

“They Were as We Were”:
The Tupínamba, Travel Writing and the Missing ‘Individual’ in
New World Historiography

A Thesis Submitted to the College
of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of History
University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon, SK

By

Christopher J. Clarke

PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements of a Master of Arts Degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised my thesis work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department or the Dean of the College in which my thesis work was done. It is understood that any copying, publication, or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Requests for permission to copy or to make use of other material in this thesis in whole or in part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of History.

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 5A5

ABSTRACT

Using the travel writings of Amerigo Vespucci, the voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral and Jean de Léry's book, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Also Called America*, this thesis will investigate the role of the individual in the narrative of New World contact. This thesis specifically moves against the tendency in New World historiography to rely upon meta-narratives and a singular, universal European presence to explain the circumstances of the New World contact. This project seeks to gain greater understanding of the unique and divergent representations of indigenous cultures contained within travel writing by being sensitive towards the travel writer's individual characteristics such as educational background, religion and participation in intellectual endeavours. The specific example used in this thesis will be the Tupínamba of coastal Brazil and will be supported by the anthropological understandings we have about this extinct indigenous group. Overall, this thesis seeks to show that in the creating of meta-narratives regarding the New World experience of Europeans, it is easy to forget that the word "European" is as meaningless as the word "Indian" in terms of academic usefulness.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project's completion is not just a testament to my own work, but reflects all of the wonderful people who assisted at every step. The University of Saskatchewan's Department of History, as well as the College of Graduate and Research studies, allowed me the opportunity to pursue this project and for that I am eternally grateful. Their funding made this project possible. I also need to thank the U of S' Graduate Student Association, the Coca-Cola Bursary program, and the Simpson Memorial Scholarship for their financial assistance.

There are many professors with fingerprints on this thesis and their assistance helped make it turn out as it did. Special mention must be bestowed on the members of my committee, Prof. Tom Deutscher and Prof. Dale Miquelon. Their comments and suggestions have helped shape this project significantly. I also would like to thank my external reviewer, Dr. Brent Nelson, for his helpful observations. Also, the entire Department of History at the University of Saskatchewan has been a wonderful place to work, with many other professors not directly involved in my thesis research offering their input regardless. I thank Prof. Keith Thor Carlson, Prof. Gordon DesBrisay, Prof. Chris Kent and Prof. John Porter for their helpful nature. Also, my supervisor, Prof. Jim Handy, deserves many thanks for his support and sage-like presence within this thesis. This work's completion is proof-positive of Prof. Handy's wonderful guidance and immense patience with me.

I must also give thanks to Prof. Kevin Siena at Trent University in Peterborough, ON. Prof. Siena took great interest in not only my undergraduate training, but has stayed invested in my progress through graduate studies. I was also fortunate enough to work

on Prof. Siena's SSRHC project as a Research Assistant, which certainly helped make ends meet. Thank you, Kevin, for always looking out for my best interests. I must also thank Prof. Mark Tennant of the Department of Kinesiology for employing me for three years as his Teaching Assistant while completing this project.

I would also like to thank my fellow graduate students for their companionship and input. While I lack the space to thank you all by name, know that I am grateful of the impact you've had on this project and your willingness to help me through coursework and allowing me to stay in your homes while visiting Saskatoon. Special thanks must also be given to Kurt Krueger, who started off in this process as my student in a 100-level history tutorial, and ended up a graduate student who read over drafts of this project by the end. Thanks also goes to Mark Rossi for keeping me entertained when stress was high.

I, finally, must also thank my family for their support of my academic goals. My mother is most to thank (or blame) for my historically-gear'd mind. She fostered and nurtured my love of historical things from a very early age, and still shows interest in my work despite it moving away from her antiquarian tastes. My father's love of history also influenced me as I grew up, although I could never find the passion for modern warfare that he did.

Finally, and most importantly, I must thank my wife Becky for being my ultimate support, my life partner, and the driving force behind all of my endeavours. The oft-used cliché is that behind every successful man is a woman – but words cannot really describe how true it is in this case considering this project began one week after our wedding. The level of sacrifice and dedication my wife has made over these years has allowed me to complete this work despite how long it took. I love you Becky, and look forward to the challenges we will face together in the future.

*I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my Great Uncle Horace
whose Allyn-family genealogy
inspired a very young boy to think historically...*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DEDICATION	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
INTRODUCTION: <i>Small Scale Contact</i>	1
CHAPTER 1: <i>The Universal European</i>	9
CHAPTER 2: <i>The Tupinamba of Coastal Brazil</i>	32
CHAPTER 3: <i>Cannibalism – Unified Horror and Varied Representation</i>	60
CHAPTER 4: <i>Oppositional Binaries and Occidentalism</i>	81
CONCLUSION:	93
BIBLIOGRAPHY	96

Introduction: Small Scale Contact

An oft-used phrase in many circles is that ‘the whole is greater than the sum of its parts’. While this saying may be applicable in terms of building a machine or creating a piece of art, this project will do its best to argue the opposite for an investigation of historiography – the parts are of equal importance. The discovery of the New World could easily be the most significant event in recorded history and as a result, many historians have attempted to explain the deeper meanings of contact and the lasting impacts of colonialism. To do this, they have spoken in grandiose terminology in attempting to clarify the dynamics of the Old meeting the New paradigm. Their methodologies tend to focus on the ‘meta’ of the New World contact, relying upon words such as ‘European’, ‘The West’, ‘Renaissance’ and ‘Christian’ to explain colonizer reactions to the unknown in newly discovered lands. This project will attempt to move away from this reliance, instead arguing that investigation of the smaller contact zones within the meta-narratives is necessary to gain a greater understanding of contact. By focusing on ‘the parts of the whole’, one comes to realize that just as there is no singular ‘Indian’ as many have worked against within historical study, there is also no singular ‘European’ or ‘Westerner’ within history. This distinction is an important one to make, for if one investigates the historiography on the subject of the New World, oftentimes the conclusions reached rely on a universalistic ‘Western’ or ‘European’ colonizer in order to sustain them. The reality is that if one explores the smaller pieces, the complete image of the New World travel writer and explorer becomes far more muddled than previously understood.

This project finds its root within two major authorities on the subject of the New World discovery and ‘the other’. First, Stephen Greenblatt in his work *Marvelous Possessions*, makes mention of this project’s methodological focus, even if Greenblatt himself does not pursue it fully within his work. Greenblatt asked his reader,

...can we legitimately speak of ‘the European practice of representation’? There were profound differences among the national cultures and religious faiths of the various European voyagers, differences that decisively shaped both perceptions and representations.¹

This project will make the argument that it is important to take individual characteristics and backgrounds into account when considering the source materials related to the New World discovery. Second, Edward Said, in the preface to the 25th anniversary of his infamous work, *Orientalism*, weighed in on this very subject. He noted that “neither the term Orient nor the concept of the West has any ontological stability”² Therefore, in the postcolonial vein, this project will seek to break down these constructs in order to gain a better understanding of the smaller narratives of contact. Through this lens, an argument can be made that the meta-narratives previously constructed regarding Western representation of the New World discovery need a level of redress.

In order to facilitate a narrowed focus for this smaller-scale investigation of contact and discovery, this project will concentrate on the contacts made on the Eastern coast of Brazil within the first sixty years of European discovery. The sources selected for investigation will relate to three specific voyages with distinctive characteristics in order to represent the cultural, religious and motivational diversity within this contact

¹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions, The Wonder of the New World*. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991), p. 8.

² Edward Said, *Orientalism: 25th Anniversary Edition*. (New York: Random House, 2003), p. xvii.

zone. This will allow for the greatest variety of individual background within the source material in order to show the assortment of interpretation and representation within these documents. The following chart outlines the specific sources used for this analysis³:

<u>Voyage</u>	<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Reason for Voyaging/Writing</u>
Vespucci	Florentine	1499-1502	Catholic	Astronomer	Scientific/Economic
Cabral (Caminha)	Portuguese	1500-1501	Catholic	Merchant/Military	Economic
De Léry	French	1556-1557	Huguenot (Protestant)	Pastor	Religious/Political

As can be seen above, these three voyages represent diversity in a number of specific areas that could have an impact on how they interpret and represent their New World discoveries.

The most famous of these three writers is Amerigo Vespucci, for whom the Western hemisphere (America) was named, a Florentine businessman and aristocrat (b. 1454, d. 1512) who found himself involved in the early exploration of the New World. After a successful career in business in both Florence and Spain, Vespucci sailed on voyages for both the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns in order to map the best Western route to India, much like Columbus. While the voyages he travelled upon were economic in nature, his personal interests were in the investigation of astronomy and

³ The information for this chart was compiled from the core primary sources used for this analysis. Only one set of translations of each voyage's documents were used. The specific volumes used were:

Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*, trans. by Janet Whatley, (Berkley, U of California P, 1990).

The Voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral to Brazil and India from Contemporary Documents and Narratives; Translated with Introduction and Notes, ed. William B. Greenlee, (London, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1938).

Amerigo Vespucci, *Letters from a New World*, ed. Luciano Formisano, (New York: Marsilio, 1992).

geography. Due to his family's wealth and status, Vespucci had what is described as a "wide-ranging" Renaissance education, including emphasis on geography and cosmography.⁴ This gave Vespucci a unique perspective on the discoveries he was soon to make.

Without the same amount of fanfare as Vespucci, the voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral, a Portuguese economic mission poised to return to India after the successful trip of Vasco de Gama, holds a similar importance. While no document from the voyage names Cabral as author, his official secretary, Pedro Vaz de Caminha, has left a sizable travel narrative describing the voyage's discovery of Brazil (despite Vespucci's likely previous landing in Brazil) and the celebration of the first Catholic mass in the New World. Caminha (b. 1449, d. 1500) was the son of a cavalier and the *mestre da balança da moeda* (master of the balance of the mint), a position bequeathed to him upon the death of his father. Before his appointment to the voyage of Cabral, he presented reports on finances to the royal court, but did not hold a high status within it. In fact, despite what might appear on the surface as a high level position in the mint, those previously studying Caminha were surprised at his ability to write as well as he could, thereby suggesting that there is no evidence Caminha was classically trained or educated. He was expected to be the business writer at Calicut once the Portuguese factory was constructed, however, he was killed in battle there on December 16th, 1500.⁵ While Caminha's position within the Cabral voyage may be similar to that of Vespucci, the motivation for voyaging and his educational background are clearly distinctive.

⁴ "Vespucci, Amerigo" *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*. (Ed) Jennifer Speake, 3 Vol, (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁵ "Caminha, Pedro Vaz de" *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*. (Ed) Jennifer Speake, 3 Vol, (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Unfortunately, Caminha was never able to return home to Portugal to turn his writing into anything beyond his original letter that reported his findings to the Crown.

Jean de Léry, the latest chronically of the three voyages used in this analysis, was a Huguenot pastor (b. 1534, d. 1613) sailing to the New World as part of a missionary group to spread the reformed gospel in the New World. Specifically, de Léry was part of the first Protestant mission to the New World, expected to settle in France Antarctique in Brazil.⁶ While little is known about de Léry's early life, some historians noted that de Léry may have been a member of the bourgeoisie, although of a minor status, prior to his joining the missionary group. Others suggest he may have been a shoemaker.⁷ While de Léry's main purpose for voyaging was the saving of souls and spreading of the Calvinist version of Christianity, it was not his sole purpose for writing. Specifically, de Léry's writing is often critical of the ethnographic material in the work of Andre Thevet entitled *Singularitez de la France Antarctique*, published in 1558 which was filled with many of the classical images and extreme representations of the Brazilian natives normally associated with European travel writing. De Léry was also critical of the work, due to its anti-Protestant orientation. These three reports, despite their varied characteristics and backgrounds, contain one important similarity: geography. Each of these voyagers had extended contact with the indigenous peoples of coastal Brazil, allowing us the opportunity to compare and contrast their representations of this unique group of people.

⁶ Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*, trans. by Janet Whatley, (Berkley, U of California P, 1990), p. xvi.

⁷ Ibid, p. 225.

It is important to mention, however, that other historians have made mention of the importance of the individual in travel writing. For instance, Greenblatt mentions briefly in his introduction that cultural and religious differences can be seen within travel writers by the 2nd generation of exploration (Léry)⁸; so, in order to be sensitive to this, Jean de Léry's work will be used as the initial reference point in every analysis in order to represent the supposed 'enlightened' European view. Using these sources, this project will analyze these particular voyages' experiences and representations of the coastal indigenous peoples of Brazil known collectively as the Tupínamba. This analysis will focus on the European representation of Tupí appearance, religious practice and cannibalistic behaviours. It will be shown that this particular zone of contact does not fit as neatly in the universalistic meta-narratives usually employed in the historiography of contact, even within the first generation of explorers. Also, considering the status of Vespucci and Cabral's voyages in the history of the New World discovery⁹, this project argues for the necessity of future contact analyses to be more sensitive to the uniqueness of contact experiences and the role of the individual within them. This is not to say that all previous conclusions constructed by modern historians were incorrect, only that the universal Columbian European is only a part of this historical moment, not the whole.

This project is also constructed methodologically in the vein of Michel de Certeau's "Travel Narratives of the French to Brazil: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries". In it, he suggests that travel writing represents "the intersection of history and

⁸ Greenblatt, p. 8.

⁹ Amerigo Vespucci's core work, *The Mundus Novus*, is the pamphlet that inspired Martin Waldseemüller to name the new world after Vespucci (America – the female version of his first name, Amerigo). The Cabral voyage is recognized as the 'discovery' of mainland/continent of the New World, specifically in Brazil.

anthropology” as he describes them as “interdisciplinary laboratories.”¹⁰ Specifically, he questions previous conclusions about travel literature, seeing a lack of clear consensus regarding a writer’s system of interpretation and the overall historical context regarding the French representation of Brazilian Natives.¹¹ This thesis takes a similar methodological approach, relying upon this intersection to present a variety of interpretations of the Tupínamba, as well as comparing it to the modern anthropological record. This interdisciplinary approach will assist in breaking down previous reliance on the Columbian European, while also allowing comparison of the travel writer’s representations to our current anthropological understandings.

To this end, this project will be divided up into four chapters. The first will outline the historiography on the subject matter at hand, bringing specific attention to authors who have previously attempted to examine early travel writing to construct a modern understanding of European textual representation of the New World. The second chapter will bring specific attention to the Tupínamba and how modern-day anthropologists have used sources to construct a modern understanding of an extinct native group. Then, using the three-source model previously outlined, we will analyze distinctive characteristics of the Tupínamba and how the varied backgrounds of our chosen explorers affect their representations within their created text. The third chapter will focus singularly on ritualistic practice of cannibalism within Tupí culture and how its representation continues to spark debate today as it did in the 16th century. Despite cannibalism’s taboo status within European society, its practice among the Tupí was

¹⁰ Michel de Certeau, “Travel Narratives of the French to Brazil: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries” in *Representations*, No. 33, Special Issue: The New World, (Winter, 1991), p. 221-222.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 221.

represented differently by each of our authors. The final chapter will serve to analyze the choosing of authorities and use of universalistic categories to create meta-narratives and how such choices can cloud understanding. This will serve as a way to synthesize the project as a whole.

This thesis aims to bring attention to the need for breaking down meta-narratives to give attention to the small, but important, parts of the New World exploration. Such an important historical moment deserves no less than great attention to even the smallest details.

Chapter 1: The Universal European

The term '1492' has become synonymous with exploration and discovery. The voyage of Christopher Columbus, as it has become romanticized, automatically brings to mind a closed and backwards Europe, with rumours of a flat Earth and the potential of Columbus sailing right off into the abyss. This narrative, however, is not representative of Europe's intellectual situation in the late 15th century. Europe was in the midst of a technological boom in the years leading up to Columbus, allowing written access to information on a continent-wide scale. Some of those engaged in the increased intellectual debate during the Renaissance, which had been occurring for many years, used this access to printing in order to seek out classical information, but many were also desperate to learn about the realities of the world, both spiritual and corporeal. Within this maelstrom of investigation and innovation, Europe's horizons were expanding intellectually as 1492 approached.

In the later Renaissance, mass-media found its birth within the moveable type of the Guttenberg printing press, allowing for the publishing of pamphlets (and eventually books) at reasonable cost. This made the printed medium available to a more generalized (and poorer) audience than the previously hand-scripted works available in the marketplace. The Guttenberg press allowed for wood-cut quarto booklets to be produced, which were the first printed works available to the public at affordable cost.¹² By 1500, over 130 printing presses existed in Europe, including all of the countries

¹² Lucien Febvre and Henri- Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book and The Impact of Printing*. (London: Verso P., 1958), p. 45-47.

involved in the New World exploration.¹³ As a result, in the midst of one of the most important times of exploration for Europe, access to information was also reaching a new height. With these two important changes occurring within years of each other, it should not be surprising that the newfound availability of print media had a great impact on how the New World discovery was understood in Europe. With the Reformation quickly following the New World discovery in 1517, it is easy to see that Europe was a society in a state of flux at the time this increase in print was happening.

It must be noted that the voyages and ‘discoveries’ of Columbus also took place in the context of a history of European geographic expansion that had been in progress for decades prior to 1492. Europe had been expanding gradually over the previous century and a half down the coast of Africa, led primarily by Portuguese merchants and Genoese sailors (such as Columbus). According to Jim Handy in “The Menace of Progress”, this expansion started as early as 1335 with the exploration of the Canary Islands. This continued through the following one hundred and fifty years, with Portuguese ships landing in the Madeira Islands in 1419 and the Azores in 1427.¹⁴ Considering the Azores represent the midway point between Portugal and the Caribbean in terms of distance, it might be surprising to find that there was no recognizable uproar of intellectual debate or similar mass-media produced resulting from their discovery. This fact lends credence to the idea that geographical discoveries in and of themselves were not particularly important (outside of economic potential) until printing spiked intellectual interest in Europe about them in the later 15th century.

¹³ Febvre and Martin, p. 184-185.

¹⁴ Jim Handy “The Menace of Progress”, unpublished manuscript, Ch. 3, p. 1-2.

