the mainland, where he hoisted the royal standard and took possession for the king here; and after taking certain tokens he returned...This Messer Zoane has a description of the world in a map, and also in a solid sphere, which he had made, and shows where he has been.\textsuperscript{122}

Cartographically, the probable transmission of information that enabled the Spanish to include data about the Cabot voyage on maps is noteworthy. In addition to reports sent by ambassadors, the Spanish Lord Grand Admiral had an English merchant, John Day, who described on Cabot's first two voyages some time between December 1497 and March 1498.

...I am sending the other book of Marco Polo and a copy [map] of the land which has been found. I do not send the map because I am not satisfied with it, for my many occupations forced me to make it in a hurry at the time of my departure; but from the said copy your Lordship will learn what you wish to know, for in it are named the capes of the mainland and the islands, and thus you will see where the land was first sighted, since most of the land was discovered after turning back. Thus your Lordship will know that the cape nearest to Ireland is 1800 miles west of Dursey Head which is in Ireland, and the southernmost part of the Island of the Seven Cities [probably Newfoundland] is west of Bordeaux River, and your Lordship will know that he landed at only one spot of the mainland, near the place where land was first sighted, and they disembarked there with a crucifix and raised banners with the arms of the Holy Father, and those of the King of England...\textsuperscript{123}


Between the second (successful) voyage and the third one, Henry VII defeated a pretender to the throne supported by James IV of Scotland. Additionally, the Cornish subjects of the king revolted against taxation to pay for the Scottish war. Shortly after quelling the revolt, Henry VII listened to John Cabot’s report of his successful voyage. In 1498, the third Cabot expedition sailed from England. This voyage included one ship from the King and four merchant-financed ships. Little is known of this voyage as John Cabot never returned. Williamson provides documentation about the departure and lack of news concerning John Cabot’s return.

Thys yere also, the kyng by meanys of a venyzian which made hym sylf verray expert & kunnyng In knowlage of the cyrcuyte of the world and Ile landis of the same, as by a caart & other demonstracions Reasonable he shewid, Caswid the kyng to man & vytyll a Shypp at Brystow to seche for an Ile land which he said he knewe well was Rich & Replenysshid with Rych commodytees, Which shyp thus mannyd & vitaylid at the kyngis Cost dyvers marchauntis of London aventrid In (hir) small stokkys beying In hir as chieff patron the said venesian, and In the Company of the said shypp saylid also owth of Brystow iij or iiij smale shyppis ffrawght with sleyght & groos marchandyssi as course cloth cappis lasis poynits & other tryfys And so departid ffrom Brystow In the begynnyng off maii, Of whom is this mayris tyme Retowrnd noo tydyngisy.124

This same year, Columbus also completed his third voyage to the New World. The following year, in May 1499, Alonso de Ojeda and Juan de la Cosa made their voyage from Cadiz to Venezuela. Upon their return, Juan de la Cosa’s mappa mundi, mentioned earlier, has written remarks about the voyage and the English flag in North America. The map accurately depicts Cuba as an island, the Caribbean islands, the northern coastline of South America (surveyed by the Spanish) and the North American
coastline. The Spanish did not survey any of North America until 1513 when Ponce de Leon arrived on the Florida Peninsula. Five standards are arrayed along the North American coastline with the inscription “mar descubierto par inglese” or sea discovered by the English. These flags and the fact that the Spanish had not surveyed the North American coastline provide some circumstantial evidence that Cabot or members of his crew may have found their way down the coast to the Caribbean islands. Additionally, the Spanish were concerned about other nations infringing on their territories and kept track of both English and French voyages and explorations in the New World.125

The founding of the Casa de la Contratación or Board of Trade in 1503 led to an increase in expeditions and colonization efforts. On his fourth and last voyage (1502-1504), Columbus explored from Honduras to Panama and Veragua (western Panama). Between 1503 and 1521, several events would firmly establish Spain’s overseas empire. In 1508-1509, Diego de Nicuesa and Ojeda led expeditions to settle Veragua (Costa Rica) and San Sebastián de Urabá (on the location where the city of Cartagena de Indias would later be built) respectively. Although the expeditions by Vincente Yáñez Pinzón Juan Díaz de Solís, and Juan Ponce de León failed to find a water passage to the Far East, they led to Vasco Núñez de Balboa’s 1513 discovery of the Pacific.126

125Firstbrook, The Voyage of the Matthew, 137, 140-141, 165-166; Williamson, The Cabot Voyages, with Skelton, 220; Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, The Discovery of North America, 37, 52.
126Garcia and others, Discovering the Americas, 42, 44.
Juan Ponce de León’s sailed with Columbus on his second voyage. Conqueror and governor of Puerto Rico, on 3 March 1513, he set sail from the island of San Juan de Puerto Rico for an illusive island named Bimini, rumored to be located north of Lucayos (Bahama Islands). Ponce de León’s first trip was up the Atlantic coast of Florida, where he made landfall near present day Cape Canaveral. He then reversed direction and sailed south. De León’s 1513 voyage sailed down the east coast of a land mass that he named Florida, followed the Keys into the Gulf of Mexico, and sailed back up the western coast of Florida, believing that it was an island. While he never realized his mistake about the land mass he surveyed, one of his discoveries proved to be of major significance for the Spanish. From the Bahamas, his ships crossed the Gulf Stream. The Spanish would use this route for their treasure fleets. He encountered hostile people on both shores and eventually returned to Puerto Rico determined to conquer those he had encountered in Florida.127

In 1521, he returned to Florida intent on establishing a settlement. Ponce de León found his plans for a colony were destroyed when he was mortally wounded while battling the indigenous people. Although Ponce de León encountered and fought with hostile Amerindians, he did not confront cannibals in Florida. Garcilaso de la Vega described the Indians as valiant fighters.128 There was no suggestion that these indigenous people were man-eaters although this coast would frequently be raided for

slaves. If the Spanish were intent on labeling any resistance as the actions of cannibals, the Florida Amerindians would have been the likely candidates since they offered resistance to several expeditions.

Small settlements took hold and became the cities of Cartagena, Santa Marta and Panama. The expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdoba (1517), Juan de Grijalva (1518) and Alonso Alvarez de Pineda (1519) finished the initial exploration of the stretch of coastline north and east from the Yucatán to Florida.129

While the Spanish were settling the Caribbean, the Portuguese pursued the sought-after riches of the East. After reports of Cabot’s voyage reached Portugal, King Manoel’s130 concern that the English or other Europeans would encroach on his sphere of influence under the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas heightened. He encouraged and sponsored several expeditions. He issued letters patent to João Fernandes to sail north. Fernandes reached Greenland. This land became to be known as Labrador in honor of Fernandes.131

King Manoel received word of Pedro Álvares Cabral’s brief landing in Brazil on his way to India in a letter written by Pêro Vaz de Caminha, a highly trained scribe and government official who had accompanied Cabral. This new discovery galvanized King Manoel I of Portugal. On 12 May 1500, less than two weeks after the Lemos (supply ship sent back by Cabral to Portugal) had arrived with the Caminha letter, the King of Portugal gave Gaspar Corte-Real, a comprehensive grant for discovery. That

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129Garcia and others, Discovering the Americas, 42, 44.
130I have used the Portuguese spelling - Manoel, to differentiate the Portuguese King from the Spanish version of the same name – Manuel.
same year, Corte-Real sailed first to Greenland, where ice stopped him, rounded Cape Farewell, and finally returned to Lisbon. This was an effort by the Portuguese to find a northwest passage to Asia. King Manoel knew of the Cabot voyages and was willing to send a ship to explore the possibility of an alternate route for the Portuguese. In the spring of 1501, Corte-Real with three ships again sailed to the west coast of Greenland but ice stopped him again. He then crossed the Davis Strait to America. In September 1501, he sent two ships back to Lisbon and continued exploring. Like John Cabot, Corte-Real was never seen again. The two ships that returned brought back fifty-seven men and women taken by the Portuguese. Cantino did not mention cannibalism as a practice associated with the indigenous people of this region. While Corte-Real did not return, the crew of the two ships and the captive Amerindians provided respectively, both witnesses to, and participants in, the indigenous cultural practices of the area.  

Cantino, the intrepid agent for the Duke of Ferrara described the indigenous peoples of North America:

…They forcibly kidnapped about fifty men and women of this country and have brought them to the king. I have seen, touched, and examined these people, and beginning with their stature, declare they are somewhat taller than our average, with members corresponding and well formed. The hair of the men is long…and [they] have their face marked with great signs…Their speech is unintelligible but nevertheless is not harsh but rather human. Their manners and gestures are most gentle…

131 Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, North America, 52-53.
132 Williamson, The Cabot Voyages, with Skelton, 118-119, 121-122; Ministry of Agriculture, Precursors of Jacques Cartier, xvi-xviii; Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, North America, 53.
133 Ministry of Agriculture, Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 64; Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, North America, 53.
The following year, his brother, Miguel Corte-Real sailed with three ships to search for Gaspar. The ships separated to search the coast and planned to rendezvous on 20 August. The two other ships arrived but Miguel Corte-Real and his command ship never appeared. The last expedition, captained by the third Corte-Real, sailed in 1503 but found no one from the previous expeditions. The Portuguese would find one source of wealth in the northern waters of the Atlantic and like the Bristol fishermen, they would exploit the cod found off the coast of Newfoundland. By 1506, fishing fleets paid taxes on the Newfoundland cod which they brought back to Portugal. Once again, the reasons for the loss of Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real, their ships, and crews were not associated with Amerindians practicing cannibalism. Had this practice been observed by the returning crews, it would have featured in the commentary and imagery of this area on the cartography as the Columbus declarations did in the Caribbean.134

When Alberto Cantino commissioned the 1502 planisphere that bears his name, he included the northern Portuguese explorations with legends that detailed both information that was known in Lisbon and information that was politically beneficially to the Portuguese. The legends for North America do not mention cannibalism. Quoting Harisse for translations to the legends, they are as follows:

…A legend by Greenland on the map states that it was discovered by order of King Manoel: “Those who discovered it did not land, but they saw very rugged mountains, whence, according to the opinion of cosmographers it is believed to be the peninsula of Asia.”

To the west is “Terra del Rey de portuguall” with another legend that it was discovered by Gaspar Corte-Real, “who sent thence one of his vessels with men and women of the country; but his vessel has not returned and he is believed lost. The country contains much mast-timber.”

…These discoveries are placed (incorrectly) east of the papal line of demarcation, in the Portuguese sphere of influence, and Cabot’s discoveries are not mentioned, though his expeditions were known.135

The English voyages that went unacknowledged on the Cantino map would receive different treatment from the Spanish. From Columbus on, the sea captains and explorers who sought the riches of Asia often moved between countries depending on who would grant letters patent or listen to their vision of how to find a route to the Orient.

Early in 1501, Henry VII granted a patent to João Fernandes, a disaffected Portuguese ship captain from Terceira in the Azores and Llabrador (small land-owner - lavrador is the present spelling of the noun for farmer, agricultural worker or peasant).136 The patent included two other Portuguese, João Gonsalves, and Francisco Fernandes. The patent also names three Englishmen, Thomas Asshehurst, John Thomas, and Richard Warde. James Williamson stated that from 1502-3 onwards, the name Greenland or Terra de Labrador on maps reflected the voyages of João Fernandes. He also noted that at the time, the English had no surplus population to found colonies and were most interested in establishing posts or “factories for the collection and forwarding of trade goods.” Henry VII granted subsequent patents to

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135 The Cantino world map, 1502, is located in Modena, Biblioteca Estense. Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, North America, 55-56.
João Gonsalves, Francisco Fernandes, Thomas Asshehurst, and Hugh Elyot. One of their objectives was to set up a permanent post to exploit the fishing. What was not mentioned nor indicated on maps was the presence of cannibals.

John Cabot’s son, Sebastian Cabot, had sailed with his father on his voyages. Like João Fernandes, S. Cabot would serve more than one crown in the exploration of the New World. His name appeared in English documents that grant an annual pension from Henry VII in April 1505. He sailed for England in 1508-9. During this voyage, S. Cabot claimed to have named the great fishing area, the *Baccalaos*. By 1509 when Henry VII died, S. Cabot had partially explored the Hudson Bay. On 13 September 1512, S. Cabot went to Seville at the request of Ferdinand to serve Spain. However, King Ferdinand died on 23 Jan 1516 before an expedition to the New World could be arranged.

S. Cabot returned to England and took service with Henry VIII, who sponsored a voyage by Cabot in 1517. Henry VIII oriented his interests toward domestic and European issues. For the next sixty years, there would be little English activity in the area of Atlantic exploration. Although he failed to find a passage to the Orient, S. Cabot did explore part of the Hudson Bay area on his 1517 voyage. The transfers of information following voyages and the acknowledgement by cartographers of their

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138 According to Peter Martyr, S. Cabot used the name that the inhabitants used for codfish, *bacallao*s. *Baccalaos* with one c is Spanish for codfish, the Portuguese spelling is *bacalhau*. 
sources of information make it clear that little remained secret despite the attempts of
governments to withhold information.

Ortelius, who tells us he had Cabot’s map before him, has drawn one
entitled “America five novi orbis description,” in which he depicts the
form of Hudson’s Bay, and a channel leading from its northern extremity
towards the pole, precisely as it is.\footnote{Ibid., 89-90, 99-100.}

In 1518, the year after S. Cabot returned from his English-sponsored voyage to
the Hudson Bay area, King Carlos (Charles) V appointed him Pilot Major of Spain.
Several accounts of Sebastian Cabot’s voyage(s) to Greenland, present-day Labrador
and down the coast to the Rio de la Plata are extant. Among those writing about the
New World voyages, Peter Martyr of Anghiera, a personal friend, Giovanni Battista
Ramusio, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, André Thevet, and John Ribault were the most
famous. They all remarked on Sebastian Cabot’s voyages. None of these accounts
included any commentary about the inhabitants being cannibals. Several of the
accounts did note that Sebastian Cabot had described the indigenes as of “good
intelligence” and in the northern lands, “…with their bodies covered with the skins of
various animals.”\footnote{The quoted descriptions of the indigenes are from Peter Martyr’s Second Account of Sebastian
Cabot’s Voyage, Summario della Generale Istoria dell’ Indie Occidentali, Libro Primo della. In Historia

\footnote{J.F. Nicholls, The Remarkable Life, Adventures and Discoveries of Sebastian Cabot, of Bristol, the
Founder of Great Britain’s Maritime Power, Discoverer of America, and its First Colonize, (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1869), 89-90.}}

In 1519, Cardinal Woolsey began efforts to send another expedition out under
Henry VIII’s patronage. This expedition did not depart England until 1527. While the

\footnote{Ibid., 89-90, 99-100.}
commentary on this voyage did include a reference to cannibalism, it is unclear where the encounter took place. If the encounter was in Newfoundland, it would be unusual as no other explorer during this period mentioned cannibalism among the northeastern peoples of the New World.

“and on their arrival at St. John’s, Newfoundland, they found fourteen sail of Normans, Bretagnes, and Portuguese there fishing. Somewhere on their voyage, their pilot and some of the sailors venturing on shore, were seized, killed, roasted, and eaten in the fight of all on board.”142

Although embroiled in domestic troubles, Henry VIII encouraged English voyages with merchant sponsorship. Richard Hakluyt’s efforts to document the English voyages included several expeditions of discovery. Hakluyt documented cannibalism but not by the indigenous peoples. He spoke to M. Oliver Dawbeny, the last living member of the M. Hore voyage of 1536 to document that journey. Two ships departed in April. Several months later and near starvation, some members of the crew resorted to cannibalism in order to survive. After the remaining members discovered that some of the crew was responsible for those missing, the indiscriminate murder of crewmembers ceased. However, in desperation, the remaining voyagers had agreed to draw lots to determine who would be sacrificed when they were saved by the appearance of a French ship.143

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While the early English exploration provided knowledge that would be used later to found colonies, the major event in Mesoamerica occurred on 22 April 1519. Here too, earlier expeditions made contact with indigenous peoples in Meso- and North America. These were the Francisco Hernández de Córdoba mission (1517) to kidnap indigenes to suffuse the labor force of Cuba followed by the Juan de Grijalba voyage. Córdoba failed to capture slaves, fought pitched battles with the indigenes of the Yucatán and Florida peninsulas and returned wounded to Cuba. In addition to his wounds, Córdoba brought back tales of stone temples and gold objects. This enticed Don Diego Velasquez who sent his nephew, Grijalba on a follow-up mission the next year. After trading with the majority of the local populace down the Yucatán coast, Grijalba returned to Cuba with more favorable information. This set the stage for Hernán Cortés to mount an expedition in 1519 and conquer the Aztecs with the help of the Indian nations the Aztecs had subdued earlier.144

Hernando Cortés landed on the Mexican coast with an expedition of 485 men. The expedition moved slowly into the interior, conquering a confederation of Tlaxcala kingdoms and acquiring them as allies. Upon reaching the Aztec capital of Tehnochtitlán (Mexico City), Motecuhzoma II, the Aztec ruler, welcomed Cortés. In return for the gracious welcome, Cortés took Motecuhzoma II hostage. Leaving the Aztec ruler under guard, Cortés then returned to the coast to confront and defeat Spanish forces sent to arrest him. When he returned to the interior, he found his troops

besieged. After Motecuhzoma II died, Cortés and his troops broke out of Tehnochtitlán and fled to the Tlaxcala. Cortés was greatly aided by the smallpox pandemic that struck Tehnochtitlán (and Meso America). After regrouping, Hernán Cortés returned and laid siege to Tehnochtitlán. Seventy-five days later, Cortés reentered the Aztec capital. Several months later, he succeeded in conquering the Aztecs empire and established himself as a force to be reckoned with in Nueva España (New Spain).145

What of the Aztecs? The accounts by the Spanish offer little doubt that the Aztecs practiced human sacrifice. Estimates suggest that the Aztecs sacrificed 20,000 to 250,000 victims annually.146 Those few Aztec artifacts that rest in museums throughout the world also attest to the practice of human sacrifice. Did the Aztecs also consume their victims? Why does the cartography of the period not include cannibal images in Mexico? Cortés commented on the practice of ritual sacrifice. He noted of the Aztecs who:

…sometimes sacrifice their own persons, some cutting their tongues, others their ears, while there are some who stab their bodies with knives. All the blood which flows from them they offer to those idols, sprinkling it in all parts of the temple…They have a most horrid and abominable custom which truly ought to be punished and which until now we have seen in no other part, and this is that, whenever they wish to ask something of their idols, in order that their plea may find more acceptance, they take many girls and boys and even adults, and in the presence of the idols they open their chests while they are still alive and take out their hearts and entrails and burn them before the idols, offering the smoke as sacrifice.147

Not only does Cortés describe Aztec cannibalism in his letters but the conquistadores and clergy with him on the expedition also wrote about this practice. While the Spanish had plenty of motivation for accusing the Aztecs of depravity and inhuman actions, the accounts must be considered. Michael Harner notes in his work on Aztec sacrifice and cannibalism that:

As the practice of cannibalism by the Aztecs and their neighbors was essentially terminated with the Spanish Conquest, some of the best evidence for its existence and extent is provided by the letters of Hernán Cortés addressed to Carlos V...; the account of the Conquest by Bernal Díaz del Castillo..., a firsthand participant and its most thorough chronicler; in the chronicle of Andrés de Tapia..., one of Cortés’ captains, and in the memoir of Fray Francisco de Aguilar..., who had participated in the Conquest.148

According to the description in Bernardino de Sahagún’s history of the Aztecs, concerning the disposition of the sacrificial victims’ bodies, there is no doubt in the European mind that the Aztecs practiced cannibalism:

After having torn their hearts from them and poured the blood into a gourd vessel, which the master of the slain man himself received, they started the body rolling down the pyramid steps. It came to rest upon a small square below. There some old men, whom they called QuaquacUEltin, laid hold of it and carried it to their tribal temple, where they dismembered it and divided it up in order to eat it.149

One of the accounts written by Díaz offered more than hearsay about the practice of cannibalism. An Aztec counterattack on the Spanish during the siege of Tenochtitlán, provided the Aztecs with an opportunity to flaunt their practice of cannibalism by eating Spanish captives.

148 Harner, “The Ecological Basis for Aztec Sacrifice,” 120.
…the dismal drum of Huichilobos sounded again, accompanied by conches, horns, and trumpet-like instruments. It was a terrifying sound, and when we looked at the tall cue from which it came we saw our comrades who had been captured in Cortés’ defeat being dragged up the steps to be sacrificed. When they had hauled them up to a small platform in front of the shrine where they kept their accursed idols we saw them put plumes on the heads of many of them; and then they made them dance with a sort of fan in front of Huichilobos. Then after they had danced the papas laid them down on their backs on some narrow stones of sacrifice and, cutting open their chests, drew out their palpitating hearts which they offered to the idols before them. Then they kicked the bodies down the steps, and the Indian butchers who were waiting below cut off their arms and legs and flayed their faces, which they afterwards prepared like glove leather, with their beards on, and kept for their drunken festivals. Then they ate their flesh with a sauce of pepper and tomatoes. They sacrificed all our men in this way, eating their legs and arms, offering their hearts and blood to their idols as I have said…Our readers must remember that though we were not far off we could do nothing to help.150

Their practices ended with the overthrow of Motecuhzoma II and the destruction of the Aztec empire. Yet, imagery of cannibals was not placed on the Central American continent despite all these lurid and vivid accounts. Cartographers may not have portrayed the indigenous peoples of Mexico as cannibals because the Spanish gained control of the land and the people very quickly. Their accounts of the conquest of Mexico made it clear that the practice of cannibalism had ended.

Ongoing excavations in Mexico provide evidence to support the claims made by Fray Bernardo de Sahagún. According to the archaeologists who have been working at the Tecuaque site since 1990, approximately 550 victims (Spaniards, Maya Indian and Caribbean men and women) had their hearts ripped out and were dismembered. The

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sacrifices continued for over six months. Knife cuts and teeth marks on the bones indicate cannibal activity. The Aztecs also threw the possessions of the victims down a well in the town providing archeologists with a trove of items to verify and identify the victims.151

While Cortés invaded Mexico, voyages to discover what was to the north of the occupied Caribbean islands were ongoing. Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda’s 1519 voyage ended the notion that Florida was an island and charted the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Upon his return, Francisco de Garay, Governor of Jamaica, outfitted a second voyage with Pineda as the commander of the expedition. Pineda’s chart (c. 1520) outlining the Gulf of Mexico survives in Seville, Archivo General de Indias.152

Garay sailed in 1523 to occupy his lands but died shortly after in Mexico City after encountering Cortéz. Tierra de Garay (Land of Garay) located across parts of present day Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi appears on contemporary Spanish maps including the Diego Ribero 1529 map. Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, a judge on the Appellate Court in Hispaniola, is also featured on the 1529 Ribero map. Ayllón sponsored several voyages to discover new lands in the north. His first voyage would have begun with the knowledge garnered by Pineda. In late 1520, de Ayllón hired Francisco Gordillo to reconnoiter the eastern coastline. When he returned to Hispaniola, he had onboard approximately one hundred and fifty newly acquired slaves.

captured during his exploratory voyage up the east coast of the present day Carolinas. Diego Columbus, at the request of Ayllón freed the captives and returned them to their home (possibly near the Peedee River area in present day South Carolina).\textsuperscript{153}

Before granting Ayllón’s request to settle new lands, Carlos V sent his own explorer in search of a shorter, northern route to the Spice Islands. Estevão Gomes, a Portuguese in Spanish service since 1518, sailed from Coruña on 24 September 1524. Stopping in Santiago de Cuba, he probably used the details from Ayllón’s earlier expedition to plan his voyage. During his seven-month voyage, he explored north as far as Nova Scotia before returning to report his failure to discover a westward passage. Like many other Europeans, he captured indigenes to sell for profit and achieved a modicum of success. In 1525, Ayllón’s second expedition, under the command of Pedro de Quexos, may have explored as far as the Chesapeake Bay. The following year, Ayllón sailed with a company of approximately six hundred soldiers, settlers and slaves to colonize his lands. After fits and starts, Ayllón pitched camp somewhere near the north shore of Winyah Bay. (This is the same Peedee River area where the Spanish had raided for slaves.) He named the settlement San Miguel de Gualdape but fever, revolting slaves and attacking indigenes doomed the colony. Those who survived abandoned San Miguel for Hispaniola by 1527. The Spanish used the information from

\textsuperscript{152} Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, \textit{The Discovery of North America}, 63, 69. The chart is an outline of the Gulf of Mexico with no imagery and there is no known report by Garay or Pineda about this voyage or mention of indigenous peoples.

