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REPRESENTATIONS OF CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN INDIANS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPEAN ART

Susan Milbrath

Early European images of Native Americans are an important key to understand changing perceptions through the course of the sixteenth century. Focusing on sixteenth-century images of Indians of the Caribbean and Latin America, we can assess their ethnographic accuracy and study changes in the European attitudes toward the Native Americans. Artists who had firsthand knowledge of their subjects or who worked directly with the early explorers produced works that can also be viewed as ethnohistorical documents. These are our most valuable sources of ethnographic data, and they often reveal European attitudes toward the New World inhabitants. These attitudes are also reflected in images by artists who had never seen Native Americans, especially those illustrating the first voyages of discovery.

The earliest European representations of the New World were based on descriptions by Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci. As soon as Columbus returned in 1493, images of the New World spread rapidly via the newly developed printing press. Because artists did not accompany the earliest voyagers, many derived their works from existing medieval images. These invented images of the New World reinforced existing myths or created new ones. Written descriptions also distorted, and often the Europeans saw what they wanted or expected to see. Instead of direct observation, artists borrowed extensively from medieval imagery of nude figures in the Golden Age of antiquity and the Garden of Eden, or of the forest-dwelling Wild Man. And some artists, believing the New World was part of Asia, transported Asian monsters to a New World setting.

American Indians as Asian Monsters

The earliest written descriptions of the New World set the stage for a geographical confusion between Asia and the Americas. Pierre d'Ally's *Imago mundi* inspired Columbus

to believe that he could reach Asia by traveling only a few days journey across the Atlantic (Boorstin 1983: 230). Columbus took a translator to help him speak with the Asian rulers that he expected to encounter on his first voyage (Jane 1960: 51, 206n45). Letting his expectations shape his observations, Columbus repeatedly misidentified places he visited as Asia. At first, he identified Cuba (Juana) as Cipangu, the name Marco Polo used to designate Japan in the late thirteenth century (Jane 1930: xcii; Polo 1958: 262–264). By the time he wrote his letter in 1493 at the end of the first voyage, he identified Cuba (Juana) as the province of Cathay in China (Jane 1960: 191).

Columbus's account of his first voyage fused visions of the fabulous Orient with images of the earthly paradise, and the Golden Age of classical lore. He idealized the newly discovered Caribbean islands with descriptions that evoke the Hesperides of Latin poetry, and he maintained that he had reached the eastern limits of Asia — the land of the terrestrial paradise (Jane 1960: 176; Honour 1975a: 2). By the third voyage in 1498, he identified the Gulf of Paria, between Trinidad and mainland South America, as the earthly paradise where the tree of life was located.¹ He thought that these legendary places were in Asia. Even after his fourth voyage, he still believed that he had reached Asia (Jane 1933: lxxxiv). Vespucci also said he had reached Asia when he traveled along the coast of South America in 1499. And Sebastian Cabot believed that he was in Asia when he landed somewhere near Labrador or Newfoundland in 1497 (Cumming et al. 1972: 52). This geographical confusion inspired inaccurate artistic images.

At the time of the earliest European voyages to the New World, monstrous creatures were thought to inhabit regions of Asia. Columbus expected to find dog-faced men, such as those described and illustrated in Marco Polo's Asian travelogue (Polo 1958: facing page 269, 281) and medieval accounts of the Spice Islands in *The Voyages and Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (Fig. 1). In his daily journal (log) Columbus says that he heard that there are people on neighboring islands with one eye in the forehead and people with dogs' noses who eat men (Jane 1960: 52, 68). When he returned from the first voyage in 1493, he noted in a letter that he heard about people living west of Juana (Cuba) who had tails, but had not seen any human monstrosities (Jane 1930: 12–14; 1960: 198–200).

Although Columbus's letter states that he found no human monstrosities, his reference to man-eating Caribs did seem to confirm the anthropophagi reported by Mandeville in islands such as Sumatra. Dog-faced cannibals were a popular theme in medieval literature, including the works of Mandeville, Johannes de Plano Carpini, and Friar Odoric (Mandeville 1964: ix, 130, 226–227, 338).²

In his travelogue, first written in French in 1356, Mandeville claimed to have traversed more than half of the earth's latitude. His account of monstrous races became increasingly popular after the discovery of the New World. In 1530 it was reprinted three times, and many believed that Columbus's discoveries confirmed Mandeville's claims (Boorstin 1983: 272).

Native accounts of dog-faced cannibals are mentioned in Columbus's journal, but the log remained unpublished in the sixteenth century. Perhaps his letter of 1493, which mentioned native accounts of people with tails and cannibalism among the Caribs, inspired Fries's illustrations of dog-headed people butchering and eating people in *Usllegung der*



Fig. 1 Human monstrosities in John Mandeville's *Libro de las maravillas del mundo*, Valencia, 1524 (Jane 1960: 199).

Carta Marina, published in 1525 (Colin 1987: 19–20, Fig. 11). The text says that they inhabit an island discovered by Columbus. Columbus never describes actually seeing dog-faced people nor cannibal activities, but he believed native stories about Carib cannibalism. Fries was apparently inspired by Columbus's accounts, as well as medieval images of dog-faced monsters. He may also have been aware of illustrations of monstrous races published in Doesborch's fictitious account of a voyage by Vespucci. Around 1510, Doesborch illustrated dog-faced men from Asia, originally part of a voyage to India in 1505 made by a German merchant, Baltasar Springer, adding to the confusion between Asian and New World "monsters" (Oakeshott 1960: 5, 12, 16, Pl. V).

Myths of monstrous races in the New World persisted in visual imagery well into the sixteenth century. Botero's late sixteenth-century *Aggiunta alla quarta parte dell'India*, known only from a revised version published by Alessandro Vecchi in the early seventeenth century, depicts a dog-faced man with horse-like legs (Colin 1987: Fig. 10; Oakeshott 1960: 26). The text on the opposite page says that this creature was mentioned in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* and claims that its existence was later verified by discoveries in the province of Santa Cruz in the New World (Oakeshott 1960: 2, 27; Colin 1964: 127–128).¹ Sebastian Muenster's *Cosmographia* (1554) linked the cannibals of the New World to the classical anthropophagi, and he depicted Indians alongside such monstrous peoples as bird-headed men (Hodgen 1964: 127–128).

Some of the tales of monstrous races may have been the result of direct information from the Native Americans. Magaña has compiled a long list of monstrous people described by contemporary Indians of Guayana and Surinam, including men like those in Raleigh's account of the Ewaipanoma, a tribe of headless Indians from Guayana. Raleigh reported

that the Indians said that these people had "eyes in their shoulders and their mouths in the middle of their breasts." They were illustrated in a 1599 map of the Guyanas and in *Die fünfte Schiffart* (1599), a publication of Raleigh's account by Hulsius (Magaña 1982: 66, 75, Figs. 1–4). These illustrations are similar to figures in Marco Polo's travelogue and Mandeville's narrative (Fig. 1), but the headless people from Guayana carry bows and arrows, unlike the medieval creatures (Polo 1958: 14; Letts 1949: Pls. VII, VIII, IX). As late as 1724, Lafitau pictures similar headless beings among the races of North American Indians in his *Mœurs des Sauvages Américaines* (Magaña 1982: Fig. 5).

America was exotic, and, in the absence of direct observation, artists let their imagination run wild. On the whole, the visual images depicting monstrous races disappeared in the second half of the sixteenth century as the Renaissance style, with its focus on direct observation, supplanted the world of the imagination dominant in Medieval art. Nevertheless, a geographical confusion survived as late as the eighteenth century in decorative arts blending Asian and American locales. For example, figures of Timucuan and Algonquian Indians from North America appear in a Chinese landscape represented in an early eighteenth-century lacquered cabinet at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Randall 1976: 224–229). And, some accounts of the New World were illustrated with images of the Turks because those were the plates the publisher had at hand (Elliott 1970: 23).⁴

Illustrations of Columbus's Letter

The first published description of the New World is found in Columbus's letter, written upon returning from his first voyage in February 1493. The letter was first printed in Barcelona in April 1493 without illustrations, and it was reprinted subsequently in a number of illustrated editions. Tracing the development of these images suggests that artists invented a great deal of imagery, but they based some aspects on descriptions found in the letter.

According to Alegria (1978: 78), an edition of Columbus's letter in the collection of the New York Public Library shows the first illustration of the Americas (Fig. 2). This edition lacks a date and place of publication, but it probably was printed in Basle in 1493. The flags of Aragon and Leon identify Columbus's sailing vessel, inaccurately rendered with oars characteristic of Mediterranean ships. Some of the natives wear beards, even though the letter says that they lacked facial hair. The scene in the Basel edition has been identified as an island in the Bahamas or the island of Hispaniola (now known as Haiti and the Dominican Republic). The latter identification seems likely because the print is entitled *Insula hispana*, which is a Latin translation of "Island of Española."⁵

Most subsequent editions of Columbus's letter had woodcut prints based on descriptive information in the letter. These woodcuts are a good clue about the types of images that the discovery evoked in the European imagination. A Rome edition published in 1493 depicts Columbus landing on an island with King Ferdinand enthroned in the foreground (Alegria 1978: Fig. 3). This woodcut seems to be a more accurate illustration than the Basle edition. The three ships are rendered as ocean-going caravels, rather than Mediterranean ships. The women have their genitals covered with leaves, whereas the passage



Fig. 2 Woodcut depicting Columbus landing at the island of Hispaniola (*Insula hyspana*) and meeting the Taino Indians, from the Basel edition of Columbus's letter, 1493 (Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations).

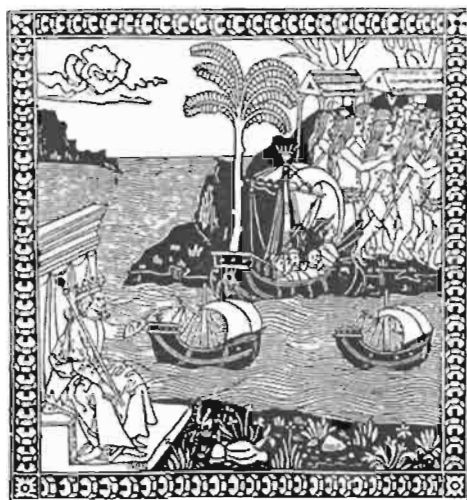


Fig. 3 Woodcut illustrating Columbus encountering the Taino Indians of Hispaniola in Giuliano Dati's edition of Columbus's letter, Florence, 1493 (British Library, London).

describing the women of Hispaniola in the letter says they wear a single leaf or net. The Rome edition depicts all the natives running away, unlike the Basel edition which shows some people trading. Either action could be considered appropriate because Columbus's letter mentions that the natives of Hispaniola ran when they first saw the Europeans, but eventually Columbus was able to make contact by offering gifts and engaging in trade.