Once Columbus' initial discovery had been disseminated in Europe through the printing of his initial letters in 1493¹⁵, Columbus' voyages inspired others to travel to his discovered islands, but little excitement beyond a small, exclusive audience was initially created. Despite the more extravagant claims in his journals, Columbus' actions in the Caribbean replicated Genoese, Portuguese and Spanish behaviour in islands 'discovered' much earlier: attempt to bring in settlers and plant sugar cane. Similarly, Columbus---as in earlier attempts to conquer and settle the Canary Islands---- emphasized the local population's 'blank-slate' status and the need to convert them.¹⁶

The later voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500 reconnoitered the coast of a sizeable land mass, suggesting the true extent of the implications of Columbus' 'discovery'. Eventually, they landed at Porto Seguro, disembarked, and met the people now known as the Tupínamba. The documents created by the members of the Cabral voyage noted that these discoveries could be of major importance and chose to send back a ship to Europe to spread word. After this, the balance of the fleet proceeded on their original course in order to complete a merchant trip to India paralleling the previously successful voyage of Vasco de Gama.¹⁷ In a letter written by Dom Manuel, King of Portugal, he describes that the Cabral voyage did not "stop to obtain information about [Brazil]; [Cabral] only sent me a ship from there to notify me how he found it."¹⁸ This instinct to report news in this way represents both the old and the new of the Portuguese approach to discoveries. It represented the previous in the sense that it

¹⁵ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea – A Life of Christopher Columbus*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1942), p. 367.

¹⁶ Morison, p. 281.

¹⁷ Cabral, "Anonymous Narrative", p. 61.

¹⁸ Cabral, "Dom Manuel document", p. 44.

tended to avoid non-economic pursuits and focus on the ultimate goal: profit. But, it does represent a breaking point and took a step towards recognizing the 'New' and starting the process of seeking out the importance of discoveries and the people living there.

On route back to Portugal, while making a stop over at Cape Verde to restock and repair their ships, the Cabral voyage had a happenstance meeting with another Portuguese voyage which included an astronomer by the name of Amerigo Vespucci. Vespucci was making his second voyage to what would later become known by his name, but his first voyage under the Portuguese banner. In the exchange of information that took place in Cape Verde, Vespucci became further informed of the large land-mass that had been visited in an area that he had not yet charted astronomically. He immediately became interested in travelling further to the South-East, which resulted in his landing in continental South America in late 1501-early 1502.¹⁹ But most importantly, stemming from his exposure to Cabral's voyage, the concept of the 'New World' began to germinate in Vespucci's mind. Before he made his official discoveries and set foot on continental soil, Vespucci chose to make a very subtle, yet snide comment on the status of the ancients and their ability to speak to these new pieces of information. While still docked at Cape Verde, Vespucci wrote:

...if the provinces, kingdoms, names of cities and islands in the ancient writers do not appear here, it is a sign that they have changed, as we see in our own Europe, where it is a great rarity to hear an ancient name; and for greater evidence that this is the truth...²⁰

¹⁹ His first voyage was primarily focused around modern-day Haiti, after a brief visit to the continental coastline, Vespucci, "Letter II", p. 20-21.

²⁰ Vespucci, "Letter II", p. 26.

It is from this point that the unremarkable islands became a fantastic ‘discovery’, and the ancient’s credibility became the hot topic of intellectual debate. Vespucci wrote this letter while sitting at perhaps the last outpost of ‘the Old’, before setting out into an unknown and remarkable ‘New World’. After Vespucci’s voyages, he went on to write one of the most distributed works on the ‘New World’ – calling it as such: *The Mundus Novus*. It was the reading of this pamphlet that eventually inspired the name of this new continent, America, and caused an intellectual shift in how these new lands were to be perceived. The mechanisms in Europe’s new mass-media distribution had begun to spread the word of this unknown place, allowing for the intellectual debate to begin and the ‘New World’ to be truly discovered.

It was not the geographic discoveries or a watershed moment in 1492 that caused the concept of the New World to begin. Instead, it was how that information could be copied and distributed that was the true force behind the discovery. Columbus’ texts were disseminated at almost a continent-wide scale,²¹ something that did not occur with the discoveries of the Canaries in the 14th or the Azores in the early 15th centuries.²² Columbus’ letter, *De insulis in mari Indico nuper inventis*, was published in pamphlet form on April 29th, 1493, and was integrated into a book by Niccolò Scillacio of Pavia University by the end of 1494.²³ The Latin version of Columbus’ letter had been through nine editions by 1495.²⁴ In much the same way, Vespucci’s *Mundus Novus* was quickly distributed throughout Europe, first being published in 1502 in

²¹ Morison, p. 367.

²² Jim Handy, personal communication, June 29th, 2009.

²³ Vespucci, “Introduction”, p. xx.

²⁴ Morison, p. 367.

Florence; further editions quickly followed in Augsburg (1504), Cologne, Nuremberg, Strasbourg, Rostock (1505) and Antwerp (1506). New editions and translations were still being created and distributed as late as 1515.²⁵ It is no wonder then that the Tupínamba and other indigenous cultures could be seen as so wondrous and exciting as compared to the Guanche of the Canary Islands – their discoverers simply had a better marketing campaign. The core texts of the discovery were printed and distributed many times over, thrusting the images of the New World into the public consciousness. It was from the interpretation of those texts that the New World was created in its varied and distorted images. It was not foot on soil that created these discoveries, but the exchange of media that disseminated them.

Europe, in many ways, had been primed for the discovery of unknown lands and peoples for some time, thanks to the popularity of various travel tales, such as Marco Polo's adventures in the Far East. When the printing press spread across Europe, it offered opportunities for, as Febvre describes, "the diffusion of romantic and monstrous tales."²⁶ The increased ability for media to be mass produced allowed for greater distribution of materials, and, therefore, moved conceptualizations of 'the other' deeper into the European consciousness. No greater example of this exists than that of Christopher Columbus, who may have taken some of his ideas of voyaging from reading a printed version of *The Imago Mundi* by Pierre d'Ailly.²⁷ Other works had significant influence on Columbus, as well as Europe at large, setting in motion conceptions of non-

²⁵ Vespucci, "Introduction", p. xx-xxi.

²⁶ Febvre and Martin, p. 207-208.

²⁷ George E. Nunn, "The *Imago Mundi* and Columbus" in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (July, 1935), p. 646-661.

Western societies through the readings of Polo, Herodotus, and other more recent African and Asian explorers.²⁸ The printing press made these texts appear across Europe at a much greater frequency and level of accessibility than at any time previous, causing a firestorm of interest in the unknown “East”, and eventually “America”. In fact, Columbus was also rumoured to have carried a personal copy of Polo on his trip to the New World as his chosen authority on the ‘East’. With its stories of dog-headed people and other outrageous wonders, it is no surprise that Columbus’ interpretations, along with those of many other Europeans who only saw the outskirts of the world through the pages of books, tended to mirror their chosen authorities within their representations.²⁹

The influence of Columbus on the historiography of the New World discovery is of paramount importance, but it has a tendency to overshadow and cloud potential understandings about contact situations due to his voyage’s importance being raised to a somewhat apothecotic status in world events. In essence, the contact between Columbus and the indigenous cultures of the New World became a model through which all other early contact situations were seen on a global scale. Many of the key pieces of work within the historiography on the New World discovery return to the Columbian model of textual influence to explain the representations of encounters with indigenous people following 1492, almost as if the singular image of the ‘travel writer’ was created in lock-step with the New World itself. This model suggests that Europeans already had a conception of ‘the other’ from which they could not escape before they arrived in the New World. It is the purpose of this thesis to break with the Columbian model and to

²⁸ Martin Lienhard M. and Carlos Perez, “Writing and Power in the Conquest of America” in *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Summer, 1992), 79-85.

²⁹ Greenblatt, p. 26, 75.

exemplify the significant issues that form when meta-narratives are employed, obscuring the differences that exist between different travel writers.

A significant example of this phenomenon exists within a work that was commissioned specifically to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage to the New World: Anthony Grafton's *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*. The purpose of Grafton's work was to explore "most extensive archives in the world on 16th and 17th century European thought to create an exhibition and write a book about "the transforming effects of the voyages of exploration upon European scholarship.""³⁰ Through this research, Grafton came to a very determined and powerful conclusion. Specifically, he believed that the "Europeans did not see the New World 'as it really was', and that most of them did not much like what they thought they saw."³¹ In coming to this conclusion, Grafton sees two specific types of European presence within travel writing: those portraying the Columbian model of interaction with indigenous cultures (relying on classical understandings in representation) and those who begin to question previous models of understanding through their works, while continuing the European tradition of prejudice and domination.³² While Grafton does attempt to relate some of the appearance of individualism in travel writing, he relies greatly on universalistic concepts in the intellectual understanding of the New World expansion and colonization, specifically surrounding an attempt to understand the entire colonial event with this dialectical aspect between categorized travel writers.

³⁰ Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*. (Cambridge, Harvard U P, 1992), p. vii.

³¹ Ibid, p. 7.

³² Ibid.

New Worlds, Ancient Texts begins with an emotional narrative written in the 1580s by a European travel writer by the name of José de Acosta, on his way to the New World for the first time. As Acosta crosses the equator, he reflects in his travel diary that he stared up into the sky and laughed – for he had just proven Aristotle to be wrong on his contention that crossing the so-called *Torrid Zone*, the classical name for the equator, was a recipe for death. Acosta wrote:

...I persuaded myself that when I came to the Equator, I would not be able to endure the violent heat, but it turned out otherwise. For when I passed [the Equator], which was when the sun was at its zenith there...I felt so cold that I was forced to go into the sun to warm myself. What could I do then but laugh at Aristotle's *Meteorology* and his philosophy? For in that place and that season, where everything, by his rules, should have been scorched by the heat, I and my companions were cold.³³

Acosta had not burst into flame, nor had his skin turned black as the Greek philosopher had surmised caused the appearance of dark-skinned Africans. It had all been a complete falsehood and Acosta had just proven it through practical experience. As Grafton represents it, Acosta was writing to announce his discoveries to Europe. Grafton presents this as a possible watershed moment for European intellectual thought: the day Aristotle lost his lustre in the eyes of intellectuals and the European mind became enlightened. Grafton describes:

The educated European, trained from childhood to believe what his ancient books tell him, sees them exposed as fallible. Aristotle's frightening Torrid Zone turns out to be not only habitable but temperate. The classics dissolve as rapidly under Acosta's laughter as the emperor's clothes in the fairy tale. The confrontation that Acosta sketches has all the virtues: drama, vividness, a sterling moral. Above all, it provides the climax to a larger, powerful story about ancients and moderns – one that has pleased generations of Americans and won assent from a surprising number of Europeans.³⁴

³³ Grafton, p. 1.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 1-2.

This example of Acosta fits perfectly into one side of the historiographic debate surrounding the New World discovery that the European intellectual did not break out of the bonds of classical and textual reliance until at least sixty years post-Columbus (1550-1650), with Acosta being a main exemplar.

There is a major issue with this, of course, as dozens of travel writers had crossed the so-called *Torrid Zone* between Columbus' discovery and Acosta's voyage and many had come to the same conclusions as Acosta; many had also published their conclusions widely. Amerigo Vespucci, the textually-reliant, closed-minded travel writer (as he is represented in Grafton's work) came to the same conclusion in his writings almost immediately after his discoveries in 1501. Here is his quotation on the subject, in full:

It appears to me, then, most Magnificent Lorenzo, that by this voyage of mine most philosophers who maintain that one cannot live within the Torrid Zone because of its great heat are confuted; indeed, on my voyage I have found the contrary to be true: the air is fresher and more temperate in that region than outside it, and so many people live within it that they outnumber those outside it, for a reason I shall state below, which is most certain proof that *practice is of greater worth than theory*.³⁵

Vespucci was not beyond representing what he actually saw in some cases, as is representative in the works attributed to him as a whole. The agency in the decision to represent discoveries and experiences rests with the individual travel writer, even from the very earliest stages of exploration on the New World. In the case of Acosta, it appears he was either making the choice to represent his discoveries in grandiose terminology, or was showing himself not to be very well read on the subject of New World travel writing. From our vantage point, we cannot be sure from which position Acosta is writing, but the similarities between his passage and Vespucci's are very striking, leading one to believe he had likely read Vespucci's work at some point.

³⁵ Vespucci, "Letter to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici – July 18th, 1500", emphasis mine.

Considering it had been eighty years since Vespucci originally published, it would be hard to believe that Acosta had somehow not been aware of this conclusion previously.

The quotations from Acosta at the beginning of *New World, Ancient Texts* are a great example of what can happen when travel writers are used as representational tools of a singular European or Western whole. There are many questions concerning the personal background, educational level, chosen textual authorities, motives for traveling and intended audience of Acosta's work which would make him an unlikely candidate for the role of an enlightened European. Acosta was an individual who, as a 16th century travel writer, has a place within historiography and a role to play in the New World narrative, but it is only his experience that he is representing, not Europe's. In order for this representation of Acosta to maintain cohesion, writers such as Vespucci cannot be preaching practice above theory so early in the New World exploration. Writers such as Acosta must be shown to represent Europe as a whole, but such a huge representational image cannot be maintained without very explicit and narrowed source selection. The uniqueness of the travel writer simply does not fit the idea of universal textual reliance. In fact, within the pages of Vespucci's work *The Mundus Novus*, which was perhaps Europe's most widely-read text on the initial discoveries of Brazil and the Caribbean, he continued this verbal lambasting of the classical authorities and further questioned the idea of textual reliability:

In the past I have written to you in rather ample detail about my return from those new regions which we searched for and discovered with the fleet, at the expense and orders of His Most Serene Highness the King of Portugal, and which can be called a new world, since our ancestors had no knowledge of them and they are entirely new matter to those who hear about them. Indeed, it surpasses the opinion of our ancient authorities, since most of them assert that there is no continent south of the equator, but merely that sea which they called the Atlantic; furthermore, if any of them

did affirm that a continent was there, they gave many arguments to deny that it was habitable land. But this last voyage of mine has demonstrated that *this opinion of theirs is false and contradicts all truth*, since I have discovered a continent in those southern regions that is inhabited by more numerous peoples and animals than in our Europe, or Asia or Africa, and in addition I found a more temperate and pleasant climate than in any other region known to us.³⁶

Neither of these two quotations from Vespucci found their way into the pages of Grafton's book³⁷, nor any of the monographs that will be mentioned in this thesis.

While Grafton himself does not support the idea of Acosta solely being representative of the European norm, Acosta instead becomes representative of a school of thought: the Columbian European, who, despite the changes in the world, continues to hold on desperately to old beliefs.³⁸ Why then, does the singular image of the close-minded European persist in historiography? It is because in some travel narratives, he can be found. Despite this example of Vespucci versus Acosta, there are in fact *some* instances of the previously argued universal European within *some* explorer's travel writing. The issue is that these smaller pieces have been interpreted by modern historians in similar ways to Said's comments on Europe's representation of the Orient. Historians have seen these representations as projecting images of the classics onto indigenous cultures and therefore wholly exemplifying the biased and arrogant nature of the 16th century European. The problem is that it only speaks to part of the evidence that can be taken from travel writing of the 16th century. While some travel writers used texts and classical upbringing to present indigenous cultures, others did not, and some chose a

³⁶ Vespucci, *Mundus Novus*, c. 1503, emphasis mine.

³⁷ This is the case, because Grafton's book is based solely on the works included in the accompanying museum exhibit that was created in the New York Public Library to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the Columbian discoveries.

³⁸ Grafton, p. 6.

more hybrid approach. These representational decisions are tied directly to the individual traits and choices of the author, not to some predominant European world view or conspiracy. No two travel writers go through the same process, nor do they as Grafton suggests, remain solely within the confines of textual authorities.³⁹ This variation of representational approach is reflected in Said's comment on textual representation, which questions any concept of a singular process to travel writing:

How does one represent other cultures? What is another culture? Is the notion of a distinct culture (or race, or religion, or civilization) a useful one, or does it always get involved either in self-congratulation (when one discusses one's own) or hostility and aggression (when one discusses the 'other')?⁴⁰

This quotation from Said in fact reflects two of the major streams of thought regarding how modern historians have interpreted and understood the textual representation of early exploration travel writing. While the historiography on this particular subject is lengthy, for this review it seemed most prudent to focus on more recent monographs to reflect the conclusions of modern writers and investigate their reliance on the Columbian model of the travel writer to support their conclusions.

Wonder and Knowledge: Stephen Greenblatt and Walter D. Mignolo

The first type of work that we will look at represents the European colonizers as focused on the wondrous and a reflection of the privileged position of knowledge in Western history. Both of the works examined here present European travelers as creating texts from a position of power, but their writing is seen to be simply a reaction to foreign stimuli, rather than an intentional attempt to dominate or destroy New World cultures or

³⁹ Grafton, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Said, p. 325.

beliefs. As a result, the conclusions reached by these texts tend not to be extremely critical of the European travel writer himself, instead choosing to focus on explaining reasons why the ‘Europeans’ wrote as they did. This writing is then shown to lead to colonizing or ‘othering’ of the culture they were representing.

Stephen Greenblatt mentions early in *Marvelous Possessions* that he sees “travel tales”, as he calls them, being “principal products of a culture’s representational technology, mediators between the undifferentiated succession of local moments and a larger strategy toward which they can only gesture.”⁴¹ Basically, Greenblatt sees travel writing, through its use of wonder as a representational tool, as a means to understand the unknown. As a result of this position, Greenblatt does not see the Columbian model of European-Indian contact as necessarily a product of wholly negative intent, but instead as a representational response to a sense of wonder in the writers:

Wonder is, I shall argue, the central figure in the initial European response to the New World, the decisive emotional and intellectual experience in the presence of radical difference: it is quite possible that the people whom Columbus was encountering also experience, as he reports, a sense of wonder, but here as elsewhere in the account of the other we principally learn something about the writer of the account.⁴²

The singular European influence on contact was that they were stuck within the representational vantage point that they inherited by their culture in order to respond to new and exciting ‘things’. As a result, his work tends to take a positive tone when investigating travel writing and its influences in European culture. Travel writing’s representational choices are seen as a reflection of the time – unavoidable by the individual. Greenblatt even goes as far as to note that modern historians need to look

⁴¹ Greenblatt, p. 3.

⁴² Ibid, p. 14.

upon the ancients, the main influence behind the representational choices, as being commendable for their sense of wonder of the unknown.⁴³ As a result, Greenblatt's work clearly falls into this category within the historiography, with his chosen European writers being inspired and astounded by what they have seen in the New World, while continuing to criticize the peoples they came across with their writing, relying on the use of wonder to 'other' as "an instinctive recognition of difference, the sign of a heightened attention... in the face of the new."⁴⁴

A second modern historical work, Walter D. Mignolo's *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, also falls into this category. While Mignolo's foreboding title might suggest a much more hostility-fuelled narrative, instead the book portrays the representation of the New World as a celebration of intellectual power:

What I was interested in was to bring to the forefront one dimension that has been totally overlooked by Renaissance scholars and that is constitutive of the 16th century: the discontinuity of the classical tradition. The discontinuity of the classical tradition was precipitated by the fact that European men and intellectuals discovered that there was a part of the world they did not know about. They transformed a lacuna in their knowledge *into a celebration* of their deed and began to imagine that there was a continent called America and that the Castilian, and by extension, European Christians 'discovered' it. However, Renaissance Europeans' discovery of America and its people" forced them to re-evaluate the concept of humanity they had taken for granted.⁴⁵

Mignolo sees the importance of New World travel writing as a way to explore the deeper meanings of the Renaissance and how those experiencing and representing contact caused classical understandings to be reworked and representational choices to

⁴³ Greenblatt, p. 22.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 20.