\textsuperscript{153} Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, \textit{The Discovery of North America}, 63.
the voyages by Garay and Ayllón’s captains and by Gomes in their cartography of the
east coast of North America for the remainder of the century.154

While the Diego Ribero map reflects the information available to the Spanish
from northern exploration, what is very apparent is that the only human imagery on the
map appears in South America. No accounts of cannibalism were detailed by any of the
explorers or settlers along the coasts of North America or recounted by the appointed
resident historiographer of the Indies, Oviedo. In Spanish Florida, the indigenes proved
to be hostile. Many were enslaved and some were subsequently freed. The lack of any
hint of cannibal activity suggests an absence of such activity.155

The French experience in the New World was very mixed, disconnected, and
seemingly incoherent. In the autumn of 1494, while Columbus was on his second
voyage to the New World, Charles VIII of France with his army crossed the Alps and
invaded Italy. Occupied with asserting his claim to the crown of Naples and Sicily,
Charles VIII spent his treasury on the 30,000 troops and seventy large guns in his army.
The following year, after the French troops had been decimated by syphilis,156 Charles
VIII retreated back into France. His successor, King Louis XII would again invade Italy
in 1499. As to the New World, France did not acknowledge or consent to the division
of the non-European world between Spain and Portugal.157

154 Ibid., 63, 67-68.
155 G.F. de Oviedo y Valdés, Historia general y natural de las Indias, III, lib. xxxvii, cap. I, (Madrid,
156 Christopher Columbus’s sailors are blamed for bringing syphilis from the New World to Italy. It is
also called the French pox because the French army spread the disease throughout Europe during their
attempt to conquer parts of Italy.
157 Jonathan W. Zophy, A Short History of Renaissance and Reformation Europe, (New Jersey: Prentice
Some of the earliest unofficial contact between the French and the indigenous peoples of the New World probably occurred while fishing off the coast of Newfoundland. These encounters were not documented and usually consisted of efforts to resupply vessels with fresh water. In addition to reaping the riches of the fishing banks off the North American coast, the French were also interested in claiming other riches of the New World. Events like the 1522 French capture of three Spanish galleons loaded with gold taken from the Aztecs focused Frances I on obtaining New World wealth. Often, immigrants from the Mediterranean ports offered the most experience for seagoing exploration journeys. Like many of his contemporary explorers, Giovanni da Verrazano was of Italian origin, being Florentine. His family had established themselves as traders in Lyon, France. In 1524, he sailed from Dieppe on the Dauphine, seeking a westerly passage to India. After encountering very heavy storms, Verrazano sighted land. He explored from North Carolina to Maine and claimed the land for King Francis I. He mentioned several encounters with the indigenous people as his ship sailed north up the coastline.\(^{158}\)

Of note is a passage concerning a single sailor’s treatment by the indigenes when he was cast on shore.

Wee sent a young man, one of our Marriners, a shore, who swimming towards them, and being within 3 or 4 yeards off the shore, not trusting

them, cast the things upon the shore, seeking afterwards to returne, hee was with such violence of the waues beaten upon the shore, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead, whiche the Indians perceiving, ranne to catche him, and drawing him out, they carried him a little way of from the sea: The young man perceiving they caried him, beeing at the first dismaide, began then greatly to feare, and cried out pitiously, likewise did the Indians, which did accompanie him, going about to cheere him and giue him courage, and then setting him on the grounde at the foote of a little hill against the sunne, beganne to beholde him with great admiration, marueiling at the whitenesse of his fleshe: and putting off his clothes, they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remained in the boate that they would haue rosted him at that fire and haue eaten him. The young man having recovered his strength, and hauing stayed a while with them, shewed them by signes that hee was desirous to returne to the shippe: And they with great loue clapping him fast about with many embracings, accompanying him vnto the sea, and to put him in more assurance, leaung him alone, They went vnto the high grounde and stoode there, beholding him, vntil he was entred into the boate.159

It is very clear that the Europeans feared cannibals. As this voyage took place in 1524, both Columbus and Vespucci had already poisoned the well in terms of European expectations. While Verrazano and his crew were pleasantly surprised by the fair treatment from the indigenes they encountered, they did not reciprocate. Upon encountering two women with children later in the voyage, the men “tooke a childe from the olde woman to bring into Fraunce,” and they would have also kidnapped the younger woman but she resisted so loudly that the Europeans decided to leave her in the woods.160 When they continued sailing up the coast, they encountered various tribes without ever noting if any of these people engaged in eating human flesh. Also of note were Verrazano’s very Eurocentric comments on religion:

159Hakluyt, Divers Voyages touching the discovery or America and the islands adjacent, 1582, reprinted, edited by Jones, 60.
160Ibid., 61.
Touching the religion of this people which wee haue founde, for want of their language, we could not understond, neither by signes nor gesture, that they had any religion or lawe at all, or that they did acknowledge any first cause or mouer, neither that they worship the heaven or starrs, the Sunne or Moone, or other Planets, and much lesse, whether they bee idolaters; neither coulde wee learne whether that they vsed any kinde of Sacrifices or other adorations, neither in their villages haue they any Temples or houses of prayer. We suppose that they haue no religion at all, and yt they liue at their owne libertie. And yt all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very easie to bee persuaded: and all that they see vs Christians doe in our diuine service, they did the same, with the like imitation as they sawe vs to doe it.\footnote{Ibid., 71.}

While the French were exploring the North American coastline, the next ill-fated expedition intent on conquering \textit{la Florida} set out from Spain on 17 June 1527. Pánfilo de Narváez (Pámphilo in the Vega narrative) led an expedition of five ships and about six hundred men. After surviving a hurricane in Cuba, over five hundred men sailed north into the Gulf of Mexico. Near present-day Tampa Bay, approximately three hundred men of the expedition landed and set off into the interior. Almost all perished in the hostile interior. Comprised of swamps, poisonous snakes, deadly alligators, and fierce indigenous groups who killed or enslaved them, the Spanish disembarked into one of the deadliest environments in Florida. Those explorers, who remained on board, lost contact and returned to Cuba after failing to rendezvous with Narváez.\footnote{Álvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, \textit{Relación, Naufragios, Comentarios}. Under the title: \textit{Castaway}, ed. & foreword by Enrique Pupo-Walker, trans. by Frances M. López-Morillas, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), xv-xvii; de la Vega, \textit{The Florida of the Inca}, 11-12; David B. Quinn, ed., \textit{New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612}, Vol II, Major Spanish Searches in Eastern North America, Franco-Spanish Clash in Florida, The Beginnings of Spanish Florida, (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 1.}
Spain established the *Audiencia* in 1527 to serve as a council to regulate the affairs of New Spain. Eventually, it also functioned as an advisory board for the viceroy.\(^\text{163}\) In 1530, the president of the *Audiencia* -- Nuño de Guzmán -- heard stories of seven large, rich cities far to the northwest. Guzmán, with about four hundred Spaniards and almost a thousand indigenes, went in search of these cities. His expedition was forced to halt due to sickness. However, Guzmán created a new province, Nueva Galicia. He established Compostela as the capital of this province. In 1536, he was arrested for enslaving the Indians, but remained in Nueva Galicia for several more months. What is remarkable about this time was the appearance of four men from the north. The men, Álvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alonso del Castillo,\(^\text{164}\) Andrés Dorantes and his slave, Estévan had emerged out of the wilderness and met up with a group of Guzmán’s men. The group, led by Diego de Alcaraz, was on a slave-catching expedition. The four wanderers were the only surviving members of the ill-fated Narváez expedition that had disappeared after landing in Florida eight years earlier.\(^\text{165}\) Of these groups, two may have practiced cannibalism.

Cabeza de Vaca returned to Spain with Castillo Maldonado. He would return to the New World to govern Paraquay. Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy and governor of New Spain planned an expedition to find the seven cities. Cabeza de Vaca and company had also heard of, and purportedly, been shown the road that led to the cities. Mendoza appointed a Franciscan friar, Marcos de Niza to head the expedition. The new

\(^{164}\) Fray Marcos de Niza referred to this survivor as Castillo Maldonado but in Cabeza de Vaca’s account this survivor’s name was Alonso del Castillo. Cabeza de Vaca, *Castaways*, 55.
governor of New Galicia, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, accompanied the friar to the furthest outpost, San Miquel de Culiacán. Esteván accompanied the expedition to serve as a guide. Cortés had royal authority to explore the coast and was planning to explore the coast clear up the Gulf of Mexico; De Soto, in Spain was also planning an expedition to explore the continent from the east coast. Fray Marcos de Niza returned with remnants of his expedition and confirmed that there were cities. His narrative does not contain any reference to cannibalism, even though he faced hostile indigénos.\footnote{Ibid.,133-137.}

By April 20, 1534, when Jacques Cartier sailed from the port of St. Malo, the Portuguese and English, as well as Verrazano for the French, had already laid some form of claim to North America.\footnote{Nicholls, The Remarkable Life, Adventures and Discoveries of Sebastian Cabot, 89-90, 99-100; Ministry of Agriculture, Precursors of Jacques Cartier, xvi-xviii; Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, The Discovery of North America, 52-53.} Cartier’s two ships made landfall on the eastern shore of Newfoundland on May 10. Sailing for King Francis I, Cartier named the land New France. Initially, the expedition encountered bears, a variety of fish, as well as birds including razorbills, gannets and probably auks.\footnote{The auk was a large penguin-like bird that inhabited the area from present day Canada to Florida. In 1844, the last auk egg was found in Iceland.} During the first month, Cartier traveled among the islands and began the process of claiming and naming both the islands and the fauna encountered. On June 11th, the expedition set up their first cross so that any European would understand that this land was French. The voyagers recounted meeting several different groups of “wilde men” while on their voyage. The
first description followed a rather disappointing narrative concerning the lack of “good earth” on all of the North Island.

There are men of an indifferent good stature and bignesse, but wilde and unruly: they weare their haire tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pinne within it, or any other such thing instead of a naile, and with them they binde certaine birdes feathers. They are clothed with beasts skinnes as well the men as women, but that the women go somewhat straiter and closer in their garments than the men do, with their wastes girded; they paint themselves with certaine Roan colours:\[169\]

Throughout the rest of the voyage, the French encountered groups of indigenes who were willing to trade with them. Some groups were more reticent than others, but all were interested in acquiring iron goods and trinkets. Cartier compared the grain in the area to that in Brazil:

There we found great store of mackerels, that they had taken upon the shore, with certaine nets that they made to fish, of a kinde of Hempe that growth in that place where ordinarily they abide, for they never come to the sea, but onely in fishing time. As farre as I understand, there growth likewise a kind of Millet as big as Peason, like unto that which groweth in Bresil, which they eate in stead of bread.\[170\]

When the French placed their second cross, they initially encountered a local chief who was upset by this symbol being placed on his people’s land. According to Cartier’s account, eventually the chief (Donnacona) was mollified and even consented to allowing two of his sons to travel with the French to Europe.\[171\] Cartier’s two ships returned to the port of St. Malo on 5 September 1534. Throughout these descriptions of

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\[169\] Jameson and Burrage, Jaques Carthier of S. Malo, 18.
\[170\] Ibid., 24.
\[171\] The footnote states that the two sons’ names were Taignoagny and Domagain. They were returned on Cartier’s second voyage. Jameson and Burrage, Jaques Carthier of S. Malo, 25-26.
the indigenous people, there is no reference to cannibalism. Had Cartier’s men witnessed man-eating, they would have recounted their contact with cannibals. By the 1530s, the accounts of Amerindian cannibalism initiated by Columbus had spread throughout Europe. Cartographers had been labeling and placing imagery of man-eaters on the maps since Columbus’ second voyage.

Cartier’s successful voyage and his report led to his appointment as Captain and Pilot of the King. His second voyage received royal patronage.\textsuperscript{172} Francis I supplied three ships and provisions. They departed the port of St. Malo on May 16, 1535. During the crossing, the three ships became separated and reunited only after arriving in Newfoundland in July. The two Indians whom Cartier took back to France on his first voyage returned to their homeland on this voyage and helped identify the bay and the “beginning of the great river of Hochelaga” or the St. Lawrence River. However, once reunited with their people, the two indigenous voyagers and their father, the chief, made every effort to dissuade Cartier from exploring further up the St. Lawrence River. The rest of the narrative of the second voyage continued to list the places explored and what available natural resources existed in the region. Three aspects of this voyage’s narrative are important to note. First, Cartier mentioned the practice of scalping. If cannibalism had been practiced, then one would expect Cartier to note it while commenting on any other unsavory or reprehensible practices (from a Eurocentric point-of-view) that he observed. Of scalping, Cartier was probably not very shocked. Europeans not only burned people at the stake, but criminals or traitors would expect to

\textsuperscript{172}The account used is from Hakluyt’s 1600 edition which was a translation from Ramusio.
be drawn and quartered; poles sporting severed heads would not have elicited much reaction. On visiting the town, Cartier noted: “Then they shewed us the skins of five mens heads spread upon boarde as we do use parchment.”

Secondly, Cartier’s commentary on the people offers insight into the European mindset and their motives while exploring this New World. Cartier was searching for a passage to Asia and also for gold. As a Christian, he dismissed the beliefs of the indigenous people and promised missionaries to bring them to the truth.

This people believe no whit in God, but in one whom they call Cudruaigni: they say that often he speaketh with them and telleth them what weather shal follow, whether good or bad. Moreover they say, that when he is angry with them he casteth dust into their eyes: they believe that when they die they go into the stars, and thence by little and little descent downe into the Horizon, even as the stars doe, and that then they goe into certaine greene fields full of goodly faire and precious trees, flores, and fruits. After that they had given us these things to understand, we shewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceive them, for he is but a Divell and an evill spirit: affirming unto them, that there is but one onely God, who is in heaven, and who giveth us all necessaries, being the Creatour of all himselfe, and that onely we must beleeeve in him: moreover, that it is necessarie for us to be baptized, otherwise wee are damned into hell. These and many other things concerning our faith and religion we shewed them, all which they did easily believe, calling their Cudruaigni, Agoniada, that is to say, nought, so that very earnestly they desired and prayed our Captaine that he would cause them to be baptized, and their lorde, and Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the towne came unto us, hoping to be baptized: but because we did not thoroughly know their minde, and that there was no bodie could teach them our believe and religion, we excused our selves, desiring Taignoagny, and Domagaia, to tell the rest of their countreymen, that [we] would come againe another time, and bring Priests, and chrisome with us, for without them they could not be baptized: which they did easily believe for Domagaia and Taignoagny

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had seen many children baptized in Britain [Brittany] while they were there.\textsuperscript{174}

Cartier also commented on the mores and morals of this tribe with the lack of tolerance common for a European:

They live in common together:…They keep and observe the rites of matrimonie saving that every one weddeth 2 or 3 wives, which (their husbands being dead) do never marrie againe, but for the death of their husbands were a certaine blacke weed all the daies of their life…They have a filthy and detestable use in marrying of their maidens, and that is this, they put them all (after they are of lawfull age to marry) in a common place, as harlots free for every man that will have to doe with them, until such time as they find a match. This I say, because I have seen by experience many houesen full of those Damosels, even as our schooles are full of children in France to learne to reade. Moreover, the misrule and riot that they keepe in those houses is very great, for very wantonly they sport and dally together, shewing whatsoever God hath sent them…\textsuperscript{175}

Finally, Cartier discussed the abundance of game, a strange herb (tobacco) that the men smoked, and the crops planted by the women. He also commented on the distribution of labor and noted that divine providence had apparently made it relatively easy to:

bring them to some familiaritie and civility, and make them learne what one would. The Lord God for his mercies [sic] sake set thereunto his helping hand when he seeth cause. Amen.\textsuperscript{176}

From November through March, they remained on the ice-trapped, French ships. During this time, the crew became ill, as did some of the Indians. Twenty-five crewmembers died of scurvy before Cartier sought out Domagaia (one of the two men

\textsuperscript{174}The footnote indicates that Britain refers to Brittany, a province in France. Jameson and Burrage, \textit{Cartier’s Second Voyage}, 66-67.
\textsuperscript{175}Ibid., 67-68.
\textsuperscript{176}Ibid., 68-71.
who had traveled to and from France). He told Cartier about the indigenous remedy, boiling the bark of white pine and drinking the brew. Cartier noted in his narrative that: “God of his infinite goodnesse and mercie had not with his pitifull eye looked upon us, and revealed a singular and excellent remedie against all diseases unto us…” After recovering, Cartier began questioning the motives of the indigenes and laid out a strategy to capture the chief and take him back to France to present to the King. Cartier thought that the chief had information that would prove profitable to the French.

…Donnacona had told us, that he had bene in the Countrey of Saguenay, in which are infinite Rubies, Gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who clothe themselves with woolen cloth even as we doe in France. Moreover he reported, that hee had bene in another countrey of a people called Picquemians, and other strange people.177

Like other indigenous people, Donnacona offered these strangers news that the riches they sought were farther away. Cartier may have interpreted this information as evidence of great riches in the Americas since the Spanish were returning from the New World with gold and riches, or, that further away was actually Asia and could be reached by a Northern route. Either interpretation was problematic for the indigenous population. At the end of this second voyage, Cartier succeeded in capturing Donnacona and returning with him to France. Donnacona and the nine others never returned to their homeland. They were “baptized at their owne desire and request, and died in sayd countrey of Britaine [Brittany].”178

177Ibid., 79.
178Jameson and Burrage, The Third Voyage of Discovery Made by Captaine Jawues Cartier, 93.
The French did not encounter the cannibals that they feared in North America. However, their forays into South America and their attempts to claim and colonize it met with resistance from the Portuguese. Two accounts of the failed colony near present day Rio de Janeiro discussed the cannibalistic practices of the indigenous people of the Brazilian coast in great detail in Chapter 6.

In May 1539, Hernando de Soto arrived in Florida with an army of six hundred soldiers, two hundred horses and three hundred pigs. One of the tribes that lived in that area was the Timucua. De Soto sent some of the indigenous captives to arrange a meeting with the Timucua chief, Acuera. Acuera’s response indicated that the Spanish slave raids and attempts to claim the land left little doubt among the indigenes that the white man could not be trusted and was unwelcome on their shores. While the speech is attributed to Acuera, it is doubtful that this was an accurate translation of his reply to DeSoto’s invitation to meet him in 1540. (Although the Indians had an oral culture that required their leaders to be especially eloquent, the vocabulary is clearly from the nineteenth century when the speech was published.)

Others of your accursed race have, in years past, poisoned our peaceful shores. The have taught me what you are. What is your employment? To wander about like vagabonds from land to land, to rob the poor, to betray the confiding, to murder in cold blood the defenseless. No! with such a people I want no peace – no friendship. War, never-ending war, exterminating war, is all the boon I ask.

You boast yourselves valiant, and so you may be; but my faithful warriors are not less brave, and this too you shall one day prove; for I have sworn to maintain an unsparing conflict while one white man remains in my borders – not only in battle, though even thus we fear not to meet you, but by stratagem, ambush, and midnight surprisal.

179Mann, 1491, 97.
I am king in my own land, and will never become the vassal of a mortal like myself. Vile and pusillanimous is he who will submit to the yoke of another when he may be free. As for me and my people, we choose death – yes! a hundred deaths – before the loss of our liberty and the subjugation of our country.

Keep on, robbers and traitors: in Acuera and Apalachee we will treat you as you deserve. Every captive will we quarter and hang up to the highest tree along the road.\(^{180}\)

Hernando de Soto spent four years wandering through present day Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas before he died. After the remnants of his expedition left, it would be over a century before Europeans came to conquer the Mississippi valley area.\(^{181}\)

In North America, the French continued to pursue a dream of colonization in the New World. The hardships and difficulties of his second voyage did not dissuade Cartier from his desire to return to the New World. Cartier’s third voyage as Captain-general and Chief Pilot left St. Malo in 1541. The leader of the third voyage was a nobleman, Jean François de la Rocque de Roberval. Dated January 15, 1540, the letters patent named Roberval as “Lord of Norumbega, Viceroy and Lieutenant-general of Canada, Hochelage, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Carpunt, Labrador, the Great Bay and Baccalaos.”\(^{182}\) Cartier departed in command of five ships with Roberval’s knowledge and authorization. Roberval waited in Rouen for additional munitions and artillery until he eventually sailed in 1542. Cartier continued his exploration of the area and its waterways before he built a fort. As he was returning to

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\(^{181}\) Mann, *1491*, 98.
France in May 1542, he met Roberval and his two hundred colonists. They had arrived at St. John’s, Newfoundland in three ships. Cartier tried to dissuade them from remaining to no avail. Roberval and the colonists wintered in New France and returned the following year.183

This 1544 planisphere, attributed to Sebastian Cabot, provides some insight about the imagery associated with the New World. At the northernmost reaches are white bears above an area marked Terra Incognita. There are several inscriptions on the map. They include statements noting:

…that the map was made by Sebastian Cabot in 1544; another describes the country discovered by ‘Juan Cabot, a Venetian, and by Sebastian, his son’, and places the ‘land first seen’ at Cape Breton, on Cabot Strait. Sebastian was about fifteen at that time. The St. Lawrence shows the discoveries of Jacques Cartier, and it has been suggested that the map was here attempting to establish the priority of English over French claims to the country…184

Because the French and Spanish were at war, the establishment of English rights over French in the commentary on the map by Sebastian Cabot would not be out of place. The North American continent has two figures of toga-clad people and an enormous leopard. Underneath the people is reference to the lands discovered by Hernando Cortés. Southern North America, the Caribbean basin and Meso-America are very detailed with name places, inlets, bays, and islands depicted with some accuracy. This map has no imagery of cannibals in Meso- or North America. Although the

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183 Cartier may have led a relief effort. If so, those records are lost. The Hakluyt translation is of the extant fragment of the official French document. Cartier died on September 1, 1557. Jameson and Burrage, *The Third Voyage of Discovery Made by Captaine Jauues Cartier*, 91-92.
184 Cumming, Skelton, and Quinn, *The Discovery of North America*, 74.
Spanish had numerous accounts of Aztec cannibalism during the conquest of Meso America, Cabot’s map does not reflect it. The map does have a cannibal scene on the South American continent.\textsuperscript{185}

Beginning in 1562, the French endeavored to plant a colony on the coast of Florida in an attempt to claim that area from the Spanish. One of the most ardent promoters of the establishment of colonies in the New World was Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France and leader of the French Huguenots. He believed that these colonies would provide a refuge for the French Protestants. His support and efforts to plant colonies would be remembered best for the French colony in Brazil. However, Ribault dedicated his account of the 1562 Florida effort to “a great noble man of Fraunce.”\textsuperscript{186}

Jean Ribault’s ship made the voyage without stopping at any of the West Indian Islands. Normally, ships would stop in the Caribbean to take on water and provisions. On the last day of April, they sighted the North American coast.\textsuperscript{187} Ribault’s first encounter with the indigenous people of the coast was very favorable.

\begin{quote}
For it is their maner to talke and bargaine sitting: and the chiefe of them to bee apart from the meaner sort, with a shewe of great obedience to their kinges, superiours, and elders. They bee all naked, and of a goodly stature, mightie, and as well shapen and proportioned of body, as any people in ye world: very gentle, curteous, and of a good nature.\textsuperscript{188}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{187}Ribault, \textit{The True and Last Discoverie of Florida}, 95-97.
\textsuperscript{188}Ibid., 100.
Ribault continued his observations by noting that the people painted their bodies. He also discussed the abundance of animals, fish, and plants. As the French continued to travel parallel to the coast taking soundings and making an effort to sail up the rivers a short distance, Ribault mentioned the indigenes at each of these encounters as being attractive and peaceful. He initially detained two males to bring back as directed by the king but after they escaped, he became reluctant to detain any more of the Amerindians. This was undoubtedly a good decision. Approximately forty years earlier, a Spanish force under Vasquez de Aylon had carried off indigenes from this same area.  

The French also planted columns along the way in order to claim the land for France. Before returning to France, Ribault fortified an island and left thirty men behind at Charlesfort, on or near Parris Island, South Carolina. The colony failed despite the indigenous people helping the French by supplying them with food. At no time did Ribault or anyone on his first voyage even hint that the Amerindians practiced any form of cannibalism. Nowhere at all in Ribault’s travel journal is there any hint or mention of cannibalism. In fact, the only cannibalism that occurred involved the desperate men who had remained behind. When they attempted to sail back to France in a makeshift vessel, they became stranded at sea.