Some details in the Rome edition seem to be drawn from the tradition of fifteenth-century woodcuts, rather than Columbus's descriptions. The thatched rectangular structures pictured in the woodcut are not mentioned in the letter. They seem to be modeled after the type of structure found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European woodcuts representing early human history (Panofsky 1962: 44, Figs. 21-23). These subtle references suggest that the artist, without having seen anything of the New World, cast the natives in the role of primitive people living prior to the development of European civilization.

In 1493, Dati published a pamphlet entitled *La lettera dell'isole che ha trovato nuovamente il Re de Spagna*, which included an Italian poem, a translation of Columbus's letter, and a new image of Columbus's landing (Fig. 3). Rendered in the style typical of early Renaissance romances, this Florentine woodcut is entirely appropriate to Dati's poem, which is written in the form of a chivalric epic. Hugh Honour (1975a: Fig. 1) believes

this illustration may be the earliest representation of the New World, but Alegria (1978: 17 – 18, 23 – 24, 31) maintains that both the Basel and Rome editions of the letter are earlier.⁶

Like the 1493 Rome edition, the Florentine woodcut has two thatched structures, three ships, a tall palm tree, and fleeing natives, including women with leaf belts covering their genitals, and men with beards that are long and patriarchal. The major differences are the broader treatment, details on the ships, and the placement of the king's throne in the foreground. A related scene appears in a 1495 Florentine edition, but here the artist added an inaccurate detail by dressing both men and women in leaf belts (Alegria 1978: Fig. 6). It seems that as time passed, artists relied less on Columbus's descriptions, and more on the visual images supplied in previous publications of the letter, sometimes omitting or introducing new details not related to descriptions in the letter.

Vespucci's New World Paradise

The next important eyewitness account is Vespucci's letter from Seville, written to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici in 1500, which describes his first voyage to South America in 1499. Traveling with the Spanish captain Alonso de Ojedo (Hojeda), Vespucci encountered cannibals and discovered the Amazon and Pará rivers. Subsequent letters to de' Medici describe his second voyage under the Portuguese flag. All of the extant Vespucci letters to de' Medici remained unpublished in the sixteenth century, but Frederick Pohl (1966) notes that the letters were circulated after de' Medici's death in 1503, providing information for two spurious accounts: *Mundus Novus* (1502 – 1504) and *Lettera delle isole novamente trovate* (1505 – 1506), also known more succinctly as *Four Voyages*.

Scholars sympathetic with Vespucci attribute these spurious accounts to publishers eager to capitalize on the new discoveries (Pohl 1966: 147, 154, 158 – 160). Others suggest Vespucci himself authored the published accounts, which pushed the date of his first voyage back two years and invented two added voyages, in order to claim that he was first to see the South American continent and forestall Columbus's legitimate claim to the discovery of a mainland on his third voyage in 1498.⁷

Vespucci's letter to Pier Soderini, variously entitled *La Lettera*, *Lettera delle isole novamente trovate* or *Four Voyages*, is based on Vespucci's description of his second voyage (1501 – 1502). It was originally published sometime between 1504 and 1506 in Florence. The earliest illustrations of this account of the Brazilian Indians appear in a 1506 Magdeburg edition, which depicts a native couple as Adam and Eve covering their nakedness in shame, even though Vespucci's text indicates the natives were "shamelessly naked" (Fig. 4). The illustration evokes a link with the terrestrial paradise mentioned in both the accounts of Vespucci and Columbus (Colin 1987: 25 – 26).

In a letter from Seville describing his first voyage in 1499, Vespucci maintained that he had reached a land in Asia that was "a terrestrial paradise." In the published account, *Mundus Novus*, describing his third voyage under the Portuguese flag (in reality his second voyage), he remarks that the terrestrial paradise must be near at hand (Levillier 1951: 304). Even though Vespucci clearly identified his discoveries as a "new world," he does not

Van den nygē Insulen vnd
landen so ytzundt kortliken
befunden sindt durch den ko-
ningk van Portugal:



Fig. 4 Woodcut depicting native couple from South America as Adam and Eve. From the Low German edition of Vespucci's account: *Van den nygē Insulen vnd landen*, Magdeburg (1506) edition. (After Colin 1987: Fig. 17.)



Fig. 5 Woodcut of the Tupinambá Indians showing cannibal activities and other scenes from daily life in the 1509, Strassburg edition of *La Lettera* attributed to Amerigo Vespucci (British Library, London).

clarify that its location is completely separate from Asia. Thus, the newly explored lands, the mysterious Orient, and the Garden of Eden remained linked in the popular imagination.

A 1509 German translation of *La Lettera* or *Four Voyages*, published in Strassburg, is the first edition to depict specific narrative incidents purportedly described by Vespucci, including cannibal activities, trade, and hostile encounters. In one scene, the Europeans hand out items that may be hawk bells and metal plates or cymbals (Alegria 1978: Fig. 16), like those described as gifts in the second voyage (Levillier 1951: 324, 328).

Another woodcut illustrates a woman nursing a baby, a man urinating, and a cannibal woman cutting up a body (Fig. 5). These are all scenes described in Vespucci's account, but the round and hexagonal houses built with wooden planks in the background are pure invention contrary to Vespucci's description of thatched huts in the Tupinambá area.⁸ The nude female suckling a baby may relate to medieval images of wild folk, such as *The Penance of Saint Jerome Chrysostom* engraved by Dürer around 1497 (Husband 1980: Fig. 63). According to Greek and Roman writers who were widely read in the sixteenth century, the earliest men were forest dwellers. Wild folk symbolized an age when man lived as one with nature, the so-called Golden Age, the earliest epoch of the human race described by Ovid and Horace (Rowe 1964: 7; Colin 1987: 24; Honour 1975a: 5).

A third illustration depicts the murder of a mariner described in *Four Voyages* (Levillier 1951: 331; Honour 1975a: Fig. 3; Alegria 1978: Fig. 14). The illustration follows details in



Fig. 6 Woodcut showing the murder of one of Vespucci's men. The man was cut up and roasted, according to the accompanying text published in the 1509 Strassburg edition of *La Lettera* attributed to Amerigo Vespucci (British Library, London)



Fig. 7 "The Judgement of Paris" from Lucas Cranach's 1508 woodcut. (After Strauss 1974: G.617.)

the text, showing an unsuspecting sailor about to be knocked out by a woman coming up from behind (Fig. 6). The sailor faces three seductive women, who resemble the three graces in Botticelli's *Primavera* (1477) and the three nude women in Lucas Cranach's 1508 woodcut, *The Judgement of Paris* (Fig. 7). Although the Strassburg artist clearly derived the scene from *Four Voyages*, this text does not specifically mention three women, thus the artist subtly adds a visual link with classical themes, casting the New World in the realm of the Golden Age of classical antiquity. The nude figures also may refer to the wild folk, figures who are sometimes barely distinguishable from the nudes representing classical figures.⁹

The sixth Latin edition of *Mundus Novus* was published in Strassburg in 1505 with the subtitle "De ora antarctica" (Fig. 8). The title page depicts three European caravels and two small boats that may be native canoes. In a separate print above, several nude people appear in a scene that has been variously interpreted as natives playing games (Honour 1975b: 10) or gesturing in surprise on seeing the Europeans (Alegria 1978: 41).¹⁰ The nude figures in *Mundus Novus* seem hastily rendered, like those illustrated in Columbus's letters, but rather than being represented as a herd of fleeing people, they are distinguished as separate individuals, adding a touch of humanity.



Fig. 8 Two woodcuts depicting nude natives of South America and Vespucci's boats arriving in the New World from the title page of *De ora antartica*, a work attributed to Amerigo Vespucci (Library of Congress, Rare Book Division, Washington, DC).

A 1505 Latin edition published in Rostock, *De novo mundo*, shows a nude male and female standing in graceful classical poses (Fig. 9). Vespucci's descriptions of the attractive physique typical of native women may have inspired the image of a voluptuous female with long curly hair, but the stronger source of inspiration seems to be European images of the early Renaissance.¹¹

The muscular bearded male and sensuous female with long curly hair resemble sixteenth-century German woodcuts representing Adam and Eve, such as Lucas Cranach's 1509 woodcut printed in Dresden (Fig. 10).¹² And the female nude figure with her weight balanced on one foot, flowing kneelength hair, and hand held to her breast, seems reminiscent of Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*, ca. 1480, a painting influenced by the Neo-Platonic movement, which infused classical imagery with Christian meaning (Janson 1977: 412).

Colin (1987: 7, 10–12) notes that the Rostock figures are clearly identified with the concept of wild folk. There are some differences, such as the lack of body hair contrasting with representations of wild men hairy creatures in medieval art, but she points out that there were some images of wild men that lacked body hair. The bow and arrows held by the male follow Vespucci's descriptions of weapons, but they are also appropriate in representations of wild folk (Colin 1987: 13). By the close of the fifteenth century, romanticized images depicted European wild folk in a paradisiacal setting. Indeed, the physical setting for wild folk suggests parallels with the landscape of the Garden of Eden (Husband 1980: Figs. 60–63). With the discovery of the New World, Native Americans were incorporated in the vocabulary of wild folk (Colin 1987: 14–15, 22–25).

The female figure in the Rostock woodcut apparently relates to imagery of Venus, Eve, and the wild woman living apart from civilized society. These concepts are not as different as they would seem, because they all reflect the idea of an earlier stage in history.



Fig. 9 South American Indians visualized as Adam and Eve in a woodcut from the 1505 Rostock edition of *De novo mundo*, a work attributed to Amerigo Vespucci. (After Alegria 1978: Fig. 8.)



Fig. 10 Woodcut (1509) by Lucas Cranach depicting Adam and Eve. (After Strauss 1974: G.337.)