⁴⁵ Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1995), p. 430. Emphasis mine.

be changed.⁴⁶ Mignolo sees these created texts as a celebration of the power of letters and words: the true force behind the way the Native cultures were represented and dominated in early travel writing. As Mignolo himself describes, the writers involved in the creation of representative works “were not in a position to understand the inter-connections between the letter, language and territory...”⁴⁷ Despite this ignorance, Mignolo sees the literary decisions made by travel writers as being important to the colonial process.

Mignolo sees the discovery and colonization of the New World as merely solidifying what he calls the European ‘loci of enunciation’. In layman’s terms, this means that despite the discoveries of unknown people and lands, Europeans still saw themselves as superior due to their status as educated Christians and Westerners.⁴⁸ In this belief, Mignolo describes how he sees cultural representation operating in the later Renaissance:

...the larger issue of the arrogance and ethnocentrism of observers for whom what is unknown does not exist. Misunderstanding went together with colonization. Once something was declared new, and the printing press consolidated the idea among literates, the descriptions of people for whom nothing was new about the place they were inhabiting, except for the arrival of a people strange to them, were suppressed.⁴⁹

Mignolo is arguing for the fact that the discoveries merely consolidated and reinforced a sense of superiority and dominance through the texts that were created via a mix of misunderstanding and arrogance. An experience which solidifies in one’s mind your status as the most successful performer in the world cannot be anything but self-

⁴⁶ Mignolo, p. 1.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 67.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 18.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 259.

congratulatory, but not necessarily domineering. In the end, Mignolo sees travel writers as 'Europeans', unable to remove themselves from the dominant cultural reference point from which they are writing.

Both Greenblatt and Mignolo offer important insights and conclusions on the creation of representational texts in early contact. Both see a singular European force within colonizing and contact, either stuck within the structures of the past, or consolidating their own cultural and intellectual dominance during a time of upheaval. Either way, both can be seen as focusing on the informational aspects of contact within their project's conclusion, as neither tends to centre on specific negative or forceful aspects of the New World in order to come to their conclusions. Both authors live primarily within the intellectual products they choose to study.

Hostility and Aggression: Anthony Grafton and Tzvetan Todorov

The second group of historiographical works that attempt to find meanings and understandings via representational texts are those that see these documents and images as symbols of a far more sinister and violent reality. To the following writers, the representational texts that came out of the New World discoveries were products of the violence and dominance that came from contact and the European tendency towards conquest in all pursuits. As a result, these works tend to focus on individual travel writers more, but are still inclined to generalize about 'European' conclusions and 'Western' meanings behind the representational texts.

Anthony Grafton's work, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts* has already been introduced in this thesis. Grafton takes the position that the New World contact should

be seen through a hostile lens, with Europe taking a “West and the Rest”⁵⁰ position throughout all of the documents created during the New World discovery. From this vantage point, Grafton explores representational texts and comes to the conclusion that the European travel documents focused on a consistent theme of dominance and that “any panorama of Europe’s cultural world around 1500 must include many scenes of battle.”⁵¹ As Grafton himself puts it, the travel writer would be likely to adopt differing strategies in representing their discoveries, but always reflected attitudes of superiority, alienation or assimilation, regardless if they are firmly entrenched in textual reliance or exposing the fallibility of the ancients.⁵² Grafton’s work also explores archetypes and stereotypes within representational works, specifically looking at examples of ‘the noble savage’, evil cannibals and epicureans when describing indigenous cultures.⁵³ Overall, Grafton sees the European travel writer as either entirely subjugated to the classical texts of Europe’s past, unable to see beyond them to come to new conclusions, or subservient to the prejudices of the colonial process. As Grafton describes, the European travel writer’s representational tools were adaptable and pervasive throughout their writing:

Varied in texture and quality, dotted with both the best and the worst and the best of what has been thought and said, authoritative texts provided the Europeans of the Renaissance with the only tools they had for understanding the thoughts and values of alien societies. Like other tools, these often broke in the hands of those who used them, and incompetent and corrupt craftsmen used them badly. But many of them also showed astonishing flexibility and resilience, changing as they were used and often changing those who used them.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Mignolo, p. 35.

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 28.

⁵² Ibid, p. 48.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 83-84.

⁵⁴ Grafton, p. 10.

To this end, Grafton describes the European travel writer as closed-minded, regardless of their position within the dialectic between Old and New, with representational texts being the weapons and tools of a European consciousness discovering the realities of the whole world.

Grafton's work is by no means merciless when it comes to its description of Europeans and their reactions to the New World – especially when compared to Tzvetan Todorov's *The Conquest of America*. In Todorov's own introduction, he admits that his project is not a historical argument per se – as he instead has chosen to narrate a history due to his position as a moralist.⁵⁵ Todorov's work represents the strongest opinion on the violent nature of the European, describing those involved in the New World contact as being so close-minded that the force of their beliefs drove them to their conclusions despite the visual reality in front of their eyes. This allowed them to find the monsters of previous textual authorities, even if they were not before them in the flesh.⁵⁶ It is from this interpretation of representational texts that Europeans become the most destructive and single-minded. In Todorov's own words, specifically about Columbus, "in [these] hermeneutics, human beings have no particular place."⁵⁷ Through this analytical framework, Todorov explores a variety of representational texts in order to come to his strong conclusions about the European mindset during the times of contact, and how the closed-minded European "never, in fact, escapes from himself."⁵⁸ Finally, Todorov moves onto a similar train of thought as Mignolo, commenting on the use of language as

⁵⁵ Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), p. 4.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 15.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 33.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 41.

a colonial agent. As Todorov describes, “Language has always been the companion of empire.”⁵⁹ Todorov’s main purpose is to show, through his chosen travel writing sources, the violent and dominant attitudes stemming from early contact.

Despite Todorov’s somewhat extreme stance and focus on the moralistic narrative, he and Grafton have much in common in the focus and conclusions of their books. Unlike Greenblatt and Mignolo, neither Grafton nor Todorov see the creation of representational documents as signifying the disproportionate power relationship between the colonizer and the colonized.

Choice of Authorities and the Universal European

The historiographic review above has provided some important conclusions about the monographs previously written about the subject matter at hand. First, none of the above listed works has chosen to focus on specific geographies when attempting to construct their arguments. They either attempt to take stock of ‘everything’ (Grafton, Mignolo) or examine far reaching meta-narratives (Greenblatt, Todorov). These choices make for interesting projects in of themselves. They also come to some important conclusions. It is clear that *some* Europeans, as Greenblatt describes, are writing from a feeling of wonder in order to process and validate the remarkably unknown in the New World. It is also clear from Grafton that *some* Europeans were attempting to challenge previous textual authorities, while in many ways still subjugated to them. Further, from Todorov, it is clear that *some* Europeans were particularly nasty and dominating in their representational texts, as well as in their actions towards Native people after contact. Finally, as Mignolo suggests, it is clear that *some* Europeans reacted to the breakdown of

⁵⁹ Todorov, p. 123.

classical authority by consolidating their power around conceptions of European superiority in control of language and literacy. Considering how ‘clear’ all these varied opinions and conclusions are, how can they all be correct in some way? It automatically makes one consider evidentiary choices and the variety of sources in each work. In fact, Stephen Greenblatt comments on this problem of source selection quite explicitly.

Stephen Greenblatt suggests,

European voyagers to the New World were not systematic [in their lying] so that we cannot have the hermeneutic satisfaction of stripping away their false representations to arrive at a secure sense of reality. Instead we find ourselves groping uneasily among the mass of textual traces, instances of brazen bad faith jostling homely (and often equally misleading) attempts to tell the truth.⁶⁰

Unfortunately, this is the biggest problem with meta-narratives. The creation of such works of history necessarily give the impression that they have that ‘secure sense of reality’ that Greenblatt warns can never be found, and as previously suggested, he may have fallen victim to it in his own work.⁶¹ This is exactly why this particular project attempts to keep its narrative scope small and its location fixed. It is this concern that necessarily pushes this project’s methodological focus away from the universalistic and towards the narrow. This way, our source selection, through its root in geography and in the particular circumstances of the individual writer, will ground our analysis in one particular place and one particular set of encounters.

⁶⁰ Greenblatt, p. 7.

⁶¹ As previously mentioned, Greenblatt’s argument suggests that travel writing is created from a sense of wonder about the unknown. But, as Jim Handy suggests (June 29th, 2009), why would the discoveries of the previous two centuries in the coastal African islands not create this sense of wonder also? It suggests that something else is occurring in Europe regarding the creation of media in the 15th century which may have been overlooked due to Greenblatt’s choice to represent 1492 as a watershed moment.

The second conclusion that this historiographic analysis comes to is that in every case, a universal 'European' is necessarily conceived within the argument in order to maintain the central understanding. None of the above listed books attempted to break down conceptions such as 'European', 'Western/The West' or 'Christian' in examining and comparing the chosen source material and focus for their projects. In fact, Walter Mignolo addresses this very fact in his introduction, yet chooses to ignore it within his analysis. He states:

I agree with all of those insisting that colonialism is not homogenous, that we should pay more attention to the diversity of colonial discourses, that postcoloniality cannot be generalized, and so forth. It is precisely because I agree with the need to diversify colonial experiences that I am interested in diversifying loci of enunciations from where colonial legacies are studied and re-inscribed in the present.⁶²

The main issue still is, however, that Mignolo chooses to move his loci to the New World exclusively, instead of also recognizing the need to take into account the diversity among colonizers. He simply assumes that the colonizer is a singular presence in his work.

To end this chapter, it seems important to return to Said, since his work on representational texts and experiences is at the core of this issue. In *Orientalism*, Said comments that:

It is perfectly natural for the human mind to resist the assault on it of untreated strangeness; therefore cultures have always been inclined to impose complete transformations on other cultures, receiving these other cultures not as they are but as, for the benefit of the receiver, they ought to be.⁶³

⁶² Mignolo, p. ix.

⁶³ Said, p. 67.

From this quotation, it seems essential to focus on the word ‘inclined’. Said is careful to distinguish that he is not talking about universal ‘othering’ taking place – there are individual characteristics and unique circumstances that always need to be considered. His somewhat annoyed tone from the new preface of his 25th anniversary edition of *Orientalism*, written only a few months before his death, seems attributable to this misconception as it exists within historiography. It is from this position that this project finds its root – to not accept inclination as universal truth – there are always exceptions and nuances to be noted. It seems that a historical narrative as important as the New World discovery deserves no less than significant attention to this fact.

Chapter 2: The Tupínamba of Coastal Brazil

The Tupínamba of Brazil were, unfortunately for them, one of the first indigenous groups encountered by the various travelers and explorers of the European nations. Located primarily along the eastern coasts of the modern-day nation of Brazil, the name Tupínamba (or Tupí for short) refers to a linguistic family of distinctive cultural groups. These peoples were found living “from the mouth of the Amazon River to Cananéa in the south of the State of Sao Paulo.”⁶⁴ These people were referred to as the Tupí in Brazil and as the Guaraní in modern-day Paraguay.⁶⁵ Over the previous two-thousand years, the Tupínamba migrated out from a common cultural centre near the upper-Amazon towards the coastal regions where they were found to be settled by the time of Columbus. Due to this separation, smaller groups of Tupí differentiated to certain degrees.⁶⁶ These groups, according to modern anthropologists, contained forty-one unique dialects, however, they still shared several common cultural aspects that allows for this analysis to speak to a common image of the Tupínamba.⁶⁷ Modern anthropologists have studied the Tupí for a variety of academic pursuits, despite the fact that the Tupínamba were no longer a cohesive cultural group by the mid 18th century.

⁶⁴ Alfred Métraux, “The Tupínamba”. *Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. III, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948, p. 95.

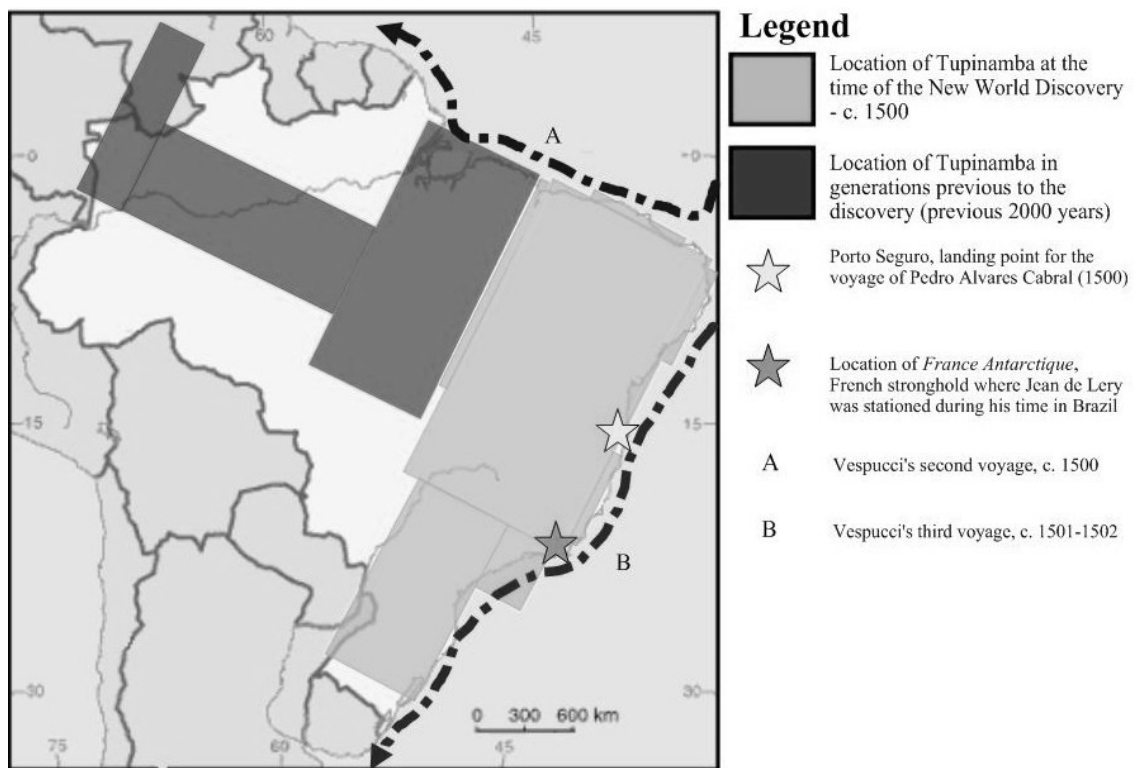
⁶⁵ Judith Shapiro, “From Tupa to the Land without Evil: The Christianization of Tupí-Guaraní Cosmology” in *American Ethnologist*, Vol 14, No. 1, February, 1987, p. 126.

⁶⁶ Further detail on various differentiations of the material culture of the Tupínamba can be found in Stanislaw Klimek and Wilhelm Milke, “An Analysis of the Material Culture of the Tupí People” in *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 37, No 1, Part 1, (Jan-Mar., 1935), p. 71-91.

⁶⁷ Francisco Silva Noelli, “The Tupí Expansion” in *Handbook of South American Archaeology*. eds. Helaine Silverman and William H Isbell. (New York: Springer, 2008), p. 659.

Their demise was due to a number of factors including disease, colonial pressures and intentional extermination of the Tupí by the Portuguese.⁶⁸ These indigenous people were the first group to fully experience the representations spoken of in chapter 1. In a sense, the Tupínamba were the first natives to be known, and feared, back in Europe.

The following map shows where the Tupínamba were located, as well as giving reference to the travels of our three chosen traveler writer authorities.⁶⁹



As can be clearly seen from this image, Cabral and de Léry clearly came into direct contact with the Tupínamba peoples. The two voyages of Vespucci, known in academia as his 2nd and 3rd respectively, clearly travelled along the coasts in the areas known to be

⁶⁸ Noelli, p. 659-660, Shapiro, p. 127, Métraux, p. 95.

⁶⁹ The information for this map was compiled from the core primary sources used for this analysis. The locations of the Tupínamba for this map was taken from Noelli, p. 666-668.

frequented by the Tupínamba people, although there is no evidence to support specific landing points within these territories.⁷⁰ These three travel writers, therefore, used their experiences with one indigenous group in their representational writing.

Within most modern-day works about the Tupínamba, one consistent authority tends to appear when referencing ethnographic data: Alfred Métraux. Métraux has written several important ethnographic works on the Tupí, but most important to this specific project is his article from *The Handbook of South American Indians*, published in 1948. This article is extended from his other important works published in 1927-1928, entitled *La Religion des Tupínamba et ses Rapports avec celle des autres Tribus Tupí-Guarani*⁷¹ and *Migrations Historiques des Tupí-Guarani*.⁷² While based somewhat on his interpretations of 16th and 17th century travel writing,⁷³ Métraux also applied ethnographic and anthropological methodologies, as well as his own field experiences in the region to construct as accurate an image of the Tupínamba as possible. As a result, his work, despite its age, is still looked upon favourably in academia and is commonly cited in works about the Tupínamba. Therefore, at the beginning of each analytical section of our glimpse into the contact between these explorers and the Tupí, we will

⁷⁰ According to Formisano, the editor of the Vespucci letters published in 1992, the major account outlined in the *Mundus Novus*, Vespucci's most famous work, presumably draws on the 27 days spent among the Tupí-Guaraní tribe of Brazil. This reference is non-geographically specific, but the inclusion of Guarani means the groups were most likely located more to the south-east (Voyage 3), p. xxvi.

⁷¹ Alfred Métraux, *La Religion des Tupínamba et ses Rapports avec Celle des autres Tribus Tupí-Guarani*. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1928).

⁷² Alfred Métraux, "Migrations Historiques des Tupí-Guarani", in *Journal de la Société de Américanistes* (NS) 19, 1927, p. 1-45.

⁷³ Métraux's work on the Tupínamba relies upon the de Léry voyage used in this study in order to come to his conclusions. He also relies on a number of other early-modern and modern source materials to come to some of his understandings. He has not used any of the Vespucci or Cabral documents.

visit Métraux, as well as other anthropologists, as a modern and interdisciplinary reference point.