At length they were brought to the desperate necessity of subsisting on their shoes and leather jackets. Still they continued their course, gaining

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courage from the conviction that they were daily approaching the desired haven, till a mountainous wave broke in upon the deck, and turned the crazy brigantine upon her side, partly filling her with water. Despair now seized upon every breast, and the wretched mariners resigned themselves to their fate. Some had died of hunger, others were languishing on the verge of death, and the few that retained their strength were overwhelmed by dismay. As the vessel recovered its natural position, however, and continued to float, and to obey the rudder and sails, they summoned new courage, and pressed onward. At last everything that could sustain life had been consumed; they were driven to the terrible extremity, so abhorrent to the feelings of humanity, of subsisting on the flesh of one of their number, to whose lot it had fallen, by mutual agreement, to yield himself a sacrifice to save the lives of the others.191

The Spanish met the first French encroachment into Florida with diplomatic protests and a small expedition to clear out the interlopers. In May 1564, Don Hernando de Manrique de Rojas sailed from Cuba to destroy the French fort. When he arrived, it had already been abandoned. He burned Charlesfort and returned to Cuba thinking the French incursion had been dealt with.192

Ribault could not send relief supplies as he promised. During this period, France was engaged in a religious war between the Catholics and Huguenots. Finally, Coligny petitioned the king on Ribault’s behalf. The king provided three ships, the Elizabeth of Honfleur, the Petit Briton, and the Falcon. In 1564, René de Laudonnière became Coligny’s choice for a second attempt to establish a foothold in Florida. This would be the ill-fated Fort Caroline. Besides the navigators, sailors, and soldiers, the expedition included men from all walks of life except farmers. This was certainly an oversight by the French during the second attempt to colonize Florida. Jacques Le

Moyne de Morgues, a member of the second voyage, who was sent to make a survey of Florida, painted Timucuan Indians worshipping the French stone column erected during the first voyage by Ribault to commemorate the exploration of the St John’s Bay area and claim the land for France. Engravings by De Bry from Le Moyne’s sketches appeared in 1591. The depictions of the indigenous peoples do not include scenes of cannibalism. As on the first voyage, the indigines greeted the French as friends and offered food and other gifts as a token of their esteem. Aided by the local leader, Satouriona, the French and the indigenous people of the area erected a fort on the River May. Laudonniere christened it Fort Caroline in 1564.

During the time that the French colonists were at Fort Caroline, two scouts were sent out into the countryside. They were gone for five to six months. Upon their return, they had favorable comments about the Amerindians that they had met while traveling. However, the French eventually alienated the indigines. Laudonniere also faced a mutiny during which the barks he used to travel the river were stolen. By 1565, the colony had made enemies of the neighboring indigenous people, become split by a mutiny, and suffered through a winter of famine. On August 3rd, the French spotted vessels approaching the fort from the Atlantic. The colonists were so desperate that they welcomed English ships, commanded by John Hawkins. The English were seeking water but agreed to sell a ship and stores in exchange for weapons and ammunition. As

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193 Ribault was not included in this expedition. Le Moyne was appointed as painter and draftsman at the request of Laudonniere. Sparks, *Lives of John Ribault, Sebastian Rale, and William Palfrey*, 39-43.
194 Only one of the forty-two originals is extant. Lorant, *The New World*, 32-87.
Laudonnière prepared to sail, Ribault arrived with an influx of new colonists (men, women and children) to take command of the colony. Joy at his arrival would be short-lived.196

Shortly after Ribault’s arrival, the Spanish appeared on the scene. Attempts by the French to colonize Florida in the 1560’s became the impetus for Spain to establish a settlement. In 1565, three years after the French began their effort to colonize La Florida, Philip II of Spain sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to La Florida. He had specific instructions if he encountered “settlers or corsairs of other nations…to drive them out by what means you see fit…”197 He attacked Fort Caroline, killing most of the French colonists. He then burned the French colony at Fort Caroline. Those that escaped fled to the French ships anchored in the river. Ribault with soldiers and an indigenous ally, Ottingny, surrendered to the Spanish near St. Augustine. Once they were prisoners, Menéndez had them executed. Pedro Menéndez accomplished what he set out to do, destroy the French Lutherans who were encroaching on Spanish territory and build a permanent colony.198 When he destroyed the French colony, he also killed indigenous allies of the French. Because of previous slaving activity along the coast, the indigenous people considered the Spanish enemies. In the aftermath of the war between the French and Spanish, the indigenous people of the Carolinas continued to resist the Spanish. Of the garrisons and Jesuit missions that Pedro Menéndez de Avilés

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197 The March 20 1565 instructions or *asiento* outlined in great detail every aspect of the expedition.
would place along the eastern seaboard to the Chesapeake Bay and along the Gulf coast of Florida, only St. Augustine would survive.\(^{199}\)

When word reached France, Chevalier Dominic de Gourgues, a French Catholic, decided to outfit an expedition to punish the Spanish. Upon arrival in Florida, Gourgues made contact with the Amerindians who had been allies of the French. They agreed to help Gourgues attack the Spanish at the three forts in the area. These were all north of St. Augustine. With the help of the indigenes, Gourgues attacked the forts in succession. Those Spanish, who were not killed during the fighting, were summarily executed. The forts were then dismantled. Gourgues acknowledged that without the aid of the Amerindians, the attacks would not have succeeded. After satisfying his national pride and revenge, Gourgues returned to France.\(^{200}\)

The indigenous allies were left to deal with the aftermath of the French attack. Once again, there was no hint of cannibalism in the accounts. If the Amerindians of Florida had a tradition of eating their enemies, the French would have noted this in their accounts of the attempted colonization of Florida and in the later account of the armed expedition that sought revenge. The Spanish would also have noted it. Clearly, cannibalism was considered an aberrant behavior of the indigenous people in the Caribbean and South America, not North America. In both the Spanish and French


cartography of North America, the absence of labels or imagery of cannibalism indicated that these indigenous people were not man-eaters.\(^{201}\)

By second half of the 1500s, the English began to look across the Atlantic and desire foreign markets and treasures. In October 1562, John Hawkins began to challenge the Spanish hold on overseas trade. He began a triangular slave trade, down the coast of Africa for slaves, across the Atlantic to trade them for pearls, gold, silver, sugar and furs, and back to England having turned a great profit. On his second voyage, he visited the French colony at Fort Caroline. Once again, no hint of cannibalism by the indigenous peoples surfaced. On his third voyage, in 1567, his ship was storm-driven into the port of San Juan de Ulloa where the Spanish authorities attacked him. On this voyage, and in the fight, was a young English seaman who would spend his life preying on and plundering the Spanish galleons, Francis Drake. Drake had been fostered to the Hawkins family when his family fled their home during the reign of Queen Mary (Tudor).\(^{202}\)

The voyages of Drake added to the cartography of the New World. The privateers, who went after Spanish gold, sparked the interest of another group of Englishmen who also looked across the Atlantic to find riches. Sir Humphrey Gilbert


and his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, would play an integral part in the English movement to North America. In 1578, Gilbert obtained letters patent to colonize land unclaimed by any other Christian prince from Queen Elizabeth I. Gilbert took formal possession of Newfoundland in 1583, but perished on the return voyage. Walter Raleigh stepped into the void and obtained a new patent. In April 1584, Raleigh sent two ships to explore the coast. Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas returned with glowing reports of North America. Barlowe noted that the indigenous people were well proportioned, respectful of the King, friendly, and polite.\textsuperscript{203}

Raleigh organized an expedition commanded by Sir Richard Grenville. The settlers arrived on August 17, 1585 on Roanoke Island, Virginia and remained until June 18, 1586. Initially, welcomed by the indigenes, the English behavior soon changed their kindness to hostility. Sir Francis Drake rescued the remaining settlers before Sir Richard Grenville could return from England with supplies. Ralph Lane, one of the settlers, wrote a report to explain the problems and reasons for leaving with Drake. In the report he blamed the indigenous people of plotting against the English to starve them. The English failed to bring enough foodstuffs to sustain themselves and did not plant crops but relied on the Amerindians to feed them.\textsuperscript{204}

The May 1587, Raleigh sent John White and a second colony to Virginia. White sailed back to England for supplies a few weeks later leaving behind his family at

\textsuperscript{203}Lorant, The New World, 123-129; Walter Bigges, \textit{A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage, wherein were taken the townes of Saint Iago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena and Saint Augustine}, (London, 1589), 21-51.

\textsuperscript{204}Lorant, The New World, 123, 142-149; Bigges, \textit{A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage}, 21-51.
Roanoke. Unable to return until 1590, White would search for the lost colony. Following these attempts, the new century would dawn before the English returned to colonize America. Our best source of the English view of the people and customs in North America was recorded by Thomas Harriot and John White in 1585-1586.\(^\text{205}\)

Many of John White’s drawings were engraved and used by Theodore De Bry (c. 1527-1598) in his *Grands et petits voyages*. De Bry was active in Frankfurt-am-Main as an engraver, bookseller and publisher. The *Grands voyages* are a compilation of accounts of voyages to North and South America containing maps and illustrations. Part 1 was published in 1590 in English, French, German and Latin. De Bry used Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* which included Thomas Harriot’s book on the year he spent in the *New found land of Virginia*. He also used John White’s watercolors for his engravings.\(^\text{206}\)

This published work included an introduction by de Bry that offers the best explanation of his work and some insight into his view at that time of the indigenous peoples:

…Although, Dear Reader, on account of Adam’s disobedience man was deprived of those good gifts with which he was endowed at the Creation, yet, as will be seen in the following account of the life of savage trives, he still retained wit to provide for himself and to make whatever was necessary for his life and health—except in the matter of his soul’s helath. For although these savages have no knowledge of the true God or of His holy word and are without any learning, yet they surpass us in many things. Their way of eating is far more wise and moderate than

\(^{205}\) Lorant, *The New World*, 123.
ours, and they show the greatest ingenuity in making, without the aid of any metal tool, such fine and delicate articles as could hardly be believed if the Englishmen had not brought back the proofs from their travels in that country.

Admiring, as I did, the paintings made of these people, I wished to offer them to the public. This I have been able to do by the help of Master Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, a minister of God’s word, who first encouraged me to publish the work. I copied exactly from the originals themselves, which were made by Master John White, an English painter who was sent to the New World by Her Majesty the Queen especially to make exact drawings of the country and its inhabitants, their way of dressing, their manner of living, and their several habits. This he did under direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, the worthy knight who from 1584 to the end of 1588 spent large sums of money in the discovery and exploration of that country.

At the request of my friends, and because the memory of that recent feat is so fresh, I am publishing first the account of that part of the New World which the English call Virginia. If I were to regard the order of events, the history of Florida (which I already have in hand) should have first been published, since the French discovered and conquered that land in a notable victory long before the discovery of Virginia. However, I hope shortly to publish this work also. I obtained both of them in London and brought them here to Frankfurt, where I and my sons have taken the most earnest pains in engraving them carefully on copper, since the subject is one of great importance. I have had the text of both narratives translated into excellent French and Latin by a very learned friend of mine... 

In addition to engraving collected works of both the French and English expeditions to North America, Theodor De Bry continued to publish accounts of the European voyages, accounts, and exploration. As with the publication of Part 1, the other volumes in the two works, Grands Voyages (fourteen parts) and Petit Voyages, contained beautiful engravings and maps. Only 1 of the 14 parts of the America series, Virginia, was published in English. From 1592 until his death in 1597, Theodore de

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207 Theodor De Bry, quoted in Lorant, The New World, 227-228.
Bry published Parts 2-6 in Latin and German and had also begun work on Parts 7-13. From 1598-1602, his widow and his sons published Parts 7-9 in Latin and German. His family continued his work, beginning the publication of the Petits Voyages (accounts of voyages to India and the Far East) in 1598. These were also in Latin and German. By 1607, when the first permanent settlement in Virginia, Jamestown was founded, eight parts of it had been completed. In 1611, Jean Israel de Bry died, leaving his older brother, Jean-Theodore, to continue the work. When he died in 1623, his sons-in-law carried on publishing the remaining parts of both *Grands Voyages* (fourteen parts) and *Petit Voyages* from 1628 - 1634 in Latin and German, with the exception of Part 13 which was only published in German.²⁰⁸ The works provide a striking contrast between the imagery of indigenous peoples in North America and the imagery of those in South America. De Bry embellished on the illustrations he acquired or those illustrations published in other accounts. One of the most sought after accounts was the story of a German artilleryman, Hans Staden. His account and the illustrations that accompanied it will be discussed in Chapter 6. The illustrations and engravings that accompanied the accounts of North America offered a vast number of revealing images of the Amerindians. Like the cartography of Meso- and North America, these illustrations do not include scenes of cannibalism.

CHAPTER 6
THE CARIBBEAN AND SOUTH AMERICA

With Christopher Columbus’ first voyage in search of the Indies in 1492, Spain became the first European country to claim, explore, conquer and inhabit the lands that would acquire the name of the Americas. Spain and the other European powers that crossed the Atlantic had a strong manuscript tradition that has brought us one view of the history of contact between Europeans and the people of the Western Hemisphere. Many of these sixteenth-century manuscripts detail the perceptions of indigenous customs, religion and ceremonies. Tales of cannibalism can be found among these contemporary letters, diaries, logs, and histories.209

These accounts help us to understand why the cartography contained imagery of the Amerindians as cannibals. The discovery and exploration of the Americas and the efforts to claim the riches of the Indias Occidentales occurred almost simultaneously. In the New World, the Franciscans and Dominicans were followed by the Jesuits in spreading Catholicism and destroying a “satanic” hold on the Amerindians. Some of the maps from this early period were created by cartographers who actually traveled to the lands they mapped. Many more, however, resulted from interviews, sketches, and the published experiences of the European voyagers. Often the European cartography
of this century was created by people who never left home, in order to satisfy an intense curiosity and provide knowledge about these discoveries. The extant maps with depictions of the indigenous people as cannibals or with areas containing warnings about this practice, and the writings of these voyagers and missionaries show the progression of information about the Americas. Together, the cartography and the literature provide a window showing the geographic exploration and travels of Europeans and the mindset, territorial ambitions and religious proclivities during this first century of contact.

While Columbus was not the first European to set foot in the Western Hemisphere, his accounts of contact and claims of possession revealed to the Europeans the new lands and peoples across the Atlantic.\(^{210}\) Columbus never acknowledged that this was a new land, always believing that it was the fringes of the Asiatic continent he had set out to reach. He was a fiercely religious man who repeatedly asserted that the riches of the Indies would be used to fund a Crusade to reclaim the Holy Lands.

I conclude here: that through the divine grace of Him who is the origin of all good and virtuous things, who favors and gives victory to all those who walk in His path, in seven years from today I will be able to pay Your Highnesses for five thousand cavalry and fifty thousand foot soldiers for the war and conquest of Jerusalem, for which purpose this enterprise was undertaken.\(^{211}\)


Columbus began to define the peoples and landscapes he encountered in terms of his own religious and intellectual background on first contact. Stephen Greenblatt acknowledges this practice, noting,

Hence from the moment of landfall Columbus attempts to translate the practices of the alien world he observes into the practices of his own. This attempt to reduce the distance between the self and the other by “direct substitution” is one of the enduring principles of the early European response to unfamiliar lands and peoples, but it is set against the opposite response, the recognition of baffling and confounding otherness in the newly discovered lands and peoples.212

During his first voyage, Columbus interpreted hand signals and facial expressions as a description of a fierce rival tribe, “caniba” or “carib.”213 His log entry for 23 November 1492 contained a description of a rival tribe that Columbus extrapolated through the language barrier from the Taino, the gentle Arawak people of first contact. This description referred to another island where “there were people on it who had one eye in their foreheads, and others whom they call cannibals (canibales), of whom they show great fear.”214 The description by Columbus in his log provides us with an example of the unconscious linking in Columbus’s mind of this other tribe with European literature, particularly the writings of Marco Polo, and myths concerning anthropophagi or man-eaters.

Columbus and those Europeans who would follow him were of two minds about which role the inhabitants of these lands would assume under their new sovereigns: would the indigenes be regarded as allies or slaves? Among the Catholics, there was no question that their religion required the dissolution of non-Christian religious practices and conversion. While still believing that he was on the outer fringes of the Indies and hopeful of encountering the rulers and people described by Marco Polo, Columbus had no compunction about claiming the lands encountered “in the name of the King and of the Queen, his Sovereigns….” This practice of claiming the land for Christian kings was based on Hispano-Roman law that had evolved during the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula. The title to unoccupied land or land seized from infidels could be claimed by the king himself, or declared in his name. The act of taking possession entailed raising the royal standard and reciting a set legal formula.

Columbus’ extant announcements and letters describing his encounters and reactions clearly establish that Columbus chose to believe that he was able to understand and communicate with the indigenous people and, in turn, they understood him. Margarita Zamora has translated a copy of the Columbus’ Letter to the Sovereigns of 4 March 1493 Announcing the Discovery, from the Antonio Rumeu de Armas’ transcription of an authenticated sixteenth-century copy of the personal copies of documents that Columbus kept. In that letter, Columbus stated: “In the meantime I

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216 Lyle N. McAlister, Spain & Portugal in the New World 1492-1700, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 4-5.
already understood something of the speech and signs of certain Indians I had taken on the island of San Salvador…” 217 Initially, Columbus kidnapped some of the indigenous people encountered at first landfall in order to learn how to communicate -- thus indicating that he could not understand them. Then, in a matter of days, Columbus transferred his supposed “understanding” into sanguine assumptions about the indigenous peoples’ religious beliefs and his ability to comprehend both their language and feelings. Later in his 4 March 1493 letter, Columbus wrote:

Nowhere in these islands have I known the inhabitants to have a religion, or idolatry, or much diversity of language among them, but rather they all understand one another. I learned that they know that all powers reside in heaven. And, generally, in whatever lands I traveled, they believed and believe that I, together with these ships and people, came from heaven, and they greeted me with such veneration. And, today, this very day, they are [not] of the same mind, nor have they strayed from it, despite all the contact they [the Spaniards at La Navidad] may have had with them. And then, upon arriving at whatever settlement, the men, women, and children go from house to house calling out, “Come, come and see the people from heaven!” 218

In 1493, King João II of Portugal received word from the Azores that Columbus, sailing for Isabella and Ferdinand, claimed to have reached Asia. Shortly thereafter (March 1493), Columbus landed in Lisbon. Word of his voyage led to rival claims and a political solution via Papal Bulls and negotiated treaties. Isabella preempted Portuguese plans by securing from Pope Alexander VI (an Aragonese) the Bull Inter Caetera that recognized Castilian sovereignty. Three bulls and two treaties later, the Portuguese and Castilians agreed on a compromise. The Treaty of Tordesillas

217 Zamora, Christopher Columbus’s “Letter to the Sovereigns,” in Greenblatt, ed., New World
(1494) designated a linear demarcation along the meridian 370 leagues west of Cape Verde. This demarcation line would soon after appear on some of the maps depicting the New World.219

On his second voyage (September 1493-June 1496), Columbus confirmed the existence of these “cannibals” or “Caribs” through an encounter with female-slaves who explained in sign language that they were captives of fierce man-eaters. During this voyage, the islands of the Lesser Antilles were explored and named.220

Both Columbus and Dr. Diego Álvarez Chanca described this voyage and encounter in letters that became widely published. Dr. Chanca, appointed the fleet surgeon for the second voyage, noted the presence of man-eaters in his report. He also unwittingly described the violent and provocative behavior of the Spanish toward the people that they encountered. He casually mentioned robbery. Later in his report, he would note that the Spanish also were responsible for kidnapping, assault, and murder.

…The captain went ashore in the boat and reached the houses, in which he found their inhabitants. As soon as they saw them [our men] they took to flight, and he entered the houses and found the things that they had, for they had taken nothing away, and from there he took two parrots, very large and very different from all those seen before. He found much cotton, spun and ready for spinning, and articles of food; and he brought away a little of everything; especially he brought away four or five bones of the arms and legs of men. When we saw this, we

Encounters, 3.
218 Ibid., 5.
suspected that the islands were those of Caribe, which are inhabited by people who eat human flesh. …

Dr. Chanca’s attitude and tone throughout the report sets the scene for Spaniards to justify harsh actions against the indigenes. Dr Chanca indicated that any action by the Spanish was understandable because the islanders were man-eaters. He went on to remark on the subsequent Spanish behavior toward those islanders they came across, and toward those that approached in a canoe. What is of great interest in an ethnographic sense is the description of the islanders’ reaction to the Spanish:

…and of these some [the sailors] took certain women, natives of the island, and other women who were amongst the prisoners, who came willingly…none of the men could be taken by force nor willingly, except two who felt confident and who were afterwards taken by force…along the coast came a canoe in which were four men and two women and a boy, and as soon as they saw the fleet, they were so dumbfounded with amazement that for a full hour they were there without moving from a place about two lombard shots from the ships. In this time, they were seen by those who were in the boat and even by the whole fleet. Then those in the boat went towards them, so close to land that they, what with their fascination, wondering and thinking what thing this could be, never saw them until they were close to them, so that they could not do much to escape although they tried hard to do so; but our men closed so quickly that they could not get away. The caribes when they saw that flight was useless, with great daring took up their bows, the women as well as the men, and I say with great daring, because they were only four men and two women, and our men were more than twenty-five, of whom they wounded two, one they hit twice in the breast with arrows, and the other once in the side, and if it had not been that they [the sailors] carried oval shields and targets, and that they came near them with the boat and overturned their canoe, they would have wounded most of them with their arrows.

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222Ibid., 32-33.
While still professing that these islands were part of Asia, Columbus had aided in transplanting images of the other as man-eaters from the Old World to the New World. Based on what Columbus wrote in his letters, it is clear that these first accounts of cannibals were not only the result of hearsay (in an unknown language) but also adopted from reading ancient literature and travel accounts. However, whether true or false, the news of cannibals quickly found its way into the maps of the New World. Although the imagery would not appear on the map made by Juan de la Cosa, master mapmaker of the Niña (second voyage), de la Cosa would add a legend about the discovery of cannibals and label Islas de Canibalas between los Hermanos and el Falcon islands and south of the island of Dominica near the southern most tip of the Lesser Antilles. The Niña was one of the ships Columbus used on both his first and second voyage. Juan de la Cosa sailed on it during the second voyage. On this voyage, Columbus made the pilots, masters and seamen of the three caravels, the Niña, San Juan and Cardera, swear that Cuba was not an island and that they had reached terra firma. Despite his oath, de la Cosa depicted Cuba as an island on his map.

Columbus’s tales of cannibals in the Caribbean were quickly followed by Americus Vespucci’s accounts of his Caribbean and South American voyages, which included encounters with cannibals. Vespucci, a Florentine merchant and agent for the

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Medici family, sailed for both Spain and Portugal. Vespucci may have made as many as four trips to the New World and wrote two letters that led to the naming of the New World after him. His *Epistola* to Lorenzo de Medici and his *Lettera* to Pier or Pietro Soderini were widely published and read throughout Europe.

Vespucci’s first voyage departed Cádiz on 10 or 20 May 1497 (the date depends on which translation of the letter is used and returned on 15 October 1498. King Ferdinand sponsored the voyage and Vincente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Díaz de Solís commanded it. In the *Lettera* to Pietro Soderini, Vespucci stated that he had been on four voyages, “two by order of the King of Castile, King Don Fernando VI,” and two by “King Don Manuel King of Portugal.” Vespucci also described the eating habits of the people he saw on his first voyage, stating:

…their food consists chiefly of roots of herbs, and fruits and fish: they have no seed of wheat nor other grain: and for their ordinary use and feeding, they have a root of a tree, from which they make flour, tolerably good, and they call it Iuca, and [there are] others who call it Cazabi, and others Ignami: they eat little flesh except human flesh: for your Magnificence must know that herein they are so inhuman that they outdo every custom [even] of beasts: for they eat all their enemies whom they kill or capture, as well females as males, with so much savagery, that [merely] to relate it appears a horrible thing: how much more so to see

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225 Pier Soderini was a close friend and classmate of Vespucci. Pier or Pietro became Chief of the republic of Florence when the Medici family was expelled from it in 1502. Amerigo Vespucci, *Letters of the Four Voyages to the New World*, reprinted in facs. and trans. Bernard Quaritch, (Hamburg: Wayasbah Publication 32, 1992), vi.
226 The number of trips may have been as few as two and the authorship of the letters are debated with at least one letter about the four trips suspected of being forged. Bellec, *Unknown Lands: The Log Books of the Great Explorers*, 94-98.
227 This voyage is disputed among scholars because of its date and the lack of irrefutable documentation. Vespucci, *Letters of the Four Voyages*, reprinted in facs. and trans. Quaritch, vi, 4-5.
it, as, infinite times and in many places, it was my hap to see it: and they wondered to hear us say that we did not eat our enemies…  

In July 1498, Columbus began his third voyage to the Americas. While there, he went to Trinidad and South America. Although Columbus continued to explore, ever mindful that he had not yet reached the mainland of Eastern Asia, the Spanish were spreading out and taking possession of the lands and the people who already inhabited them. It was at the end of this third voyage that Columbus and his two brothers were arrested. The new governor of Hispaniola, Francisco de Bobadilla, returned them to Spain in disgrace in November 1500. 