Around 1510, Doesborch published an illustrated edition in Antwerp about Vespucci's third voyage, which actually was based on Springer's account of trip to India in 1505. The illustrations were copied from Burgkmair. Doesborch falsely dated his work to 1508 in order to make it appear to be earlier than a 1509 edition of Burgkmair's work, which served as the source of the illustrations (Oakeshott 1960: 12, 16). A nude couple in a wooded landscape resemble Adam and Eve. Only a bow held by the male figure indicates New World iconography (Colin 1987: Fig. 3; Alegria 1978: Fig. 9). A second illustration depicts two nude couples. One male holds a long club, and the other a bow and arrow (Alegria 1978: Fig. 11; Colin 1987: Fig. 4). Both types of weapons appear in Vespucci's accounts, but clubs are also typical of imagery depicting the European wild man, and bows are also sometimes part of this repertoire (Colin 1987: 11 – 13). Another woodcut in the Doesborch edition depicts a scene of native men confronting one another with bows drawn (Fig. 11). This scene, like the others described above, depicts nude figures without any distinctive costuming. They seem to follow a tradition linking the New World natives to the wild folk of European lore.



Fig. 11 Doesborch's fictitious account of Vespucci's voyages includes a scene of South American natives in a confrontation with an enemy tribe. (After Alegria 1978: Fig. 10.)



Fig. 12 Portuguese painting, ca. 1505, from the Cathedral of Viseu, Portugal, showing one of the three wisemen as a Tupinambá Indian. (After Honour 1975b: Pl. 43.)

Early Images of the Tupinambá

A Portuguese painting of *The Adoration of the Magi* (ca. 1505) in the Cathedral at Viseu may show the earliest European image of Tupinambá costuming, possibly costumes worn by individuals captured by Vespucci when he sailed to Brazil for the Portuguese in 1501–1502 (Fig. 12). There is no record of whether Vespucci brought natives back to Portugal, but in one letter he says he brought back 200 slaves when he sailed under the Spanish flag in 1499–1500 (Pohl 1966: 88).

The Viseu painting is attributed to either Vasco Fernández, a well-known artist who lived in Viseu between 1501 and 1541, or to Jorge Alfonso, an artist who was appointed court painter to King Manuel of Portugal in the early sixteenth century (Honour 1975a: Fig. 4). In the painting, the artist depicts a copper-skinned figure dressed in a feathered crown among the Magi, rather than the traditional representation of Balthasar, who was usually depicted as a black man (Honour 1975b: 54–55; Alegria 1978: 72).¹³ Although the native is dressed in European short pants, he has a Tupinambá-style feather crown and a long feathered arrow like those known from Tupinambá ethnographic collections (Métraux 1928: 73, 137, Figs. 2, 12). He also wears a pearl necklace, gold earrings, bracelets, and anklets. The precious jewelry is not described in Vespucci's account of the Tupinambá, and in fact he points out they value "neither gold nor silver nor



Fig. 14 Nineteenth-century engraving of a Mundurucú Indian from Brazil wearing a feather skirt. (After Barbosa Rodrigues 1882: 28.)

Despite the confusion of male and female attire in the woodcut, the costumes do seem to parallel Tupinambá costumes. The feather crowns, collars, and long feathered capes are like those brought to Europe in 1690 (Métraux 1928: 129, Figs. 12, 17, Pl. IV). The feather skirt, which Sturtevant (1976: 420) believes to be an artistic invention, resembles nineteenth-century images of the Tupi-speaking Mundurucú living inland in Brazil (Fig. 14), but the ethnographic example has long feathered tassels, rather than pendant feathers. In fact, the feathered skirts may be modeled after feathered capes that were probably among the costumes seen by artists representing the earliest images of the Tupinambá. This is yet another indication that the artist of the 1505 woodcut probably did not see the costumes worn by Tupinambás, but rather was inspired by seeing the costumes in another context.

Tupinambá costuming was also used for representations of giant Indians in a 1505–1506 loose sheet published in Nuremberg (Fig. 15; Alegria 1978: Fig. 19). Their large size is apparent by comparison with the European ship alongside. In *La Lettera* and in Vespucci's letter from Seville written in 1500, "giant" Indians are reported as living on an island fifteen leagues from the South American mainland (Levillier 1951: 279; Pohl 1966: 85). The description of the "Isle of Giants" in *La Lettera* says they carry "huge bows and great



Fig. 15 Loose sheet published in Nuremberg, ca. 1505 – 1506, depicting “giant” Indians in South America. (After Alegria 1978: Fig. 19.)

knobbed clubs” (Levillier 1951: 327), details that are also represented in the Nuremberg woodcut, which appears to show an island on the left, and the mainland on the right.

On the island, men and women wear peculiar belts that might be modeled after those in the 1505 woodcut attributed to Froschauer, but they are more strongly linked to representations of leaf belts in late-fifteenth century woodcuts depicting Caribbean natives seen by Columbus (Milbrath 1989: 187 – 188). The male figures on the island wear feather crowns and carry bows, like those in the 1505 woodcut, but they wear feather belts, rather than skirts. On the mainland side, the figures have feather crowns, bows, and clubs, like the islanders, but they wear feather skirts and stones set in their faces and chests like the male figures in the 1505 woodcut.

The costuming on the 1506 – 1506 Nuremberg woodcut parallels many aspects of Froschauer’s 1505 woodcut of the Tupinambá, however, some added elements suggested that there were other sources of inspiration. In the Nuremberg woodcut, the artist accurately portrays only the men wearing feather crowns, and he adds long clubs like those in Vespucci’s accounts. Furthermore, he differentiates the costumes of the islanders from those of natives on the mainland, possibly modeling the island costumes after early woodcuts of natives from the Caribbean islands. Even though the costuming of the mainland natives is similar to illustrations of the Tupinambá, the Indians portrayed are probably a different tribe. The woodcut seems inspired by a passage in *La Lettera* (Levillier

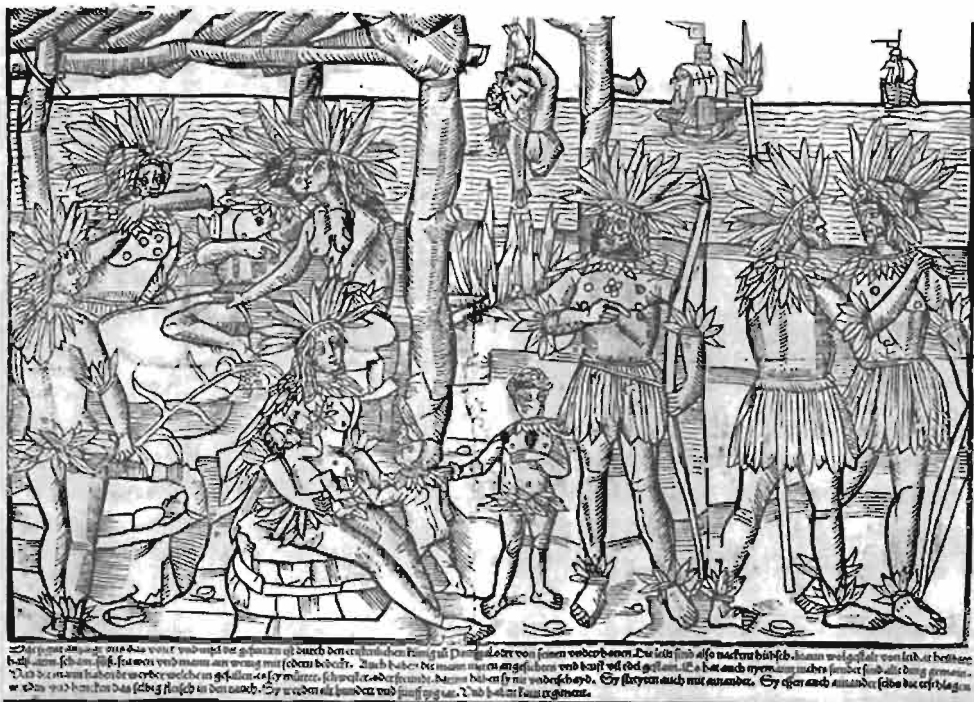


Fig. 13 Tupinambá Indians from Brazil engaged in cannibal activities from a 1505 German woodcut (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich).

precious stones – nothing but feathers and [...] ornaments made of bone” (Pohl 1966: 135). Nonetheless, Vespucci mentions collecting pearls and gold on the mainland of South America in 1500 and hearing tales of gold (Pohl 1966: 88, 135).

A woodcut of the Tupinambá Indians, probably by Johann Froschauer in Augsburg in 1505, may be the earliest published image reflecting some degree of ethnographic accuracy (Fig. 13; Sturtevant 1976: 420, 446n13; Schuller 1930).¹⁴ Men holding bows stand alongside a nursing mother surrounded by children. Despite the relaxed domestic setting, an impression of savagery is fostered by the Indians shown preparing and eating human body parts.

The artist was probably familiar with descriptions of Tupinambá cannibalism so prominent in accounts attributed to Vespucci (cp. p. 7 above). The Portuguese artist probably did not have access to these early publications. In fact, none of the accounts attributed to Vespucci was available in Portuguese or Spanish during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and even the widely published Latin editions were not printed in Spain or Portugal (Hirsch 1976: Appendix 1).

The 1505 German woodcut is the first published image of New World cannibalism, and no doubt it had a strong negative impact on the European perceptions of the Native Americans. Ships in the background, one bearing the Spanish “Cross of Santiago” on the sail, suggest that the cannibal scene refers to Vespucci’s first voyage when he sailed under

the Spanish flag in 1499–1500. In a letter describing the voyage, Vespucci says that he saw the heads and bones of people who had been eaten (Pohl 1966: 82; Levillier 1951: 276).

Despite the parallels with accounts of the voyage for Spain, both the caption and woodcut on the loose sheet are more directly linked to *Mundus Novus* and Vespucci's second and final voyage to South America in 1501–1502 under the Portuguese flag (Pohl 1966: 156–159; Levillier 1951: 289–293, 299–307). The German caption does not mention Vespucci by name, but it says the people and islands were discovered by the King of Portugal or his subjects. The caption parallels a passage in the 1502 letter from Lisbon and a section in *Mundus Novus* describing smoked human flesh hung in the house rafters (Levillier 1951: 292, 303). Clearly, the 1505 woodcut was modeled after the accounts in *Mundus Novus*, which was available in 1505 in German editions published in Augsburg and Nuremberg (Hirsch 1976: 540–541, Appendix I).