Each of the following sections will focus on one particular aspect of the Tupínamba for purposes of comparing the various travel writers' representations of cultural traits. They will also be used to judge against each other for purposes of challenging the concept of the universal European as used often in previous historiography. It will also be important to compare our travel writer's representation of the Tupí against the modern anthropological record. This analysis makes it clear that, despite Greenblatt's assertion that it was only by the middle of the 16th century that a more enlightened position was taken regarding indigenous cultures, some viable ethnographic evidence is found in these texts. Therefore, even in the very early stages of contact, there were obvious differences in the depictions stemming from the varied backgrounds of travel writers and the representational approaches they chose to invoke when describing the Tupí.

The Tupínamba: Appearance

When our explorers arrived in Brazil and met the Tupínamba for the first time, what they saw was likely to shock and amaze them. The Tupí were, even to our modern standards, unique looking. The Tupí wore little or no clothing during their daily lives. They practiced tattooing and piercing. They wore their hair in a much different way than our travel writers. All of these facts, beyond any 'othering' process, were simply the reality of the Tupí culture. It is no wonder then that European reaction to their appearance could be described as critical in tone and purpose. The Tupí were different.

This is not to say, however, that all reactions can be easily compared and seen as deriving from a singular representational point – far from it. As will be shown below, there are unique aspects to each writer's reaction and interpretation of the Tupí's appearance. It will also become clear that those in the earliest stages of discovery were not automatically closed-minded as previously understood, and some ethnographic information can certainly be taken from their writings.

The modern anthropologists on the subject are clear on the appearance of the Tupínamba, especially since a number of physical traits continued to exist within the Brazilian indigenous cultures through until the 20th century. Alfred Métraux is certainly the leading authority on the subject. Métraux states that men and women were entirely naked during their daily activities, with the exception of older men who tended to cover their genitalia with a sheath of leaves.⁷⁴ Also, Métraux notes that neither sex in the Tupínamba culture tolerated any type of hair on the body, either plucking or shaving all areas minus the head. In this case, the sexes differentiated, as the women tended to grow their hair long and wear it in a knot tied down their backs. Men, on the other hand, shaved their foreheads back to the level of their ears.⁷⁵ Piercing and tattooing were also recorded in the modern ethnographies of the Tupí, including the use of lip and cheek plugs of coloured stones and shells. Also, men had tattoos that were made of charcoal dust and plant juices, which were rubbed into incisions to represent successes in battle. These tattoos were often created in geometrical patterns. Women were also tattooed, but

⁷⁴ Métraux (1948), p. 105.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 107-8.

only at their crossing into puberty.⁷⁶ Ceremonial painting was also a core aspect of Tupínamba culture, usually with dyes of black and red colours. Métraux describes this aspect of their culture in detail:

Men and women painted their bodies. The favourite pigments were black, made of *genipa*, and red, made of *urucu*. Black and red paint, alone or alternating, covered large surfaces of the body, especially the lower limbs. Men and women entrusted themselves to skilful artists, generally women, who traced on their persons artistic and capricious patterns consisting of checkers, spirals, waves and other elements similar to those on pottery.⁷⁷

In addition to the painting and tattooing, the Tupí also used parrot feathers and ostrich plumes, especially when preparing to fight their neighbours.⁷⁸ All of these physical traits could easily have been a very terrifying for anyone who came upon the Tupí by surprise. Regardless of this fear, the reaction of our travel writers still varied in both content and tone.

Colour of Skin:

One aspect of the physical traits of the Tupínamba that is not spoken of much by modern anthropologists is that of skin tone. From a modern vantage point, we understand the genetic relationship between skin colour, evolution and environment. The 16th century travel writer, however, had no such knowledge to rely upon. Due to the contemporary philosophical understandings of the creation of the races at the time⁷⁹, one would expect a universally-minded European travel writer to become engaged to figure

⁷⁶ Métraux (1948), p. 108.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 108.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 107.

⁷⁹ A pervading belief in the Renaissance related the creation of the races to the distribution of the sons of Noah to the 'three parts' of the World. With the discovery of the New World, it added a fourth part that this philosophical construct could not account for.

out who these people were and how they fit into previous understandings of race. But, depending upon which travel writer you focus on, their personal backgrounds, participation in Renaissance activities and personal investment into philosophical matters greatly affected how they physically represented the Tupí and the deeper meanings behind their appearance and skin colour. In fact, there is much disagreement simply on what colour skin they had.

Jean de Léry, the French Huguenot writing in the mid 16th century, represented the physical characteristics in a very matter-of-fact, non-judgmental tone. Léry described the Tupí as “not particularly dark, but merely of a tawny shade, like the Spanish.”⁸⁰ A description such as that, while using previous European models of understanding to make a comparison, does not contain a powerful, universalistic, dominating tone. In fact, by making a comparison to the Spanish, de Léry was by-proxy noting that these newly discovered peoples were human beings. That in of itself is a fairly big revelation, but fits the conception that as time progressed, the Europeans were becoming more enlightened to the realities of the world.⁸¹

As we move into the earlier generation with the Vespucci and Cabral voyages, it becomes clear that there was much disagreement and multiple ideas of how the Natives were to be represented. In Amerigo Vespucci’s writing, he had an interesting revelation about the skin tone of the Natives:

⁸⁰ Léry, p. 57.

⁸¹ It also could be seen as an insult towards the Spanish, considering de Léry’s status as a Protestant versus Catholic Spain.

They are of medium stature, very well proportioned; their skin is a color that tends towards red like lion's fur, and I believe that if they went about clothed, they would be white like us.⁸²

Despite Vespucci's status as a Columbian contemporary, and as a Renaissance intellectual, one can see a lot of the same processes going on with his representational choices as de Léry. Both were relying upon personal experience and, in the case of Vespucci, common sense to attempt to understand what they were seeing. In the case of Vespucci, a sunburn was just a sunburn – nothing more.

The members of the Cabral voyage, however, did not approach their explanations and representations of the Tupí with the same tendency towards comparison and understanding. They were far more blunt and direct. Pedro Vaz de Caminha, secretary on the voyage of Cabral to Brazil and India, had this description on the skin tone of the Tupí:

In appearance they are dark, somewhat reddish, with good faces and good noses, well shaped. They go naked, without any covering; neither do they pay more attention to concealing or exposing their shame than they do to showing their faces, and in this respect they are very innocent.⁸³

For Caminha, as his role as secretary and voyage log maintainer, it was more important to focus on the facts than to extrapolate and attempt to explain reasons behind what he was representing. In that way, despite the fact that all three of our travel writers were writing on the same subject, there was some distinctive variation. De Léry, as the enlightened travel writer, relied on an analogy of comparison with another European culture. Vespucci chose to represent through common sense, linking skin tone with overexposure to the sun. Caminha, on the other hand, simply called them dark and red.

⁸² Vespucci, "Letter VI", p. 61.

⁸³ Cabral, "Caminha document", p. 10-11.

Needless to say, each of these representations related directly to the author's individual roles and personal background. They certainly do not represent any singular European representation of Tupí skin colour.

Nudity:

Two of our three travel writers, in their discussion of skin tone and colour of the Tupínamba, also made specific mention of their going nude in tandem with this trait. There is perhaps no greater difference between the travel writer's cultures and the Tupí than the lack of clothing used by the indigenous cultures of coastal Brazil. It is understandable then, as one would expect if one turned a corner on the street and came across someone not wearing clothing, that there would be a degree of shock involved in interpreting what one just saw. Some may choose to condemn such behaviour, but all would at least put forth recognition of the difference. Jean de Léry, a traveller going to the New World for religious purposes, described the Tupí's attire in very simple terms:

The men, women and children do not hide any parts of their bodies; what is more, without any sign of bashfulness or shame, they habitually live and go about their affairs as naked as they come out of their mother's wombs.⁸⁴

In describing the nudity that he witnessed in the New World, de Léry associated the behaviour with a lack of shame, which was an emotional feeling that our other travel writers also connect with the inappropriateness of exposing oneself. For instance, Amerigo Vespucci described that "they are no more shamed by their shameful parts than we are in showing our nose or mouth"⁸⁵ and that "they all go about naked as they were born, without the least shame: yet to relate in full what little shame they have

⁸⁴ Léry, p. 57.

⁸⁵ Vespucci, "Letter VI", p. 64.

would mean broaching improper matters; better to be silent about it.”⁸⁶ What is similar about these two accounts is their focus on shame and the necessity to be vague about specific characteristics regarding the nudity they were witnessing. Caminha, writing for the Cabral voyage, did not feel the same restrictions on himself when describing the naked natives:

There were among them three or four girls, very young and very pretty, with very dark hair, long over the shoulders, and their privy parts so high, so closed, and so free from hair that we felt no shame in looking at them very well.⁸⁷

What is clear from this selection of quotations is that there are a variety of perspectives included in these quotations that presents each writer’s view on the subject of Tupí nudity quite explicitly. Jean de Léry’s description of nudity remains solely within the Tupí themselves, imprinting the European conception of the shameful act of public nudity within his representation. The other two writers choose to include a further reference to the shameful act of the viewer gazing upon and taking pleasure from the naked Tupí. The two writers, however, take very different paths in this reference. Vespucci holds true to this belief by attempting to be brief on the topic and avoid appearance of inappropriateness, whereas Caminha simply records the belief’s existence in the midst of ignoring its practice. Needless to say, while the differences are slight in that all of our travel writers have recognized and represented the nudity of the Tupí as different, not all have represented the fact as an explicitly negative thing, nor can they agree on how they should react to it.

⁸⁶ Vespucci, “Letter I”, p. 11.

⁸⁷ Cabral, “Caminha document”, p. 15.

This selection of quotations effectively summarizes the variety of representations of nudity within the Tupínamba culture contained within the source selection for this thesis. While each of these writers has clearly identified the trait within their work as different from their own practice, one could not sustain the argument that these representations are the same. Within these images, the variety of representational choices and individual beliefs can be clearly seen. Jean de Léry's representation of the nudity was somewhat muted, but this is also not surprising considering his status as a dedicated, religious man. He does not make the choice to use this aspect of Tupí culture solely as a pulpit to preach about paganism and shameful acts within the Tupí. Instead he included it within his grander intellectual project of criticizing the Catholic lifestyle through aspects of Tupí culture. Vespucci instead took his place on the pulpit, choosing not to associate the nudity of the Tupí with an intellectual project, but instead using his representations to focus on the word shame. He described both the physical parts of anatomy and the act of nudity in this terminology as if reciting phrases and teachings from his own Catholic upbringing. He saw the decision of the Tupí to go about naked as yet another trait representative of their backwardness and their need for European correction. Finally Caminha, also writing from the perspective of a Catholic man with conversion as one of his motives, resisted the word shame in most instances entirely. Instead he appeared to enjoy his experiences with Tupínamba nudity, while still ascribing to it some form of Catholic upbringing by describing various naked parts with the far more neutral word of 'privy'. Still, when comparing Caminha's lewd description of the nude, young, female Tupí, versus the dogmatic self-censorship of Vespucci, the differences in approach to these

representations are especially striking. This is increased even more considering that they were contemporaries who were both of a Catholic background. The differences in personality and background between these three writers are clearly visible when looking at their reaction to Tupí nudity.

In one final comment on the status of Tupínamba nakedness within the text of these particular works, de Léry's representation of the Tupínamba nudity needs a bit more attention. Both Vespucci and Caminha's representation of the nudity was very matter of fact and brief, but still indicative of their dominant position over the Natives – the former of a dominant cultural tone and the latter of a more sinister, sexualized tone. De Léry, however, saw the Tupínamba nudity as analogous to the ornate lifestyles of the rich back in Europe:

What I have said about these savages is to show that, while we condemn them so austere for going about shamelessly with their bodies entirely uncovered, we ourselves, in the sumptuous display, superfluity, and excess of our own costume, are hardly more laudable. And, to conclude this point, I would to God that each of us dressed modestly, and more for decency and necessity than for glory and worldliness.⁸⁸

There is perhaps no better example of the individual characteristics of our writers influencing their representational decisions than this one. De Léry, in his position as a Huguenot pastor, represented the Tupí nudity as problematic, but also criticized the fact that there were many, especially Catholics, who tended to move to the opposite extreme, by avoiding a simple, modest appearance and lifestyle. This is wholly representative of the person de Léry was and the group he belonged to. This is hardly characteristic of a universalistic European reaction in the 16th century.

⁸⁸ Léry, p. 68.

Hair plucking and removal:

As a secondary trait to the nudity in Tupí culture, the indigenous people that our travel writers met and wrote about all had a very unique habit of plucking and removing all but very specific areas of hair from their bodies. Again, this was very different from European practice, where men favoured beards and personal hygiene was not a daily priority. De Léry offered comment on this cultural trait in multiple chapters, stating that “The men had their heads shaved close in front, like monk’s tonsure, and wore their hair long in back; but, in the style of men’s wigs over here, their locks were clipped around the neck.”⁸⁹ In this quotation, de Léry continued his use of comparison and analogy to best represent what image he was attempting to provide for the Tupí. De Léry continued:

As soon as the hair begins to grow on any part of the body, even the beard and eyelashes and eyebrows, it is plucked out, either with their fingernails, or, since the arrival of the Christians, plucked out...with tweezers that the latter have given them – which makes their gaze seem wall-eyed, wandering and wild... As for our Tupínamba, they make an exception only of the hair on the head, which on all the males, from their youth onward, is shaved very close from the forehead to the crown, like the tonsure of a monk.⁹⁰

It seems that de Léry’s description of the Tupí, due to their decision to pluck out eyelashes and eyebrows, was a negatively toned representation. The choice to describe and represent the Tupí as “wild-eyed” necessarily brings to mind the image of an uncontrolled brute. Also, with respect to De Léry’s overall political intent for writing, the comparison of Tupí appearance to that of a monk puts this negatively-toned representation firmly within his anti-papist project. As a supposedly more enlightened travel writer, this decision was somewhat out of the ordinary versus some of his other

⁸⁹ Léry, p. 26.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 57.

representational choices about physical appearances in its choice of harsher language. It is especially strange, considering the tone that Vespucci took in discussing the same subject matter fifty years previous:

They have no hair on their body but for long black hair on their heads, the women especially, which makes them beautiful... they do not allow any hair to grow on their brows or eyelids, nor in any other part, except the head, because they consider bodily hair an ugly thing.⁹¹

In a reversal of their previous positions on the nudity of the Tupí, Vespucci and de Léry represented the decision to pluck and remove hair in very different ways, with Vespucci continuing to keep his comments on Tupí nudity brief, as noted in the previous section. This may very well relate to the fact that de Léry, as a religious man, had reservations about sexualized topics, but felt inclined to use specific descriptions for his greater critical project, whereas Vespucci was still able to skirt around the topic without directly addressing inappropriate parts in order to avoid the appearance of shameful acts. It is clear, however, that they have gone through separate representational processes, conscious or not, directly related to their own character. Vespucci's choices of words are brief, functional and lack significant description or detail. De Léry's instead delves into greater detail and description, offering far greater comment and purpose towards these acts than Vespucci's brief mentions of shame and beauty. They themselves made their choices on how to discuss the topic of hair removal based on their own project's purpose and need.

Caminha also described the Tupí's choices in hair plucking and removal, stating that "they are all shaved to above the ears, likewise their eyebrows and eyelashes."⁹²

⁹¹ Vespucci, "Letter VI", p. 61.

⁹² Cabral, "Caminha Document", p. 24.

This is, on the topic, all that appears in his narrative on this subject. While this description may not be a flowing, descriptive image of the Tupí, Caminha's choice to be matter-of-fact with such details does speak to the status and reason for the Cabral voyage. As previously discussed, Cabral's trip was purely economic in purpose. Caminha's document therefore tends toward functionality and important matters related to the financial viability of the voyage almost exclusively. Information was represented based on its importance to the trip and to potential profits. The fact that the Tupí chose to pluck their hair was not high on the importance list. Therefore, such a simplistic statement of representation actually further solidifies the fact that each of these writers, with their individual characteristics and unique motives for writing, necessarily speaks against the idea of a universalistic European travel writer.

Painting and Piercing:

Beyond the above listed traits, there were many other cultural practices that the Tupí engaged in that were also represented in the texts of our chosen travel writers. The Tupí traditions of painting and piercing were a topic that travel writers enjoyed discussing and representing in their texts. Many of the objects described in these passages found their way onto European ships to be brought home as cultural items to show off to the nobility who had funded their voyages and to be celebrated as trophies. De Léry continued a very calm and descriptive approach towards representing such cultural practices with the Tupí. He described that he found all males in the Tupí group living near his compound as having a mounted green stone in a lower lip piercing⁹³ and the habits of the Tupí to dye their skin black with the juice of the *genipap*, which would

⁹³ Léry, p. 26.

stay on their skin, regardless of washing, for a period of two weeks.⁹⁴ Despite this descriptive tone, de Léry was clearly not comfortable with the idea of body mutilation.

He described that:

They wear such [piercings] thinking to be the more handsomely adorned; but to tell the truth, when this stone is removed and this great split in the lower lip appears like a second mouth, they are greatly disfigured. As for the woman, besides not having a split lip, she wore her hair long like women over here; her ears were so cruelly pierced that you could have put a finger through the hole; she wore great pendants of white bone in them, which swung almost to her shoulders.⁹⁵

It is clear from a passage such as this one that de Léry, despite his patience and complimentary nature for the Tupí, was still not comfortable with some of the practices he witnessed. He made the comparison between these practices of Tupí culture or tradition to the need to be handsome or appear strong, just like men back in Europe. Therefore, despite his obvious negative feelings, he rationalized and explained cultural traits and represented them as such, showing himself to be definitely of an enlightened mind able to extrapolate on ethnographic matters, not simply to dismiss them as barbaric or backward. In fact, much like his criticism of Europe through his description of Tupínamba nudity, he also used the piercing and painting tradition of the Tupí as a means to criticize those who did not fully engage and represent the reality of the New World in their texts:

It is likely that some observers, who upon their arrival saw these people thus adorned, went back home without any further acquaintance with them and proceeded to spread the rumour that the savages were covered with hair. But, as I have said above, they are not so in their natural state; that rumour has been based on ignorance and too easily accepted.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Léry, p. 59.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 27.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 59.