In 1499 while Columbus was exploring on his third voyage, Vespucci outfitted and commanded his own ships (two) and sailed with Spanish Captain Alonso de Ojedo (Hojeda) and Juan de la Cosa, who had their own vessels. Splitting up when they reached the coast, Vespucci saw both the Amazon and the Para River. While on the South American coast, the travelers encountered cannibals. According to Vespucci, they also encountered people who were so different from the man-eaters that they baptized them into the Christian faith. 

Vespucci wrote several letters to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco dei Medici, of which only his Epistola is extant. His name was also affixed to a letter written to Piero Soderini, Gonfaloniere of the Republic of Florence in 1504. The 1504

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letter was published the following year in Florence and reprinted in both France and Germany. It was also translated into Latin, reaching 15 Latin editions.\textsuperscript{231}

Vespucci described his first voyage in his letter to de’Medici. The letter to Pier Soderini described all four voyages. Entitled \textit{Lettera di Amerigo vespucci delle isole novamente trovate in Quattro suoi viaggi}, this letter is considered a forgery for several reasons. Frederick Pohl writes that:

The first edition, or earliest known edition, of the letter describing the four voyages was addressed to the Gonfaloniere Soderini in language identifying him, but without naming him and without any dedication. Printed works were almost invariably dedicated in that day. The absence of dedication was prima-facie evidence of forgery. The early editions of the \textit{Four Voyages} were printed without date and with every characteristic of spurious writings.

The dates given in the \textit{Four Voyages} for the “first” voyage were May, 1497, to October, 1498, thus conflicting with the period of Amerigo’s presumable activities as Berardi’s successor in Andalusia from mid-April, 1497, to the end of May, 1498, while preparing the ships for the third voyage of Columbus. One text of the \textit{Four Voyages} made him return from the “first” voyage on October 18, 1498. Another made him return form that voyage a year later, on October 1, 1499. Still another gave the date as October 15, 1499. Throughout the \textit{Four Voyages} there is a confusion of dates and duration of voyages. Contemporary letters to Florence from various Florentines living in Lisbon and Seville frequently gave the actual dates of sailings and arrivals. In the face of this knowledge possessed by his countrymen and certain knowledge of the Spanish government, Amerigo could not have ventured to falsify dates, as he would have had to do if the \textit{Four Voyages} were genuine.\textsuperscript{232}

One of the phenomena that occurred in connection with the published letters was that cartographers began indicating the presence of cannibals on their maps of the

\textsuperscript{230} These “different” Amerindians did not behave in an overtly hostile manner.
\textsuperscript{231} Louis-Andre Vigneras, \textit{The Discovery of South America and the Andalusian Voyages}, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), 23, 49-50
This served multiple purposes, being a warning to navigators, a real desire to graphically represent knowledge of the New World, and a claim to the lands where contact was made with these indigenes. Like the flow of all information, the process is not always smooth. The publication of accurate maps with the most up-to-date information depended upon the dissemination of correct data in a timely manner. It also relied on the political situation and the financial backing of the explorer/cartographer and the publisher.

By the time Columbus returned with news of his landfall, the principalities and Imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire (present-day Germany) had become famous for its wood and metal engravers, painters, and makers of scientific instruments. Having invented movable-type printing, several cities combined their printing industries with their centers of geographical knowledge. Nuremberg, Augsburg, Basle and Strassburg produced maps and globes that laid the foundation for the wealth of cartography that is still extant today. Using woodcut maps, Ptolemy’s *Geographia* was published in Ulm in 1482 and 1486. Then in 1513, Martin Waldseemüller, a German cartographer, guided the production and publication of the first edition of Ptolemy’s *Geographia* containing a map of the “New World.” Other editions of his atlas followed and were joined by the atlases and maps of Sebastian Münster, a mathematician and linguist who lived in Basle.233

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The cartographers of the first maps of the New World used the labels *anthropophagi* or *cannibal* on the islands, rivers, and *terra incognita* located near the sites where explorers claimed to have encountered indigenes practicing cannibalism. These maps were clearly based on the early explorations and accounts by Columbus and Vespucci.

The 1500 “Portolan World Chart,” or the de la Cosa World map, is the first and earliest known extant representation of the New World. Juan de la Cosa, a Basque cartographer, owner and mate of the *Santa María*, drew the first map of the New World at Puerto de Santa Maria, near Cadiz in 1500. Drawn on oxhide and designed to show all the territory claimed by the Spanish, the map also contained the lands claimed by Giovanni and Sebastiano Caboto for England. This map has no images of indigenes nor does it have the distinctive Treaty of Tordesillas demarcation line. However, the two smaller West Indies islands (Martinique and Guadeloupe) are labeled *Islas de Canibals*. In the *reflecciónes*, the comment states that “1493 Columbus and his companions endured the spectacle of Caribs eating human flesh.” The phrasing is deceptive since Juan de la Cosa was a member of the first and second voyage and would have been one of Columbus’ companions. While attempting to incorporate all known information, the commentary affirmed the idea that Columbus and the members of his second voyage were eyewitneses to cannibalism in the lower Antilles. In fact, the extant documents do not confirm that Columbus and his companions witnessed any man-eating. What they found on the second voyage, skulls and human bones, may have
been war trophy skull racks and funerary rites. There are questions about the accurate
dating of the de la Cosa map.235

The 1500 Alessandro Zorzi map, sketched from instructions provided by
Christopher Columbus, labels two islands as canibali and the river entrance on the
mainland above the label Mondo Novo as …de canibali.236 Nebenzahl describes the
map as having been sketched by Zorzi with the help of Bartolomeo Columbus (brother
of Christopher Columbus) from a 1503 Christopher Columbus chart of Central
America. While the 1500 or 1503 date of the map differs between the two authors, the
map (one of three sketched maps) clearly identifies the presence of cannibals.237

Columbus and Vespucci were not the only Europeans sailing between Seville
and the coast of South America. The Spanish expeditions along the coast fell into two
major periods. During the first period from 1495 until 1502, the voyages that sailed

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234 Pohl, Amerigo Vespucci Pilot Major, 98; Seymour I. Schwartz and Ralph E. Ehrenberg, The Mapping
235 This map is painted on oxhide, it is 180 x 96 cm., and is located in the Museo Naval, Madrid. Michael
Mollat du Jourdin and Monique de La Roncière with Marie-Madeleine Azard, Isabelle Raynaud-Nguyen
and Marie-Antoinette Vannereau, trans. L. le R. Dethan, Sea charts of the Early Explorers: 13th to 17th
Century (New York: Thames & Hudson, Inc., 1984), map 22; Schwartz and Ehrenberg, The Mapping
of America, 18-20; Pierluigi Portinaro and Franco Knirsch, The Cartography of North America 1500-1800
Explorers, 59, 86, 87. Image is from Blec; Seymour I. Schwartz discusses the question of an accurate
date. The extant documents include the account by Chanca, “The Report of Dr. Chanca (1494),” in Wild
Majesty Encounters, ed. Hulme and Whitehead, 32-33; Farina and Triolo, Christopher Columbus’s
Discoveries in the Testimonials of Diego Alvarez Chanca and Andres Bernaldez, 23-24; quoted in Peck,
“The Cultural Image of the Prehistoric and Early Historic Island Caribs,” 2.
236 The map is reproduced in Jerry M. Williams & Robert E. Lewis, eds., Early Images of the Americas:
Transfer and Invention, Chap. 2, The Cannibal Law of 1503, by Michael Palencia-Roth, (Tucson:
University of Arizona Press, 1993), 36.
237 Nebenzahl provides a history of the map that dates it as 1503-06/1516-22. Although the chart is now
lost, it was seen by Peter Martyr, a contemporary historian, in 1516. Kenneth Nebenzahl, Rand McNally
& Company: Atlas of Columbus and the Great Discoveries (Genoa: Rand McNally & Company, 1990),
38-39. The map is reproduced in Williams & Lewis, eds., Early Images of the Americas, Chap. 2, The
Cannibal Law of 1503, by Palencia-Roth, 36.
along the northern coast of South America and the eastern seaboard of Brazil became known collectively as the “Andalusian voyages.” Led by Alonso de Ojeda, Amerigo Vespucci and Juan de la Cosa (1499-1500), Pedro Alonso Niño and Cristóbal Guerra (1499-1500), and Diego de Lepe (1499-1500), and Vicente Yáñez Pinzón (1499-1500), these voyages were geared to exploration and acquisition of wealth. Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, while sailing along the coastline, found that the sea water off the mouth of a river was fresh. He sailed upriver for fifty miles and named the river, Marañón. Describing the indigenous people along the Marañón (Amazon) as friendly, he carried off thirty-six of them into slavery. Velez de Mendoza traveled along the coast between the elbow or bulge of Brazil and the area of Bahia de Todas os Santos from 1500-1501. While not very profitable, these voyages provided an immense amount of geographical and nautical information. The second group of expeditions explored around the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico. These voyages are discussed in Chapter Five. Portugal, rival of the Spanish on the Iberian Peninsula, would also stake out a claim to Brazil when Cabral made landfall on his way to the Far East.

Shortly after the Treaty of Tordesillas was signed, King Manoel I (1495-1521, b. 1469) ascended the throne of Portugal. Among his first order of business was a dynastic marriage between Princess Isabel of Castile (the widow of Prince Afonso) and the daughter of Isabella and Ferdinand, to Manoel. Those plans entailed a decision about the Jews in Portugal. When Spain ordered the conversion of its Jews, half of

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238 Vigneras, The Discovery of South America and the Andalusian Voyages, 23, 49-50; Milanich and Milbrath, eds., First Encounters, 9, 194; Morison, The European Discovery of America, 212-213; Pedro
them fled to Portugal. The Jewish community in Portugal was a large and vibrant one. Unfortunately, with the marriage of Manoel, Portuguese Jews faced an unimaginable decision: convert or lose their children. The children would be removed from their families and raised as Catholics. Castilian Jews were given a deadline to leave Portugal. Initially mired in these domestic issues, Manoel allocated minimal resources to an expedition entrusted to Vasco da Gama. Four ships left Lisbon in 1497 and returned in September 1499 with the news that the Portuguese oceanic route to the wealth of the East Indies was no longer a dream. Vasco da Gama had rounded Africa and sailed to the Far East. This route would become Portugal’s main concern and priority at the beginning of the new century.\textsuperscript{239}

King Manoel I of Portugal was also pursuing the riches of Asia. He commissioned a large expedition of thirteen ships to the Indies via the Cape of Good Hope with Pedro Álvares Cabral in command. Sailing far out into the Atlantic, the expedition sighted land on 22 April 1500. Cabral claimed this land for his sovereign just as Columbus had done in the Caribbean. The expedition sailed along the coast for nine days. Believing that it was their duty to send word to King Manoel I of their discovery, Cabral decided to dispatch a ship back to Portugal. On board was a letter (see Chapter Five) that contained a description of both the land and its indigenous peoples. What is striking about the Caminha letter is its description of the indigenous


\textsuperscript{239} Vasco da Gama, \textit{“The Route to India, 1497-8”} trans. and annotated by E.G. Ravenstein, from the book \textit{Portuguese Voyages 1498-1663}, edited by Charles David Ley; Everyman’s Library, (Great Britain: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1947); paperback edition (London: Phoenix Press, 2000),3-38; Bailey W. Diffie and
Tupi as very peaceful and cooperative. The custom was to leave Portuguese criminals/exiles or degradados behind to risk their lives to learn the language and customs. These exiles would be picked up later and would serve as translators/teachers and provide information as a means of redemption for whatever offenses they had committed in Portugal. In his letter, Caminha referred several times to King Manoel’s desire to Christianize the indigenous people. As devout Catholics, the Portuguese sailed with priests and friars. The Portuguese also claimed the land by ceremony and the erection of a large wooden cross. They displayed their reverence to the cross by kneeling, kissing it, and motioning the indigenous people to do the same. Of course, these non-Europeans did not understand the ceremony and its symbolism.²⁴⁰

These possession ceremonies highlight the Eurocentric frame of reference that would become evident in all the countries involved in the encounter with, and colonization of, the Western Hemisphere. The Portuguese, like their fellow European counterparts, held firmly to the belief that Christianity was a key element in the definition of a civilized people. Caminha outlined clearly the prevalent Portuguese thought in his letter when he stated that:

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They seem to be such innocent people that, if we could understand their speech and they ours, they would immediately become Christians, seeing that, by all appearances, they do not understand about any faith.241

Caminha assumed that the indigenous people did not have a religion and that they were a blank slate to be written upon by the Portuguese. Repeating the pattern Columbus had established, Caminha failed to acknowledge that the people encountered had their own culture and belief system. His letter made clear that the indigenes the Portuguese encountered would convert.

I do not doubt but that they will follow that blessed path Your Majesty is desirous they should and become Christians and believe in our holy religion. May it please God to bring them to a knowledge of it, for truly these people are good and have a fine simplicity. Any stamp we wish may be easily printed on them, for the Lord has given them good bodies and good faces, like good men. I believe it was not without cause that He brought us here. Therefore Your Majesty who so greatly wishes to spread the Holy Catholic faith may look for their salvation. Pray God it may be accomplished with few difficulties.242

After resupplying the expedition’s vessels with water and wood, the designated supply vessel, Lemos set sail for Lisbon loaded with the letter and Brazilian specimens of flora and fauna (including several species of parrots). The ship departed for Lisbon on 1 May 1500 while the remaining fleet continued to India. Nowhere in the letter was there any hint of cannibalism.243

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241Vaz de Caminha, letter reprinted in As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo, Gav. XV, Maços 16-24, 705-719; Burns, ed., A Documentary History of Brazil, 24-25.
242Ibid., 25.
Once King Manoel received the letter, he gave permission for Gaspar Corte Real to explore in the west. Discussion of Corte Real’s voyages can be found in Chapter Five. Unlike Caminha, Corte Real’s exploration was in North America. Also in 1501, André Gonçalvez commanded an expedition of three ships that left Portugal to reconnoiter the new lands found by Cabral and to determine what riches or trade commodities were there. The most important item in terms of riches sought by the Portuguese and other Europeans was the dye produced from the logs of the brazilwood tree. This tree would prove to be the nemesis of the indigenous people. The sawdust from the *pau do brasil* (*Caesalpinia echinata*) produces a brilliant red dye when soaked.244

One of those who sailed with the Portuguese was the Italian merchant and navigator, Amerigo Vespucci. Vespucci had been employed by Ferdinand, King of Castile, and was in Seville when he received a letter from King Manoel I of Portugal. By March 1502, the crew had mapped a portion of the coast and returned to Portugal with this information. Vespucci wrote his letter to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco dei Medici after returning from this voyage. In the letter he commented on his change of patrons, his voyage, and described the cannibals encountered in the New World. Vespucci noted that the ships were 5 degrees south of the equinoctial line and saw naked people who would not approach them. He continued his narrative by explaining that two of “our

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Christians” requested permission to go into the interior to trade and reconnoiter the interior for riches or commodities. After seven days, Vespucci stated that:

…we went on land, and found that they had brought their women with them: and when we leaped to shore, the land’s men sent many of their women to speak with us: and seeing they did not become confident, we decided to send one of our men to them, we entered into our boats: and he went among the women: and when he reached them, they made a great circle around him, touching him and gazing at him in wonderment: and while he was thus [encircled] we saw a woman come from the hill, and she carried a great stake in her hand: and when she reached to where our Christian stood, she came behind him: and, lifting the club, gave him such a tremendous blow that she stretched him dead on the ground, in an instant the other women took hold of him by the feet and dragged him along by his feet towards the hill: and the men bounded towards the beach, and with their bows and arrows [began] to shoot at us: and they put our people into such terror, the boats being held fast by the small anchors which were sunk in the ground, that, because of the numerous arrows [the indigenes] shot into the boats, no one had courage to snatch up his arms: however we fired 4 gunshots at them, and they took no effect, save that on hearing the explosion, they all fled towards the hill and to where the women were already [cutting] the Christian into bits: and at a great fire which they had made, they were roasting him before our eyes, holding up several pieces towards us and [then] eating them: and the men [were] making signs to us by their gestures how they had killed the other two Christians and eaten them…

The Kunstman II Map includes the Portuguese names given to locations on the Brazilian coast during the Coelho-Vespucci voyage. The map also includes imagery of a white man being roasted on a spit by an indigenous person. This is a reflection of the incident cited above.

The 1502 Portuguese world map, which is known as the “Cantino” map, reflects the on-going mapping effort. The map is named for Alberto Cantino, an envoy at the

245Vespucci, Letters of the Four Voyages to the New World, vii, 34-35; Waldseemüller, CosmographiaeIntroductio, 133-138.
Portuguese Court, who smuggled the map out of Portugal for his employer, Ercole d’Este, Duke of Ferrara. The name of the Portuguese cartographer is unknown. Cantino was in Lisbon in October 1501 when two of Garpar Corte-Real’s ships returned from their voyage to North America. The intrigue involved in this acquisition was very much a part of the cartographer’s life during the Age of Discovery. It is one of the earliest, and best known, examples of Portuguese cartography with a representation of Brazil. The map is drawn on vellum in pen and ink and watercolor with gilt. It measures 101 x 220 cm, located at the Biblioteca Estense, Modena. Ignoring the Cabot voyages, the map is a political statement for Portuguese claims of sovereignty. It also shows a peninsula in the Florida region. The most prominent representation on the map in the region of Brazil is of three parrots in a forest. The date of composition is fairly accurate for two reasons. Morison explains that the map: “indicates discoveries in Asia brought to Lisbon by João da Nova on 13 September 1502.” The second indicator is an extant letter from Cantino stating that he sent the map from Lisbon on 19 November 1502.

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246 Morison, The European Discovery of America, 306.
The interior of the Cantino map has a forest scene with trees representing the most profitable commodity – brazilwood and three parrots drawn on it. The cartographer does not place any human figures on the South American continent. This representation of Brazil and the New World would change drastically as mapping of the Western Hemisphere progressed. The first symbols representing the lands that would become Brazil were these colorful parrots. While that symbol would remain an unofficial icon for Brazil, it would quickly be overshadowed by images of cannibals as the characteristic icon for this part of the world. The demarcation line between Spanish and Portuguese territory agreed to in the Treaty of Tordesillas is prominently and erroneously displayed on the map marking the lands with the parrots as Portuguese. On the African continent, by contrast, the Portuguese cartographer included depictions of indigenous people, flora, fauna and buildings. Africa was familiar and had been known since biblical times.\(^{250}\)

Additionally, the information from the Corte-Real voyage of 1501 was included on this map. Ignoring any British claim, the area covering Labrador, Newfoundland and part of Nova Scotia was designated Terra del Rey de Portuguall with Portuguese flags claiming the land, including Greenland. The adjacent scroll stated:

This land was discovered by licence of the most excellent Prince D. Manuel King of Portugal, and they who discovered it went not ashore,

but viewed it and saw nothing but very thick mountains, whence according to the opinion of cosmographers it is believed to be the peninsula of Asia.\textsuperscript{251}

The inscription that refers to the Cabral voyage is quoted by Morison as follows:

The Vera Cruz called by name, the which Pedralvares Cabral nobleman of the household of the King of Portugal found, and he discovered it going as Captain General of fourteen ships that the said king ordered to Calicut, and on the route thither he fell in with this land which they believe to be mainland, and in which there are many people who all go naked men and women as their mothers bore them, and they are more white than dark and they wear their hair very smooth. This land was discovered in 1500.\textsuperscript{252}

The Portuguese maps, especially those designed for a display of possessions, political statements or as royal gifts, are truly a wonderful combination of knowledge, uncertainty, fantasy and art. Early Flemish influence may explain the incredibly detailed and beautiful artwork that Portuguese cartographers displayed. Another influence was the pride in Portuguese naval power and specifically the Portuguese caravel, which was built through a virile naval construction program first developed to achieve Portuguese national aims in the Atlantic. Those ships were immortalized on the maps of the Portuguese cartographers. Both the writings of the ancients and the voyagers to the Western Hemisphere influenced the fabulous and fantastic imagery portrayed. Additionally, the maps made a political statement about possessions and empire. The Cantino map shows the establishment of the papal division of the world by

\textsuperscript{251} Samuel Eliot Morison, \textit{Admiral of the Ocean Sea; a life of Christopher Columbus}, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942), 379; Williamson, \textit{The Cabot Voyages}, 121-123.
\textsuperscript{252} Morison, \textit{The European Discovery of America}, 234.
use of a demarcation line agreed upon by the Portuguese and Spanish in the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494.\textsuperscript{253}

What should not be lost in the discussion of the Cantino map, however, is that it was not available to the general public, while, Vespucci’s letter was published and reprinted numerous times. Bernard Quaritch outlines the multiple publications and translations that the literate European would have had available to him. These include the letter printed in Latin and published in 1503 and 1504. According to Quaritch, a copy of the letter was obtained by Jean Basin de Sendacour, a member of the St Dié gymnasium. Other members of the gymnasium or college at that time included: Waldseemüller, Gautrin Lud, Nicolas Lud, and Philesius Ringmann. This copy was translated into French and then into Latin. The Latin version appears in Martin Waldseemüller’s \textit{Cosmographiæ Introducio}, first printed in 1507. Furthermore, Gian Stefano di Carlo di Pavia published the letter in Florence sometime between 1505 and 1516. Woodcuts also accompanied the letter in various publications.\textsuperscript{254}

Adding weight to the assertion that the letter had a greater impact on the New World than the Cantino map was the voyages by French ships to Brazil to take advantage of trade with the indigenous people for brazilwood.\textsuperscript{255}


\textsuperscript{254} According to Quaritch, there are five extant copies of the Italian text. (One each at the British Museum, the Biblioteca Palatina at Florence, the Capponi library, the library of the late Charles Kalfleish of New York, and one owned by Varnhagen that may be in Brazil.) Vespucci, \textit{Letters of the Four Voyages to the New World}, iv-x; Waldseemüller, \textit{Cosmographiae Introductio}, 83, 136-139.

\textsuperscript{255} Hemming, \textit{Red Gold}, 8-9.
In 1503, Spain established the *Casa de Contratación de Indias* in Seville to manage their New World acquisitions. Amerigo Vespucci became the first Pilot Major of the *Casa de Contratación*. Vespucci returned to Seville after undertaking a voyage to the New World for Portugal. The Pilot Major oversaw the updating of the *Padrón real*, the secret map that contained all the information of the Spanish explorers. He was also responsible for training pilots. Sometime before 1507, Martin Waldseemüller acquired a copy of the Vespucci *Lettera*. When Waldseemüller wrote *Cosmographiae Introductio (Introduction to Cosmography)*, he appended the *Lettera* to his book. Printed in 1507, the book explained and accompanied a plane projection map of the world and a globe. In this edition, Waldseemüller made his famous statement attributing the discovery of a fourth part of the world to Amerigo Vespucci. In the text of the first voyage, Vespucci wrote several passages about the cannibalistic practices of the people of this part of the world:

They very rarely eat flesh; with the exception of human flesh; and in this they are so inhuman and so savage as to outdo even the wild animals. Indeed, all the enemies whom they either kill or capture, without discriminating between the men and the women, are relished by them with such savageness that nothing more barbarous and cruel can either be seen or heard of. Time and again it fell to my lot to see them engaged in this savage and brutal practice, while they expressed their wonder that we did not likewise eat our enemies.

And later in the text he stated:

We remained in that port thirty-seven days, frequently visiting the villages in company with the natives and being treated with great respect by each and every one of them. When we at last expressed our intention to leave that harbor and to resume our voyage, the natives complained to us that there was a certain savage and hostile tribe, which, at a certain
time of the year, came over the sea to their land, and either through treachery or through violence killed and devoured a great number of them. They added that others were led off as prisoners to the enemy’s country and home, and that they could not defend themselves against these enemies, making us understand that that tribe inhabited an island about one hundred leagues out at sea. 256

Whether the letter entitled *Four Voyages* was a forgery and whether the first voyage actually took place are immaterial. The letter was widely published. The description of the indigenous people was an echo of Columbus’s account of the islanders. It also dovetailed with the description Columbus gave of the Caribs who imprisoned the island women that he freed from captivity during his second voyage.