The emphasis on cannibalism quite naturally created a negative impression, placing the natives in the class of monstrous races believed to inhabit the remote parts of the earth (Milbrath 1989: 184–185). The caption states that “their heads, necks, arms, private parts, feet of men and women are little covered with feathers. The men also have many precious stones in their faces and breasts [...] They also eat each other even those who are slain, and hang the flesh to smoke” (Pohl 1966: 115). All of these descriptions are mirrored in the woodcut, but some details contradict information recorded in *Mundus Novus* and the 1502 letter. The woodcut depicts male figures wearing stones set in their cheeks and chests, contrary to Vespucci, who described men wearing stones in their lips and cheeks (Levillier 1951: 291, 302). The men are bearded, as would be common in European fashion of the day. Neither the caption nor *Mundus Novus* describe beards, but Vespucci's letter of 1502 says that the men have “little or no beard” (Levillier 1951: 290). Bows and arrows depicted in the woodcut are not described in the caption, nor in the 1502 letter, but they are mentioned in *Mundus Novus* (Levillier 1951: 303). The feathered costumes in the woodcut are not described in the 1502 letter nor in *Mundus Novus*. Nonetheless, Vespucci returned from his first South American voyage with 200 Tupinambá slaves, and Tupinambá costuming was seen by European artists shortly thereafter. It is unlikely that artists actually saw Tupinambá Indians wearing the costumes because there are many inaccuracies in the images.

Both ethnographic data and accounts by early explorers indicate that the 1505 woodcut cannot be considered an accurate rendition of Tupinambá attire. In his description of Tupí-Guaraní costumes in ethnographic collections, Métraux (1928: 148) notes that feather crowns, hats, and capes were male costumes among the Tupinambá, whereas the only feather ornaments worn by women were pasted on their bodies. In the woodcut, the artist has inaccurately dressed both men and women in similar feather crowns. Women are depicted with feather belts, whereas men wear full beards and feather skirts. One beardless figure, who may be a female, is turned to show a feather bustle, like those that Hans Staden (1928: 127) pictures as male costuming in his account of the Tupinambá published in 1557. Staden (1928: 127, 144) illustrates a male wearing such an *enduape* and says that it was used in festivals or worn by warriors preparing to do battle. Similarly, Thevet (1944: Figs. 7, 9) and Léry (1975: 214) both show male figures wearing this feather bustle, whereas female figures are nude.



Fig. 16 Loose sheet published by Doesborch depicting a Tupinambá couple cooking human body parts. (After Kronenberg 1928.)



Fig. 17 Tupinambá Indian drawn by Albrecht Durer in 1515. (After Sturtevant 1976: Fig. 4.)

1951: 327), based on a description in Vespucci's letter from Seville that Pohl (1966: 85) has identified as a description of Curaçao. In any case, the location of either place is far from the Tupinambá area on the coast of Brazil.

The Nuremberg woodcut is probably based on information in *La Lettera*, a woodcut attributed to Froschauer, and images published with Columbus's letter. As to its effect on the European perception of the natives, even though they are not depicted as cannibals, their giant size places them among the "monstrous races." Any such depiction of monstrous qualities might have been perceived as diminishing the humanity of the Indians in the eyes of the Europeans.

Feather skirts and crowns of feathers appear repeatedly in subsequent publications illustrating accounts of Vespucci's travels. A text accompanying Tupinambá figures on a loose sheet now in Rostock describes the natives encountered by Vespucci on his second voyage as "barbarians given over to bestial pleasures" (Fig. 16, Kronenberg 1927: 28).¹⁵ As in the 1505 Froschauer woodcut, the only distinction between male and female costuming is that the man wears a feather skirt, whereas the woman wears a feather bustle. This

costume element is an *enduape* worn by the warriors, according to Staden (1928: 144), which suggests that the artist has clothed the female in a male costume. This and other costume detail seem to be derived directly from the 1505 woodcut attributed to Froschauer. The only novel element is the fat dripping from body parts suspended over the fire in the cooking scene. As in the Froschauer woodcut, the emphasis on cannibalism conveys a negative impression on the natives of Latin America.

Figures wearing feather crowns and capes represent Brazilian Indians on a map in the Miller Atlas, dating from around 1518 (Sturtevant 1976: 424, Fig. 5). These costume elements parallel those on early woodcuts described above, as well as seventeenth-century ethnographic collections (Métraux 1928: Figs. 12, 17, Pl. IV). The map figures also wear long feather skirts like those worn by the men in Froschauer's 1505 woodcut.¹⁶ This type of skirt does not have a clear counterpart in surviving ethnographic collections (Sturtevant 1976: 420; Métraux 1928). Nonetheless, similar skirts are represented on a Tupinambá Indian by Albrecht Dürer, an artist known for his attention to realistic detail.

Illustrating a Book of Hours for Emperor Maximilian I in 1515, Albrecht Dürer rendered an ink drawing of a man dressed in Tupinambá costume with great accuracy (Fig. 17). The model was European, but the feathered scepter and feathered collar are like those known from ethnographic collections of the Mundurucú and their neighbors in the Rio Tapajós region of Brazil (Sturtevant 1976: 423; Métraux 1928: Fig. 13). The feather head-dress differs somewhat from ethnographic examples illustrated by Métraux (1928: Pl. II), which include a long train of feathers attached to the feathered cap; but it does resemble an example on an 1882 engraving of a Mundurucú Indian, which is formed like a cap with rosettes over the ears (Fig. 14). This engraving also shows a feather skirt split at the thighs, suggesting an ethnographic counterpart for the early sixteenth century representations of Tupinambá feather skirts.

People wearing Tupinambá feather skirts appear among Asian populations in Hans Burgkmair's *The Triumph of Maximilian I* published in 1526 (Honour 1975a: Fig. 5, 1975b: Fig. 9a; Sturtevant 1976: 420–421, Fig. 3; Applebaum 1964: Pl. 131). The print, entitled "people of Calicut," reflects a geographical confusion that placed the New World in Asia during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The corpus of 137 woodcuts were based on a series of 109 miniature paintings by Albrecht Altdorfer's studio, and these in turn were derived from sketches by Jörg Kölderer. Of the drawings for the woodcuts, 66 were done by Burgkmair, two by Dürer, while the rest are attributed to Altdorfer and other artists (Sturtevant 1976: 421; Honour 1975: Fig. 5). When Burgkmair made the woodcuts between 1516 and 1519, he recorded remarkably accurate ethnographic details (Sturtevant 1976: 421). Some figures carry paddle-like clubs or scepters like those collected among the Tupinambá (Métraux 1928: Fig. 5). The feathered crowns resemble those known from seventeenth-century ethnographic collections (Métraux 1928: Fig. 12). Some of the skirts are virtually identical with the example depicted by Dürer, and both men and women wear feather skirts, like the Froschauer woodcut.

According to Sturtevant (1976: 423), both Dürer and Burgkmair may have worked from the same Tupinambá Indian models or costumes. Indeed, the Tupinambá imprint on images of American Indians had become so strong that it even influenced European depictions of Mexican Indians in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Early European Images of Mesoamerica and Peru

A male wearing Tupinambá costuming represents an Aztec man on the title page of a 1523 edition of the second letter from Cortés (Hirsch 1976: Fig. 85; Alegria 1978: Fig. 27). This image was published so soon after the conquest of Mexico in 1521 that artists had not yet assimilated information about the Aztecs.¹⁷ It also demonstrates the pervasive nature of Tupinambá imagery during the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

A German drawing of an Indian holding a feathered shield, attributed to Hans Burgkmair, dates shortly after 1519 (Honour 1975b: 14, Fig. 9b). The shield with pendant feathers and an elaborate decorative design seems similar to shields brought to Europe shortly after 1519, and may actually depict an example now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (Heikamp 1972: Pl. 39; Feest 1990: 24–25, Figs. 15–16). The figure holds a club and wears a feather cape, skirt, and headdress. Some details of the feathered costume do not seem authentic, particularly the headdress made of radiating feathers angled down like the brim of a hat. The bearded figure with a feather skirt seems atypical. The Aztec feather tunic (*ehuatl*) had a feathered border or “skirt” that may have been detachable, but it is shown with a sleeveless top in Aztec pictorial manuscripts (Anawalt 1988: 117–118; 1981: Chart 4). Despite the inaccuracies, the graceful pose creates a positive image, and the Mexican Indian seems almost to have stepped out of the pages of a classical scene.

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, the chronicler and naturalist, may be the first traveler to the New World to visually document American Indians and their activities. His crude renderings are an important but inadequately studied source of ethnographic information (Sturtevant 1976: 424–425, Figs. 6–7). Drawings of Hispaniola, Central America, Peru, and Patagonia depict a variety of subjects, including housing, weapons, canoes, fire drilling, and gold-panning. Of more than twenty drawings, only three were published in Oviedo's *Sumario de la natural y general historia de las Indias* in 1526, and seven more appeared in the first nineteen books of his *La historia general y natural de las Indias* printed in 1535, and reissued under the title *Crónica de las Indias*, with new blocks that improved the images (Sturtevant 1976: 424–425, 447n20). Subsequently his scene of a Patagonian camp was published in Book XX in 1557, but all other drawings remained unpublished until the nineteenth century (Gerbi 1976: 43n4). In the gold panning scene in the 1535 and 1547 editions, one of the natives wears what appears to be a leaf belt, while the others are positioned so that their genitals are covered. Oviedo's simple illustrations do not really reveal his sentiments; it is only in the text, which includes many details about deviant sexual behavior, that we become aware of his negative attitude toward American Indians.

In the first book ever published about the conquest of Peru, the predominant imagery relates to previous publications of the Columbus and Vespucci accounts. Cristóbal de Mena's *La conquista del Perú* (Seville, 1534) depicts the Incas carrying bows, and wearing leaf belts and swaddled loin cloths, unlike descriptions in the text saying that the men were dressed in livery (tunics) under which they hid clubs (Milbrath 1989: 193–194; Mena 1929). The leaf belts were probably copied from illustrations in editions of the letters of Columbus or Vespucci. The swaddled loin cloths and the Inca ruler on a palanquin

Das Massachussetts Indianer Bild.



Fig. 18 Watercolor by Christoph Weiditz showing an Aztec man at the court of Charles V in 1529 wearing a feathered skirt. (After Sturtevant 1976: Fig. 8.)