These representational decisions fit within de Léry's approach, which focused on the criticism of lavish and ornate adornment within Catholic tradition, versus his own reserved nature as a staunch Huguenot. De Léry is using the particular issue of Tupí painting and piercing to assert the need for rational representation of Tupí culture in other writings back in Europe. Specifically, he sees a tendency of Catholic contemporaries in Europe in creating various textual falsehoods in their representation of the Tupínamba, along with outing non-Protestant behaviours.⁹⁷ This makes sense, considering his position as a marginalized Huguenot and the religious upheaval that had taken place in Europe since the Reformation. It appears that de Léry sees this tendency to gloss over detail and focus simply on appearance, even to the point of complete falsehood, as comparable to the experience he and his Huguenot brethren had experienced through their persecution. This debate and ideological disagreement were a huge part of his decision to write his travel narrative and is key to understanding his representational decisions and individual motivations. This clearly fits the argument that by the mid 16th century, some writers were able to analyze and deconstruct cultural traits and engage on a different level of intellectual endeavours than previous generations, even if such revelations were for a purpose beyond simply reporting what one experienced.

Other travel writers, however, were not as forgiving of the Tupínamba, nor engaged in the same type of political project as de Léry. Oftentimes, writers saw the decisions to pierce one's face as monstrous and barbaric behaviour. Vespucci for instance, described that:

⁹⁷ Frisch, A. "In a Sacramental Mode: Jean de Léry's Calvinist Ethnography" in *Representations*, No. 77, (Winter, 2002), p. 82.

The men are accustomed to make holes in their lips and cheeks, and in those holds they put bones or stones, and you must not think they are small ones, for most of the men have no fewer than three holes... so that they appear something utterly unnatural: they say they do this in order to appear more fierce; all in all, it is a bestial thing.⁹⁸

In the choice of words such as ‘unnatural’ and ‘bestial’, a more typical, close-minded European representation of the Tupí emerges within Vespucci’s work. The inability to see cultural traits such as piercing and painting as anything but unnatural is a common reference point for those describing a universalistic image of the European travel writer within previous historiography. Caminha, however, who was writing his narrative at the same time as Vespucci, had a much more muted and direct description of these behaviours:

Both had their lower lips bored and in them were placed pieces of white bone...their hair is smooth, and they were shorn, with the hair cut higher than above a comb of good size, and shaved to above the ears...red paint with which they were painted. And the more they wetted themselves the redder they became.⁹⁹

Caminha’s description of the Tupínamba’s behaviour regarding piercing and painting is very similar to our other travel writers, but again was presented in a very factual, non-analytical tone that appeared throughout his narrative. His quotations tended to lack the aggressive words that Vespucci used, therefore appearing to be less judgmental on the surface. Again, it could be argued that this is because the Cabral voyage was one of profit – all other information was secondary. It also could be due to the fact that Caminha was writing for more practical reasons, unlike Vespucci who saw himself of a different status since he was writing for royals with aspirations for publishing his work on a larger scale. Regardless of the reason, it can be safely stated that the

⁹⁸ Vespucci, “Letter III”, p. 32.

⁹⁹ Cabral, “Caminha Document”, p. 11, 24.

representational and creative steps that Caminha took to create this description were not the same as Vespucci and de Léry.

What has also become clear from this analysis is that the intended audience of these works had a great influence on the representational choices the authors made regarding Tupí appearance. The three authors all had different purposes in mind for their projects. Vespucci, as an intellectual and with aspirations of discovery, was specifically writing with publishing in mind, as has been previously related in this argument. Caminha, on the other hand, was unlikely to be considering publication for his travel log, at least not for wide dissemination. His work was being constructed for a narrowed, economically-focused audience in Portugal looking for potential investment in any discoveries he might report about. It was the Vespucci voyage that came after the relating of the Cabral discovery that begat the *Mundus Novus*, as one leads clearly into the other. Perhaps if Caminha had known that his document would have such an important impact he would have censored the sexualized nature of his work. (Also, considering his status as an appointed writer and government official for the voyage, it would be unlikely he had control of his work's publication due to commercial and security interests)¹⁰⁰ Finally, Jean de Léry's narrative had a dual audience unlike any of the others. De Léry published his work in response to a Catholic publication on the settlement in which he lived in Brazil, to which he took great exception for a variety of reasons. As previously mentioned, the work written by Andre Thevet entitled *Singularitez de la France Antarctique* was filled with monstrous tales and, in de Léry's opinion, outright lies about the Protestant experience in the New World and the

¹⁰⁰ "Caminha, Pedro Vaz de" *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*. (Ed) Jennifer Speake, 3 Vol, (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Tupínamba. It was from this conflict that de Léry's second audience is found, as he used his experiences in the New World as an opportunity to further the Huguenot cause and criticize the Catholic Church and its members.¹⁰¹ As can be seen in all three of these sets of document, each audience is reflected in the representational choices these authors made regarding Tupí appearance: Vespucci focused on the descriptive, Caminha on the functional, and de Léry used the opportunity to fight the good fight back home. Either way – audience is but another individualized characteristic that must be noted in the use of these texts, even beyond the subject of just Tupínamba appearance.

Métraux's modern construction of the Tupí appearance, in its basic elements, is very similar in almost all respects to writing from the four-hundred years previous, which challenges the idea that *only* by the 2nd generation of travel writers does one start to see viable, ethnographic information being represented. There are some aspects to the interpretation of those physical traits by our travel writers that could be described as classical or closed-minded, but this tendency is clearly visible within de Léry's work as well as our initial travel writers from the first decade of contact. Depending on which author you focus on, and about what specific physical trait, reaction to appearance was not a consistent aspect to any of these narratives. The choice to be open-minded, classically inspired or disgusted by some aspect of Tupí culture was linked to the background of our writers and the intent that informed their accounts, not to some dominant, universal, discriminating practice held by all Europeans who chose to write on New World subjects. In fact, if anything, it is the image of the New World travel

¹⁰¹ Léry, "introduction", p. xviii-xxi.

writer that has become more muddled than our understanding of the physical appearance of the Tupínamba culture.

The Tupínamba: Religion / Spirituality

Religion was a topic at the forefront of many writers on the New World experience, especially considering the upheaval taking place in Europe after 1514. Previous to that, one could expect there to be some degree of consistency to the representation of Tupínamba religion within travel writer's texts. This is, however, not the case. It seems as if when one compares most of the varied expeditions throughout the New World, the spread of European Christianity was a core aspect to their colonial process, despite the differences between Protestants and Catholics. Of our three travel writers, the Cabral and de Léry voyages had this motive explicitly stated throughout their works. In the case of the Vespucci narrative, while the conversion of those found was not an overt priority, it was still considered to be important. Also, considering Vespucci was primarily travelling under the Portuguese banner, conversion was a key aspect to their taking possession of geographic discoveries going back to the mid 15th century. While this similar aspect to all three voyages is important to note, differences continue to appear despite an agreement on the necessity for conversion. Before we proceed, however, it is important to root our understanding of the Tupí religion in anthropological understandings.

Unfortunately, due to the extinction of the Tupínamba in the mid-18th century, we do not have a full account of Tupí religious practice. The Tupí religious ceremonies, as described by Métraux, were related to dance, stomping, costuming with ostrich

feathers and paint, and led by what is described as a Shaman.¹⁰² These ceremonies were often accompanied by the use of flutes, *maracas* and shell trumpets.¹⁰³ Oftentimes, many of their ceremonies related to ritualistic cannibalism, which will be spoken about in chapter 3. The Tupí had no recognizably Western religious ceremony, nor practiced monotheism. There was belief in demons and spirits of ancestors, through which contact was made via the position of chiefs and Shamans.¹⁰⁴ According to anthropologist Judith Shapiro, it was the Shamans that “occupied a position of special prominence, mediating between the human community and various categories of spirit beings that inhabited the Tupí-Guarani cosmos”¹⁰⁵ Finally, there were some conceptions of deities being associated with the Tupí understanding of nature, which include referring to a non-corporeal being called *Tupã* in their discussions of the spirit world.¹⁰⁶

Even without a complete account of Tupí religion, it is still possible to compare the accounts of Tupí religion from our three travel writers with anthropological sources. As with the previous section, it seems best to begin our discussion of the travel writers with Jean de Léry. In focusing on the issue of Tupí religion, one would necessarily expect the Huguenot travel writer to be perhaps the most vigilant in his condemnation of non-Christian people, due to his primary reason for travelling being one focused solely on conversion. It was de Léry’s main purpose in voyaging to the New World to attempt to spread Calvinism and create a Protestant community within Brazil’s population. Not

¹⁰² Métraux (1948), p. 129.

¹⁰³ Métraux (1948), p. 127.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 128.

¹⁰⁵ Shapiro, p. 127.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

surprisingly with this mission in mind, de Léry was not impressed with the Tupí's apparent lack of religious practice and ignorance of God:

Not only are [the Tupí] utterly ignorant of the sole and true God; what is more, in contrast to the custom of all the ancient pagans, who had many gods, they neither confess nor worship any gods, either of heaven or of earth. Consequently, having no rites nor any designated place of assembly for holding any ordinary service, they do not pray by any religious form to anything whatsoever, either in public or in private...In our conversation with them, when it seemed the right moment, we would say to them that we believed in a sole and sovereign God...hearing us hold forth on this subject, they would look at each other, saying 'Teh!' – their customary interjection of astonishment – and be struck with amazement.¹⁰⁷

In this representation, de Léry continued his pattern of relying on Old world comparisons to explain his understandings of the Tupí. In this way, his representational style is quite apparent and repetitive. Despite this, he did not necessarily rely on criticizing the Tupí through these comparisons harshly – it was simply the best way for him to express his understandings. In spite of these misgivings about Tupínamba religious practice, we get perhaps our best insight into their ceremonies from de Léry's writings:

Because there were so many of them, there were three circles, and in the middle of each circle there were three or four of these *caraïbes* (shaman), richly decked in robes, headdresses, and bracelets made of beautiful natural feathers of various colours, holding in each hand a *maraca* or rattle made of a fruit bigger than an ostrich-egg... so that the spirit might thereafter speak through those rattles, to dedicate them to this use they made them sound incessantly¹⁰⁸

One would expect de Léry to maintain his use of analogies and comparison in this description, but instead he saved that for his discussion of spirits and demons. In this respect, he stated:

¹⁰⁷ Léry, p. 134-5.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 142.

Not only do they believe in the immortality of souls, but they also firmly maintain that after the death of bodies, the souls of those who have lived virtuously go off behind the high mountains where they dance in beautiful gardens with the souls of their forebears, while on the contrary, the souls of the effeminate and worthless, who have neglected the defense of their fatherland, go with Aygnan, by whom, they say, these unworthy ones are incessantly tormented.¹⁰⁹

From these representations, de Léry shows himself to be critical of the fact that the Tupínamba were not Christian, yet saw potential for them as a people and was therefore not entirely dismissive of them. Perhaps the best example of this was through his examination of the Tupí's ability to become Christians through their supposed memory of the floods of Noah, due to having an oral tradition of flooding in their culture.¹¹⁰ From this, de Léry saw the potential for what he called "the germination of religion" in the Tupí.¹¹¹ This fits into the representational framework that de Léry maintains throughout his work – that the Tupí, despite their flaws, were human beings with potential. He saw the Tupí as being deserving of respect more than Catholics, due to their belief in some type of heaven and having a healthy respect for the Devil (Aygnan).¹¹² De Léry was a believer in conversion of local populations, putting him firmly in the position of the colonizer, yet his writings are still surprising as he takes a somewhat forgiving view of the Tupí - a people he was attempting to befriend while colonizing them. All of the representational choices that de Léry was making in these writings fit within his individually chosen, albeit somewhat self-serving, intellectual and religious project.

¹⁰⁹ Léry, p. 136.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 140. This topic is also explored in Shapiro, p. 127.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 144.

¹¹² Ibid, p. 138.

When moving onto the other two writers, the picture becomes more muddled. Vespucci and Caminha, writing in contemporary times about the Tupínamba, chose two very different approaches in their representations of the religion of the Tupí. Both of them did not spend much time in description of Tupí religious practice, but there is a distinct difference in how they present the fact that the Tupínamba were non-Christian, and had no knowledge of Western religious practices.

Caminha's representation of Tupí religion was not presented in any sort of ethnographic presentation, but instead was interwoven within what he considered to be one of the most important aspects of the Cabral voyage to Brazil: their first Catholic mass.¹¹³ Due to its later importance in the history of the New World discovery, it seems best related in full:

When we disembarked, the captain said that it would be well to go directly to the cross, which was leaning against a tree near the river, to be set up the next day, which was Friday, and that we should all kneel down and kiss it so that [the natives] might see the respect which we had for it. And thus we did. And we motioned to those ten or twelve who were there that they should do the same, and at once they all went to kiss it. They seem to me people of such innocence that, if one could understand them and they us, they would soon be Christians, because they do not have or understand any belief, as it appears...I do not doubt that they will become Christians, in accordance with the pious intent of Your Highness...For it is certain this people is good and of pure simplicity, and there can easily be stamped upon them whatever belief we wish to give them... And consequently, Your Highness, since you so much desire to increase the Holy Catholic Faith, ought to look after their salvation, and it will please God that, with little effort, this will be accomplished. After the cross was planted with the arms and device of Your Highness which we first nailed to it, we set up an altar at the foot of it. There the father...said mass, at which those already mentioned chanted and officiated. There were there with us some fifty or sixty natives, all kneeling as we were, and when it came to the Gospel and we all rose to our feet with hands lifted, they rose with us and lifted their hands, remaining thus until it

¹¹³ This mass is still celebrated in Porto Seguro, Brazil to this day and is represented by a monument containing a replica crucifix used in Cabral's ceremony. It is also used in the marketing for local resorts.

was over...They stayed there with us until communion was over, and after communion the friars and priests and the captain and some of the rest of us partook of communion... Some of [the natives], because the sun was hot, arose while we were receiving communion and others remained as they were and stayed... And when the sermon was over, Nicolao Coelho brought many tin crosses with crucifixes, which he still had from another voyage, and we thought it well to put one around the neck of each...And as it appears to me and to every one, these people in order to be wholly Christian lack nothing except to understand us, for whatever they saw us do, they did likewise; wherefore it appeared to all that they have no idolatry and no worship.¹¹⁴

Caminha did not recognize anything that the Tupí had within their culture to be religious. He saw them instead as blank slates, who, due to their friendly nature, were good candidates for conversion to the Catholic faith. This, of course, fits within Caminha's tendency to follow a similar path to Columbus in his representations on this topic, as well as the previous Portuguese geographic discoveries over the previous two centuries. This is also similar to de Léry's representation, but lacks its more sophisticated interpretation of some practices of the Tupí as a pseudo-Christian people. There is no mistaking that both would recommend conversion in order to save the Tupí's souls, therefore declaring them to be human, but both have different representational processes ongoing in their writing in reaching these conclusions. Both of these representations are surprisingly positive regarding Tupí religion, but of course, this positivity has limits.

Vespucci was the harshest critic of Tupí religion. In fact, he went as far as to say that the Tupí had "no law or religious faith, they live as nature dictates, they do not know the immortality of the soul"¹¹⁵, a direct contradiction of de Léry's assertion years

¹¹⁴ Cabral, "Caminha document", p.29-31.

¹¹⁵ Vespucci, "Letter III", p. 31.

later. In his most widely read document, *The Mundus Novus*, he argued that the Tupínamba had no temple, no religion or idols.¹¹⁶ Vespucci continues this tone throughout his associated documents, even using insults. He asserts:

We do not encounter among these people any who had a religion, nor can they be called Moors or Jews, and are worse than heathens, because we never saw them perform any sacrifice, nor did they have any house of prayer. I judge their life to be Epicurean.¹¹⁷

The use of the word judge is especially important to focus on in this respect. Throughout the multiple documents attributed to Vespucci, all of them take a judgmental tone towards the Tupí religious practices, seeing them as worse than typical non-Christians back in the Old world due to their lack of religious practice or experiences. In calling them Epicurean, the ‘othering’ of the Tupí is at its height, claiming that the Tupí lifestyle had no substance beyond carnal pleasures. This choice of word also fits within Vespucci’s role as a representative of the Renaissance, as Epicurean was a loaded classical word with implications of Roman and Greek paganism. To many, it would have been an extreme insult to imply such a lifestyle and association. In this respect, Vespucci personified the closed-minded, domineering, ‘European’ travel writer that is often identified in New World historiography.

It is clear, however, that in the representations of the Tupí religious practices and their relationship to God, there is still not an entirely clear picture of a ‘European’ response. Each writer had a particular project in mind when choosing how to represent Tupí religious practices. De Léry, while still of the belief that the Tupí would be saved by being Protestant, thought they were better off staying as they were as opposed to

¹¹⁶ Vespucci, “Mundus Novus”, p. 49-50.

¹¹⁷ Vespucci, “Letter VI”, p. 61.

being converted to Catholicism and therefore was very forgiving when compared to other writers. Caminha, as part of the Cabral voyage, perceived the Tupí as lacking any religious practice, but saw them as blank slates with great potential to be Catholic, just like Columbus and other accounts from Portuguese voyages before him. Vespucci, firmly situated within the texts of the past, equated the Tupí as pagan, obsessed with sensation and carnal pleasures, almost as if he was seeing them in the pages of Herodotus.¹¹⁸ Each of these representations is unique and can find its root in the individual characteristics, education, purpose and backgrounds of the travel writer themselves. While the argument could be made that each of these writers, despite these differences, are still firmly suppressing and ‘othering’ the Tupínamba by criticizing their lack of Christian practice, it seems important to note the varied the approaches and projects of these writers to fully represent the assortment of voices within New World travel writing.

In conclusion, it is clear that when examining the variety of cultural traits and practices represented within our chosen sources a number of issues are raised regarding their similarities. While it is obvious that our writers did acknowledge the difference of the Tupí versus themselves, this unique selection of travel writers take very different trajectories beyond that point. Each relies upon their own representational framework, individual motivations, personal background and intellectual projects. These differences do not support the consideration of a singular, universal European presence within the New World contact nor within the creation of their representational texts.