While both Columbus and Vespucci recounted evidence of encounters with cannibals, the first imagery portraying the Amerindians as cannibals was a German woodcut described by Milbrath as “published in a loose sheet labeled *Von der neugefunde Region* (1505), probably printed by Johann Froschauer of Augsburg.” The depiction is from a description in the German language edition of the 1502 Vespucci letter to de’Medici. The caption accompanying the woodcut does not refer to Vespucci but does mention the king of Portugal and cannibalism. The illustration is labeled “Amerikaner.” Both the caption and the letter described smoking human flesh. The image of smoking human flesh appeared continuously in depictions of New World cannibalism. 257 The German inscription that accompanied the 1505 woodcut read:

*This figure represents to us the people and the islands which have been discovered by the Christian King of Portugal or by his subjects. The*

people are thus naked, handsome, brown, well shaped in body. Their heads, necks, arms, private parts, feet of men and women are a little covered with feathers. The men also have many precious stones in their faces and breasts. No one else has anything, but all things are in common. And the men have as wives those who please them, be they mothers, sisters, or friends, therein make they no distinction. They also fight with each other. They also eat each other even those who are slain, and hang the flesh of them in the smoke. They live to be a hundred and fifty years old. And have no government.  

The woodcuts provide an understanding of how the information concerning the fourth part of the world was blended with classical figures and myths by Europeans who relied on the familiar in their depictions. Palencia-Roth calls this woodcut the first “ethnographic” depiction of the indigenes of the New World. This woodcut had an incredible impact. The people portrayed are Brazilian Tupinambá and their dress was used as the standard model in depictions of indigenes of Central and South America, including some representations of the Aztecs, for the next century. Interestingly, the first depiction of a person from the New World was of a Tupinambá.  

After the publication of Vespucci’s letters in the early 1500’s, French merchant ships began visiting the coast of Brazil. In June 1503, the Honfluer departed France. John Hemming describes this ship and its captain:  

Paulmier de Gonneville, the captain from Honfleur who so impressed the Carijó with his ship full of trade goods, took the son of the Carijó chief to France in 1505. He promised the father that he would teach the boy ‘artillery, which they greatly desired to dominate their enemies, and also

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258 Pohl, Amerigo Vespucci, 114.  
259 Although the 1504 letter in this volume does not mention the controversy that surrounds it as either a reprinted letter with the date changed or a forgery, the last paragraph of the letter refers to voyages that Vespucci made with the Spanish. Carla Mulford, ed., Early American Writings, (New York: Oxford University Press:2002), 43-52; Milanch and Milbrath, eds., First Encounters, 188-193.  
260 Ibid., 189, 194-195; William & Lewis, eds., Early Images of the Americas, 49.
how to make mirrors, knives, axes and all that they saw and admired among the Christians. Promising them all this was like promising a Christian gold, silver and jewels, or to teach him about the philosopher’s stone.’ Back in France, the boy was ‘well regarded in Honfleur and in all the places we passed; for there had never been in France a person from so distant a country’. Gonneville christened the boy Binot, gave him a good education, married him to his daughter Suzanne and bequeathed him some property and the name and arms of Gonneville.261

On 5 January 1504, Gonneville and his crew reached the mouth of the Rio São Francisco do Sul. After approximately six months, the Honfleur headed back to France. The voyage was checkered with good and bad fortune. Only twenty-eight of the ship’s complement survived, including the indigenous boy. Shortly after returning, the French merchants began sending ships to harvest brazilwood. This source of dye could not be ignored by the textile industry. Until the Brazilian source was found, dyewood had come from India at great expense.262

Sometime during the early years of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese established the Armazén da Guiné. The Portuguese policy toward scientific and material acquisition was one of strictly enforced secrecy. The Portuguese issued two official sailing charts to each ship in an expedition and collected them upon return to Portugal. These charts were based on the Padrão or the official map of the world detailing the most current information recorded from previous Portuguese voyages.263

In 1507, after Columbus’ and Vespucci’s letters were published, several maps appeared incorporating information from accounts circulating in Europe. Martin

261Hemming, Red Gold, 11-12, 532.
262Morison, The European Discovery of America, 585-587.
Waldseemüller, a cartographer and artist, made an enormous impact on cartography with his 1507 world map, *Universalis Cosmographia*. This map is made up of twelve separate sheets of woodcuts. When placed together, the map measures 137 x 244 cm. This is the map that first labels the New World *America* in honor of Amerigo Vespucci. Waldseemüller’s map was very popular and he noted that 1,000 copies were sold. It is also the first map to show 360 degrees of longitude. The only image in South America on the map is a parrot. There are no depictions of cannibals but Waldseemüller mentioned cannibals in the legend. In 1901, the only known copy of this map was discovered in an old book in the library of Prince Waldburg-Wolfegg in Württemberg. The Library of Congress acquired it after a public campaign to purchase the map that is now being called the “Birth Certificate of America” because of the name placed on the landmass. Waldseemüller would remove the name from his 1516 map.264

Two maps by Johannes Ruysch, appeared in 1507 and, in a slightly different version, in 1508. Ruysch was born in Antwerp of German parentage. But little else is known about him. The first addition of Ruysch’s map appeared in Ptolemy’s *Geographiae*, an atlas of the world, published in Rome in 1507. On this map the word *canibali* is located near the southeast end of the island chain dominated by the island of Spagnola. This is the same label found on the Columbus sketch discussed earlier. The

legend located on the continent of *Mundus Novus* (South America) mentions cannibalism in the discussion of native manners and customs. The map, *Vniversalior Cognitti Orbis Tabvla* by Johannes Ruysch, was engraved in either 1507 or 1508. Ruysch was born in Antwerp of German parentage. But little else is known about him. Ruysch’s map appeared in Ptolemy’s *Geographiae*, an atlas of the world, published in Rome in 1508. What may be an earlier version was inserted into the 1507 edition. In this edition, the word *canibali* is located near the southeast end of the island chain dominated by the island of Spagnola. This is the same label found on the Columbus sketch discussed earlier. The legend located on the continent of *Mundus Novus* (South America) mentions cannibalism in the discussion of Amerindian manners and customs.  

In the 1508 edition, published by Bernardus Venetus de Vitalibus, Marcus Beneventanus, an Italian monk, described the world map and his conversation with Ruysch about sailing to North America. Ruysch is believed to have sailed with John Cabot. Both maps bear the same descriptive legend mentioned earlier. When the Ptolemy *Geographiae 1508* was reissued with information about Columbus’s voyages depicted on Ruysch’s 1508 map, “*Vniversalior Cogniti Orbis Tabvla*” it no longer contains the word *canibali* at the end of the island chain. In its place the last island in the chain is simply labeled *La Dominica*. The word *canibalos-in* appeared next to an island at the mouth of a small gulf on the north coast of *Terra Sancte Crucis sive*.

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Mundus Novus or South America. The Atlas du Vicomte de Santarem, held and viewed at the Royal Geographic Society in London is a collection of maps and contains the Mappemonde de Ruych de 1508, Universalior Cogniti Orbis Tabula. In this Atlas, there is no hyphen between the words canibalos in located near the bay below the end of the Lesser Antilles.266

During the early 1500s, the treaties and papal bulls issued to divide the world between Spain and Portugal did not satisfy the growing rivalry for ownership of the east coast of South America. Spain contended that Cabral had been on an island and not on the mainland. Portugal insisted that Cabral was on the mainland and the Coelho-Vespucci voyages established the Portuguese claims to the mainland from Cape San Roque south to latitude 50˚ S. A joint voyage was established to determine where the Line of Demarcation passes through the South American land mass and to find the elusive strait that Columbus had also searched for on his fourth voyage. Captain Juan Díaz de Solís and Vincente Yáñez Pinzón departed in 1508 and returned in 1509 without achieving either goal.267

The 1509 German translation of the Vespucci letter included depictions of the people of the Western Hemisphere as cannibals, and those depictions quickly moved

266This map is a woodcut, 52.5 x 26.7 cm. One of several extant copies of this atlas is located in the Cadbury Collection, Birmingham Central Library, England. It is cited and pictured in several books: Schwartzz and Ehrenberg, The Mapping of America, 27-29; Whitfield, The Image of the World, 48-49; Egon Klemp, ed., America in Maps: Dating from 1500-1856 (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1976), #5; Vicomte de Santarem, ATLAS, composé de Mappemondes, de Portulans, et de Cartes Hydrographiques et Historiques, depuis le VIe Jusqu’au XVIe siècle pour la plupart inédites, devant servir de preuves à L’Histoire de la Cosmographie et de la Cartographie pendant Le Moyen Age, et a Celle des Progrès de la Géographie, Recueillies et Gravées sous la direction du Vicomte de Santarem. (Paris, 1842-53), Plate 51.
267Morison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, 298-299.

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from illustrations accompanying letters and travel accounts to the cartography of the
New World.\textsuperscript{268} The Ptolemy Liber Geographiae of 1511 was published in Venice; the
printer was Jacobus Pentius de Leucho. This atlas contains a mappamundi with
corrections from the 1508 version showing all of Cuba and a larger portion of Brazil.
The words \textit{canibala; romon} were placed further west on the northern part of the South
American coast.\textsuperscript{269}

The 1509 Strasburg edition (German translation) depicts the murder of a
crewmember and the subsequent cannibal activities. Vespucci’s letters were more
widely published than those by Columbus. By 1515, thirty editions of the Vespucci
letter had been printed in the vernacular of the European countries.\textsuperscript{270} Additionally,
each voyage also returned with captured indígenes and animals that were displayed at
court and also shown to commoners.\textsuperscript{271}

In the case of Brazil, where the Portuguese had claimed sovereignty, little was
done to establish more than primitive trading posts during the early 1500s. The
Portuguese focused most of their attention on India and the Spice Islands. Trade in
Brazil rested in the hands of a group of merchants including Fernão de Noronha from
1502 to 1506. Noronha made an attempt to colonize an island in the Atlantic. Renewed
until 1512, this trade consisted mainly of brazilwood to Lisbon and then on to

\textsuperscript{269}Phillip Allen, \textit{Mapmaker’s Art: Five Centuries of Charting the World Atlases, Brimingham Central
Collection, Birmingham, England.
Amsterdam for processing into dye powder. Other trade items included cotton, parrots, monkeys, and Indian slaves. After 1515, the Portuguese monarchy took over the trade concessions. Small communities of sailors and tradesmen with indigenous wives developed in Pernambuco, Bahia and São Vincente. German and French merchants also held some contracts, and this development would motivate several European countries to establish colonies.\textsuperscript{272} The information from these trading voyages would also be passed on to the Portuguese, French and Dutch cartographers who would record these trading activities and would also portray the Tupinambá of Brazil as cannibals. Significantly, for the first two decades, the trading communities established this trade with seemingly little coercion of the indigenous people and became more interested in the commodities than the local customs.

Spanish policy in the New World required those exploring or claiming land to have permission from the authorities to begin any venture. After 1513, the crown also required all \textit{conquistadores} to read the \textit{Requerimiento} to the people encountered. The \textit{Requerimiento} was a Spanish document detailing the rights and obligations of the indigenes as newly acquired vassals. Of course, the problem of a language barrier was not addressed. Especially in the initial phase of contact, the assumption by Europeans that there was true understanding between them and the New World peoples often had tragic results.\textsuperscript{273}

\textsuperscript{272} Newitt, \textit{A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion}, 93-94.
\textsuperscript{273} Greenblatt, \textit{Marvelous Possessions}, 95-96.
Interest in the New World was not confined to Europe. Piri Re’is, a Turkish navigator, cartographer, scholar, and linguist created this map incorporating information obtained from a Spanish prisoner taken by his uncle, Kemal Re’is. This famous Turkish admiral directed the Turkish fleet in a naval campaign against Venice in 1501. The prisoner had charts from three of the Columbus voyages with him when Kemal Re’is captured the Spanish ship. Piri Re’is used the knowledge he acquired, including forty-two place names in the New World, to develop this beautiful map. The place names on the Piri Re’is map can be identified with the places Columbus explored and named in the New World.274

In addition to the map of America drawn by Columbus, Piri Re’is stated that he used eight Ptolemy maps, an Arabic map and four Portuguese sea maps to create this chart of the Atlantic Ocean, parts of South and Central America, the islands of the West Indies, a portion of southwestern Europe, and West Africa. According to Henry Davis, the style of the map is European although the majority of the writing is in Turkish. This map has imagery of creatures, some actual and some imaginary, a practice prohibited by Islamic religious custom. The northeastern South American coastline indicates that Piri Re’is either had information from Ojeda, Vespucci, or one of their companions or that the map captured included details from those voyages on it. The map Piri Re’is created, Chart of the Ocean Sea, is in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul. It was drawn on a gazelle skin, 90 x 63 cm. In the marginal notes, Piri Re’is recounted what the Spanish

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slave (captive sailor) said to his Uncle about the voyages with Columbus. The Spaniard recounted that:

…They [the Spaniards] took the boat. They saw that inside of it there was human flesh. It happened that these people were of that nation which went from island to island hunting men and eating them. They said Colombo saw yet another island, they neared it, they saw that on that island there were great snakes. The avoided landing on this island…

Based on the marginal notes, not only did the Turkish Empire learn of the New World and cartographically depict it, but they also had descriptions of man-eaters or cannibals beginning in 1501. Sent to Suleiman the Magnificent’s Topkapi Palace, a historian found the extant fragment of the original map in 1929 during the conversion of the Topkapi Palace into a national museum. The Library of Congress has a reproduction.

In 1513, Martin Waldseemüller compiled twenty new maps for this edition of Ptolemy’s *Geographiae Opus*. The atlas was published by Johannes Shott in Strasburg. The woodcut map, *Tabula Terra Nove*, 37 x 44 cm, private collection, moved the word *canibales* from its previous location at the mouth of the small gulf to the river that fed that gulf. This mapping offers some of the information acquired from 1495 until 1502,
when the Andalusian voyages sailed along the northern coast of South America and the eastern seaboard of Brazil. It includes Cuba and a greater portion of the Western Hemisphere than the second map featuring the New World, Orbus Typus Universalis.277

In a second map of Waldseemüller’s, the word America is deleted from this map and a two-line commentary credited Columbus with the discovery of the New World. This map, “Orbis Typus Universalis iuxta Hydrographorum Traditionem”, is known as “The Admiral’s Map. It has the words anthropophagi lyte fünt underneath the wind rose on the east coast of the unnamed continent of South America and below the line entitled Tropicus Capricorni.278

In 1516, Martin Waldseemüller’s “Carta Marina” created a map that was innovative in its plane-chart construction. In studying the imagery of Amerindians as cannibals, the figures placed on the continent of Brazil were crude but important woodcuts. The images of native cannibals and an opossum were printed under a legend “Terra Canibalor.” The legend also mentions anthropophagi. This image will be used again and again in more refined forms to depict cannibalism in the New World. The placement of the image will also be the most common location used to indicate the presence of cannibals.279

279Schwartz and Ehrenberg, The Mapping of America, 28; Whitfield, The Image of the World, 54-55. The map is part of the collection at the Castle or Schloss Wolfgg, Germany.
While the Spanish were using the Caribbean islands as a jumping off point for their exploration and conquest of the New World, the Portuguese were busy in the East Indies. Although mapping of the sea routes and lands was vitally important to the Portuguese effort to trade in and control the riches of the East Indies, only a limited number of Portuguese cartographers were involved in the production of world atlases of during the sixteenth century. They included the Homem and Reinel families, Bartolomeu Velho, Sebastião Lopez, Fernão Vaz Dourado, the Teixeira family and Pedro Fernandez de Quiros. Not all of these cartographers included imagery of cannibals in their renditions of the Western Hemisphere. Those cartographers, who included that type of imagery, placed representations of cannibals in South America.280

The Miller Atlas is a compilation of maps from 1515 to 1519. One of the most beautiful is the Terra Brazilis map of Lopo Homem with Pedro and Jorge Reinel. According to Armando Cortesão, who co-authored a five-volume collection of Portuguese cartography, the Reinels worked under Lopo Homem’s direction to produce the Atlas. Cortesão speculated that the Miller Atlas was a gift from Manoel I of Portugal to Francis I of France. As the Reinels were not as well-connected or noble, the choice of Lopo Homem to supervise the completion of the Miller Atlas in 1519 would be a logical one. The Atlas also has the arms of Catherine de Medici on the title page. However, it appears that they were painted by a different hand some time after she became a widow in 1559. As Francis I was Catherine de Medici’s father-in-law,

her possession of the atlas and her arms on it could have occurred in a variety of ways.\textsuperscript{281}

Lopo Homem signed the frontispiece of the Atlas. Additionally, according to Cortesão, the first map in the atlas is believed to be the work of Lopo Homem. The other charts in the Atlas are believed to be the work of Pedro and Jorge Reinel (father and son, respectively) who were Portuguese cartographers during the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{282}

Cortesão’s discussion the history of the Atlas is very interesting and provides the uninitiated with an opportunity to understand the difficulty of recovering and identifying works from the sixteenth century. Sotheby & Co. auctioned the frontispiece and circular world map signed by Lopo Homem and dated 1519 to M. Destombes in May 1930. The previous owner, Major J. A. Morrison, of Basildon Park, Reading, England, could offer little help in tracing the map’s history. His father purchased the map in Italy but Major Morrison could not remember where or when. How the map moved from the French court to Italy is unknown.\textsuperscript{283}

Following M. Destombes’ purchase, several articles appeared arguing the authenticity of the document. By 1938, several articles about the map had been published by the Journal. In March 1938, \textit{The Geographical Journal} published an

\textsuperscript{281} This map measures 41.5 x 59 cm. and is located in the National Library, Department of Charts and Plans, Paris, France. Ana Maria de Moraes Belluzzo, \textit{O Brazil dos Viajantes} (São Paulo: Fundação Odebrecht, 2000), 70; Mollat du Jourdin and de La Roncière with Azard, Raynaud-Nguyen and Vauunereau, \textit{Sea charts of the Early Explorers}, maps 33-34, 221; Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, \textit{Portvgaliae Monvmenta Cartographica}, Volume I, 60.

\textsuperscript{282} Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, \textit{Portvgaliae Monvmenta Cartographica}, Volume I,, 19, 55.

\textsuperscript{283} Ibid., 55. Speculation ranges from a royal gift to someone in Italy to looting during the French Revolution.
article entitled “Lopo Homem and the Miller Atlas of 1519”. In the article, M. Destombes defended his previous argument that the map “belonged to and formed the opening double sheet of an atlas, the main body of which was composed of a group of anonymous and undated charts until then generally ascribed to the Reinels and known as the “Miller Charts”, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.”284

The “Miller Charts” are composed of four sheets of parchment and one larger parchment sheet, which had been used for maps on both sides. The Viscount de Santarém purchased the charts from a book dealer, Jacques Charavay. He first viewed them on 8 June 1855. Upon his death in 1856, the charts were given to Bénigne-Emmanuel Clément Miller to clear the Viscount’s debts. In 1897, Miller’s widow sold the charts to the Bibliothèque Nationale.285

Sheet Number 4 of Brazil and the Central Atlantic features a scene of indigenous people (four engaged in brazil-wood harvesting, three dressed in traditional Tupinambá ceremonial feather attire with bows and arrows, and one giant wearing a headdress of feathers. No indication of the Amazon as a winding river is present on this map, only the mouth is featured. The chart also has a large inscription, birds, monkeys, a dragon and seven ships. The top left-hand corner has an inscription that provides European impressions of the New World. This inscription makes it very clear that the

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cartographers were aware of the ritual cannibalism associated with the indigenous people. Cortesão translated the inscription:

This is a chart of the region of great Brazil and on the western side it reaches the Antilles of the King of Castile. Its people are somewhat dark in colour. Savage and very cruel, they feed on human flesh. These same people are most skilful in the use of bow and arrows. Here are multi-coloured parrots and innumerable other birds and monstrous wild beasts. And many kinds of monkeys are found and there grows in great quantity the tree called brazil, which is considered proper for dyeing clothes in purple.286

One of the many accounts of cannibalism occurred in October 1515. Juan Díaz de Solís, pilot major to Spain, led an expedition charged by King Ferdinand to sail to the Pacific side of the Castilla del Oro (Spanish name for the isthmian region). De Solís sailed down the coast of South America until he reached the Río de la Plata (christened Río Jordán by Vespucci; Río Dulce by Solís; and de Solís by his men). De Solís ventured ashore near the island of Martín García where the indigenes killed him. Maps began labeling an area in southern South America with the word andropophagi after this incident. Spanish maps called the river Río de Solís until 1525. After that, it was called the Río de la Plata.287

In 1519, Martín Fernández de Enciso wrote Suma de Geographia, the first book published in Spanish about America. Although Enciso wrote his book as a primer for world geography, it contained descriptions of indigenous peoples, flora and fauna. His

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286 Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, Portvgaliae Monvmenta Cartographica, Volume I, 57-58, Plate 22; Photo at LOC, Rudolph Schiller Collection, General Collection, Geography & Mapping.
287 Morison notes in his book that one crewmember, Francisco del Puerto did survive and was picked up by Cabot. José Toribio Medina, El descubrimiento del Océano Pacifico, III, (Santiago de Chile, lxiv), 1914-1920, quoted in Charles E. Nowell, ed., Magellan’s Voyage Around the World: Three
first-hand account also incorporated detailed commentary on native customs, including cannibalism.\textsuperscript{288}

While Enciso was publishing his book on the New World, Magellan was sailing west from the Spanish port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda. From a poor noble Portuguese family, Ferdinand Magellan felt he had been slighted by King Manoel of Portugal and offered his services to Emperor Carlos V. On September 20, 1519, Magellan set sail, in command of five ships, with orders to reach the Moluccas by way of the New World, in essence, circumnavigating the world. Antonio Pigafetta from Vicenza kept the ship’s log for Magellan. Fortunately, Pigafetta, one of the eighteen survivors of a two hundred thirty-seven man expedition, returned to Seville in 1522. He would provide the world with an eye-witness account of the first circumnavigation of the globe. Pigafetta wrote his account of the voyage from his notes shortly after returning to Spain. He offers an interesting explanation of the origins of cannibalism:

They eat the human flesh of their enemies, not because it is good, but because it is a certain established custom. That custom, which is mutual, was begun by an old woman, who had but one son who was killed by his enemies. In return some days later, that old woman’s friends captured one of the company who had killed her son, and brought him to the place of her abode. She seeing him, and remembering her son, ran upon him like an infuriated bitch, and bit him on one shoulder. Shortly afterward he escaped to his own people, whom he told that they had tried to eat him, showing them [in proof] the marks on his shoulder. Whomever the latter captured afterward at any time from the former they ate, and the former did the same to the latter, so that such a custom has sprung up in

this way. They do not eat the bodies all at once, but every one cuts off a piece, and carries it to his house, where he smokes it. Then every week, he cuts off a small bit, which he eats thus smoked with his other food to remind him of his enemies. The above was told me by the pilot, Johane Carnagio, who came with us, and who had lived in that land for four years.\textsuperscript{289}

This story of the origins of this cultural practice are in keeping with the oral history tradition of the indigenous people of that area, depictions of cannibalism on maps and in illustrations mirrored the descriptions recounted by Pigafetta. While Pigafetta’s own account was not published until 1894, Maximilian of Transylvania and Peter Martyr at the Court of Carlos V at Valladolid interviewed all the mariners who returned with Juan Sebastián del Cano. Maximilian promptly wrote a letter recounting the narratives of the sailors, including the description of the death of Solís. Maximilian’s document was the first account of the voyage released to the European public.\textsuperscript{290} In his account, he wrote:

Thence they arrived at the Islands of the Hesperides, from which they took a south-western course towards that continent which we mentioned before; and after some days’ fair sailing they sighted a promontory, to which the name of Santa Maria has been given. Here Juan Ruy Díaz Solís had been eaten, with some of his companions, by the anthropophagi, whom the Indians call cannibals, whilst, by order of Ferdinand the Catholic, he was exploring the coast of this continent with a fleet.\textsuperscript{291}

\textsuperscript{289} Johane Carnagio aka João Lopes Carvalho took command after Magellan died. The crew later replaced him with Juan Sebastián del Cano, who brought Magellan’s surviving ship, \textit{Victoria}, back to Spain. How Cavalho had any knowledge of the indigenous people or spoke their language was not explained. Antonio Pigafetta, \textit{Magellan’s Voyage Around the World}, edited and with an introduction by Nowell, 96-97, 260-261.

\textsuperscript{290} Nowell, ed., \textit{Magellan’s Voyage Around the World}, 5.