Fig. 19 Detail from lower left corner of "Esther and Ahavser," an anonymous southern German painting from the second quarter of the 16th century, showing figure clearly derivative of Weiditz's work. (Schloß Ambras, Innsbruck, cat.no. 372.)

accompanied by an umbrella-bearer, may have been drawn from woodcuts of Asian potentates. Mena also shows the Incas holding bows and arrows, rather than the clubs described in the text. Here, as in other images dating from earlier times, imagination played a greater role than ethnographic accuracy.

The first European illustrations of Mexican natives drawn from life are the watercolors by Christoph Weiditz from Augsburg, who visited the court of Charles V when it convened in Toledo or Barcelona in 1529 (Fig. 18; Cline 1969; Sturtevant 1976: 426, Figs. 8, 9; Honour 1975b: 60–61, Figs. 46–48).

His scenes include accurate representations of a patolli game, a sequence of three ^{partings} drawings showing a man juggling a log with his foot, and two men playing a ball game wearing only hand guards and leather briefs with straps laced around the waist and thighs. He also illustrated six standing figures with costumes appropriate to their different ranks and roles (Cline 1969). Four figures wear fringed capes (*tilmatli*); three are clearly males, but one wearing a knotted headband and a tunic with a triangular bottom is described as a woman in the German inscription (Cline 1969: 76–77; Honour 1975b: Fig. 36a). The cape is normally not worn by females in Aztec pictorials, suggesting some confusion on costuming in the paintings (Anawalt 1981: Chart 2). The triangular shaped tunic may be

an attempt to depict an Aztec *quechquemel*, which normally is short, covering only the woman's upper torso (Anawalt 1981: Chart 3).

Two of the males wearing capes are bare-chested and they wear short feathered skirts (Fig. 18; Cline 1969: 75–76). These may be intended to represent the skirt of an *ehuatl*, which had a feathered “skirt”; however, this costume is not typically shown with a cape (Anawalt 1981: 50, Chart 4). The skirt of the *ehuatl* may have been separate from the top, but they are shown together in Aztec pictorial manuscripts (Anawalt 1988: 117). Possibly Weiditz saw the feathered skirt as a separate article of clothing during one of the performances at court, or perhaps he added this element because the feather skirt had become firmly identified with New World natives in the European consciousness.

Three bare-chested jugglers also wear feathered shirts (Cline 1969: 72–73; Honour 1975b: Fig. 47). Some figures appear without feathered skirts; these include the female described above, and two ball players and two figures gambling wearing leather briefs (Cline 1969: 64; Honour 1975b: Fig. 46b). These briefs do not resemble Aztec loin coverings (Anawalt 1981: Chart 2), but may represent an undocumented form of costume.

All of the male figures have numerous jeweled stones inlaid in their faces. The stones inlaid in the chin might represent lip plugs (labrets), but representations in the codices indicate that the Aztecs wore a single labret on the chin below the lip (Fig. 20; Durand-Forest 1976: ff. 106r, 108r; Anawalt 1981: Pl. 2, 1988: Fig. 12). The inlaid stones in the cheeks are probably modeled after the pervasive image of the Tupinambá.

Weiditz's scenes of Mexican Indians emphasize their physical prowess, creating a positive image of the American Indians. The paintings remained unpublished, however, and did not directly exert a strong influence on the general public. Nevertheless, his paintings represent an important development toward more accurate ethnographic imagery, and they were seen by other artists (cp. Fig. 19), including Theodore de Bry and other engravers, and thus had an indirect impact on the American Indian image in Europe.

There was extensive visual and written documentation of the Mexican Indians during the second half of the 16th century. Unfortunately, most of these images remained unpublished and were inaccessible to other artists and the general public. The majority were done by native artists trained by Europeans, and cannot be classified strictly speaking as European images. Nonetheless, there are some important exceptions, such as several European paintings in the *Codex Tudela*.

The *Codex Tudela*, an ethnographic work attributed to Friar Andrés de Olmos and dated to 1553, includes copies of native paintings and six images of Mexican and Guatemalan Indians done by a European artist (Tudela 1980; Sturtevant 1976: 429, Figs. 13, 14; Honour 1975b: Figs. 50, 51). These seem to be accurate and are specifically identified as to culture group. They include a Mexican (Aztec) man regally attired in a long-sleeved tunic (*xicolli*), a cape (*tilmatli*), and sandals (Tudela 1980: 45, Lám. 2). Two bare-footed Mexican women wear a long, vertically striped *huipilli* with an ankle-length skirt or *cueitl* (Tudela 1980: 45–46, Láms. 3, 4). A man from the south coast of Guatemala wears a loin cloth (*maxtlatl*) and cape tied over the shoulder, in the Aztec manner (Tudela 1980: 46, Lám. 6). A Yopi man from the area of Acapulco wears a loin cloth and a distinctive net cape (Tudela 1980: 46, Lám. 7). He is armed with a bow and arrow like representations

of the Chichimecs in Aztec codices (Durán 1971: Pl. 5).¹⁸ The figures reflect European conventions, particularly notable in the frontal pose with carefully drawn feet positioned at right angles. Comparing the figures to those in the *Codex Borbonicus*, dating to the early colonial period, a greater sense of naturalism is evident. *Codex Borbonicus* follows many conventions of pre-Cortesian codices, emphasizing profile figures and static poses. Nonetheless, occasionally the *Codex Borbonicus* carries naturalism far enough to distinguish the right and left feet on figures (Boone 1982: 158), but never so far as to show the ankle bones, as in *Codex Tudela*.

The *Codex Tudela* paintings represent the earliest images of Native Americans created by a European artist in Mexico, but his identity remains unknown (Tudela 1980: 48–50). The paintings are dignified portraits, but they had no real impact because they remained unpublished in the sixteenth century.

Images by Diego de Valadés in *Rhetorica christiana* (1579) reflect a strong European influence, leading Robertson (1976: 490–491) to identify the artist as a European. More recent research indicates that Valadés, a Tlaxcalan mestizo born during the early colonial period, created the engravings after he had been to Europe for eight years (Boone 1989: 59, Fig. 23). In an image of Tenochtitlán, he depicts the Aztec god Huitzilopochtli mounted on a pedestal looking like an exotic pagan deity costumed with a tunic and spiked crown. His temple on top of the pyramid looks like a classical semidome or the apse of a Christian church. Except for the sacrificial victim, there is little attempt at ethnographic accuracy (Boone 1989: 59). Valadés illustrates natives dancing amid a pastoral landscape dotted with various Italian-style structures, creating an idyllic image of Mexico. As Boone (1989: 67) points out, his engravings followed a classical, humanistic tradition comparing Aztec deities to pagan gods.

Another tradition of representing the Americans emphasized the diabolical quality of Aztec deities. This aspect is expressed both by Mexican artists during the early colonial period and European artists trying to recreate Aztec images on the European continent (Boone 1989: 68). In the *Historia de Tlaxcala* (ca. 1590) and the *Relación Geográfica de Tlaxcala* (ca. 1585), Diego Muñoz Camargo, a mestizo working for the Spanish government, represented Aztec gods with attributes of medieval European images of the devil (Boone 1989: 68, Fig. 28; Acuña 1984: 13–14, Cuadros 8, 10). European influence is clearly evident in the line quality and specific details, such as in a scene depicting the conquest of Tonalan with a European sun disk (Acuña 1984: Cuadro 82). On the other hand, Camargo's images seem to incorporate many elements of the colonial period tradition of native painting.

The *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* is more European than Aztec in conception, style, and technology, even though it focuses on the Aztec culture and is related to the tradition of Aztec codices (Fig. 20; Boone 1990: 274). Illustrations in part two of the *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* (Durand-Forest 1976: ff. 105–112) may have originally belonged with a manuscript by Juan Bautista Pomar called *Relación de Texcoco*, which was written after 1577 in response to a questionnaire and published ^{in the 17th century} around 1582 without illustrations (Gibson and Glass 1975: 355; Glass 1975: 147–148). Robertson (1959: 150–151) identifies six images in the *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* as original illustrations from Pomar's manuscript, refuting Thompson's

(1941: 19) argument that they are copies because the figures are too advanced technically to have illustrated Pomar's manuscript written in a "provincial town." Robertson disagrees, arguing that since the manuscript was from Texcoco, the illustrations should be of the highest quality, and therefore they must be the originals, rather than copies. He recognizes the hands of three artists, suggesting that the images of Tlaloc and Nezahualpilli are by one artist, the illustrations of Nezahualcoyotl and Tocuepotzin by another artist, or possibly two separate artists, and the one of Quauhtlazacuilotzin by still another hand.

The ruler of Texcoco, Nezahualcoyotl, is shown in a dynamic pose with a menacing expression, wearing a helmet of feathers with horns (*quetzalquaquavitl*) and carrying a feather shield and an obsidian-bladed weapon (Durand-Forest 1976: 29, Fol. 106). He wears an *ehuatl*, the standard warrior costume with a feather skirt (Anawalt 1988: Fig. 22). Body shading, the detailed representation of facial expression, and the feather skirt parted by the figure's raised knee seem unlike warrior imagery depicted in the colonial period codices by native artists. This suggests a strong European component, indicating that the portrait of the king was by a Spanish artist or a native artist with European training.

In discussing the image of Tlaloc, Robertson (1959: 150–151) notes the line quality is unlike that of the pre-Cortesian Mixtec style or that of *Codex Borbonicus*, a colonial period Aztec manuscript. He believes the style falls outside the European tradition, even though he notes that there is shading on the figures. The shading and the pose, with one foot placed frontally and the other rotated to a side view revealing carefully delineated ankle bones, seem to follow European conventions.¹⁹

These aspects of European influence are also seen in the painting of King Nezahualpilli (Fig. 20). Tudela (1980: 45, Lám. 2) believes that there is a particularly strong resemblance between one of the Indian portraits in the *Codex Tudela* and the painting of the Mexican king, and suggests that the Spanish artist of the *Codex Tudela* probably saw the painting of Nezahualpilli. If this is true, the painting of Nezahualpilli must have been done prior to 1553 (the date of the *Codex Tudela*), but such a conclusion would contradict Robertson's opinion that they were original paintings incorporated in Pomar's questionnaire written after 1577. Nonetheless, Glass (1975: 147) notes that the six illustrations could be leaves from a lost Pomar manuscript or a manuscript used by him. If the illustrations were already in Pomar's hands in 1577, they could have been considerably older.