¹¹⁸ Herodotus has maintained an exceptional status among travel writers and historians. Jennifer Speake’s (ed.) *Literature of Travel and Exploration: an Encyclopaedia*, Herodotus describes him as ‘The Father of History’. Considering this status, it is not surprising that those who intellectually engaged in Renaissance pursuits could use him as a model. “Herodotus” *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*. Ed Jennifer Speake, 3 Vol, (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Chapter 3: Cannibalism – Unified Horror and Varied Representation

Cannibalism, also known in academia as anthropophagy, is an act that results in one human being consuming another. The act, which continues to hold a horrific and taboo status within modern society, was discovered to exist within some of the New World cultures visited by Europeans. These cannibals became the antagonistic monsters of some travel works of the New World, with woodcut images of human limbs being gnawed upon being included within their pages. These grotesque images further cemented the barbaric and wild ways of the New World within the European consciousness. There is no mistaking that in European culture in the 16th century, cannibalism was also an explicit cultural taboo. Much like the Tupí practice of nudity, the discovery of a cannibalistic people in an unknown part of the world in the late 15th century seemed like a circumstance destined to end badly. Such a chance meeting, especially due to the intellectual history regarding cannibalism in Europe, would be expected to invoke images of the classical barbarian. Ancient European writers such as Herodotus had described cannibals living as close to known civilization as the Black Sea, describing them as nomadic, lawless and *anthropophageousi*.¹¹⁹ Stemming from this, cannibalism continued to be used as an ascribed trait for those societies outside of

¹¹⁹ James P. Mallory and Eileen M. Murphy, “Herodotus and the Cannibals” in *Antiquity*, June 2000, p. 1. The main argument of this article is that while Herodotus may have been able to present some useable ethnographic materials in his writings, it was more likely that his representations of cannibalism were misinterpreted funerary rites of Iron-age Steppe inhabitants. In these rites, the deceased were “defleshed and disarticulated” prior to burial (p. 6)

Europe¹²⁰, even making an appearance in the travels of Marco Polo. In his travels to the Far East, Polo came across cultural groups of people, whom he deemed sorcerers, and described them as practicing cannibalism. Specifically, Polo described these people as:

...called Tebet and Kesimur, which are the two nations of Idolaters. Whatever they do in this way is by the help of the Devil... these people also have a custom which I must tell you. If a man is condemned to death and executed by the lawful authority, they take his body and cook and eat it. But if they die a natural death then they will not eat the body.¹²¹

There was clearly a tradition of ‘finding’ cannibalism on the outskirts of the world within Western intellectual thought. Cannibalism was seen in classical writing as a horrific, despicable act that deserved only the harshest language and swiftest correction. But, despite the long standing European taboo associated with cannibalism, our travel writers discussed the act among the Tupí in different ways, with varying levels of approbation. Despite the suggestions of previous meta-narratives, the European travel writers were not subservient to these previous works nor did their images wholly dominate their ability to think, process and represent the existence of cannibalism in the New World as they saw fit.

Before continuing onto the travel writers focused on for this project, it seems appropriate to speak to the politicized topic of how cannibalism has been represented within history and how modern academics have debated its place within the greater narrative of the New World. Because of cannibalism’s status as a taboo act in the modern day, its representation within history still holds a very strong political message

¹²⁰ Classical authorities such as Ptolemy continued this tradition, often placing cannibalistic groups such as the Scythians on their maps to note the borders of the civilized world.

¹²¹ Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian*. (London: John Murphy, 1874), p. 292.

with a negative connotation. Cannibalism has become an act representative of the differences between the supposed modern European and the backwards 'Indian'.

Stemming from Jack Forbes polemical discussion of cannibalism in his 1978 book, *Columbus and other Cannibals*, an important discussion took place in academia about the phenomenon of global cannibalism. Within this debate, the Tupínamba became an oft-used example. William Arens wrote a stunning piece called *The Man Eating Myth* in which he argued that European travel writers created a false image of cannibalism within indigenous populations in order to justify enslaving them.¹²² This debate was not just an attack on all travel writer's credibility, but was also an impassioned criticism directed at the Western-dominated anthropological community as a whole for choosing to invoke writers such as Vespucci and de Léry as textual authorities on the subject. Arens sees these writers as representatives of Europe, closed-minded and, in the vein of Forbes, only out to consume those they represented in their texts. Arens questioned how such dominating, heartless people could become any sort of authority for use in a proper and unbiased ethnography on indigenous cultures.¹²³ He even goes as far as to claim that many European travel writers simply fabricated what they saw in the New World for purposes of economic exploitation because the Spanish Monarchy announced in 1503 that enslavement of local populations were outlawed, except in the case of cannibals.¹²⁴ As a result, he sees the Spanish (and therefore all Europeans) as constructing a fabricated association of cannibalism with any resistance by natives towards becoming

¹²² William Arens, *The Man-eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy*. (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1979), p. 22-31.

¹²³ Ibid, p. 52.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

civilized. When they resisted, they were discovered to be cannibals after all, thereby legitimizing all harsh retribution and economic enslavement.¹²⁵ Arens sees this politicized treachery throughout the documents left behind in the early stages of the New World colonization as the single, dominating force behind Europe's New World motivations and their tendencies towards conquest above all else.

As part of Arens' argument and especially important to this project, he specifically questions the representation of Tupínamba cannibalism in travel writer's works. He chooses to focus his attention on the book of Hans Staden entitled *The Captivity of Hans Staden*, originally published in 1557. In the book, Staden, a German, was taken prisoner by the Tupínamba and lived within their community for a period of about nine months. In the Tupí cultural tradition, he was integrated into society as a slave and was forced to witness ceremonial cannibalism of other Western prisoners, which was also to be his eventual fate. In the end, however, he was rescued by a French merchant who traded for his freedom.¹²⁶ Arens sees Staden's work, which was used by some anthropologists as an ethnographic text representing Tupínamba culture and cannibalistic practice, as wholly lacking any authority or credibility. For instance, he criticizes the fact that Staden seemed to be able to speak the Tupínamba language (which would be unlikely for a typically illiterate sailor at the time)¹²⁷ and refutes Staden's claims about aspects of the Tupí life-cycle that would have occurred over many months, beyond Staden's stay within the Tupí community.¹²⁸ Arens is also critical of any passages representing

¹²⁵ Arens, p. 49.

¹²⁶ Staden, H. *The Captivity of Hans Staden*, (New York: Franklin, 1887), p. 111.

¹²⁷ Arens, p. 25-26.

¹²⁸ Ibid, p. 23.

dialogues occurring between Europeans and the Tupínamba. Arens believes these are likely fictionalized, due to both sides seemingly understanding each other through the use of convenient and ever-present translators, or sometimes even without them being present. One example of this is found during Staden's rescue:

At last, when the vessel was well laden, the Frenchmen in the ship all assembled together, and I stood near them, and my mater the king, together with those who he had with him, also stood there. And the captain caused the savages to be told through his interpreter, how he was much pleased that they had not killed me, after having caught me among their enemies. And he caused them further to be told that he had in this way ordered me to be brought from the land to the ship, so that he might give them something for having taken such good care of me, and that it was also his intention to give me some wares, and let me remain among them till his return, because I was known by them, and collect together pepper, and other good that he wanted.¹²⁹

Furthermore, in speaking to Arens' criticism of Staden's ability to speak to years-long cultural traditions, such as the consuming of the children of prisoners, Staden described this process as such:

When they first bring their enemies home, the women and children beat them. Thereupon, they paint the captive with grey feathers, shaving his eyebrows from above his eyes; they dance about him, tie him securely that he may not escape them, and give him a woman, who takes care of him, and who also has intercourse with him. And when she becomes pregnant they bring up the child until it is full grown; after which, whenever they take it into their heads, they slay it and eat it.¹³⁰

According to Arens, such dialogue and experiences would be impossible to corroborate to any academic standard and would, in fact, be unlikely to occur at all. Arens simply did not believe that any of these events could be witnessed by Staden, due to language and chronological barriers. Arens sees European representatives within the New World narrative as wholly unreliable as ethnographic sources due to issues such as these and

¹²⁹ Staden, p. 111.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 155.

took the academic community to task for treating them as anything but biased, self-motivated individuals. He simply could not believe that these sources had any purpose beyond representing the distortions of a colonizing West, presenting indigenous cultures in their texts only for their society's benefit. Due to these conclusions, Arens chose to question the existence of cannibalism within the Tupí culture in its entirety.¹³¹

Obviously, this was a charged and highly political academic debate surrounding cannibalism's place within New World historiography based upon suggestions from Forbes. The core belief was that the colonizer was not a reliable source of information, especially about those who were being colonized.

Many academics responded, with Donald Forsyth at the front of the challenge, supporting the anthropological record on Tupínamba cannibalism and the usefulness of 16th century travel writers for ethnographic understandings. Specifically, Forsyth defended the use of Jean de Léry as an ethnographic text (which was essentially ignored by Arens) on the subject of Tupínamba cannibalism, because of the level of evidence about the community in which he lived for a full year. Forsyth also supported him because de Léry expands upon and corroborates many of the texts written on Tupínamba cannibalism from the earliest stages of the New World expansion, as well as paralleling Staden in many respects within his narrative.¹³² He also made mention of the fact that writers such as de Léry took care to include ethnographic materials such as dialogues, which while potentially containing some inaccuracies due to forcing conceptions of Tupí

¹³¹ Arens, p. 22-28.

¹³² Donald W. Forsyth, "Three Cheers for Hans Staden: The Case for Brazilian Cannibalism" in *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter, 1985), p. 27. It must also be noted that de Léry was in the New World when Hans Staden was initially published, but that some time passed before de Léry himself published his works. Despite this, as Forsyth describes in details, there is much evidence that de Léry did not plagiarize Staden's work in the creation of his own. See Forsyth, p. 27-30.

language into a Latin grammatical structure, were still presented as important for the purpose of corroboration and to avoid the appearance of assumptions on his part. It also showed that, in fact, many Europeans were able to communicate in the language of the Tupí. This showed de Léry to be sensitive towards academic methodologies and conscious of representational decision making.¹³³ These dialogues were also presented with both Tupí and French dialects in comparison to each other, in order to further their authoritative status. In this specific instance, Forsyth references the inclusion of the ceremonial dialogue prior to the cannibalistic consumption of prisoners as especially important. This dialogue was written in both French and Tupí languages, exemplifying how de Léry's work could be especially useful for ethnographic purposes and for use in comparison to other textual sources on indigenous cultures.¹³⁴ What is most interesting to this project is not simply the confirmation of the existence of Tupínamba cannibalism by the anthropological community, but the tone used by Forsyth in describing and criticizing Arens' methodology. He states:

Arens' work, at least with respect to the Tupínamba, is marred by inadequate control of chronology, selective use of data to make his case (while ignoring data which contradict his thesis), misleading and improbable interpretations of the sources' narratives, and a totally deficient treatment of the corroborative data available on the matter of cannibalism.¹³⁵

In many respects, Forsyth is making a similar argument here as the one in this thesis.

Forsyth is criticizing Arens for constructing his narrative based upon a use of selective sources, while choosing to ignore the individual characteristics that exist across the

¹³³ The unique construction and surprisingly 'modern' aspects of de Léry's projects are further explored in Janet Whatley, "Impression and Initiation: Jean de Léry's Brazil Voyage" in *Modern Language Studies*, Vol 19, No. 3, (Summer, 1989), 15-25.

¹³⁴ Forsyth, p. 29.

¹³⁵ Ibid, p. 31.

many accounts that we have access to in the modern day. Arens relied upon a selected core group of authorities to support his argument, as well as using a singular European presence within his conclusion, in order to sustain his project. In doing so, he made the decision to ignore the regional and chronological differences that exist across the multiple sources describing Tupí cannibalism. In response, Forsyth took one geographical point of issue (the Tupí in Brazil), and showed it to be problematic to Arens' entire narrative (that cannibalism is a myth) – an obvious parallel to the argument being made here.¹³⁶

The highly politicized nature of indigenous cannibalism is important to note because it has spawned deeper understandings of the nature of cultures such as the Tupínamba. It has also allowed us to test the resiliency of the 16th century travel writer as an ethnographic source. While recognizing the political and historical debate about cannibalism in the New World, there seems little doubt that the Tupí engaged in ritualistic cannibalism. Moreover, and more importantly from our perspective, each of our authors describes Tupí cannibalism in significantly different ways. It can be safely said that these representations are clearly not fabricated and are based on personal experiences. It can also be stated confidently that there is enough corroborating evidence that the Tupí did practice ritualistic cannibalism throughout much of Eastern Brazil where our travel writers were situated. This is not to say that any of our Europeans travel writers were in support of Tupí cannibalism – far from it. But again, as in the other sections of this thesis, to simply accept the fact that they all were disapproving of the cultural act of cannibalism misses the deeper nuance of these texts and the representational approaches used to produce them. As will be shown below, despite the

¹³⁶ The specific passage that Métraux tends to rely on begins on p. 123 of the Léry text used in this project.

status of cannibalism as a forbidden and inviolable act, the representational choices made by our travel writers still support the argument that the individual characteristics of authors is important to recognize when attempting to understand contact situations above all.

Alfred Métraux – The Anthropological Record:

Before proceeding into our travel writer's accounts, we must first turn to the understandings of modern anthropologists on the subject of Tupínamba cannibalism. Métraux describes cannibalism in Tupí society as not a matter of simply gaining sustenance, but instead born out of a cultural act promoting identity. Distinctive cultural groups attacked each other in order to avenge the cannibalistic consumption of their family members.¹³⁷ Prisoners captured in battle were returned to the Tupí community and integrated into society as slaves. As Métraux describes:

Though with few exceptions all prisoners were eventually eaten, they were kept long enough in the community to be considered a special class within Tupínamba society. Possession of a prisoner was an envied privilege. One who enjoyed it did not hesitate to make the greatest sacrifices to keep his charge happy and in good health. A man would starve rather than deprive his captive of food, and usually gave him a daughter or sister as a wife. Prisoners were kindly treated and regarded their masters, whose quarters they shared, as relatives.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Métraux (1948), p. 119. Some of Métraux's account on Tupí cannibalism is based on Jean de Léry's text.

¹³⁸ Ibid, p. 112-3. This assertion is also based off of a section of de Léry's text, which states that "As soon as they arrive, not only are they fed with the best food that can be found, but also the men are given wives... he who has a prisoner will not hesitate to give him even his daughter or his sister in marriage, and the wife that the prisoner gets will treat him well and minister to all his needs. Furthermore, they will keep these captives for greater or lesser periods of time, without any predetermined limit, according to whether they find the men good hunters, or good fishermen...nonetheless, after being fattened like pigs at the trough, the captives are finally slain and eaten, (Léry, p. 122).

As a result of these marriages, children were often produced. When time came for the consumption of the prisoners, the slaughter and eating would also include the consumption of the offspring by the community.¹³⁹ Prisoners were executed during a ceremony where the captive was adorned with feathers and markings of a Tupí, tied around the waist to prevent escape, and insulted by the community at large. Prisoners were encouraged to respond, even throwing items and engaging in shouting matches with his would-be consumers. A hardwood club, with a rounded handle and a sharpened oval blade, was brought down on the head of the prisoner to end his or her life.¹⁴⁰ Métraux sums up his description of the Tupínamba practice of cannibalism as such:

Their mutual hatred of one another, born of a desire to avenge the insult of cannibalism, was so great that the Tupí groups always willingly marched with the White invaders against their local rivals. [This served a purpose in their community] such as education, oratory, poetry and religion. The rites and festivities that marked the execution of a prisoner and the consumption of his body were joyful events which provided these Indians with the opportunity for merrymaking aesthetic displays and other emotional outlets.¹⁴¹

Needless to say, this was a core aspect of the Tupí culture. The Tupí identity was built upon this adversarial relationship with their neighbours, which in turn was often transferred to their relationships with the Portuguese and other unfriendly invaders. It was against this backdrop that our travel writers had to make representational choices on how to present this cultural aspect to their readers back in Europe.

¹³⁹ Métraux (1948), p. 113. This is also mentioned in Léry's work, p. 128.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 119, 122, 124.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p. 119.

Jean de Léry - The Ethnographic Representation:

In response to previous, Catholic-authored works on the subject, which de Léry felt portrayed many of the cultural traits of the Tupí inaccurately, de Léry focused on representing the Tupí as accurately as possible, including their practice of cannibalism. De Léry, of course, did not support cannibalistic practices; instead he attempted to portray cannibalistic acts as a common occurrence, shocking but explained through reference to its place in Tupí culture:

Since our people put no trust in [the Tupí's neighbours] except for some express purpose, they stayed beyond arrow's reach from land so as to avoid the danger of being seized and *boucané* – that is, roasted.¹⁴²

This quotation, while small, speaks volumes towards de Léry's representational choices regarding cannibalism. By choosing to include the Tupí word for the cooking of human flesh – *boucané* – the image that de Léry was attempting to present was meant to be exaggerated, yet based in reality. In many ways, de Léry's representation of Tupí cannibalism continued to follow this pattern throughout his work – through shocking, yet understandable, vividness.

This in-your-face, blow by blow account of Tupínamba cannibalism only makes up a small portion of de Léry's overall work, but it is perhaps his most striking chapter. He filled the pages with descriptions and representations of Tupí warriors ceremonially adorning themselves, with “robes, headdresses, bracelets, and other ornaments of green, red and blue feathers, and of other various true and natural colours of extreme beauty.”¹⁴³ With this image of the Tupí warrior, adorned and ready to fight, de Léry

¹⁴² Léry, p. 26.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. 60.

went on to explain that the Tupí “are impelled [to fight] by no other passion than that of avenging, each for his side, his own kinsmen and friends who in the past have been seized and eaten.”¹⁴⁴ He also commented on the Tupí’s trait of tattooing and its connection to cannibalism, explaining that:

To show how many enemies they have killed, and how many prisoners they have massacred to eat... mak[ing] incisions in their breast, arm, and thighs; they then rub these slashes with a certain black powder, which makes the scars visible for life.¹⁴⁵

What is apparent from these representations of Tupí cannibalism is that de Léry was making conscious decisions about his word selection, as well as refraining from passing judgment on what could be the scariest and most foreign behaviour he had ever witnessed in his life. In fact, his representations were so vivid that the fear is still palpable over 400 years later:

...one of them approached me with the victim’s foot in hand, cooked and *boucané*, asking me if I wanted to eat some of it. His countenance filled me with such terror that you need hardly ask if I lost all desire to sleep. Indeed, I thought that by brandishing the human flesh he was eating, he was threatening me and wanted to make me understand that I was about to be similarly dealt with. As one doubt begets another, I suspected straight away that the interpreter, deliberately betraying me, had abandoned me and delivered me into the hands of these barbarians. If I had seen some exit through which to flee, I would not have hesitated. But seeing myself surrounded on all sides by those whose intentions I failed to understand...¹⁴⁶

It is descriptions such as this one that make one realize the degree to which the person Jean de Léry was influenced all of his representational choices. De Léry had entered this foreign land, completely removed from his traditional environment. European cultural and technological dominance could not save him from a naked Tupínamba

¹⁴⁴ Léry, p. 112.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 61.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 163.

man, brandishing a human foot. Despite these experiences, de Léry's work does not take a wholly negative, critical tone that one might expect. Instead, even descriptions of the most violent and gory acts in Tupí culture maintained their ethnographic tone:

He who is there ready to perform this slaughter lifts his wooden club with both hands and brings down the rounded end of it with such force on the head of the poor prisoner that...I have seen some who fell stonedead on the first blow...the women come forward with hot water that they have ready, and scald and rub the dead body to remove its outer skin, and blanch it...cleave it and immediately cut it into pieces...the old women are all assembled beside [the fire] to receive the fat that drips off along the posts of the big, high wooden grills...however, I shall here refute the error of those who, in their maps of the world, have represented and painted the Brazilian savages roasting human flesh on a spit, as we cook mutton legs and other meat...since these things are no truer than the tales of Rabelais about Panurge escaping from the spit larded and half-cooked, it is easy to see that those who make such maps are ignorant.¹⁴⁷

In this passage, it is clear that de Léry, despite the extreme behaviours that he was attempting to represent, maintained his own personal point of representation, continuing to use each example as a means to criticize other authors and behaviours back in Europe.¹⁴⁸ This part of his intellectual project was also influenced by the fact that de Léry typically saw indigenous behaviours and cultures as 'noble', versus some of the aberrant behaviours he witnessed back in Europe during a century with much upheaval. Despite this bias in the project, it is still important to recognize that this type of representation necessarily breaks the concept of the universal European commentator on the New World.