\textsuperscript{291} Maximilian of Transylvania, \textit{Magellan’s Voyage Around the World}, in Nowell, 281.
This rather vague statement substantiated cannibalism, but left much to the imagination, not so other accounts of the event. According to Peter Martyr’s account, translated by Richard Eden and quoted by Morison:

…andodenly a great multitude of the inhabitants bruist forth upon them, and slue them every man with clubbes, even in the sight of their fellows, not one escaping. Their furie not thus satisfied, they cut the slayne men in pieces, even upon the shore, where their fellows might behold this horrible spectacle from the sea. But they being stricken with feare through this example, durst not come forth of their shippes, or divise how to revenge the death of their Captayne and companions… ²⁹²

Understandably, maps began labeling an area in southern South America with the word andropophagi after this incident. Spanish maps called the river Rio de Solís until 1525. After that, it was called the Rio de la Plata. ²⁹³

The 1520 edition of Ptolemy Geographiae is a reprint of the 1513 Ptolemy Geographiae Opus. The next edition was the 1522 Ptolemy Geographiae Opus. This atlas by Laurent Fries added three additional maps to the 1520 edition. Johan Grieninger published it at Strasburg. The “Oceanus Occidentalis” Terra Nova map reused the image from the 1516 “Carta Marina” with a new legend beneath it. The image was reversed from the original map. The sentence “Anthropophagi lyte fünt,” is positioned along the right side of the image. This is the same sentence that appears on the map known as the “Admiral’s map” under the windrose. The 1523 Waldseemüller

²⁹²Morison notes in his book that one crew member, Francisco del Puerto did survive and was picked up by Cabot. José Toribio Medina, El descubrimiento del Océano Pacifico, III, (Santiago de Chile, lxiv), 1914-1920, quoted in Nowell, ed., Magellan’s Voyage Around the World, 26; Morison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, 302.
²⁹³Morison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, 301-302.
map, “Tabula Terra Nova” also used the 1513 original, as does Gaspar Treschel in the 1541 edition of Ptolemy.\textsuperscript{294}

The other map in the 1522 Ptolemy \textit{Geographiae Opus} edition containing a mention of cannibalism is also by Laurent Fries and is a very simplistic depiction of the world. \textit{Orbis typus universalis juxta hydrographorum traditionem}, created in 1522, copies Waldseemüller’s original 1507 mappa mundi. The word \textit{canibalas} is inscribed in the northern section of the landmass labeled \textit{America}. The simplistic “\textit{Tabula Orbis}” map reappeared in the 1541 edition of Ptolemy’s \textit{Geographia} published in Vienne, France. Gaspar Treschel edited that edition.\textsuperscript{295}

Laurent Fries was not the only cartographer in these early years to adopt Waldseemüller’s original 1507 mappa mundi as a model. Two years before the Fries map (above) appeared, Peter Apianus published a cordiform world map, engraved on wood, 41 x 28.5 cm. Laurent Fries’ initials appear in the lower right-hand corner of this map. He may have been the co-draftsman or woodcutter. Located at the British Library, the map, \textit{Tipus Orbis universalis Iuxta Ptolomei Cosmographi Traditionem et Americi Vespucii Aliorque Lustrationes A Petro Apiano Leysnico Elucbrat An. Do. M.DXX.} was included with the bound edition of Solinus’ \textit{Polyhistor} in Vienna. It was then inserted in 1522 into Poponius Mela’s \textit{De Situ Orbis}, printed in Basle. This map was also the first of two projections devised by Apian to maintain the map proportions

\textsuperscript{294}Allen, \textit{Mapmaker’s Art}, 32, 34-35. Located in The Cadbury Collection, Birmingham, England; Portinaro and Knirsch, \textit{The Cartography of North America}, 62-65. The 1523 Waldseemüller map can be viewed in the University of Texas at Arlington Special Collections Library or online (http://libraries.uta.edu/econ/ShowMap.asp?accession=240045.

\textsuperscript{295}Bellec, \textit{Unknown Lands}, 96.
(curved areas on a flat surface). Other cartographers used the projection for their maps including Mercator and Fine. Until Waldseemüller’s 1507 map was found in 1901, this map was thought to be the earliest to use the name *America* for the New World.²⁹⁶

While cartographers were adding to the mapping of the New World by using their own experience and the accounts of returning voyagers, those nations who had not established a claim to lands across the Atlantic looked for opportunities to reap the riches of these new lands. The English and the French were both interested in establishing trade anywhere they could find materials and markets. In 1522, Henry VIII invaded France. According to Helen Wallis, one region would be very important for both the trade and contact with the New World, and later, the school of cartography that developed:

With its rise to fame as the leading maritime region of France, Normandy, especially its towns of Dieppe and Rouen, was becoming in the 1520s a centre of culture and learning, attracting scholars and men of affairs from other regions of France and from abroad. Most notable was a distinguished band of Italian scholars from Florence: Alderotti Brunelleschi, the Rucellai brothers, Pietro, Zanobi, Mario, and Allessandro, through their mother nephews of Lorenzo the Magnificent; and the three great-nephews of Florentine physician Paolo Toscanelli, famous for his letters to Columbus. Significantly, Zanobis Rousselay (Rucellai) of Rouen had commercial relations in 1522 with Giovanni da Verrazzano, the most celebrated member of the Florentine colony in France.²⁹⁷

Several native sons of Dieppe would be instrumental in the development and education of a cartographer who would leave a beautiful and ethnographic record of the indigenous people of Brazil in the form of an atlas. Jean Rotz, was born c 1505 in Dieppe. His father was probably a Scottish merchant associated with Jean Ango the younger, born in Dieppe, Vicomte de Dieppe in 1481, appointed lieutenant to the Admiral of France in 1536. Rotz gained his experience at sea, possibly sailing with Jean Parmentier, one of Ango’s navigators. Parmentier was the first of many Frenchmen to visit the shores of Brazil in 1520. For the next six years, he visited the New World from Newfoundland to Guinea and the coast of Terra firma. English merchants followed the Norman (French) seamen to Brazil and began trading with the tribes there before 1530. William Hawkins, who would later play a part in North America with the French, had also begun his transatlantic adventures. He returned to England in 1531 with a chief from Brazil who remained in England for a year and visited Henry VIII at Whitehall. Rotz may have been with the Parmentier brothers on their voyage to Sumatra in 1529. For the next decade, he was acquiring the maritime skills and first hand knowledge of Brazil and Guinea that are so evident in his Atlas or *Boke of Idrography*. His atlas and the ethnographic information on the cartography relating to cannibalism in the New World was produced after he returned to France and spent time in Paris studying science.\(^{298}\)

The 1529 Mappemonde, by Diogo Ribeiro, is manuscript on parchment, pen and ink and watercolor; 89 x 217 cm., Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City. This section of the world map emphasized the Spanish North American discoveries. Under the label, *Mundus Novus*, in South America is a cannibal scene. Although focused on the Northern reaches, accounts of cannibalism in the region of Brazil were not to be ignored.

The 1532 map attributed to Diogo Ribeiro (Diego Ribero) has most of the features of the 1529 map. It shows the amended line of the Treat of Tordesillas, with Portuguese territory on the East and Spanish on the West. Diogo Ribero was a Portuguese cartographer employed by Spain. In 1523, he was appointed the Casa de Contratación’s cosmographer major in charge of instruments. His maps provide details of the Spanish exploration of the period. In North America, he combined the discoveries of Ayllón with the Gomes’ discoveries. Also attributed to Ribeiro by some art historians is the Castiglione World Map, 1525, manuscript, 81 x 213 cm, Archivio Marchesi Castiglioni, Mantua. This map does not feature a cannibal scene.²⁹⁹

In 1532, Johann Huttich’s and Simon Grynaeus’s book *Novus Orbis* appeared and included accounts from a variety of explorers. Sebastian Munster wrote an introduction, and is therefore credited with the world map. Hans Holbein the Younger is credited for the decorative features that will reappear on future maps of the New World. The image that represents the New World is a depiction of cannibalism. A

²⁹⁹ Dor-Ner and Scheller, *Columbus and the Age of Discovery*, 198; Schwartz and Ehrenberg, *The Mapping of America*, 38, 39, 40-41.
pennant flies from the top of a hut decorated with a head and limbs, the scene is rife with butchering and the roasting of flesh, and new victims are being brought in. This was the representative image selected by Münster. The hut symbol is reused in Sebastian Münster’s maps of 1540, 1546 and 1550.300

While Cortés conquered the Aztec empire early in the sixteenth century, the conquest of the Inca Empire and the River Plata (1535-1555) occurred at mid-century. The conquest of the Incas began with an expedition led by Francisco Pizarro from Panama. The first two expeditions in 1524 and 1526, brought Pizarro to the verge of the Incan Empire at Guayaquil and the bay of Tumbes. Pizarro went back to Spain in 1529 and left with state sponsorship and authorization to conquer Peru. Like Cortés, Pizarro took advantage of the internal political situation to conquer the Incas. In November 1533, Pizarro’s forces seized Cuzco, capital of the Inca Empire, and found the treasures accumulated by the Inca civilization. Although Pizarro occupied Peru, the Incas staged several revolts against the Spanish.301

In 1539 and 1540, expeditions left Quito and went into the Amazon valley. Led by Gonzalo Pizarro (brother of Francisco Pizarro) and Francisco de Orellana (second-in-command), these expeditions were documented in two contemporary works and translated by Clements R. Markham while he was the honorary secretary of the Hakluyt

300Harley assisted by Hanlon and Warhus, Maps and the Columbian Encounter, 85-95; Nebenzahl, Rand McNally Atlas, 98-99; Schwartz and Ehrenberg, The Mapping of America, 45, 50. A 1550 Münster map is held at the University of Texas at Arlington, Special Collections Library or available to be viewed online at (http://libraries.uta.edu/ccon/ShowMap.asp?accession=00566). The 1537 map is a woodcut; 43 x 60 cm., held in the American Geographical Society Collection, The Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. The 1546 map is a woodcut; 32 x 44 cm. held at the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
Society. Markham notes that none of the members of the expedition led by Gonzalo Pizarro left an account of the four year struggle through the Amazon. Garcilasso Inca de la Vega wrote the only available account. Those who survived in the Pizarro expedition would return to Quito without finding any civilizations or riches. Francisco de Orellana’s group would travel down the Coco River to the Napo and then the Marañón (Amazon) to the Atlantic. This journey crossed the South American continent.\textsuperscript{302}

When Francisco de Orellana returned to Spain, Sebastian Cabot was the pilot-major of the Casa de Contratación. Cabot produced a world map in 1544 with the latest information including the exploration of the Amazon. The map measures 120 x 215 cm including the twenty-two legends on each side of the map. Engraved and hand colored, it was discovered in Bavaria in 1843 and is presently in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.\textsuperscript{303}

As an explorer, cartographer, and important official of the Casa Contratación, Sebastian Cabot’s contribution to the cartographic record is an important one. The world map incorporated what was known of the New World and also displayed what was unknown. The figures in North America and the blank spaces represent the limit of information available about the interior of the continents. In the case of the Caribbean and South America, the map tells us a great deal. The Caribbean islands bear the names

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{301}Schwartz and Ehrenberg, \textit{The Mapping of America}, 60, 61.  
\textsuperscript{303}Schwartz and Ehrenberg, \textit{The Mapping of America}, 52.}
bestowed or accepted by the Europeans. Furthermore, the islands are located with some accuracy on the map. The South American continent, on the other hand, was still greatly unknown in its interior. Orellana had traversed the Amazon while the Rio de la Plata area had been partially explored. The unknown areas of the map were filled with figures from accounts and myths. Cabot placed a very large (giant) figure of an Indian in a robe with spear and shield at the southern tip of the continent and did not outline the coast on the Pacific side although the Straits of Magellan are defined. There is a unicorn above the area already explored in the Rio de la Plata area. He included in the interior two large cats (possibly a jaguar and panther) and a parrot. There are also six other indigenous people and two Spanish conquistadors. Two of the indigenes are above the Rio de la Plata, facing the Atlantic. One of these figures is naked, holding an ax overhead and swinging at a tree. This represents the brazilwood that the land is named for and the harvesting activity begun almost immediately after Cabral landed. Above the tree is another indigene wearing a robe (toga-like). The two indigenes east of the mountain range in the interior wear a loin cloth and are carrying bundles or baskets on their backs. The conquistadors with sword and helmet are battling two indigenous people armed with bows and arrows below the Amazon. The Amazon is represented in the snakelike fashion with the islands throughout its length. On or near the river are three castles or towns representing the population centers which Orellana saw on his journey. What is most interesting is that this map does not use a cannibalism theme to define the interior of Brazil.
Two accounts of the exploration and conquest of the River de la Plata area come down to us from very different sources. According to the introductory notes of Luis Dominguez, the first source, Ulrich Schmidt or Schmidel was a Bavarian from Straubing. Probably acting as an agent for Flemish merchants, Schmidt accompanied Don Pedro de Mendoza, the first Adelantado and Captain-General of the province of Rio de la Plata in 1535. Schmidt served under the command of Captain Domingo Martinez de Irala. Irala’s ambitions put him at odds with both the first Adelantado (Mendoza) and Álvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, the second Adelantado. It was not unusual for Germans to be part of Spanish expeditions because Charles V or Carlos V reigned as King of Spain and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. For twenty years, Schmidt remained in the New World. In December of 1552, he departed the province of Rio de la Plata returning to Europe by way of São Vincente, Brazil. Schmidt traversed the area during the same timeframe that the Tupis or Tapiis held captive, Hans Stade, also from Germany. Both Schmidt’s and Stade’s narratives contain accounts of cannibalism.304

By the 1540s, the governor, adelantado and captain-general of Rio de Plata region, Señor Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca sent Captain Hernando de Ribera, conquistador, into the interior by brigantine to reconnoiter the river Ygatu. This river is a branch of the Yacareati and the Yaiva. Upon his return, Ribera found Cabeza de Vaca under arrest. Ribera provided a report of his exploration as a precaution against

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accusations “that I might be held blameworthy.” According to his disposition, given in Ascension on 3 March 1545, Ribera traveled westward to fourteen degrees twenty minutes. During his travels up the river, he encountered several indigenous tribes. The people were agriculturists. When questioned, they related that tribes further inland had metal in great abundance. This particular ploy of the indigenous people was common all over the Americas. When questioned about the precious metals sought by the Spanish, the indigenes usually responded by pointing further inland or away from their own settlements to a distant group who had these commodities. Ribera also related a story of Amazon women who the local tribes claimed were located further inland.

...I also obtained information, questioning each individually concerning the settlements and tribes beyond. All these Indians told me that at ten days’ march from there, towards the west-northwest, there were women inhabiting large villages, who possessed a large quantity of white and yellow metal, and all their domestic utensils and vessels were of this metal, and their chief was a woman. They are a warlike people, much feared by the Indians. Before reaching those female warriors it is necessary to pass a tribe of very small Indians, who make war upon the women, and also upon those Indians who gave the information. At a certain time of the year these women unite with their neighbors, and cohabit with them. And if the children born of this intercourse be girls, the mothers keep them; if they are boys they send them as soon as they are weaned to their fathers....

Beyond the women, were more large settlements, including some with black people with pointed beards. He also noted that the indigenous people informed him that there were Christians further away past the desert. These Christians may have been the Spanish in Peru. While this narrative runs the gamut of Amazon warrior women,
blacks, and Christians, it is important to note that it does not make mention of cannibals.305

That is not to say that the representation and accounts of cannibalism begin to fade from the cartography of this century. As this map, *Novae Insulae, XVII Nova Tabvla*, made clear with the use of imagery, the area where cannibals lurked in the New World was north of the Rio Plata. The imagery representing the cannibal activity and people is located in the Portuguese territory. As mentioned earlier, this imagery is a variation of the border scene that Hans Holbein the Younger is credited with creating for the 1532 Johann Huttich’s and Simon Grynaeus’s book *Novus Orbis*. First published in his 1540 edition of Ptolemy’s *Geographia*, Basel, the name, *Novae Insulae, XVII Nova Tabvla*, reflects the idea that Columbus had reached (new) islands (off the Asian mainland. But, while the name indicates a continued belief in a contiguous Asian landmass in the north, the map does not reflect that belief. In this map, Münster showed a continuous landmass but of a truly new and separate world. This is the first clear depiction of the New World as a hemisphere, separate and distinct from Asia. By splitting the label, *Nova Orbis*, between the two larger landmasses, Münster indicated that North America had the status of a continent. The 1540 *Novae Insulae, XVII Nova Tabvla*, also appeared in Münster’s *Geographis universalis*, 3rd edition (Bsel, 1545). The map is a woodcut, 26.8 x 34.3 cm, held in the private Smith Collection.306


After developing as a cartographer and navigator during the years spent at sea and studying in Paris, Jean Rotz should have been in a perfect position to take his place in Dieppe as a cartographer and for King Francis I as an explorer. Helen Wallis noted that it was also during this time that:

…a large collection of charts and navigating works was being built up at Dieppe. This was the beginning of the so-called Dieppe school of hydrography, which has earned for Dieppe the proud claim to be the cradle of French national hydrography.307

In 1542 Rotz, with his wife and children, took ship to England. The reason he left France is unknown. At about the time Rotz arrived at court, two earlier immigrants whose work had had a significant influence on the development of the arts in Tudor England died. Hans Holbein, the younger, fell victim to the plague in the autumn of 1543, and Lucas Horenbout, the Flemish miniaturist, died in the following spring. Had they lived, Rotz would still have found a place at court. Rotz presented King Henry the VIII with a treatise on navigation and his *The Boke of Idrography*. Both in the Treatise and in the dedicatory letter at the beginning of his Atlas, Rotz emphasized his practical experience on oceanic voyages and the truth of the facts he sets out.308

In his Treatise on navigation which Rotz presented to Henry VIII in 1542, he referred to observations which he made on voyages overseas, and emphasized the importance of practical experience at sea. His voyages were part of his testimonial as

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an expert hydrographer. In his dedicatory letter to Henry VIII at the beginning of the
Boke of Idrography he made the same point. He attested to the truth of the facts set out
concerning the lands and the sea coasts of the world in his Atlas. The Viscount Eccles
noted in the foreword to the reproduction of the Rotz Atlas that Rotz may have:

…compiled his atlas to show how much more than the English the
French knew about the far-distant parts of the world. Presumably he
expected Henry to finance voyages of discovery. But by 1542 the King
was disillusioned and far from well, his mind running on the coming
wars with Scotland and France. He needed a powerful fleet and was less
interested in world maps than in having English seamen taught the art of
navigation. He had hired Rotz to do this, and with every prospect of
success, since Rotz’s knowledge of seamanship was outstanding. Henry
died before Rotz, in his endeavor to secure permission to go back to
France, turned informer against England. On this side of the Channel we
last hear of him slinking away with maps and charts of obvious use to the
French in any plans to invade England or Scotland. Rotz was in disgrace
in London. What then happened to his atlas? It may have been but
away in a cupboard and forgotten. Certainly Gilbert and Hakluyt never
saw it.309

In her remarks as editor of The Boke of Idrography for the British Library, Helen Wallis
described the Rotz Atlas as:

…a manuscript hydrographical atlas of the world. The volume is made
up of sixteen large sheets of vellum, each one measuring approximately
24x33 inches (59.5 x 77 cm). These sheets are written and painted on
one side only, centrally folded to form two folios, and individually
guarded into the covers. The present binding was made as recently as
1967, replacing another ….The main part of the atlas consists of eleven
regional charts and a general map of the world in two hemispheres. All
the sheets, except some of those given over entirely to text or bearing the
royal arms and devices, have elaborately decorated borders. They are

and Brazil in the First Century of Contact: The Lure of Brazilwood,”
309Wallis, ed. The Maps and Text of the Boke of Idrography, ix, 5-6, 8, 11; Taylor, “Jean Rotz: His
Neglected Treatise on Nautical Science,” 455-457.
embellished with designs of blue and gold acanthus scrolls interspersed with naturalistic flowers such as the rose and strawberry…

Several folios mention cannibal activity through labeled areas. Folio 26r and 25v have seven male figures on them but none of the individuals are involved in cannibalism. The map represents the coastline of the South American continent (northeastern area/southernmost sections of South America that are in Gulf). *Coste of Caniballis* is clearly written in the gulf waters near the mouth of the river labeled marihem(?) and cabo de ilhes. Folio 29 contains half of a world map with Brazil shown as an island separated from the mainland by a river that runs from the Gulf to the area near the Rio Platte. The Straits of Magellan are marked. Labeled along the northeastern coast are the words: “*The lande or coste of Caniballes.*”

However, Folio 28 is the most vivid and important folio in the Rotz Atlas for cannibal imagery. The French written and pictorial sources are particularly valuable because they were among the indigenous people and did not use a classic Grecian or Roman human form in their depictions. Hans Staden’s narrative of his captivity among the Tupinambá in 1553-54 is also very important. It is outstanding for the information conveyed in its crude woodcuts as well as in the accompanying text. The indigenous people shown seem to be entirely Tupinambá as broadly defined, that is, the culturally very similar Indians of the long coastal strip of Brazil from about the mouth of the Amazon to latitude 25°, south of São Paulo. Both the Portuguese and French (especially Norman) ships frequented the region beginning in 1500. The Indians cut

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down trees of *Caesalpinia echinata* and carried the logs to the coast; there the ships loaded them for transport to Europe where they were converted into sawdust yielding a red dye used for cloth.\textsuperscript{312}

For two reasons Rotz’s illustrations are important parts of the cultural and historical evidence. They are among the earliest created by a voyager to the region. In addition to their early date, Rotz’s depictions are important because they include quite a wide range of activities and artifacts, and because comparison with later illustrations (none of which betrays any influence from Rotz) and with ethnological evidence show them to be quite accurate and clearly based on first-hand observations (presumably by the artist himself). Rotz’s illustrations do not influence other cartographers and artists because after the Atlas was given to Henry VIII, it disappeared from sight and was next mentioned over a century later (c. 1681) when Pepys wrote in his Naval Minutes about the Atlas.\textsuperscript{313}

Other early sources evidently based on reality are the map of South America in the Miller Atlas, dated c. 1519 (but this is an ‘atlas factice’ and the map, probably by the Reinels, may be c.1525 or later), and the charts in The Hague atlas. Illustrations not on maps are the woodcut ‘first view’ of Indians from about 1505, a figure in an ‘Adoration of the Magi’ painted in Portugal about 1505, a Dürer drawing dated 1515,


\textsuperscript{313}Wallis, ed. The Maps and Text of the Boke of Idrography, ix, 5-6, 8.
two woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair done in 1516-19, and two water colours attributed to Burgkmair done soon after 1519.314

In analyzing Rotz’s depictions on folio 28, he compiled a mixed record for accuracy. This may be attributed to several reasons. Rotz certainly created his Atlas after the fact. While some memories would stand out or be particularly unforgettable, other details would not seem important. First, looking at the overall image of the indigenous people, they are shown naked except for the group participating in a ceremonial dance. The people lack the ornamental details that are noted by other first hand observers, like Pero Vaz de Caminha, and in other depictions (facial plugs, feather capes, crowns, and arm and leg bands shown in many other illustrations, and the body painting, tattooing or cicatrisation). Furthermore, their skin tone is not different from the French engaged in trade except for the darker skins of one of the groups in the battle scene at the lower right corner. The Indians’ hair does not match the black, straight hair that Europeans commented on; however, it was often dyed with red urucum or annatto. While the few women portrayed seem to wear their hair loose and long, which is correct, the men do not have the shaved foreheads, short side hair, and long back hair described in early accounts. The men plucked their body hair, including eyebrows, and

314 Among the later sixteenth-century illustrations of the Tupinambá are the Desceliers map in Manchester (1546); the Harleian map in the British Library (c.1547); the Vallard atlas in the Huntington Library (1547); the Desceliers map in the British Library (1550); the woodcut and water-colour showing the Tupinambá village set up in Rouen in 1550; the chart of Sancho Gutierrez in Vienna (1551); the Desceliers map once in Vienna (1553); the Le Testu atlas in Paris (1555); Gastadi’s engraved map of Brazil (1556); Staden’s woodcuts (1557); illustrations published by Andre Thevet (1557-84); a map in the Homem atlas in the British Library (1558); two engravings in a costume book of 1562; a map in the Homem atlas in Dresden (1568); illustrations published by Jean de Lery in 1578; and the Vau de Claye map in Paris (1579). These are discussed and many of them illustrated in Sturtevant 1976 and Honour, *The New Golden Land*. 