Accuracy in costume detail suggests the image of Nezahualpilli is based on some direct observation of a native painting depicting the ruler or of royal costumes that survived into the early colonial period. Details of Nezahualpilli's costume seem highly authentic, including a cape or cloak (*tilmatli*) that is tied at the front, a style worn only by certain nobles and priests (Anawalt 1981: 30).²⁰ The design on the cloak has been identified as a tie-dyed pattern used to show the Toltec heritage of Aztec rulers (Anawalt 1990). Nezahualpilli also wears a quetzal feather hair ornament (*quetzaltlapiloni*), which is the mark of military prowess (Anawalt 1981: 31). The king's gentle face and graceful pose certainly would have had a positive effect on European images of the Native Americans, but the illustrations never reached the general public in the sixteenth century.

The portrait of Nezahualpilli is very similar to a portrait of Motecuhzoma II attributed to a Spanish artist living in Mexico during the second half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 21;



Fig. 20 Nezahualpilli, the ruler of Texcoco. from *Codex Ixtlilxochitl*. (After Heikamp 1972: Pl. 47.)



Fig. 21 Portrait of Motecuhzoma II. (After Heikamp 1972: Pl. 45.)

Heikamp 1972: 23, Pl. 44 – 45).²¹ Both have modeling with contour shading and similar poses, but the pose of Motecuhzoma is even more distinctively European, with the body weight clearly resting on one foot. The bands worn on the upper arms and calves, triangular headband (*xiuhitzolli*), feathered shield, and feather hair ornaments appear to be authentic. The form of the cape and loin cloth are accurate, but they are decorated with European-style designs. Also, the jewelry, especially the gold labret and necklace, differ from known Aztec models, and the feathered spear held by the ruler is another inappropriate detail (Heikamp 1972: 23 – 24). The ruler's portrait has almost the quality of a painting of a European monarch, conveying a sense of nobility.

This and other favorable portraits of Aztec rulers were not available to the general public during a crucial time in the development of their perceptions of the New World in the sixteenth century. Native Americans were portrayed negatively in published works by Sepulveda, leading Las Casas to champion the rights of the Indians in a series of debates against Sepulveda. This confrontation of two widely opposed views is best documented in written accounts, but a subtle thread of the dialogue can be traced in the visual arts. Negative images emphasizing cannibalism dominated publications throughout the six-

teenth century, only rarely to be countered by a more positive view, such as the European paintings in the *Codex Tudela* and the portraits of Aztec rulers. These favorable images did not reach the public eye, leaving Tupinambá cannibalism dominate European visual imagery. Most allegorical images depicting America in the second half of the sixteenth century alluded to cannibalism in some way (Milbrath 1989: 206–208; Honour 1975a).

A departure from this negative view is seen in an allegory of America decorating the ceiling of the Uffizi Palace Armory (Milbrath 1989: 205). Painted by Lodovico Buti in 1588, the fresco depicts a figure with a feather headdress carrying a ruler on a litter (Robertson 1976: Fig. 58; Honour 1975b: Pl. VI). In the Armory fresco, the ruler wears a peaked headband like that of an Aztec emperor, leading scholars to identify the scene as a representation of a Mexican ruler (Heikamp 1972: 21–22, Pl. 34). Heikamp notes that the scene is reminiscent of an East Indian procession of princes. Hans Burgkmair's *King of Cochin China* (1508) shows a similar procession with an Asian ruler carried in a litter accompanied by an umbrella bearer (Strauss 1974: G.512–513). Nonetheless, the figures are dressed in swaddled loin cloths and turbans, rather than the feathered costumes characteristic of images of America. In fact, feathered costumes are the main distinguishing feature in imagery of the American Indians during the sixteenth century.

Other frescos in the Armory may be linked with costuming depicted in Sahagún's *Historia (Florentine Codex)*, and Heikamp (1972: 20) suggests that Buti may have seen that codex prior to painting the frescos. The costumes have a degree of authenticity, but the artist clearly misrepresented some elements. One painting shows a warrior wearing an Aztec-style loin cloth (*maxtatl*). He carries a throwing stick (*atlatl*) and a feather shield, appropriate Aztec military attire, and wears a feathered hair ornament (*quetzallapiloni*). As Heikamp (1972: 21, Pl. 32) points out, this regal headdress is inappropriate to his scanty costume, and his bell-trimmed boots are pure invention. He also notes other inaccuracies in the weapons and banner held by another figure (Heikamp 1972: 21, Pl. 33). This warrior wears a feline costume with the upper jaw framing his face, but the costume covers only the upper part of his body, unlike Aztec representations.

In Buti's fresco depicting a battle with the Spaniards, weapons with obsidian blades and shields with pendant feathers suggest direct observation of Aztec weapons brought to Europe (Fig. 22). Nonetheless, Mexican attire was misinterpreted when filtered through European perceptions. Headdresses in two of the frescos, depicted as a tall crown of feathers (Heikamp 1972: Pls. 28, 34), may be inspired by the headdresses worn by some Mexican tribes located outside the Valley of Mexico, like those in Camargo's *Relación Geográfica de Tlaxcala* (Acuña 1984: ff. 288r, 288v, 305r). This style of headdress is not characteristic of costumes worn by Aztecs and Tlaxcalans, nor is it represented in the *Florentine Codex*, which may have inspired Buti. The feathered crowns may be modeled after the generic "Indian" headdress of the Tupinambá. In the battle scene, warriors wearing feathered crowns fight alongside figures with bird headdresses and a figure wearing a peaked conical hat reminiscent of a Huastec-style headdress (Heikamp 1972: 20; Anawalt 1988: Figs. 18, 23). Nonetheless, the detailing is different, and the hat looks more like a "dunce cap" than an Aztec headdress.

No doubt Buti's murals were seen by the upper class of Florence, along with the exotic treasures displayed in the Armory. Figures in the frescos recall classical figures decorating



Fig. 22 Wall fresco depicting a battle between Mexicans and Spaniards by Ludovico Buti, 1588, Uffizi Palace Armory, Florence. (After Heikamp 1972: Pl. 31.)



Fig. 23 Cieza de León's woodcut of an Inca ruler encountering Francisco Pizarro. (After Cieza 1984: facing 232.)

European palaces, appearing poised and elegant, rather than monstrous or threatening. The idyllic landscape suggests that the New World was a form of paradise. The mural showing the battle represents the Spaniards as the aggressors, surging forward in a cloud of smoke from firearms, vastly outnumbering the Indians, who are drawn together in a small group. In this composition, Buti seems to show sympathy for the plight of the Indians, assailed by European weapons.

In 1553 Pedro Cieza de León published his *Primera parte de la crónica del Perú*. In his preface, he notes that “we and these Indians have our origins in common parents, Adam and Eve” (Cieza 1984: 8), as if responding to the current debate between Sepulveda and Las Casas about whether the Indians were part of the human race. The woodcuts accompanying the illustrations depict the Incas with kind faces and graceful gestures (Fig. 23; Cieza 1984). Cieza was born in Spain and came to the New World in 1535, when he was only thirteen (Cieza 1984: xxii). Perhaps early exposure to Indian cultures made him a sympathetic observer.

The book was illustrated with 42 woodcuts of Peruvian Indians, but only twelve were of different scenes, and only two of these appear to be based on any ethnographic reality (Sturtevant 1976: 430, Figs. 15, 16; Cieza 1984: facing 136 and 232). In one woodcut, an Inca ruler with a royal headband (“fringe”) encounters Francisco Pizarro (Fig. 24). In the other scene, the ruler wears the royal headband and large earplugs, appropriate jewelry for the Inca ruling class, who were called “orejones” because of the large earplugs they wore. The representations appear to be based on information extracted from the text, rather than direct observation, and the ethnographic accuracy is clearly questionable. The Inca tunics are represented like Roman togas, and Cuzco is depicted like a medieval



Fig. 24 Theodore de Bry's 1596 engraving, showing Spaniards throwing natives to the dogs, illustrates an account by Benzoni. (After Alexander 1976: 132.)

walled city, complete with church spires and turrets. The amicable gesture of the Inca ruler greeting Pizarro creates a positive image of the Incas, echoing the text, but illustrations and texts dealing with the Indians of Colombia are less favorable. Among the scenes in this section are illustrations of human sacrifice and idolatry, with a statue of a horned devil representing an native deity (Cieza 1984: 71 – 74). If nothing else, the images provided a new view of Native Americans, and certainly gave a more accurate picture than the only previous illustration dealing with Peru published by Cristóbal de Mena in 1534 (Milbrath 1989: 193 – 194; Mena 1929).

In 1565 Girolamo Benzoni published an illustrated Italian account, *La Historia del mondo nuovo*, which describes his extensive travels in America between 1541 and 1556 (Benzoni 1967, 1969).²² Benzoni, an Italian who traveled in the Caribbean, Venezuela, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Panama, and Nicaragua, was a keen observer with a tenacious memory (Alexander 1976: 122). He published eighteen woodcuts that are of great ethnographic value (Sturtevant 1976: 438). The scenes include the Incas worshipping the sun, the natives of Hispaniola committing suicide to avoid capture by the Spanish, and the Indians of Darien forcing the Spaniards to swallow molten gold, then roasting and eating their flesh (Benzoni 1967: 89, 93 – 94, 260; 1969: 49v, 52v, 168r; Sturtevant 1976: Fig. 27). The wood-

cuts seem somewhat primitive, but certainly attracted attention because of their graphic portrayal of gruesome incidents. On the whole, Benzoni was sympathetic with the Indians, conveying an anti-Spanish sentiment in his text and illustrations.

Between 1594 and 1596, de Bry published Benzoni's work in three volumes as part of his compendium on America (Honour 1975a: Pls. 66, 67; Alexander 1976: 122–151). De Bry takes great liberties with Benzoni's images, incorporating many European elements, and inventing scenes not illustrated in Benzoni's original work (Fig. 24). The costumes seem to be invented or borrowed from other sources. In a plate depicting Atahualpa arriving at Cajamarca, the Incas are dressed in feather headdresses, like the Tupinambá, and leather briefs with things laced at the waist, recalling costuming depicted in Weiditz's representations of Mexican Indians (de Bry 1596: Pl. 6; Cline 1969: 74; Honour 1975b: Fig. 46b). The relatively crude nature of Benzoni's woodcuts were apparently unacceptable to de Bry, who could not resist the temptation to elaborate and rework the subject into his elegant, classicizing style. The overall effect was to romanticize the imagery and remove it from ethnographic reality. De Bry also invented illustrations to support Benzoni's descriptions of the cruel European treatment of the Indians. De Bry depicted a number of gruesome scenes not illustrated by Benzoni, including Spaniards throwing natives to the dogs, and de Soto torturing the Indians to find out where they acquired gold (Fig. 24).