Before we move on from de Léry, it seems important to further ratify to what degree he was willing to look beyond Tupí behaviours that would likely offend his sensibilities. In one of the more striking passages, he offers a Tupí saying with a

¹⁴⁷ Léry, p. 125-7.

¹⁴⁸ Frisch, p. 82-106.

‘Western’ translation that clearly has been worded in such a way as to make one feel positive towards the Tupí and their honourable, recognizably European ways:

Erima, erima, Toüpinambaoulets, conomi ouassou tan tan – no no, my countrymen, strong and valiant young men, we must not do thus; we must prepare ourselves to go find them, and either let ourselves all be killed and eaten, or avenge our own.¹⁴⁹

Instead of choosing to represent the Tupí as brainless, savage, cannibals, de Léry made the conscious decision to make them sound European and appear Western in the way they relate to each other, going even so far as to use words such as “countrymen”, which is clearly a case of de Léry imprinting Western nationalistic and patriotic feelings that his audience would understand, but the Tupí would be unlikely to share. Of course, this translation is highly suspect – but it is the representation that de Léry was attempting to create that is most important to note. He saw the Tupí as having many honourable and important qualities that could be translated into a proper, Protestant lifestyle – filled with feelings of pride towards protecting their society from those who would destroy and consume it – despite their taboo behaviour. This is another reference, of course, to his own personal struggle as a Huguenot within the violence of the Reformation. In this vein, on the topic of cannibalism, de Léry offered one final thought:

So let us henceforth no longer abhor so very greatly the cruelty of the anthropophagous – that is, man-eating, savages. For since there are some here in our midst even worse and more detestable than those who, as we have seen, attack only enemy nations, while the ones over here have plunged into the blood of their kinsmen, neighbours, and companions, one need not go beyond one’s own country, nor as far as America, to see such monstrous and prodigious things.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Frisch, p. 113.

¹⁵⁰ Léry, p. 133.

Little more needs to be said on the case of Jean de Léry and his representational approach. His decision to present Tupí cannibalism as a means to criticize Europe was especially surprising considering the subject matter. His ability to present cannibalism as a cultural and spiritual act, without discussing it in terms of food and sustenance also differentiates his work from other discussions of cannibalism. But, his willingness to present and describe the acts of cannibalism as fearful, yet reasonable was perhaps the most distinctive aspect of his characterization. As we now move from the ‘enlightened’ second generation, to which de Léry clearly belongs on this topic, it will be important to remember to what degree de Léry was willing to swallow the instinct to condemn for his own personal, representative project – especially compared to his predecessors from the first decade of New World exploration.

Amerigo Vespucci – The Bestial Representation:

Vespucci’s *Mundus Novus* was perhaps the most widely read document on the New World exploration – especially from the first few decades of contact. The document was held in such reverence that its reading by a cartographer named Martin Waldseemüller led to the New World being named America in Vespucci’s honour. Therefore, before proceeding further, it seems important to present how cannibalism was represented within this core text:

There are no merchants among them, nor is there any commerce. The peoples make war among themselves without art or order. The elders deliver orations to the young to sway their will, urging them on to wars in which they kill each other cruelly, and they take captives and keep them, not to spare them, but to kill them for food: for they eat each other, the victors eat the vanquished, and together with other kinds of meat, human flesh is common fare among them....One father was known to have eaten his children and wife, and I myself met and spoke with a man who was said to have eaten more than three hundred human bodies; and I also stayed 27 days

in a certain city in which I saw salted human flesh hanging from house-beams, much as we hang up bacon and pork. I will say more: they marvel that we do not eat our enemies and use their flesh as food, for they say human flesh is very savoury.¹⁵¹

What is surprising about this passage is that while based partly on recognizable practices discussed in all travelers' accounts and in the anthropological record, Vespucci was making representational decisions regarding tone and condemning words. This pattern continues throughout the many letters attributed to Vespucci. For example, in this instance, the tradition of killing and eating the children of captured slaves:

At certain times when a diabolical fury comes over [the Natives], they invite their relatives and the people to dinner, and they set [slave women] out before them – that is, the mother and all the children they have got from her – and performing certain ceremonies kill them with arrows and eat them; and they do the same to the aforesaid male slaves and the children that have come from them. And this is certain, for in their houses we found human flesh hung up for smoking.¹⁵²

In a further example, Vespucci told his readers,

So I conclude that all their wealth consists of feathers, fish bones, and other similar things: possessed not for wealth, but for ornament when they go to play games or make war. Because when I maintain that they make war, one people against the other, and that they capture one another, it may seem to a detractor that I contradict myself, since warring and capturing can only come from a desire to dominate and from the greed for temporal goods: know that they do it for none of these reasons; and when I wished to learn from them the cause of their wars, they replied that they knew nothing but in ancient times their forefathers had done so, and they did so themselves for the sake of their memory; nor did they offer me any other reason, and I believe they do it in order to eat each other, as they do, their common food being human flesh: a cruel and irrational practice.¹⁵³

This quotation especially epitomizes the representational approach within Vespucci's comments on Tupí cannibalism. He continued the tradition of 'othering' the behaviour,

¹⁵¹ Vespucci, "Mundus Novus", p. 50.

¹⁵² Vespucci, "Letter III", p. 33.

¹⁵³ Vespucci, "Letter IV", p. 43.

yet did not fall into the habit of overtly describing these behaviours in classical or religious terminology, with the exception of the term diabolical. Vespucci instead, for the most part, focused on the monstrous and irrational aspects of the Tupínamba – continuing his decision to place them in a category “worse than heathens”, as he did previously when discussing religious practices. Still, of our three chosen travel writing authorities, Vespucci was very much at the fore of the traditional colonial mindset as presented in historiography, by considering the Tupí to be inhuman:

They eat little meat, except for human flesh: for Your Magnificence must know that in this they are so inhuman that they surpass all bestial ways, since they eat all the enemies that they kill or capture, female as well as male, with such ferocity that merely to speak of it seems a brute thing – how much more to see it, as befell me countless times, in many places.¹⁵⁴

In comparison to the way de Léry represented the Tupí, the differences seem obvious on the surface. Vespucci’s descriptions of the acts of cannibalism were not so obviously different from those of de Léry; where the two differed fundamentally was in the discussion of the impulse for cannibalism. De Léry explained the practice in ways that while condemning the act, stressed the ‘human’ nature of the impulse. Vespucci attributed similar acts to ‘inhuman’ and monstrous impulses.

The Cabral Voyage - The Absent Representation:

Much of the historiography on the subject of the New World discoveries focuses on the multitude of emotions that the travel writers went through – whether they be condemnation or wonder. What has been seen throughout this analysis of the various representations of these authors is the fact that each of these writers – regardless of their personal background or motivation for voyaging to the New World –

¹⁵⁴ Vespucci, “Letter VI”, p. 66-67.

is speaking of the same cultural group living on the coast of Brazil. We have evidence that these three travel writers all have specific interaction with the Tupínamba, ranging from a number of weeks to, in Jean de Léry's case, as long as a year. Despite this fact and the consistency seen throughout these narratives' inspiration (if not their representation), the truth is that cannibalism within the Tupí culture is completely absent from all documentation related to the Cabral voyage. The volume used for this study, initially published in 1948 and re-issued in 1995, contains twelve separate sets of documents that relate various aspects of the voyage. Of these, only three make any specific mention of the Tupínamba and their traditions: *The Letter of Pedro Vaz de Caminha*, *Letter of King Manuel to Ferdinand and Isabella*, and *The Anonymous Narrative*. The many other documents contained within this volume, representing two-hundred pages of text, completely ignore or exclude discussing the voyage's experiences with the Tupínamba in favour of merchant statistics, discussions of profit and scientific/astronomical revelations.¹⁵⁵ Considering the status this voyage has in historiography, being as it marks the 'discovery' of continental Brazil, this missing piece of the narrative is quite surprising.

Two reasons could account for this omission: a conscious choice or a lack of evidence. Part of the argument of the universal European is that they sought to find similar 'monstrous' practices to their textual authorities in each culture they encountered, even if they did not witness them with their own eyes. We can also be

¹⁵⁵ Specifically, the documents from the Cabral voyage that do not mention the Tupí at all are: *Letter of Master John to Kin Manuel, May 1st, 1500* (34-41), *The Account of Priest Joseph* (95-114), *The Letters Sent to Venice* (115-130), *The Venetian Diarists* (130-141), *Extract from the Report of Ca'Masser* (142-145), as well as a number of other smaller documents and communications – including the letter from Amerigo Vespucci describing his encounter with one of Cabral's ships as previously described in the introduction.

sure of the fact that Caminha, previous to his voyage to the New World, had read or been aware of Columbus' experiences in the New World and his encounter with cannibals, or Caribes. While we cannot be sure that Caminha witnessed some type of Tupí cannibalism, we do have significant evidence that points towards cannibalism being a core cultural trait of the Tupí in the area in which they landed. So, while it is most likely that the Cabral voyage managed to miss an experience of cannibalism by some stroke of luck, the fact remains that Caminha and the author of the anonymous narrative were not seeking out the monstrous when creating their representations of the Tupí, nor simply transferring their previous textual understandings into their own writing. It would serve no purpose to report falsehoods when their main purpose was to return to these places they were describing to make money. This omission of cannibalism is quite a radical shift from our other authors, but it continues to speak to the same conclusions about their motivations and representational agency.

There was one brief mention of cannibalism within all the documents listed from the Cabral voyage, but its geographical reference is not within the New World sphere. In the letter written by Dom Manuel, King of Portugal to his fellow royals in Spain, we find our missing cannibals, suitably monstrous, but not in Brazil. Instead, they were found in India:

This has just arrived, and brought me definite information of it and also concerning the trade and the merchandise of the country and of the great quantity of gold which is there; and there he found news, that among the men who carry gold from there to the coasts, they saw many who have four eyes, namely, two in front and two behind. The men are small of body and strong, and it is said that they are cruel, and that they eat the men with whom they have war, and that the cows of the king wears collars of heavy gold around their necks.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Cabral, "Letter of King Manuel to Ferdinand and Isabella, July 29th, 1501", p. 51.

King Manuel, in his own representation of the Caminha document, as well as others that influenced him to write, made the decision to include this monstrous appearance within his narrative in order to create a certain atmosphere, as well as to pay homage to some of the classical authorities that clearly were influencing him, such as Marco Polo. It is safe to say that Manuel, who never travelled to these lands nor witnessed anything he was writing about, falls into a much different category of travel writer than our other three chosen authorities. It is an important step then to be sure we are not considering all travel writing texts to be created equal when attempting to construct New World meta-narratives.

In conclusion, it seems apparent that both aspects of this thesis' argument have been shown to be far less clear than previous historiography has presented, even with such a politically charged topic as cannibalism. When one focuses on a singular point of contact, geographically rooted and anthropologically sustained, the universal, domineering, singular European travel writer starts to become less definitive. Even with their unified horror regarding the act of consuming human flesh, each writer took an opportunity to represent the subject, or in the case of one, to not represent it at all. This chapter is certainly not arguing that these writers were not out to colonize the Tupínamba or even enslave them. Instead, it is important to note that the intellectual projects that each writer was engaged in caused changes in the representational approach invoked by each. There was no singular, close-minded European reaction to Tupí cannibalism or even to the Tupí in general. Considering the fact that this contact zone involves so much representational flux and involves some of the most important historical actors and events in the New World discovery, it necessarily brings into

question the multitude of evidence that has been used to sustain meta-narratives about the New World experience. As the case of the representation of the Tupínamba, the role of the individual travel writer within the meta-narratives previously constructed in historiography needs academic redress.

Chapter 4: Oppositional Binaries and Occidentalism

The title of this thesis, “They Were as We Were”, is taken from the letter of Pedro Vaz de Caminha, written to the King of Portugal in 1501, about Tupínamba genitalia. Specifically, it reads:

One of the girls was all painted from head to foot with that paint, and she was so well built and so rounded and her lack of shame was so charming, that many women of our land seeing such attractions, would be ashamed that theirs were not like hers. None of [the males] were circumcised, but *all were as we were*. And, thereupon, we returned, and they went away.¹⁵⁷

This quotation brings the conflict between this project and the previous historiography on the subject completely to the fore. In this comment on the nudity of the Tupínamba, Caminha is clearly expressing the distance he sees between the European culture and ‘the other’ – that is, the Tupínamba of coastal Brazil. At the same time, however, he is driven by his own individual arousal and desire caused by the thrills of exotic, naked women walking about in front of him. As well, despite these dissimilarities to himself, he recognizes the fact that these people, however different, are human beings.

If Caminha thought that the Tupínamba were animals or monsters, he would not speak in this way. Caminha would not say that his penis was like theirs if he did not recognize and represent the Tupí as human. There are certain lines of human understanding that can be reached across periods of time without firm textual evidence, and I would argue this is one of them. Caminha, despite all of the supposed textual and religious influence that was to dominate him as he created his representational texts, chooses to represent Tupí genitalia as ‘just like his’. This must immediately make one

¹⁵⁷ Cabral, “Caminha document”, p. 16. *Emphasis mine*.

reconsider the supposed mechanisms of representation proposed in previous historiography to explain European reaction to the Natives of the New World. This supposed universal European can think for himself – the travel writer knows and recognizes his own parts.

Beyond this, however, is the main argument at hand. As has been shown in the previous chapters, there is some disconnect between previous historiography on the understandings from New World exploration and this particular contact zone on the coast of Brazil. Not only has it been shown that these travel writers follow different representational trajectories when making certain intellectual decisions with their projects, it is also clear that very quickly after the initial discoveries, there is enough accurate ethnographic information to refute a singular close-mindedness to their writing process. It is also clear that there are glimpses of all of the previous historiography's arguments throughout these three travel writers' works. Jean de Léry occasionally fell into the category of a man influenced by the classical and religious, who attempted to dominate the Tupínamba through cultural and literate means. Amerigo Vespucci was obviously an intellectual man of the Renaissance, who also believed in the necessity of the sword for the physical correction of the 'bestial' Tupí whenever certain paganistic behaviours reared themselves into view. Pedro Vaz de Caminha, Cabral's secretary, despite his quite functional report writing, was observing from a position of economic and technological dominance, looking to find the simplest way to make a profit and convert the non-Christians as had been done by the Portuguese during a slow, two-hundred year expansion project. But this only tells part of the story. If one were to make the representational choice to focus only on the meta-narratives of the New

World, one would stop at these brief descriptions as they nicely fit previous understandings. Yet, the smaller stories – the micro-narratives of the New World contact--- present a much different picture. But how does one write a proper history then, when the meta-narratives and micro-narratives speak to different understandings?

It seems appropriate to find part of the answer to this question within recent developments in historical methodology. First, as suggested by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra in his work *How to Write the History of the New World*, the colonizer versus colonized motif relied upon in historiography needs to be reduced in prominence in these types of projects. This is an important step, for as Esguerra describes, "...the emphasis in traditional historiography on identities as oppositional binaries misses many of the actual interactions that characterize colonial situations."¹⁵⁸ This is especially true in the situations regarding the Tupínamba and the travel writer, as all three of these sets of documents speak to the many faces of contact. Application of this methodology in early-contact Brazil would involve the removal and breaking down of the identities typically relied upon within monographs on the subject of the New World contact, in order to bring about a more individualized, concentrated approach. This methodological point was also made in Sokolow's *The Great Encounter: Native Peoples and European Settlers in the Americas, 1492-1800*. In it, it is suggested that greater sensitivity needs to be paid towards the different colonial approaches taken by the various European countries, such as the Portuguese and Spanish asserting their right to conquest based on religion, whereas the French and English used the ancient Roman law principle of *terra*

¹⁵⁸ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies and Identities in the 18th Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, Stanford U P, 2001), p. 9.

nullius in terra eam [vacant land not taken by a sovereign state].¹⁵⁹ This, of course, can also be traced back to the work of Patricia Seed and her book *Ceremonies of Possession*. In it she notes how important it is to acknowledge the unique cultural histories and traditions of different European countries and how it shaped their experiences with New World acquisitions. Specifically, Seed states that:

A different set of cultural histories, even different domains of history – science, religion, warfare, agriculture, theatre, navigation – guided the actions of subjects and citizens of each European state in creating rights to rule the New World. Yet within each European society, its members easily understood these actions as establishing legitimate possession because of their links to conventional experiences and customs.¹⁶⁰

In fact, these differences even go beyond the national identities, as oftentimes there was much disagreement even within a single country's possession policies. As explained in Jim Handy's "The Menace of Progress", in the case of the Spanish, the idea of a singular approach to possession disappeared within Columbus' lifetime. As Handy explains:

...in the context of Spain in America, [justification for colonization] became increasing irrelevant. When Columbus returned to the Americas on his third voyage, as he tried to build a colony in Hispaniola, he was faced with a revolt of sailors and adventurers who had been left behind in the islands the previous year. On his return, they declared that they had not joined in this expedition to become farmers and demanded that they be treated as gentlemen and given Indians in *encomienda*—a barely disguised slavery in which, theoretically, rights over Indian labour or tribute were given in exchange for Christian teaching. Columbus could do little but accept the demands. A restless search by Spanish adventurers in the Caribbean in the ensuing decades revealed little of value beyond some small pockets of gold in Hispaniola exploited through forced Indian labour. The Spanish spent most of their time engaged in slave raids in the islands. There was little

¹⁵⁹ Jayme A. Sokolow, *The Great Encounter: Native Peoples and European Settlers in the Americas, 1492-1800*. (London: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), p. 140. Many of these practices were quickly abandoned by Europeans, with later justifications for colonization taking on a variety of forms. Still, it is important to note these distinctions in colonial procedure in order to show the variety of paths each colonial power took in their disposal of Native lands and peoples.