While not depicting some physical aspects of the Tupinambá as described in first hand accounts, overall, Rotz provided a remarkable portrait of their life. The male dancers in a circle on the lower left of folio 28 are wearing a brown feather skirt and brown feather bands below the knees. While the knee bands are a known Tupinambá artifact type, the feather skirts are not specifically mentioned in the early accounts but are seen on other early illustrations. Shown only on the ceremonial dancers, the skirts may have been a ceremonial decoration. The early woodcut of the New World peoples in 1505 showed similar attire but the portrayal of these skirts only on the ceremonial dancers offers a far more accurate reconciliation between accounts that all mention nudity and depictions of many Amerindians in Tupinambá headdress and skirts. The two long hollow stamping tubes, mentioned as cadence-keeping for dances, add to the accuracy of the dance scene.\footnote{Jean de Léry, *History of a voyage to the land of Brazil, otherwise called America* (Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, (Geneva, 1580), trans. Janet Whatley, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 56-59, 66, 119, 124; Theodor De Bry, *Grands Voyages*, (Frankfurt, 1593), Part III; Hemming, *Red Gold*, 64-65.}

Weapons are emphasized in the illustrations. Many men carry bows and arrows with the proper large two-feather fletching. The very distinctive Tupinambá club is shown in the right center and bottom of the folio. Two extant sixteenth-century Tupinambá wooden clubs attest to the accuracy of these scenes. They are located in the
Museum für Volkerkunde, Vienna, (10 440, 2.195 m long), and a second type of ceremonial club decorated with a sleeve of cotton cords and pendants of raw cotton to which feathers were once attached, located in the Musée de l’Homme, Paris (17.3.62 anc. No 1162, 1.20 m long). A club of this type, especially decorated and ritually treated, was used to execute war captives, who were then eaten. Rotz depicted an execution with the club (right side of folio, above war parties). The Tupinambá ate not only sacrificed war captives but also enemies killed in battle. Two warriors are shown carrying off an arm and a leg severed from a nearby corpse. Above them a woman tends a fire beneath the customary barbeque frame, where a human leg is being grilled. The activities of battlefield cannibalism, and the ritual execution, cooking, and consumption of captured enemies, were all described in detail by Hans Stade and Jean de Léry.317

Rotz’s village views are also accurate and add to our understanding with a visual record. The two villages shown depict the differences between settlements exposed to enemy attacks (a single palisade of closely set logs further protected by an outer work of stakes) and those in more secure areas. Hans Staden noted that the Tupinambá village where he was held was enclosed by a double palisade, the inner one more closely set than the outer. The houses and hammocks are depicted correctly as hanging from the poles, and each has the usual fire burning beneath it for warmth and to

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keep off insects. One house (in the upper village) has a human skull and two longbones over the door. The Tupinambá are known to have displayed trophy skulls of enemies on posts erected at the village entrance or in front of the houses.318

There are three scenes that illustrate the cannibalism of the Tupinambá. They are all located on the right hand side of the map near the ornate border. Above the figures of two distinct groups engaged in combat, and close to the (northwest) corner of the palisade are three figures. The woman is naked with long hair; the man in the middle is a naked captive, bound around his waist by six ropes that are attached to six stakes in the ground; and the other man stands poised with a war club (the long stick with a gourd-like end) over his head and clearly intent upon smashing the back of the captive’s skull. Above this execution scene, is a dismembered male body, with both legs and the left arm severed. Two men are above this corpse, both are naked and holding parts of the body. The male closest to the palisade holds the left arm. The other male carries a bow and arrow in his hand and clutches a leg with his right hand. The final scene (already mentioned above), is located west of the three armed Europeans in a cooking area where a naked woman (kneeling) and a man with a wooden club resting against his left shoulder are grilling a human leg on an open fire. All three of these scenes are consistent with European accounts from this area.319

York: Burt Franklin, Publisher, 1963), 153, 155-159; de Léry, History of a voyage to the land of Brazil, 113-114, 122-132.  
While Rotz may have left an accurate ethnographic depiction of the indigenous peoples, most cartography simplified the complex. Accordingly, maps continued to display iconography to represent the cannibalistic practices of this region of the New World. The symbol in this detail of Sebastian Münster’s 1540 map, Die Nüw Welt, was used repeatedly for different maps and in various Atlases and editions (as shown below). (Also see Münster’s 1540 map, Novae Insulae, XVII Nova Tabvla.) Also featured is a larger than life depiction of Magellan’s ship, Victoria. The cannibal symbol and the ship are the most detailed representations on these maps.

As noted, the area in the elbow (Brazil) in South America would be identified by many cartographers through imagery or labels as being the home of the cannibals. Peter Apian(us), (see 1520 map above) used the word Canibales to indicate that man-eaters occupied this area of America in his 1544 map. This map appeared in Apian’s Cosmographis, edited by Gemma Frisius (Antwerp, 1545).320

English efforts to colonize the New World were not well organized until the 1600s. Early colonization attempts in North America and South America met with little success. In 1547, Sebastian Cabot returned to England after an absence of thirty-six years. During that time, Cabot was in Spain, serving Carlos V. When he settled back in England, Cabot became involved with early colonization efforts on the Amazon River. As the pilot-major of the Casa de Contratación in Seville, he heard all about Orellana’s

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320Skelton, Decorative Printed Maps of the 15th to 18th Centuries, Plate 8.
voyage down the Maranão (Amazon).\footnote{Joyce Lorimer, ed., English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon 1550-1646, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1989), 1-3.} Attempts to colonize the Amazon were ultimately unsuccessful.

In 1550, Pierre Desceliers published the map, “Planisphere,” 135 x 215 cm., now located at the British Library. The two extant parchment sheets are beautifully decorated. South “Ameriqve” has several depictions of indigenes in battle and is labeled above a group of indigenous people and to the left of the river (Amazon) \textit{indiens occidēraul canibales}. The map scenes display the European flags but the actual South American interior reflected the unknown or inaccurate information. The mountain range is misplaced and the cities (including a castle nestled by the northwest branch of the mountain range) represent the Spanish conquest of Peru but not the reality of the conditions.\footnote{Mollat du Jourdin and de La Roncière with Azard, Raynaud-Nguyen and Vauanereau, \textit{Sea charts of the Early Explorers}, 232; Nebenzahl, \textit{Rand McNally Atlas}, 112-113; Portinaro and Knirsch, \textit{The Cartography of North America}, 74-75, 96-97.}

Pierre Desceliers, a French priest living near Dieppe, became one of the more artistic French cartographers of a group known as the Dieppe school. This school of talented and well-informed cartographers probably had two primary sources of information. Undoubtedly, they gathered information from the ships returning to the port of Dieppe. Based on the accuracy of the depictions of Spanish exploration, they also seemed to have an informant associated with the Archives of the \textit{Casa de Contratación de las Indias}. In 1546, he published a colorful and remarkably accurate portolan chart of North, Central and South America. North is oriented to the right. This
map, drawn on vellum, was part of an atlas. Desceliers labeled the land east of the mouth of the Amazon (Amazones) with the familiar Caniballes. The map does not have the title “America” on it, nor does it show the Treaty of Tordesillas’ raya or Demarcation Line.323

Two Portuguese brothers involved in cartography were Diogo and Andreas Homem. In 1558, Diogo Homem published a beautiful map, Quarta Orbis Pars, Mundus Novus, depicting indigenous life in America. One of the scenes is of a village of cannibals. The villagers have two fires burning with an arm and leg (identifiable) being grilled on the rear fire. To the right of the fires is a tree with legs, an arm and a head hanging from the branches. The illustration is located below an iconic feature that will characterize many maps of this part of South America - the snake-like Amazon which resembles the Anaconda. Furthermore, Diogo Homem inscribed the word Canibales to the right of the scene. Like the Münster maps, both the label and the illustration were placed on the map.324

Andreas Homem’s 1559 map, Universa ac Navigabilis Totius Terrarum Orbis Descriptio, consisted of 10 vellum leaves, 150 x 294 cm. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. In it, Andreas Homem identified the Lesser Antilles as the home of “Los canibales.” His map also has the distinctive snake-like depiction of the Amazon. It is the only extant work of Andreas Homem. The portions of coastline depicted are accurate and

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324 Belluzzo, O Brazil dos Viajantes, 69; Williams & Lewis, Early Images of the Americas, 50-51.
detailed. However, the interior of Canada and the northwest coastline of North America are non-existent. This left open the question of whether North America was connected to Asia. The fictitious Sea of Verrazano is also present.325

Published in 1557, Hans Städen’s account of his captivity and life with the Brazilian Tupinambá was also a well-circulated tale of cannibalism accompanied by illustrations. Shipwrecked off the coast of Brazil, Städen described in vivid detail his year-long ordeal after he was captured by the Tupinambá of Brazil. The complete title of his book is a story in itself: *The True History and Description of a Country of Savages, in the New World Called America. Being Wholly Unknown in Hesse Both before and after Christ’s Birth until Two Years Ago, When Hans Staden of Hamberg in Hesse Took Personal Knowledge of Them and Now Presents His Story in Print.* This account was fifty years after the first accounts of cannibalism circulate in Europe. During those fifty years, Europeans avidly sought information about the New World.326

When Hans Staden published the account of his captivity in 1557, he included woodcut illustrations of the Tupinambá tribe of Brazil. These images were used in woodcuts, on plates and on maps to educate, illuminate and titillate the minds and imaginations of European consumers who had an avid interest in these savage images.

Copies and improvements on both the original woodcuts and the descriptions from his account provided vivid images of cannibalism and savagery to the public.\textsuperscript{327}

Several other Europeans provided accounts of Brazil and the Tupinambá Indians. Jean de Léry, a Calvinist minister, participated in Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon’s colonial venture in Brazil. He went to establish a mission to the few Protestants among the 300 Catholic colonists who took part in the ill-fated colony. In 1557, eight months after arriving, Léry lost a power struggle with the leader of the colony and was forced to live with the Tupinambá until he and his followers could return to France. Three years after his return, Léry wrote his account of the experience. Lost and rewritten twice, Léry published his first draft in 1578. In his \textit{History of a Voyage}, Léry provided an ethnographic study of the Tupinambá and their society, treating their practice of ritual cannibalism as ignorance. He was highly critical of André Thevet, a contemporary who also wrote about the Tupinambá.\textsuperscript{328}

André Thevet began his rise to fame with the support of powerful patrons in the Catholic Church and the nobility. He was well-traveled in conjunction with his career as an author of geographical literature. He wrote two books about the New World, \textit{Lez Singularitez de la France Antarctique} in 1558, and \textit{La Cosmographie universelle} in 1575. The material in both books was predominantly about his travels in South America. Critics point out that most of his time in Brazil was spent recovering from

\textsuperscript{327} Hans Stade(n), \textit{The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse}.  
\textsuperscript{328} Laura Fishman, “French Views of Native American Women in the Early Modern Era: The Tupinambá of Brazil,” 11-25; Lorimer, review of \textit{History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, otherwise called America}, 86.
illness. Nevertheless, the first images published of the toucan and the tree sloth belonged to Thevet. His books contained accounts of cannibalism and he was very critical of the Amerindians.329

A third book first published in 1584, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des homes illustres* was a two-volume set of 232 diverse biographies complete with portraits using copperplate engravings. Of interest are two of the biographies from New World Amerindians, Nacol-absou, Roy du Promontoire des Cannibales (King of the Promontory of the Cannibals) and Quoniambec, the cannibal chief in Hans Städen’s book. These biographies provide us with an opportunity to analyze the sources of information and the method by which that information was selected, published and disseminated. His commentary also offers an opportunity to understand a sixteenth-century mind.330

In 1562, a Spanish cartographer, instrument maker and pilot major in the Casa de Caontratacion in Seville named Diego Gutiérrez and a Flemish engraver, Hieronymus Cock created an ornate map, *Americae sive Qvartae Orbis Partis Nova et Exactissima Descriptio*. At the time, it was the largest and most detailed map of the New World in existence. Despite the size and detail, some facts are in error. The text gives credit to Amerigo Vespucci for discovering America in 1497; it does not note several early French and Spanish discoveries nor does it show De Soto’s exploration.

The map does included imagery of Amerindians as cannibals in the *Regio de Brasil*.

The image of the snake-like Amazon was also readily identifiable. Like many of his predecessors, he depicted cannibalism as roasting body parts.\(^{331}\)

It is difficult to separate the efforts to conquer the indigenous people of Brazil from the colonialization process. While Portugal initially set up a few trading posts, by mid-century, they established towns and plantations. At the same time that the Portuguese were waging war on hostile indigenes, they were also fending off other European countries who attempted to establish colonies in Brazil.

From 1560-1565, Captain and Governor Duarte d’Albuquerque Coelho conducted war on the hostile tribes that lived in the Pernambuco captaincy. A short narrative of these military actions accompanied the account of the homeward bound journey of his younger brother, Jorge, who had fought as his general of the war and conqueror of the land. Entitled “Shipwreck Suffered by Jorge d’Albuquerque Coelho,” it illustrates the problem of ongoing conquest while establishing viable and profitable communities. After five years of continuous warfare to subdue the “chiefs of the savage tribes in the said captaincy,” the safe area surrounding the town of Olinda had expanded from one or two leagues (about 5 km or 3 mi per league) into the interior and no further than three or four leagues along the coast to fifteen to twenty leagues in the

\(^{331}\)Schwartz and Ehrenberg, *The Mapping of America*, 66; also may be viewed at an online website in http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gutierrez.html. Two copies of this 107 x 104 cm. engraving exist - The Library of Congress and the British Library.
interior and sixty along the coast. In 1577-8, another campaign would be waged to punish rebellious Amerindian tribes. These accounts do not mention cannibalism.332

Like the Portuguese, the Spanish had to keep their hold on areas where they had established themselves in the Caribbean. Throughout the 1500s, the Amerindians of the Lesser Antilles continued to violently resist Spanish and European encroachment. The ‘caribes’ raided the farms, plantations, and unwary inter-island shipping, killing and kidnapping the settlers. Peter Hulme and Neil Whitehead note that the indigenes of Dominica held approximately 300 Europeans and Africans captive during the 1570s. Taken in a raid, Luisa de Navarrete escaped in 1580 and under oath, provided the Spanish authorities with an account of her four-year captivity. The proceedings and testimony were taken on the Island of Puerto Rico. Bernáldez de Quiroz, Procurator General of Puerto Rico used them in his petition to the Spanish Crown requesting counter-raids against the “caribe” Amerindians. Her testimony was transcribed and paraphrased for a specific reason. However, the core of her testimony asserted that the indigenous islanders of the Lesser Antilles were cannibals. Luisa de Navarrete or Luysa Nabarrete was questioned about other captives.

…saw in the said island of Dominica that there are two women and a man who were already as much caribes as the rest of them, and the women say that they no longer remember God, and the man neither more nor less so, and he eats human flesh and they do just as the Indians do, neither more nor less, and another man comes with these said Indians that has now become as caribe as them and likewise eats human flesh, and this witness and other Christians speaking with this man asked him why he did not remember the mother of God, since he was a Christian,

and the said man replied that since the mother of God had not remembered to take him from here in forty years, neither did he wish to remember her, and this witness saw the same among the other Negroes who eat human flesh and do as the Indians do, and what she has spoken is the truth…  

The Spanish officials also took the testimony of a Christianized *caribe* named Pedro. As he had spent fifteen years with the Spanish, his account was of his recollections as a boy and young man on the island of Dominica. Pedro stated:

…a ship of Pedro Melendes went aground there on the coast of the island of Guadalupe, and from here the said Indians of Dominica went to it and took all the Christians and killed one or two of the fattest and the rest they captured and carried off to the said island of Dominica, and this witness knows that the Indians of the said island of Dominica and others which are in Guanara and Guariaquira and Yarumay and Camahuya, and in the surrounding areas are *caribes* and they eat human flesh…

Both Luisa and Pedro answered questions posed by the local Spanish officials who were documenting continued depredations by the indigenous people. While aware that both witnesses would want to please the officials, their testimonies need not be discounted. For Luisa, her captivity would be a significant event in her life and her testimony was taken soon after her escape. Pedro’s testimony was probably less reliable as he had fifteen years to color his memories with a Christian hue. If they were the only people during this period who claimed the *caribes* practiced cannibalism, then their testimony could be discounted. That was not the case. Both the English and the French also had accounts of cannibals from the islands and the South America.

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334 Pedro, a *caribe*, Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Patronato 179, ramo 1, No. 4, fos. 28-29, in *Wild Majesty*, ed. Hulme and Whitehead, 43, 361.
In 1585, Walter Bigges sailed with Sir Walter Raleigh as part of an armada of twenty-five ships and 2,300 men. Their goal was to plunder Spanish America. Frobisher was second-in-command of this adventure. Although the initial phase of the expedition went well, fever ravaged the crew. One of those who died was Bigges. He left behind a narrative that was acquired by Cates, one of the lieutenants on the voyage.335

In his narrative, Bigges provided commentary on the English encounter with the resistant islanders that dovetails with the accounts noted above.

…we were not above eighteene daies in passage betweene the fight of Saint Iago aforesaid, and the Island of Dominica, being the first Island of the West Indies that we fell withal, the same being inhabited with savage people, which goe all naked, their skin couloured with some painting of a reddish tawney, verie personable and handsome, strong men, who doe admit little conversation with the Spaniards: for as some of our people might understand them, they had a Spaniard or twaine prisoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any safety for any of our nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commaundement, albeit they used us very kindley for those fewe houres of time which we spent with them, helping our folks to fill and carie on their bare shoulders fresh water from the river to our ships boats, and fetching from their houses, great store of Tobacco, as also a kinde of bread, which they fed on, called Cassado, verie white and favorie, made of the rootes of Cassania. In recompence whereof, we bestowed liberall rewardes of glasse, coloured beades and other things, which we had found at Saint Iago, wherewith (as it seemed) they rested very greatly satisfied, and shewing some sorowfull countenance when they perceived that we would depart.336

335 Voyages and Travels: Ancient and Modern. Vol. XXXIII. The Harvard Classics. (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1909), 14; Bartleby.com, 2001, www.bartleby.com/33/; [20 September 2006]. ON-LINE ED.:Published April 18, 2001 by Bartleby.com; © 2001 Copyright Bartleby.com, Inc. Upon returning to England, Cates prepared the document for publication only to be interrupted by the attack by the Spanish Armada. The first copy was published in Latin in 1588. The following year, the original English narrative was printed in London. Hakluyt reprinted the narrative in 1600. An original copy is at the British Library.

336 Ibid., 20.
The French activity in South America generated several accounts of contact with Amerindians practicing cannibalism. André Thevet began his rise to fame with the support of powerful patrons in the Catholic Church and the nobility. He was well-traveled in conjunction with his career as an author of geographical literature. He wrote two books about the New World, *Lez Singularitez de la France Antarctique* in 1558, and *La Cosmographie universelle* in 1575. The material in both books was predominantly about his travels in South America. Critics point out that most of his time in Brazil was spent recovering from illness. Nevertheless, his were the first images published of the toucan and the tree sloth. His books contained accounts of cannibalism and he was very critical of the Amerindians.337 A third book first published in 1584, *Les vrais poutraits et vies des homes illustres* was a two-volume set of 232 diverse biographies complete with portraits using copperplate engravings. Of interest are two of the biographies from New World indigenous leaders, Nacol-absou, Roy du Promontoire des Cannibales (King of the Promontory of the Cannibals) and Quoniambec, the cannibal chief in Hans Städen’s book.338

Thevet writes of the Americans or “wilde” men and what he has learned from French interpreters who have been living in America for a decade. He casually addresses the subject of cannibalism throughout the book. He interspersed discussion about the beliefs and practices of the indigenes with commentary about the practice of eating people. While there is no way to know if he is repeating the stories of those who actually experienced the events or he was an eyewitness, some of the details are

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remarkably similar to other European accounts. Thevet also cites the ancients, “Plinie, Herodita, and Apian” when commenting on behavior. For instance, he mentions all three when referring to the effects that a human can feel when drinking, eating or, in this case, smoking herbs. He mentions anthropophages in context with the Ethiopians and Indians. Thevet noted that the “Spaniards and Portingals” harangued the Canibals in certain places to stop eating their enemies.339

Thevet’s book is interspersed with references to cannibals, cannibal practices, and eating human beings. His vivid descriptions are ripe with imagery. He devoted a chapter to describing war practices, including cannibalism. Chapter 40 is entitled: Howe these Barbarous and wilde men put their enemies to death, that they have taken in the warre, and eate them. Continuing to discuss the treatment of prisoners, Thevet informs the reader that:

…the owner of the prisoner, as we have already shewed, will request all his friends to come to him against that day to eate their parte of their bootye, with good quantitie of Cahouin, which is a kinde of drinke made of Mill, with certaine rootes. Upon this day of solemnity, all the affillantes will decke them selves with fethers of divers coloures, or else they will painte their bodies. Specially he that doeth the execution, shall be decked ater the best maner that is possible, having his sward of wood, wherewith he doeth his office, richly adorned with faire Fethers: but the prisoner, the shorter time that he hath so live, the more greater signe of joy doeth he shewe. He shall be brought surely bounde with cordes of Cotton into a publike place, being accompanied with ten or twelve thousande of the wilde men his enimies, and there he shall be smitten downe like an Oxe in the Shambles (after many Ceremonies.) This prisoner being deade, his wife that hath bene given him, shall mourn a certain time for his death: but the body being cut in pieces,

338 Schlesinger, ed. Portraits from the Age of Exploration, 10, 119-123, 131-137.
they taste the bloud, and therewith bathe their male children, for to make them the more hardye, as they say, shewing them that when they come to age, they doe the like to their enimies, as their fathers before them had done. By this ye may knowe, that the like is done to them, if they be taken in the warre. The prisoner being put to death after this sort, and hewed in pieces, and prepared according to their maner, shall be disturbed among them all, be they never so many, every one a morsel or piece: as for the bowels or inner partes, the women eate them up commonly, and they reserve the head to set it on a poll out of their houses in signe of triumph and victorie. And above all other, they have a pleasure to use the Portingals after this sorte. The Canibals, and those of a river named Marignan, are much more cruel to the Spaniardes, making them to die a cruell death, and then they eate them.340

Today, debate continues concerning the actual practices of the Amerindians and the European interpretation of their rituals. H.E. Martel has suggested that the Tupinambá enjoyed the fear and loathing that could be induced by overt cannibalistic behavior and, for decades, sustained an elaborate ruse on the Europeans they had contact with in an effort to keep these foreigners from their land.341

All of these authors and cartographers had a decisive impact on depictions of cannibalism in the New World. The fascination and the technological improvements that made published works about the New World so sought after and so widely disseminated were not unlike our fascination with space. The words, maps and illustrations created to represent the New World also represented the frontier between the known and the unknown.

One of the great influences on cartography in general, was Abraham Ortelius. Born in Antwerp in 1527, his career as a map-colorer began at age 20. The process for

map making involved copper engravings, printed in black and colored by hand. After
decades of working in the field of cartography in Antwerp, Ortelius published an atlas
in 1570, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. The first modern atlas, it was printed in Latin,
Dutch, German, French, Spanish, English and Italian. From 1570 until 1612, forty-two
folio editions were published. His depictions of the Western Hemisphere did not
include imagery of Amerindians as cannibals nor did he label areas of the New World
with the term, cannibal.  

Anonymous Franco-Portuguese atlas, circa 1583. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The
Hague. Although clearly a stylized depiction of activity in Brazil, many of the
depictions in this rendering can be easily verified, the hammocks, parrots, and
brazilwood logging scene (a darker-skinned, naked figure carrying a log next to a light-
skinned, figure wearing boots and a sword). Although in this map, no cannibal activity
was portrayed, nevertheless, the word Caniballes continued to be placed on it. In this
case, the word was placed off shore above the word NOCTIAL.