Tupinambá Imagery: The Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

The Tupinambá continued to dominate European perceptions of the New World because they were familiar to Europeans, especially to the Portuguese, French, and British engaged in the dyewood trade (Honour 1975b: 62–64). Coastal Brazil, where the Tupinambá lived, was a center for Portuguese colonization and a focus for French trade in dyewood. In Rouen, the main market for the dyes, a jungle village with fifty Tupinambá Indians was erected on the banks of the Seine when King Henri II visited in 1550. A book published to commemorate the visit was illustrated with a schematic woodcut showing a staged battle and village scenes (Honour 1975b: 63, Fig. 52). A watercolor of the same encampment shows quite a bit more detail, including figures wearing the red body paint typical of the Tupinambá (Sturtevant 1976: 428).

The prominence of the Tupinambá in European imagery of the New World was not without its negative consequences, because cannibalism both fascinated and reviled the Europeans. This negative attitude is clearly evident in a Portuguese painting (ca. 1550) that depicts the *Inferno* with the devil dressed in Tupinambá costume (Honour 1975a: Pl. 7). As Honour (1975b: 54–56, Figs. 43–44) notes, just 50 years separates this image from the Portuguese canvas from Viseu (ca. 1505) depicting a wise man in the Nativity as a Tupinambá Indian (Fig. 12). This may reflect an actual shift in the Portuguese attitude toward the Brazilian natives after the Tupinambá had become allies of the French, who were fighting the Portuguese while trying to colonize Brazil (Staden 1928: 177n48).

In 1557 Hans Staden published an account of his captivity by the Tupinambá while in Portuguese service (Staden 1928). A translation of the German title, *Description of a Country*



Fig. 25 Woodcut showing Tupinambá costuming published in 1557 by Hans Staden, whose eyewitness images are considered to be accurate ethnographic documents. (After Staden 1928: 127.)

of *Wild Naked, Cruel, Man-eating People in the New World*, reveals a very negative attitude toward his captors. Nonetheless, the illustrations accurately document many aspects of Tupinambá life, such as village plans, agriculture, long houses, cooking, fishing, warfare, native dress, and cannibalism (Fig. 25; Honour 1975a: Fig. 60; 1975b: Fig. 53; Sturtevant 1976: 433–434, Figs. 20–22). His text underscores the gruesome nature of Tupinambá cannibalism, describing in detail how they dismembered bodies and how the women ran around with the body parts to amuse the village (Staden 1928: 158). Cannibalism is similarly prominent in his illustrations (Staden 1928: 100, 108, 158, 162, 163).

The woodcuts were done from Staden's drawings or under Staden's supervision. The natives in group scenes are nude, but there is considerable detail in the activities shown, and some scenes focus on individual figures to illustrate costuming and weapons (Fig. 25). The paddle-like clubs, feather crowns, and feather bustles are accurate portrayals of Tupinambá costuming, resembling those preserved in ethnographic collections (Métraux 1928: 80–81, 148, Figs. 5, 19). In a detailed drawing of one figure's face, Staden (1928: 143) depicts stones inset in the chin and cheeks. The stones in the chin might represent tembletas known from ethnographic collections in the Tupi-Guarani area (Métraux 1928: 164–165). On the other hand, semilunar necklaces depicted by Staden are not among the ethnographic collections illustrated by Métraux (1928). Nevertheless, they probably are accurate images as they also appear in sixteenth-century depictions of the Tupinambá published by Thevet (1944) and Léry (1975). These were probably made of wood or shell, like necklaces described by Léry (1975: 99–100, 107).

Métraux often relies on Staden for illustrations of early Tupinambá costuming, and Rowe (1964: 3) considers Staden's illustrations to be the first accurate and informative depictions to be published about the New World inhabitants. Although Oviedo's drawings were actually earlier, they are not nearly as detailed. Staden's chronicle reached a much larger audience when the Flemish engraver Theodore de Bry reworked the primitive woodcuts into elegant engravings and published them in 1592. De Bry maintained the emphasis on cannibalism and nudity, but he added many costume and landscape details



Fig. 26 Thevet greeted by a Tupinambá family when entering their dwelling. (After Thevet 1944: Pl. 13.)



Fig. 27 A Tupinambá family in an engraving inspired by Jean Cousin the Younger's Thevet illustrations and published in Léry's 1578 account. (After Léry 1975: 107.)

(Alexander 1976: 99 – 121). Significantly, he misinterpreted native body paint as hair, introducing a subtle link to established European images of the wild man (Colin 1987: 12). Because the images of cannibalism are so much more detailed in de Bry, they are even more gruesome than those in Staden.

In 1557 André Thevet published twenty-four woodcuts in *Les singularitez de la France antarctique*. Since Thevet spent only a few months in Brazil between 1555 and 1556, much of his book is based on hearsay and imagination (Fig. 26; Thevet 1944; Honour 1975a: Fig. 61; 1975b: 65, Fig. 54; Sturtevant 1976: 435 – 437, Figs. 23 – 25). He includes a number of illustrations of things he could not have seen first hand, such as Plains bison and Amazon women fighting with men landing in canoes (Thevet 1944: Figs. 23, 24).

The illustrations of the Tupinambá in Thevet's book are attributed to the French Mannerist painter Jean Cousin the Younger. Even though they were not done from life, they apparently depict activities of Brazilian Indians with fair accuracy, indicating that the artist had reliable guidance in their execution. The feathered bustle worn by males, their scepter-clubs, and the feathered crowns all resemble ethnographic examples of Tupinambá costuming (Métraux 1928). Aside from these scanty elements of costume, the figures are nude.

Thevet's account was widely read and played an important role in influencing the French vision of the Brazilians (Honour 1975b: 65). The emphasis on cannibalism in the

text is not reflected in the imagery, and only one scene shows this activity (Thevet 1944: Fig. 10). There are, however, a number of scenes showing violent confrontations (Thevet 1944: Figs. 8, 11, 23). These are balanced by several scenes that show the mourning pose, with the face cupped in the hands, evoking a sympathetic reaction from the viewer. And one scene shows Thevet visiting a mourning woman, while a Tupinambá boy lifts Thevet's hem with curiosity, a humanizing touch that helps counter the negative view of the Indians in the text (Fig. 26).

Thevet's *La Cosmographie Universelle*, published in Paris in 1575, is also illustrated with woodcuts by Jean Cousin the Younger (Thevet 1953). Some of the woodcuts published in the earlier volume were reworked, and Thevet included some new Tupinambá views and portraits. Comparing this edition with the one published in 1557 indicates some revision and refinement of the earlier woodcuts, but some images, such as the fire drilling scene, are virtually identical (Thevet 1944: Fig. 7; 1953: Fig. 14). Some scenes of human sacrifice parallel those in Staden (1928: 161; Thevet 1953: Fig. 21), but the figures appear more graceful and idealized, following the style of trained artists of the epoch.

In 1578 Jean de Léry published a French account of his travels to Brazil (*Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil*) illustrated with elegant woodcuts of Brazilian Indians (Fig. 27; Léry 1975; Sturtevant 1976: 442, Fig. 30). His graceful, muscular figures represent an idealized image, especially evident in woodcuts showing groups of two or three figures (Léry 1975: 107, 207, 245). His natives are posed in the heroic postures that were fashionable in European art of this epoch. These romanticized images effectively convinced the viewer of the grace and beauty of the Tupinambá.

Léry's account of the Tupinambá of Brazil confirmed many of Staden's reports, and Léry is said to have remarked that he and the German traveler might have compared notes before writing about the customs of the Indians (Alexander 1976: 90). Nonetheless, only two of his images show cannibalism (Léry 1975: 207, 230), and his text reflects a positive attitude toward the Tupinambá. Whereas Thevet was shocked by the nakedness of the Indians, Léry was delighted by it, pointing out that the elaborate clothes worn by the Europeans were the source of greater evil (Honour 1975b: 65; Léry 1975: 95–97). Such an attitude may have helped to revive the notion of the Native Americans living in the Golden Age, which first appeared in the early sixteenth-century works of Peter Martyr (1964–1965, 1: 121, 141, 366).²¹

In illustrating his account, Léry borrowed some of Thevet's images, and included new scenes showing personal ornaments, hammocks, dancers with rattles, and a mourning scene. He copies the famous Tupinambá weeping greeting from Thevet with some modifications (Léry 1975: 284; Sturtevant 1976: 442).²⁴ The tendency of trained artists to borrow from the work of other established artists was as common in the sixteenth century as it is today. Jean de Léry's artist was influenced by Jean Cousin the Younger, who in turn drew on a number of different sources for his inspiration. In addition to Hans Staden, and several as yet unidentified sources, Cousin was inspired by the *Codex Mendoza*, a colonial Mexican pictorial manuscript then owned by Thevet. When Cousin illustrated Thevet's 1584 publication, *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres*, he incorporated material from *Codex Mendoza* not only to depict Motecuhzoma II, but also Atahualpa,