¹⁶⁰ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World: 1492-1640*. (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1995), p. 6.

concern for legality or moral justification in their actions.¹⁶¹

All of these works acknowledge the violent and ugly nature of European colonial dominance in the New World, yet seek to balance ‘New World’ understandings within the nuanced colonial interactions that have been flattened from view through the use of meta-narratives and representative Europeans. It seems quite simple then – to paraphrase Said – that if the word Indian has no ontological stability, neither does the word European or even their national associations.

Second and perhaps most critical of the historiography referred to in this work, is the issue of source selection. If we consider, for example, de Léry’s writings, only one of the four monographs referenced in this thesis (Greenblatt) attempt to use Jean de Léry for any academic purpose. Mignolo briefly mentions de Léry, but instead chooses to focus on those texts created within or closer to the height of the Renaissance, which is before de Léry’s time.¹⁶² In Anthony Grafton’s *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*, de Léry only appears on a single page, specifically about cannibalism, with no direct quotations.¹⁶³ Andre Thevet, the travel writer that de Léry is responding to and criticizing for his backwards and inaccurate portrayal of the Tupí, appears on seven pages and in direct quotations.¹⁶⁴ This is especially puzzling, considering that part of Grafton’s argument is that “between 1550 and 1650, Western thinkers ceased to believe that they could find all important truths in ancient books.”¹⁶⁵ One would think that Grafton would choose to

¹⁶¹ Jim Handy “The Menace of Progress”, unpublished manuscript, Ch. 2, p. 3.

¹⁶² Mignolo, p. 272.

¹⁶³ Grafton, p. 108.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 92, 109, 117, 133-134, 167-8.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 1.

focus on de Léry as a practitioner of this new, mid-16th century invention of accurate, open-minded New World representation. But, due to Grafton's source/narrative selections and project boundaries within the New York Public Library, de Léry, and the entire Cabral's voyage for that matter, are mostly absent. The reasons behind these omissions are not entirely clear, but Grafton's chose to focus more on representing examples of persuasive European close-mindedness and large-narrative based textual reliance than exploring the uniqueness of individual sources and examples of enlightenment before and after 1550 in his book. To include an investigation of sources that were constructed around an intellectual project such as de Léry's would not have fit easily into Grafton's entire project. As a result, it was simply easier to mostly exclude it.

This example of de Léry and Cabral's voyage being underused in Grafton's work exemplifies the issues that can rise when relying upon a representational European presence in order to sustain meta-narratives. Grafton's book was written to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the Columbus' 'discovery' in order to describe "the transforming effects of the voyages of exploration upon European scholarship, learning and culture"¹⁶⁶. Grafton constructs an argument based on the idea that European travellers were often textually influenced to a significant degree until almost a half century after Columbus. Due to the sources Grafton chose to focus on, perhaps due to his project's limitations within the library, he found the representational European and presented him as universal. But, he missed some nuances that exist throughout the documents left behind from 16th century Europe. Also, by setting such a firm date and making the methodological decision to stay within the confines of the library, his argument does not easily explain contradictory examples such as the fact that de Léry

¹⁶⁶ Grafton, p. 1.

publishing in the 1570s was still occasionally textually reliant in his representations and that the earliest voyages' travel writings had tangible ethnographic material within their pages.

European travel writers were not completely handcuffed by the classics, nor was Acosta, as previously described in Chapter 1, representative of anything but his own take on the New World. Instead, travel writers throughout the New World exploration were able to take some agency in their writing and make decisions based on their own personal experiences, education level, chosen textual authority and religious affiliations to design their own representational approach, intellectual projects and models of understanding. Vespucci, a Catholic astronomer obviously trained in the ways of the classics, could see that 'practice is of greater use than theory.' Jean de Léry, a Protestant missionary, saw the nobility of very foreign cultures, defended them above and beyond some of his own kind, and used them as ammunition in his personal anti-papist political battle. Cabral and his crew, with profit in their mind, focused on the task at hand and avoided becoming entangled in philosophical matters – for they (the Tupí) were as they (The Portuguese) were – just part of an economic relationship and needing Catholic guidance. It makes one realize that travel writers should not be seen as representatives of a European whole, but instead as individual parts of a very large, complex narrative. The parts need to come before the whole.

There is one further text to add to this list, which also was missing from Grafton's compendium of European thought on the New World: the *Cosmographiae Introductio* by Martin Waldseemüller. Written in 1507, this document has the distinction of including the map on the following page – which first named the New World

‘America’. Needless to say, this should also be considered a core travel writing text on the subject of the New World due to its lasting impact. Despite its lack of reference to indigenous cultures and the fact that the author never travelled to the New World, its comment on representational methodology is too important to exclude:

...All that has been said by way of introduction to the Cosmography will be sufficient, if we merely advise you that in designing the sheets of our world-map we have not followed Ptolemy in every respect, particularly as regards the new lands, where on the marine charts we observe that the equator is placed otherwise than Ptolemy represented it. Therefore those who notice this ought not to find fault with us, for we have done so purposely, because in this we have followed Ptolemy, and elsewhere the marine charts. Ptolemy himself, in the fifth chapter of his first book, says that he was not acquainted with all parts of the continent on account of its great size, that the position of some parts on account of the carelessness of travelers was not correctly handed down to him, and that there are other parts which happen at different times to have undergone variations on account of the cataclysms or changes in consequence of which they are known to have been partly broken up. *It has been necessary therefore, as he himself says he also had to do, to pay more attention to the information gathered in our own times.* We have therefore arranged matters so that in the plane projection we have followed Ptolemy as regards the new lands and some other things, while on the globe, which accompanies the plane, we have followed the description of Amerigo that we subjoin.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ Martin Waldseemüller, *Cosmographiae Introductio*, emphasis mine, c. 1507



Ptolemy, as the regimented classical authority on cartography within the Renaissance, is at the centre of Waldseemüller's representational project. Waldseemüller wishes to represent the discoveries of the New World in his map, but is torn between two intellectual authorities – classical and contemporary. While Ptolemy's views cannot be corroborated, his name carries value in the intellectual community and Waldseemüller feels compelled to pay reference to him. But, Waldseemüller also chooses to break with tradition and begins to rely upon Vespucci as his primary authority on New World information. In fact, he even goes as far as to quotation Ptolemy as to why this is an appropriate course of action to take. This choice further solidifies Waldseemüller's status as a unique, individualized travel writer, torn between classical and tangible evidence. In an artistic rendering of his representations, Waldseemüller places the busts of Ptolemy (left) and Vespucci (right) on the top border of his map, visually expressing their equal importance to his work and comparable status as authorities. This, in and of

itself, represents the real travel writer contained within the pages of this project. They are multifaceted, distinctive and, despite their cultural similarities, heterogeneous. They are a product of a period of fluctuating authority and social upheaval. Some of them are active participants in the Renaissance – while others are peripheral to it. Some are involved in the Reformation, while others continue to support the old church’s doctrines. Most importantly, some are caught between classical authority and what they are seeing with their own eyes – and their texts often reflect this uncertainty in their representations. In a sense, within this maelstrom of intellectual debate and uncertainty, the likelihood that two writers could ever land at the same spot on the representative spectrum is very unlikely. It would be nearly impossible to construct a prototypical European travel writer from this intellectual muck – things simply got too messy almost immediately due to the newfound availability of mass media. It is this access to printing that allowed so many unique voices to insert themselves into the New World debate, further muddling the image of a New World travel writer.

This project has necessarily inserted itself into a highly politicized and charged debated about what we, as modern historians, are to make of the European colonizer and his relationship with indigenous cultures. Perhaps Wendy Wickwire said it best when she wrote “...perhaps the big question is what, ultimately, we are to make of the non-Native historical record based on the observations of a single male operating in an official capacity with a reputation at stake...”¹⁶⁸ The truth is, her implication is absolutely correct. The European record on the New World expansion is stained with the blood of many innocent lives. As Jim Handy describes,

¹⁶⁸ Wendy C. Wickwire, “To see Ourselves as the Other’s Other: Nlaka’pamux Contact Narratives” in *Canadian Historical Review*, 75 (1994), p. 20.

In the course of the next 200 years, these new imports killed between 75 and 95% of the population of the Americas. It was the greatest loss of human life in history and a devastation from which Native American societies could never fully recover.¹⁶⁹

As a result of this harsh reality, when approaching these sources, we need to be very careful. All of these documents are a minefield of representational choices and, in some cases, outright ignorance of what was seen in the New World for purpose of personal gain. But, as historians, we need to take the time to break some of these meta-narratives down in order to highlight the smaller pieces of the story that contain important revelations on the contact experience and how these documents came to be constructed. To ignore these differences and rely on an image of a single-minded, universally understood closed-minded European travel writer and conqueror to support our arguments can only be what I would call Occidentalism in nature. Much as Said criticized the West for their representational choices about the Orient, the modern historian within New World historiography would be choosing to see an image of contact and the European travel writer as a projection of the way they expect to see them, not as these writers actually present themselves within their work. Strangely enough, de Léry comments on this exact situation, in his criticism of Andre Thevet in the 1570s:

The [Tupí] took such pity on us that I can't help saying that the hypocritical welcomes of those over here who use only slippery speech for consolation of the afflicted is a far cry from the humanity of these people, whom nonetheless we call 'barbarians',¹⁷⁰

In de Léry's case, he was speaking of those in Europe who would preach Christian values (especially Catholics), but yet denounce the Tupínamba without knowing them

¹⁶⁹ Handy, Ch. 2, p. 4.

¹⁷⁰ Léry, p. 168.

or becoming fully aware of the realities of their life. If an early-modern travel writer can preach caution and the need for attention to detail and the need to live up to academic standards, it should be possible to break the reliance on using travel writers as explicit representatives of Europe when clearly it is so problematic.

Conclusion:

The Tupínamba, as previously noted, were pushed towards extinction due to colonial pressures by the mid-18th century. Their physical image, however, briefly returned in the form of a movie released in 1971, entitled *Como Era Gostoso o Meu Francês* (*How Tasty was my Little Frenchman*). This movie, using the narrative of Hans Staden as influence, brought the Tupí in their brilliant costuming and cannibalistic nature back to life. In the story, a French sailor is mistaken for a Portuguese man by the Tupínamba and is chosen to become a slave in the community. His eventual fate is to be *boucané* upon the Tupí fires. Despite his urging that he is a friendly European and not the sworn enemy of the Tupínamba, the Tupí leader grasps the Frenchman by the hair and, after a brief inspection carried out with three Portuguese captives as models for comparison, concludes that all Europeans look alike.¹⁷¹

This comment has always struck me as the most memorable from the movie, but also as important to any discussion on this particular contact zone. The quotation has two purposes – one intended and the other less so. The intended comment is in the vein of Forbes and Arens, criticizing the European record of colonization and racism in the New World through the symbolic nature of a domineering Tupí leader reversing the typical power dynamic seen in history. The second purpose is more suited towards this project. This Tupí character, despite its political motivations to criticize the West, is acting methodologically similar to many of the monographs written on the New World

¹⁷¹ *Como Era Gostoso o Meu Francês*. Dir. Nelson Pereira dos Santos. Perf. Arduíno Colassanti, Ana Maria Magalhães, Eduardo Imbassahy Filho, Manfredo Colassanti. 1971. DVD. New Yorker Video, 2007.

experience that also rely on the concept of Europeans “looking alike”. By relying upon a universal European in order to sustain their meta-narratives, it is as if these writers are taking the position of the Tupí leader, dismissing the pleas of the travel writers to have their voice heard. In doing so, they are also making the methodological choice to narrow their source selection to a significant degree and refocus discussions away from individuals and towards the politicized ‘meta’.

The purpose of this thesis has been to redress the role the individual travel writer has played in the narrative of the New World. It has been shown that the individual has been downplayed or muffled in order to maintain significant meta-narratives on the meaning and importance of the New World contact. They tend to generalize the individual European role in the New World and gloss over the many nuances and representations of indigenous cultures within the travel writer’s texts. As I have tried to show in this thesis through the contact between these three travel writers and the Tupínamba, and as Said previously explained, partial truths and inclinations too often maintain gigantic narratives. The Tupí contact zone simply does not fit cleanly within previous understandings.

The most important conclusion reached by this project is the necessity of re-exploring these works more fully to gain a better sense of the varied nature of these contacts. By taking this individualized focus, and applying interdisciplinary methodologies where appropriate, some of the major monographs written regarding the New World experience are unlikely to escape some criticism. It has been shown that the cultural traits of the Tupínamba, while recognized as different by European explorers, were not represented uniformly within their writings. European travel writers could not

agree on the colour of the Tupí's skin, the meaning of their decision to go about nude or how to approach their not being Christian. There was even significant disagreement on how to represent what would have been the culmination of the explorer's fears: the discovery of cannibals on the fringes of the world. Despite all of these unique and frightening stimuli, there was no reversion on the part of the travel writer to a default setting of representation. Most important of all, it has been shown that the individual travel writer held some agency in the creation of his works on the New World, even from the very earliest stage of contact. Each brought their own individual perspective to the New World experience and represented the Tupí as they chose. Also, each writer constructed their own intellectual project, writing for their own intended audience and used the Tupí as an exemplar for different purposes. There is no single agent of othering and discrimination within New World travel writing driving these authors towards singular conclusions about indigenous cultures. Considering all these factors, it makes one question whether or not similarly geographic-focused projects could yield far more individualized nuance and viable ethnographic materials regarding this topic throughout the many centres of contact even within Columbus' contemporaries. Through this, greater understanding of the New World could be found, albeit on a smaller scale.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary:

de Léry, Jean, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*, trans. by Janet Whatley, (Berkley, U of California P, 1990).

Polo, M. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian*. (London: John Murphy, 1874)

Staden, H. *The Captivity of Hans Staden*, (New York: Franklin, 1887).

The Voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral to Brazil and India from Contemporary Documents and Narratives; Translated with Introduction and Notes, ed. William B. Greenlee, (London, Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1938).

Vespucci, A. *Letters from a New World*, ed. Luciano Formisano, (New York: Marsilio, 1992).

Waldseemüller, M. *Cosmographiae Introductio in Letters from a New World*, ed. Luciano Formisano, (New York: Marsilio, 1992).

Secondary:

Adas, M.P. *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance*. (Ithaca: Cornell U P, 1989).

Arens, W. *The Man-eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy*. (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1979).

Armitage, D. (ed.) *Theories of Empire* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1998).

“Caminha, Pedro Vaz de” *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*. (Ed) Jennifer Speake, 3 Vol, (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Campbell, M. B. *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600*, (Ithaca: Cornell U P, 1988).

Cañizares-Esguerra, J. *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies and Identities in the 18th Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, Stanford U P, 2001).

- Certeau, M. "Travel Narratives of the French to Brazil: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries" in *Representations*, No. 33, Special Issue: The New World, (Winter, 1991), p. 221-226.
- Febvre, L. and Martin, H.J., *The Coming of the Book and The Impact of Printing*. (London: Verso P., 1958).
- Forbes, J.D. *Columbus and The Other Cannibals: The Wétiko Disease of Exploitation, Imperialism and Terrorism*. (New York: Autonomedia, 1992).
- Forsyth, D.W. "Three Cheers for Hans Staden: The Case for Brazilian Cannibalism" in *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Winter, 1985), p. 17-36.
- Frisch, A. "In a Sacramental Mode: Jean de Léry's Calvinist Ethnography" in *Representations*, No. 77, (Winter, 2002), p. 82-106.
- Grafton, A. *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*. (Cambridge, Harvard U P, 1992).
- Greenblatt, S., *Marvellous Possessions, The Wonder of the New World*. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991).
- Handy, J. "The Menace of Progress". Ch 2-3, (unpublished manuscript)
- "Herodotus" *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*. (Ed) Jennifer Speake, 3 Vol, (New York: Routledge, 2003).
- Klimek, S. and Milke, W. "An Analysis of the Material Culture of the Tupí People" in *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 37, No 1, Part 1, (Jan-Mar., 1935), p. 71-91.
- Lienhard M. and Perez, C. "Writing and Power in the Conquest of America" in *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Summer, 1992), p. 79-85.
- Mallory, J.P. and Murphy, E.M. "Herodotus and the Cannibals" in *Antiquity*, June 2000, p. 1-8.
- Métraux, A. *La Religion des Tupínamba et ses Rapports avec Celle des autres Tribus Tupí-Guarani*. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1928).
- Métraux, A. "Migrations Historiques des Tupí-Guarani", in *Journal de la Société de Américanistes* ((NS) 19, 1927), p. 1-45.
- Métraux, A. "The Tupínamba". *Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143. Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. III, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 95-133.

- Mignolo, W.D., *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1995).
- Morison, S.E. *Admiral of the Ocean Sea – A Life of Christopher Columbus*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1942).
- Noelli, F.S. “The Tupí Expansion” in *Handbook of South American Archaeology* . eds. Helaine Silverman and William H Isbell. (New York: Springer, 2008), p. 659-670.
- Nunn, G.E., “*The Imago Mundi* and Columbus” in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (July, 1935), p. 646-661.
- Pagden, A. *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination*, (New Haven: Yale U P, 1990).
- Pratt, M.L. *Imperial Eyes: The Travel Writing and Transculturation*. (London: Routledge, 1992).
- Said, E. *Orientalism*: 25th Anniversary Edition. (New York: Random House, 2003).
- Shapiro, J. “From Tupa to the Land without Evil: The Christianization of Tupí-Guarani Cosmology” in *American Ethnologist*, (Vol 14, No. 1, February, 1987), p. 126-139.
- Seed, P. *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World: 1492-1640*. (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1995).
- Sokolow, J.A., *The Great Encounter: Native Peoples and European Settlers in the Americas, 1492-1800*. (London: M.E. Sharpe, 2003).
- Todorov, T. *The Conquest of America*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).
- “Vespucci, Amerigo” *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*. (Ed) Jennifer Speake, 3 Vol, (New York: Routledge, 2003).
- Whatley, J. “Food and the Limits of Civility” in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 15, No 4, (Winter, 1984), p. 387-400.
- Whatley, J. “Impression and Initiation: Jean de Léry’s Brazil Voyage” in *Modern Language Studies*, Vol 19, No. 3, (Summer, 1989), 15-25.
- Whatley, J. “Savage Hierarchies: French Catholic Observers of the New World” in *Sixteenth Century Journal*. Vol. 17, No. 3 (Autumn, 1986), p. 319-330.
- Wickwire, W.C. “To see Ourselves as the Other’s Other: Nlaka’pamux Contact Narratives” in *The Canadian Historical Review*, 75 (1994), p. 1-20.