In 1590, Jose de Acosta’s book Historia Natual Y Moral de Las Indias (Natural
and Moral History of the Indies) was published. The depiction of cannibalism in the
New World continued into the second full century of contact. This 1598 map of Brasil
by Bertius continued the tradition of placing figures of cannibals in the interior. This
map listed several of the tribes that were identified in journals of the sixteenth century

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343 Bellec, Unknown Lands, 92-93.
344 Written in Spanish by Joseph Acosta, translated into English by E.G., London, printed by Val Sims for
Edward Blout and William Aspley. 1604; José de Acosta, Natural and Moral History of the Indies, ed.
Jane E. Mangan, introduction and commentary Walter D. Mignolo, trans. Frances López-Morillas., xvii-
xxi.
as practioners of cannibalism. The identification of this region and these peoples as man-eaters continued even as Europeans discovered new lands in the Pacific.
Sixteenth-century cartography is a unique and important aide in the study of history. Until recently, cartography has been overlooked as an exciting historical source for both research and teaching. Maps offer an avenue to explore the relationship between the words in journals and travel accounts, the images used as illustrations and decorations, and the reality of two unknown cultures meeting during the Age of Discovery. The mapping of the New World and the accounts of the voyages and encounters with the indigenous peoples provide us with a translucent window into the European historical perspective and sequence of exploration. While tremendous caution is required in deciphering those extant maps, some modicum of understanding may be gleaned from these records. My effort has been to survey an extensive sample of the sixteenth-century cartography to discover if trends can be discerned in the depiction of Amerindians as cannibals. Did the cannibal label and imagery serve the same purpose as the words *terra incognita* in the mapping of the New World? In viewing and analyzing the cartography, I have tried to investigate what events and literature may have influenced the creation and geographically specific placement of cannibal scenes and cannibal iconography.
Cannibalism was discovered in this part of the Americas at a crucial time in history. The invention of the printing press during this period led to the sheer proliferation of literature and documents produced. This period of exploration, first out of the Mediterranean and then across the Atlantic provided an incredible array of new and exciting phenomenon for Europeans to portray visually and in print. Old beliefs were challenged and replaced by new knowledge as seen through the prism of Early Modern Europe.\textsuperscript{345} My challenge was to discern what preconceived and newly acquired influences and knowledge were parts of the decision to portray Amerindians in certain areas of the New World as cannibals.

I assert that the continued portrayal as cannibals of the indigenous people in the area of present day Brazil was more than a European attempt to justify the conquest of the people and the seizure of the land and the wealth of the New World. Although Columbus appeared to have initially used the label of cannibal to explain the loss of his men and the first fortification, identifying an indigene as a man-eater was also used as a justification for enslavement. These slaves became a source of return on patrons’ investment and a workforce for the mines and fields. However, the continued labeling of geographically specific groups of indigenous people throughout the sixteenth century was very likely based on finding actual evidence of cannibal activity.\textsuperscript{346} More importantly, the Europeans continued to use cannibal imagery in the Caribbean and South American areas of the New World where they could not conquer the indigenous


peoples whose cultural traditions included a custom that was anathema to the Christians.

During the last decade of the fifteenth century, Columbus embarked on a voyage seeking the riches that Marco Polo had chronicled during his voyages. Columbus and his captains and their crews returned from those voyages with maps and accounts of what they encountered. We know that Columbus and Dr. Chanca labeled the indigenous people of the Lesser Antilles as cannibals during the second voyage.\textsuperscript{347} Whether the Caribs actually practiced cannibalism may never be determined. The very early extant maps reflect the belief that Columbus found cannibals. Initially, islands off of northern South America bore the label or warning of \textit{cannibali}. Additionally, the legends or explanations placed on the maps also reflected the belief that the indigenous people practiced cannibalism. Sixteenth-century cartography of the Western Hemisphere began with sketches and maps by the men who ventured out into the Atlantic. The few extant maps we have of these early ventures were quickly joined by accounts and illustrations announcing and describing the voyages and the people of the New World.

The label of cannibals was associated with the Caribbean early in the cartography of the New World. Shortly after Columbus made his second voyage, the cannibal label appeared on the islands of the Lesser Antilles. The label then moved into

the river and bay area south of the tail of the Lesser Antilles. This reflected the publication of letters by Columbus and Vespucci. As mentioned earlier, Juan de la Cosa used only the imagery of Saint Christopher in the New World. However, he warned of cannibals by using a label near the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe and also in his commentary. Juan de la Cosa, was a bona fide voyager and member of the Columbus expeditions. Within the first decade of the sixteenth century, the label had begun to move onshore to the northern coastal area of South America. It then moved inland and firmly settled on the area of present day Brazil.348

Obviously, the early reports by Columbus and Vespucci of encounters with indigenous cannibals were the impetus for the initial placement of the label and the imagery on the maps. However, reports of cannibalism in South America continued throughout the century by ethnically diverse voyagers. At first glance, the branding of the indigenous people as cannibals seemed to be motivated by a European desire to justify the conquering and claiming of the land; the brutal treatment of the indigenous peoples often to the point of enslaving or killing them; the proselytizing of Christianity and forcible conversion; and the destruction of Amerindian leadership, societies and

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However, these explanations fail to explain the continued use of imagery in South America and the sixteenth-century accounts of cannibal encounters. It is possible, of course, that these were simply residual images based on early prejudices. Unable to penetrate far into the Amazon, the symbol of Amerindians as cannibals served as a landmark. D. Graham Burnett notes the importance of landmarks to explorers and colonizers. He argues the importance of establishing landmarks. He also points out that the initial myths used in defining the unexplored proved to be an unstable source for accurate cartographic efforts. But even adding into this mix of explanations both the preconceived notions of the initial group of Transatlantic voyagers and the anticipated staying power of cannibalistic images, the variety and persistence of the accounts and imagery lead to an alternate explanation for the repetitive placement of imagery predominately in the interior of present day Brazil. That explanation is that some of the indigenous peoples of the New World were cannibals.

In fact, as the Europeans moved farther and farther inland, groups of indigenous people removed themselves from contact by fleeing deep into the Amazon. In the twentieth century, five hundred years of Europeans first made contact, accounts of cannibals in South America resurfaced. The oral history that the indigenous peoples told to the anthropologists, missionaries, and government officials included eating enemies (exocannibalism) and a funerary form of cannibalism (endocannibalism) as a

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form of love and respect for their own deceased members.\textsuperscript{351} If the Europeans simply used cannibalism as an excuse for their behavior or to sell books and broadsheets back home, why was the practice still occurring five hundred years later?

The use of labels and cannibal imagery was not confined to the Spanish or Portuguese. The French and English also left accounts of contact with cannibals and produced cartography depicting those encounters. Also interesting is the fact that the cartographers who appeared to make the most use of this iconography of cannibalism—often illustrated as gnawing or roasting human limbs--were the mapmakers of Basel, and the Germanic lands. I assert this with caution as my assessment is based for the most part, on extant cartography and therefore is an incomplete record of sixteenth-century mapmaking.

We do, however, have something of a control group upon which to test my theory. Of the nationalities that mapped the New World, the French experienced a wider geographic range of contact than other Europeans. The French made contact and tried to establish trading posts or colonies in three areas of the New World during the sixteenth century. They made contact and began trading in present day Canada. There they would establish colonies and form alliances with indigenous groups. While accounts of cannibalism would surface during the seventeenth century,\textsuperscript{352} during the

\textsuperscript{352} James White, ed., Handbook of Indians of Canada (Ottawa: Appendix to the Tenth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada, 1913), 77-78 quoted by Claude Bélanger, “Cannibalism,” in The Quebec
first century of contact, cannibalism was not an issue. Cartographers did not depict cannibals in present day Canada nor did the mapmakers warn voyagers using labels or notes.

The French also tried to establish settlements in *La Florida*, along the present day Carolina coast. The accounts of the settlers do not mention cannibalism among the indigenous people. The few extant images reflect indigenous people whose customs were different but did not include eating human flesh. In fact, the French had much more to fear from the Spanish than from the indigenous population of the area. It was the Spanish who destroyed the French settlement and annihilated their fellow Europeans. South of the abortive French settlement, the Spanish would establish St. Augustine.\(^{353}\)

The third area the French tried to establish a colony in was present day Brazil. Here they were thwarted by the Portuguese. This is also the area where the accounts of cannibalism were most prolific, and where the imagery of cannibalism was most often

placed on maps. The three most well-known accounts during the 1550s all detail the exocannibalism of the Tupinambá in and around the Rio de Janeiro area.

The Spanish and English were the other two European nationalities who made a concerted effort to establish settlements and explore southern North America during the sixteenth century. Once again, the Europeans made contact with the indigenous groups without raising the specter of cannibalism. Raleigh’s expedition commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Francis Drake’s rescue of settlers from the first attempted colony, Ralph Lane (one of the settlers), Thomas Harriot, and John White (both members of the second attempted colony), all wrote of the people whom they encountered. Initially, the Amerindians were helpful to the English. This changed over time as the English wore out their welcome with demands, arrogance, abusiveness, and often, violent behavior. English accounts do not portray the Amerindians as cannibals. Additionally, there is no hint of that behavior or custom in the watercolors of John White.354

Of course, the Spanish used the Caribbean island settlements to venture out, discover, and lay claim to the lands surrounding the Gulf of Mexico and the eastern Atlantic seaboard of North America. The lands to the north were christened la Florida by Ponce de León, Governor of San Juan de Puerto Rico and explorer.355 He was not the only Spaniard to venture into that area and encounter the hostile indigenous peoples

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354 Stefan Lorant, ed. *The New World*, 123, 142-149, 227-228; Walter Bigges, *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage, wherein were taken the townes of Saint Iago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena and Saint Augustine*, (London, 1589), 21-51.
who had lived there for centuries. Pánfilo de Narváez (Pámphilo in the Vega narrative), Francisco Gordillo Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, Hernando de Soto and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés were just a few of the men who tried to lay claim to the area. In the accounts of these journeys, the indigenous people were not labeled cannibals nor does the mapping of these expeditions contain imagery of the Amerindians as cannibals.356

Irrespective of which country had contact with the indigenous peoples of North America, the Spanish, English, or French, during the sixteenth century, the specter of cannibalism did not arise in the accounts of voyagers nor did the imagery associated with the people of these northern lands portray the eating of human flesh. Although the cartographers did not know the western boundaries and littoral edge of the lands, and the interior of North America was terra incognita, they did not place cannibal scenes on the maps of the northern part of the New World. I assert that this silence in the record and the cartography is not an omission. It is an acknowledgement that they had heard no mention of the indigenous people being cannibals.

The same set of circumstances did not hold true for Meso-America. There, the Spanish encountered human sacrifice and cannibalism. Cortés and his men provided

accounts of the conquest of the Aztecs that include grim passages concerning cannibalism following the sacrifice of enemies to their gods. Although the Aztecs were mentioned in these accounts, the Nomadic Xixime and Chichimeca of Northern Mexico and the Maya of the Yucatán were also accused of cannibalism. Chichimeca was the generic name given to a wide range of nomadic groups that lived in northern Mexico. The rest of the north would take two centuries. Famed for their opposition, the Chichimeca (a variety of tribes including the Chichimeca Jonaz, Caxcan, Tecuexe, Guachichil, Guamare, Pame, and Zacateco) would offer resistance and be remembered by Friar Juan de Torquemada as fierce fighters who were lethal with bow and arrow.357

Although Spanish accounts of Meso-America also contained commentary on indigenous cannibalism, the cartographic phenomena that occurred in South America and, to a lesser extent, in the Caribbean, did not appear to designate the area. I have found no sixteenth-century maps with the imagery of cannibals located in Meso-America. Like North America during this century, Meso-America did not acquire the label or imagery. I suspect two separate occurrences may have worked to keep cannibal imagery from the cartography of Meso-America. The first occurrence was the conquest of the Aztecs. The speed with which Cortés took over the Aztec capital and the destruction wrought when the Spanish overthrew of the empire combined to give the Europeans the perception that the Spanish had conquered the people and ended the practice of cannibalism along with human sacrifice. The second event to aid in

focusing cartographers on placing the imagery was the publication of the Spanish accounts. While the Spanish were writing on the conquest of the New World, many of the accounts were not published in multiple languages and editions. Unlike the accounts of cannibalism in the Caribbean and South America, many of the Spanish accounts were written years after the conquest. The early voyagers, like Columbus and Vespucci, the French in Brazil, and Hans Staden, all returned to Europe and published their accounts. The Spanish conquistadors often died or remained in the New World for years before their accounts were published. I believe that these events combined to make the placement of cannibal scenes more appealing and logical in South America.

The French attempts at South American colonization have their beginnings in the Brazilian wood trade that French merchants established with the indigenous people of this area. The French, like the Portuguese, established a policy of leaving behind young men or boys who would learn the language and serve as interpreters between the French and the indigenes. Accounts of cannibalism surfaced with the first French trade voyages and continued until the French were expelled by the Portuguese. Two of the most well-known accounts were by members of Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon’s colonial venture in Brazil. Jean de Léry was a Calvinist minister who wrote his account of the Tupinambá, the people whose dress and behavior served as the model for the cannibal imagery used by Europeans. Léry’s contemporary and arch-rival, André Thevet, was appointed Catholic chaplain for the expedition. He authored another account of this venture. Both of their accounts discuss the customs of the indigenes, most emphatically stressing the cannibalism that the Tupinambá practiced. Had the
indigenes been falsely accused of cannibalism, the personal and religious rivalry between the two participants in this venture would have provided impetus for one to brand the other as a liar for falsely portraying the Tupinambá as man-eaters. Instead, both men discuss the cannibalism and differ only on the condemnation or justification of the indigenous people who consumed humans.\textsuperscript{358}

The Spanish, Portuguese and Germans all made note of cannibalism in various accounts of South America. Orellana mentioned it during his account of the trip down the Amazon River and its tributaries; Jesuit José de Anchieta, complained that the tribes lapsed back into the old ways of eating human flesh; Manoel da Nóbrega, another famous Jesuit, demanded action of Governor Mem de Sá after the Caeté (tribe of Brazil) ate the first bishop of Brazil; José de Anchieta, another Jesuit and secretary to Nóbrega, also chronicled the customs of the indigenous peoples of Brazil.\textsuperscript{359} Probably one of the most widely read and influential accounts were not by a learned or famous man but rather the writing of a German gunner. Hans Staden’s account of his captivity, discussed in Chapter Six, made an impact on the reading public. His descriptions and woodcuts were used by Theodor de Bry in his works on the New World. The engravings produced were refined and enticing. The cartographers who were


\textsuperscript{359}Hemming, \textit{Red Gold}, 31-34, 98, 102-106, 488
responsible for the placement of cannibal scenes on the South American continent knew Theodor de Bry or knew his work.

The proliferation of cannibal imagery during the sixteenth century and its usual placement in the elbow of present-day Brazil were not accidents or commercial ploys to entice sales. That is not to say that the imagery was not profitable. But it was not haphazardly placed on cartography for appeal. The accounts and the persistence of the practice of cannibalism by some of the indigenous peoples of South America were noted by cartographers and imaged in their works.

Overall, cannibalism in the New World was not a false accusation that Europeans placed on the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere. The number of accounts by a variety of competing nationalities, the persistence and continued narratives attesting to the practice by the indigenes, and the continued depiction in the same geographically specific area of the New World indicate that much more than justification for European domination and annihilation was occurring in the representation of cannibalism. The actual practice of cannibalism was still being documented in the Amazon into the twentieth century. The cartographers used the imagery of cannibals in specific areas of Brazil and South America because cannibalism was being practiced in that region by the Amerindians.\textsuperscript{360}

One of the problems with accepting the idea of cannibalism is the difficulty sixteenth-century Europeans had and modern man has with this cultural taboo. It was not a taboo but a respected custom for some Amerindians. The Portuguese and French
bought captured Amerindians from their enemies to prevent the captive from being eaten. But to the Amerindian, being eaten was a better fate than being a slave of the Europeans. The cultural and religious dichotomy between Europeans and the Amerindians in question was expressed by an indigenous slave:

…when you are dead you no longer feel anything. Whether they eat you or not is all the same to a dead man. But I should be angry to die in bed, and not to die in the manner of great men, surrounded by dances and drinking and swearing vengeance on those who would eat me before I died. For whenever I reflect that I am the son of one of the great men of my country and that my father was feared, and that everyone surrounded him to listen to him when he visited the men’s hut, and seeing myself now a slave without paint and with no feathers fastened to my head or on my arms or wrists, as the sons of great men are normally accoutered in my country – when I think all this I wish I were dead…

The cartographers of the sixteenth century placed labels or imagery of cannibals on the maps of the New World based on their own experiences and/or on the accounts of returning voyagers. These images speak to us about European artistic predilections, religious beliefs and cultural awareness. Often crude and gruesome, the cannibal scenes were designed to evoke a sense of savagery and fear. To Europeans, the act of being consumed by other humans was demonic. Yet, the contrast between cultures could not be starker. For the Amerindians of the region, the permanent loss of freedom was a fate worse than death and consumption. The few documents by Europeans that try to express the indigenous viewpoint or represent their beliefs and way of life provide a

sliver of insight into a people whose lives were destroyed and voices silenced by European conquest.

That the imagery and the accounts of cannibalism persisted throughout the sixteenth century is remarkable, for during the period these areas began to be depicted with greater accuracy. The corroboration of cannibalism in both word and image gives us more evidence that the indigenes in portions of South America practiced it. In encountering this portion of the Americas then, Europeans seem to have come face to face with one of their deepest fears, and most unsettling visions, of the New World.

This cartography can be used as an aide in teaching students about the difficulty of discerning the reality and veracity of primary sources. Maps, like the written word in the journals and accounts, were shaped by more than the geography. They were crafted with political, religious, intellectual, commercial, and scientific motivations. My best efforts to discern whether the Amerindians were cannibals were not just aided by the cartography; those efforts were enhanced by these rich and powerful primary resources. By comparing maps depicting various geographic areas and ranging over the century, I have concluded that the cartographers used the label and imagery of cannibals to document the cultural practice of Amerindians in Brazil and to emphasize the European perception of these people as savages.
APPENDIX A

FIGURES 1-6, CHAPTER 5
Figure 2. World Map, *Libro di Benedetto Bordone*, 1528, Venice.

Figure 3. Diego Ribero, *Polus Mundi Arcticus*, 1529.
Figure 6. Theodore De Bry, Frontispiece, 1585. © British Library, London.
APPENDIX B

FIGURES 7-47, CHAPTER 6

Figure 11. Johann Froschauer, *Dise Figur anzeigt uns das Folck und Insel die gefunden ist durch den christlichen Kunig zu Portigal oder von seinen Underthonen*, ca. 1505. The inscription reads: “This figure represents to us the people and island discovered by the Christian King of Portugal or his subjects. The people are thus naked, handsome, brown, well shaped in body; their head, necks, arms, private parts, feet of men and women are a little covered with feathers. The men also have many precious stones on their faces and breasts. No one has anything, but all things are in common. And the men have as wives those who please them, be they mothers, sisters or friends; therein they make no distinction. They also fight with each other; and they eat each other, even those who are slain, and hang the flesh of them in the smoke. They become a hundred and fifty years old and have no government.” © Lynn Glaser, *America on Paper: The First Hundred Years*, (Philadelphia: Associated Antiquaries, 1989), 15.

Figure 13. Martin Waldseemüller, *Universalis Cosmographia*, 1507, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 137 x 244 cm. woodcut in twelve sheets. Detail of area outlined in Figure 11 above.
Figure 17. Martin Waldseemüller, Tabula Terre Nove (Admiral’s Map), 1513 Ptolemy Geographiae Opus, (Strasburg), woodcut, 37 x 44 cm. Private collection. © Lynn Glaser, America on Paper: The First Hundred Years, (Philadelphia: Associated Antiquaries, 1989), 36.

Figure 19. Martin Waldseemüller, *Carta Marina*, 1516, Schloss Wolfegg, Germany. Detail of area outlined in Figure 18 above.
Figure 20. Lopo Homem with Pedro and Jorge Reinel, *Terra Brazilis*, 1519, 41.5 x 59 cm., National Library, Department of Charts and Plans, Paris, France. © Ana Maria de Moraes Belluzzo, *O Brazil dos Viajantes*, (São Paulo: Fudação Odebrecht, 2000), 70.

Figure 22. Martin Waldseemüller, *Oceanus Occidentalis*, 1523, woodcut. © University of Texas at Arlington, Special Collections Library.

Figure 24. Peter Apian, *Tipus Orbis universalis Iuxta Ptolomei Cosmographi Traditionem et Americi Vespucii Aliorque Lustrationes A Petro Apiano Leysnico Elucbrat*, 1520, 28.58 x 40.96 cm. © Boston Public Library Map Center (can be accessed online.)
Figure 25. Diogo Ribeiro, *Mappemonde*, 1529, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, manuscript on parchment, pen and ink and watercolor; 85 x 204.5 cm. This section of the world map emphasized the Spanish North American discoveries. Under the label, *Mundus Novus*, is a cannibal scene and a legend about eating the flesh of enemies. © Pierluigi Portinaro and Franco Knirsch, *The Cartography of North America 1500-1800*, (Edison, NJ: Chartwell Books, Inc., 1987,) 52-53.
Figure 26. Diogo Ribeiro, *Mvndvs Novvs*, 1532, known as the Wolfenbüttel map.
© Wolfenbüttel Grand Ducal Library.

Figure 28. Johann Huttich and Simon Grynaeus, *Novus Orbis Regionum Ac Insularum Veteribus Incognitarum, Una Cum Tabula Cosmographica*, 1537. Detail of Figure 27, lower left-hand corner.
Figure 30. 1538, Anon, Luso-French Atlas. Detail of Figure 29 above. Note the label above the word *NOCTIAL*. 
Figure 32. Cabot. © Detail of Figure 31 above - Western Hemisphere. © François Bellec, Unknown Lands The Log Books of the Great Explorers, trans. Lisa Davidson and Elizabeth Ayre, (New York: The Overlook Press, 2002), 100.
Figure 34. Jean Rotz, 1542, *The Boke of Idrography*, © British Library, London.
Figure 35. Sebastian Münster, *Nüw Welt*, in *Cosmographia*, 1546, woodcut, 32 x 44 cm. © James Ford Bell Library.

Figure 36. 1540, Sebastian Münster. Detail of Figure 35 above.
Figure 37. Peter Apian, *Charta Cosmographica Cvm Ventor Vm Propria Natvra Et Operatione*, 1544.
Figure 39. Diogo Homem, *Quarta Orbis Pars. Mundus Novus*, 1558, 56.6 x 215 cm. © British Library.
Figure 40. Diogo Homem, detail of Figure 39 above.
Figure 41. Diego Gutiérrez and Hieronymus Cock, *Americae sive Quarta Orbis Partis Nova et Exactissima Descriptio*, 1562. © Library of Congress and British Library.
Figure 42. Jacques de Vau de Claye, 1579.

Figure 43. Detail of Figure 42.
Figure 44. Anonymous Franco-Portuguese atlas, circa 1583. © Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.
Figure 46. 1590 Pilot Book
Figure 47. Bertius, *Brasilia*, 1598.
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Cynthia A. Chambers began her pursuit of education when she enlisted in the United States Army in October 1973. Following her initial Women’s Army Corp (WAC) training, she remained in the United States for a brief tour before transferring overseas. While assigned in Germany, Cynthia pursued her bachelor’s degree with the University of Maryland. She graduated with a Bachelor’s of Science in Business Management in January 1980.

Following her graduation, Cynthia obtained her commission. As an Army intelligence officer, she continued to grow academically. While stationed in the Republic of Korea (ROK) as a member of a Combat Support Coordination Team assigned to the Third ROK Army, Cynthia had the opportunity to assist in teaching English. While in Korea, she volunteered for, and was accepted into the Army’s Foreign Area Officer’s (FAO) Program. This program requires officers to learn a second language and acquire a Master’s Degree.

Upon returning to the United States in 1987, Cynthia was assigned to Fort Ord, California with the Seventh Light Infantry Division. She subsequently attended the U.S. Army’s Defense Language Institute where she studied Portuguese. After her language training, Cynthia moved to the east coast to attended Georgetown University in Washington D.C. She obtained her Master’s of Science in National Security Affairs in May 1991. While assigned to the Defense Intelligence Agency, Special Office for Prisoners of War and Missing in Action, Cynthia studied the Vietnamese language and
traveled to the Far East until her next overseas tour. In 1993, as the United States Army’s exchange officer, she moved to Lisbon, Portugal to attend the Portuguese Army Senior Management Development Course.

In 1994, Cynthia moved to New York to teach at the United States Military Academy, West Point. While teaching Portuguese as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Foreign Languages, she also served as the Portuguese language manager, an Academic Counselor and as the department’s Executive Officer.

Upon her retirement in August 1997, Cynthia moved to Texas to continue her teaching career. After substitute teaching at the elementary through high school levels, she decided that to pursue a Ph.D. Cynthia enrolled as a graduate student in the University of Texas at Arlington’s Transatlantic History Program in the fall of 2001. She received her Ph.D. in December.

Cynthia moved to northern Virginia in August 2006. She is very interested in researching and writing about women in the military during World War II. She is also interested in genealogy research. Cynthia plans to pursue her desire to work as a historian at a national institution in Washington, D.C. She also plans to teach part-time at one of the many colleges or universities in the area.