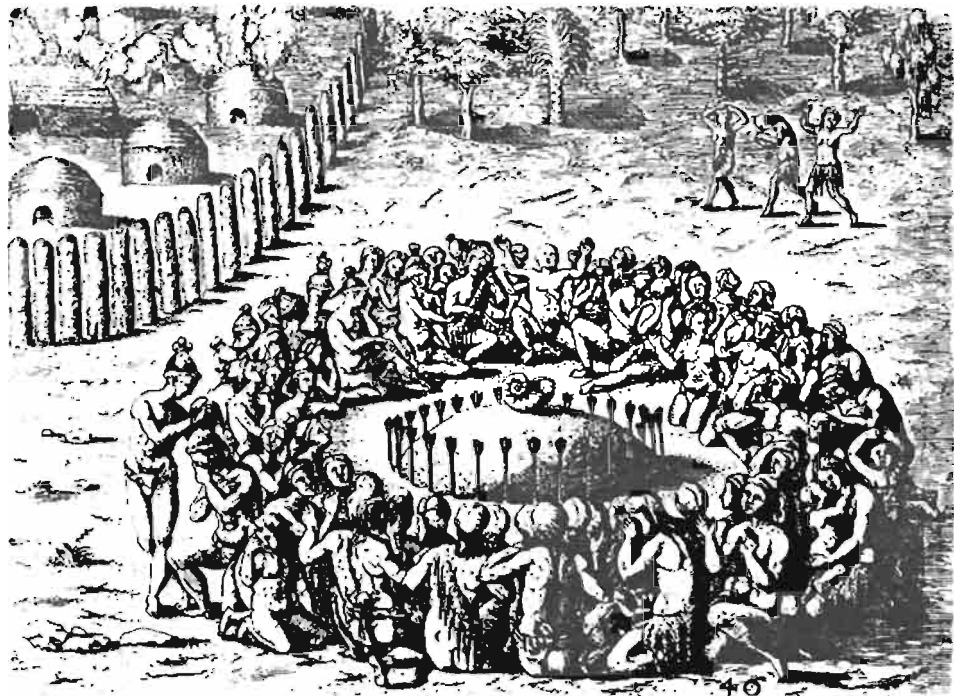


Fig. 28 A 1591 engraving in de Bry's *Brevis narratio... secunda pars Americae* showing Timucuan Indians of Florida in the mourning pose, resembling poses in previously published works on the Tupinambá. (After Alexander 1976: 57.)

and Satouriwa, the Timucua chief from Florida encountered by Jacques Le Moyne and other members of the French Huguenot colony in Florida in 1565.

Even though Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues never worked with themes related to Central and South American Indians, engravings of his paintings show the imprint of the pervasive image of the Tupinambá Indians (Fig. 28; Sturtevant 1988). Le Moyne was the first trained artist to cross the Atlantic specifically to paint scenes of America. Unfortunately, his original works depicting the New World have disappeared. Nonetheless, many surviving paintings of European plants and animals by Le Moyne attest to his artistry (Hulton 1977). The engravings of Le Moyne's work include many inaccuracies (Sturtevant 1977: 69–71). The original Le Moyne paintings probably contained details modified or omitted by de Bry in the engravings. A painting of Timucuan Indians worshipping a column set up by the French near Jacksonville, Florida, is often identified as a Le Moyne original (Hulton 1977: 143; Sturtevant 1976: 438; Milbrath 1989: 199), but recently its attribution to Le Moyne has been questioned. Feest (1988) concludes that it is actually a copy of a de Bry engraving of one of Le Moyne's lost watercolors, rather than the original painting. In support of his argument, Feest notes that when de Bry engraved works by other artists and explorers, he took considerable liberties in modifying the design and adding details. This is especially true when comparing his engravings with the original White paintings of the Indians of Virginia and North Carolina (Milbrath 1989: 201). In

contrast, comparing the engraving of the Florida scene and the painting indicates that they are very close counterparts (Milbrath 1989: 199). The most logical conclusion, as Feest points out, is that the painting is a copy of the engraving, rather than vice versa.

Le Moync's Florida images appear as engravings in *Brevis narratio* (1591), published by Theodore de Bry as part of a thirteen-volume compendium on America begun in 1590. It seems likely that de Bry used published illustrations of the Tupinambá as a source for certain details in the Florida images, such as the mourning pose seen in Thevet and Léry (Fig. 28). And Staden's work is evoked in a plate that depicts severed bodies of Timucuan Indians (Alexander 1976: 31, Pl. 15; Staden 1928: 100, 162).

Concluding Remarks

The earliest European representations of the New World were based on descriptions by Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci. Generally, these illustrations are of little ethnographic value because they reflect preconceived notions. In lieu of direct observation, artists borrowed extensively from a repertoire of imagery referring to the Golden Age of antiquity, the Garden of Eden, or the medieval tradition of the wild man — all references to an early stage in human development. This fantasy was enhanced by geographical confusion about the location of the New World, leading artists to transport Asian populations and mythical monsters to a New World setting. The notion of monstrous races in the New World was confirmed by some native accounts gathered by early explorers in the Caribbean and South America.

Some of the early illustrations of Vespucci's accounts suggest familiarity with the costumes worn by Brazilian Indians, but they usually reflect a misunderstanding of appropriate apparel. A turning point toward more accurate representation of the Native Americans occurred when images were recorded by explorers or by trained artists who saw Indians brought back by the early expeditions. Here the variations in presentation reflect differences in artistic skill and attitude toward the subject, rather than fantasies based on written descriptions that often were based on preconceptions and inventions.

Sixteenth-century imagery of the Indians of Latin America was clearly dominated by the Tupinambá of Brazil. Accounts of Vespucci's explorations along the coast of South America were much more widely circulated than publications by Columbus (Hirsch 1976: 540), therefore they had a much stronger impact, being the "first" image of the American Indian for many people. Added to the psychological element of "first impressions," was the fact that the image of Mesoamerica and Peru was much less prominent in published literature than images of the Tupinambá, until de Bry printed a much-expanded version of Benzoni's account in 1595–1596. De Bry also is responsible for adding a rich source of North American Indian imagery when he published engravings based on the works of John White and Jacques Le Moync in 1590 and 1591. Nonetheless, the Tupinambá image retained a peculiar power over the European imagination, especially evident in seventeenth-century allegorical images of America that most often depict cannibalism. The European emphasis on this macabre aspect probably reflected their need to see the natives as less civilized in order to justify their colonization efforts. Visual imagery was a powerful form of propaganda, which both reflected and molded European opinions of the American Indians during the early period of colonization.

Notes

1. Honour (1975a: 2) notes that Columbus's description of the islands is similar to classical poetic descriptions of the Hesperides, the Island of the Blessed, where eternal spring reigned. Even though this connection is implied, the more direct link is with the Garden of Eden, which Columbus said was to be found "at the end of the Orient," the land he claimed to have reached in his first voyage. In his account of the third voyage, Columbus elaborates on his discovery of the terrestrial paradise (Jane 1933: 34–38; Bradford 1973: 243).
2. See Seymour (1967: 298) for the identification of Lamary as Sumatra.
3. The location of this cannibal scene may be St. Croix (Santa Cruz), where there was a fierce confrontation between Columbus and the Caribs, identified as cannibals in Columbus's accounts (Jane 1933: 39n2). Vecchi's text refers to the province of Santa Cruz and notes that monsters from this place are like people from Brazil who eat human flesh (Oakeshott 1960: 26–27; Colin 1987: 20, Fig. 10).
4. Elliott (1970: 23) discusses the use of images of Turks to represent American Indians. Since images of Turks sometimes showed atrocities like infanticide (Strauss 1974: G.1243), such an association probably had negative implications.
5. Keen (1959: xvii) says the island depicts the Bahamas, whereas Alegria (1978: 18) maintains it is Hispaniola.
6. Alegria (1978: 23, 31) notes that the Rome edition was published on 15 June 1493, whereas the Florentine edition was printed on 25 October 1493.
7. Honour (1975b: 8) suggests that Vespucci himself or his translator falsified the published accounts.
8. Huts are described in *La Lettera*, also called *Four Voyages* (Levillier 1951: 313).
9. Colin (1987: Fig. 8) illustrates a wild woman that seems almost identical to Botticelli's females, except for a downy coat of body hair.
10. Differences in the two interpretations of the illustration in the Strassburg edition of *La Lettera* offered by Honour (1975b: 9–10) and Alegria (1978: 41) highlight the problems inherent in interpreting scenes that do not really parallel the accompanying text.
11. Alegria (1978: 43–44) suggests that the sensual quality of this female is based on Vespucci's descriptions, but the figure seems related to early Renaissance nudes that represent classical figures or the archetypal female nude – Eve – such as those illustrated by Strauss (1974: G.59, 163, 537).
12. Colin (1987, 1988) and Alegria (1978: 90) both note parallels between representations of American Indians and images of Adam and Eve.
13. Other images that fuse Moors with the New World Indians include two eighteenth-century statues of Moors wearing jewelry inspired by engravings of Florida Indians (Nickle 1981).
14. Two slightly different versions of this print survive. Schuller (1930) believes that the woodcut in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, is the superior copy, and the New York Public Library version is a re-engraving of the one in Munich or of some prototype as yet unknown.
15. Oakeshott (1960: 12, 16) notes that Doesborch falsely dated the work to 1508, making it appear to be earlier than a work by Burgkmair, which Doesborch copied. Burgkmair's woodcuts served as a model for a variety of group scenes on the loose sheet, including people of Arabia and India.
16. Honour (1975b: 424) dates the Miller Atlas somewhere between 1516 and 1532. Sturtevant (1976: 420, 424, Fig. 3) notes that figures on the map of Brazil wearing feathered crowns, capes, and skirts may be based on direct knowledge, but in his discussion of the 1505 Froschauer woodcut, he suggests the skirts are not authentic.
17. Around 1519–1520 an unknown conquistador rendered a map of Tenochtitlán that showed Motecuhzoma's zoo and figures in canoes, but they are only pictured schematically and costume detail is not evident (Sturtevant 1976: 424).
18. The Chichimecs were a tribe from the northern fringe of Mesoamerica.
19. Body shading is also used in some of the *Florentine Codex* images, those that Robertson (1976: Figs. 56, 57) has identified as "more Europeanized."
20. A *tilmatli* worn by the emperor Motecuhzoma in *Codice Azcatitlán* (Anawalt 1981: 2k) is also tied in front and has a similar pattern that may represent tie-dyed cotton.
21. The *Genealogía de la Familia Mendoza Moteczuma*, dating to the seventeenth century, includes six full length portraits of Mexican Indians that may be inspired by the same source as the *Codex Ixtlixochitl* and the portrait of Motecuhzoma (Heikamp 1972: 32n90).

22. Benzoni's book was first published in 1565 in Venice, and an enlarged version was printed in 1572.
23. In French literature, this concept was developed in Ronsard's *Complainte contre Fortune* (1559). Later, in his *Des Cannibales* (1580), Montaigne transformed the myth into that of the Happy Savage (Scaglione 1976: 68).
24. An edition published two years later (1580) in Geneva included some revisions and corrections to the text, but repeated the same illustrations (Léry 1975: xi; Sturtevant 1976: 453n57).

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