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Among the cannibals and Amazons: Early German travel literature on the New World

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University of California, Berkeley, 1992

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Among the Cannibals and Amazons:
Early German Travel Literature on the New World

by

Samuel Roy Dunlap

B.A. (University of Nevada, Las Vegas) 1982
M.A. (University of California at Berkeley) 1984

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

German Literature

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA at BERKELEY

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Abstract

From the beginning, tales of travel and adventure have delighted, entertained, and even horrified their audience. With stories of great bravery and tenacity in the face of seemingly insurmountable hardship and danger, the story-teller or narrator described an exotic landscape vastly different from the monotony of the domestic hearth. This exotic landscape, always far away and at the edges of civilization, was the homeland of fantastic beasts, strange hybrid partly-human and partly-animal creatures, cannibals, and Amazons. These beings made their repeated appearance in works of art and literature, and their existence was taken for granted.

In the wake of Christopher Columbus' first voyages of "discovery," the New World rapidly became the setting for European exploration and subsequent colonization. The Spanish and Portuguese established early claim to New World territories, and they were soon joined by representatives of other nationalities eager for a share in the perceived riches of the Americas. The least-known of these nationalities who claimed a piece of the New World are the Germans, the writings of whom form the subject of this investigation.
The early German colony occupied much of present-day Venezuela, and its surviving literary remains consist of letters, a journal, and one work intended for publication. We will examine the works of these men, Titus Neukomm, Philipp von Hutten, and Nicolas Federmann, and particular emphasis will be given to how the New World lands and peoples are described. These descriptions will be compared with other contemporary sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travel narratives and we will discover recurring themes as well as the continual presence of the cannibal and Amazon figures.

We will see that just as in the areas of art and iconography where visual motifs are freely exchanged, borrowed, and copied, literary motifs of the New World are similarly recycled, creating, in essence, variations on a theme. Just as the artistic and literary spheres share a common vocabulary of images and motifs, we will discover, too, that both art and literature serve to describe, depict, and define the self against the "other," the foreign, and the exotic.
In Memoriam

Jim Dunlap

Brinkley, Arkansas, 8 May 1924

Las Vegas, Nevada, 24 March 1991
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Acknowledgements

So many people have provided support, encouragement, and assistance over the years that I cannot adequately thank them all. Thanks, first, to my family and friends. In Las Vegas: Sidney, Thomas, Jeannie, Louise, and Dr. Koester, my first German professor. In Palo Cedro: my favorite Aunt Leslie. And to all new-found friends in the Bay Area: Louis, Linda, Steve and Greg, Nick and Doris, Rebecca and Frank, Helen and Kate, Byron, Marty, Jim, Jane, and John. Finally, thanks—and best wishes—to Paul.

Thanks to the German Department for providing its generous support during my tenure there. Special thanks to Viki, without whose unfailing and constant assistance with bureaucratic intricacies and red tape I could not have met this goal. To my committee, Blake Lee Spahr, Frederic Tubach, and William Nestrick, many thanks for your comments and criticism—it paid off.

But most of all, thanks to my three "mentors," who over the years have taught me much of life, patience, discipline, and professionalism: my father Jim; Hart Wegner, who first introduced me to modern German literature and film; and Warren Travis, who provided much-needed emotional support when times were rough.

Additional credit is due the rich resources and collections of the Library of the University of California at Berkeley. Its always helpful and knowledgeable staff, as well as the Inter-Library Borrowing service, are to be commended.
Introduction

The literature of travel—whether the tales of Marco Polo or Columbus, the journals of Louis and Clark, or Muir, or the fictional travels of Ulysses or Alice—have delighted generations of readers. Stories of the Spanish conquistadores appeared in school textbooks, and students were able to trace their footsteps through the North American Southwest, the Mayan Yucatan, and the Peruvian highlands. These tales were filled with violent acts against native peoples of seemingly violent, bloodthirsty (sometimes cannibalistic) cultures. Somehow, though, details of cultural annihilation were subsumed into the overall picture of European colonization in general, and the philosophy of (North) American "Manifest Destiny" in particular. A fact that most histories of the period omit, however, is that the Germans were also involved in a campaign of New World colonization and exploration. Some thirty years after Columbus had laid the groundwork for subsequent Spanish and Portuguese advances into the Americas, the Germans began their ill-fated attempt at colonization on the north coast of Venezuela. It is against the general framework of exploration and discovery established by Columbus and continued by the Spanish and the Portuguese, that the German story, the subject of this investigation, takes place.

While it is beyond the scope of the present project to provide an detailed introduction into the scope and variety of travel literature, a few general preliminary comments are in order. Primary sources of information for this phase of initial exploration and subsequent colonization consist of reports, journals, and letters
of the men—participants, explorers, colonizers—themselves. These first-hand accounts form a part of the greater literature of travel which includes subjects as varied as writings about foreign lands and climes written specifically for the reader or potential traveler, polemical treatises on how to travel, written in the neo-classical tradition of the apodemic,¹ and the Grand Tour of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Medieval guidebooks to sites in the Biblical world served to satisfy the desire for personal spiritual growth. And the travel narratives—the incredible adventures of Marco Polo in the East and his travels to the Court of the Great Khan, the strange and bizarre (fictional) tales of Mandeville, and the outright lies of the fictional braggart rogue Baron von Münchhausen—all served to "inform" the reading audience at home and to satisfy their curiosity.

A major contribution to the field of travel literature is the anthology Travel Literature Through the Ages (1988). The goal of the work, as editor Percy Adams says, is "to inspire further reading of books that to the loss of thousands of educated people are too often neglected."² The most recent edition of the anthology Harper American Literature (1987) includes an entire new first section entitled "The Literature of the New World: 1492-1620." The point is, as editor Donald McQuade explains, "to supplant the narrow, northeastern, Puritan bias" of existing anthologies and "to extend the conventional boundaries of the American literary tradition."³ The new section is both significant and important. It contains excerpts from writer-travelers as varied as Columbus, Verrazzano, Cabeza de Vaca, Casteñeda, Hakluyt, Drayton, Hariot, and Champlain, each from a slightly different "Old World," and each writing about the "New"
from a different perspective. Significantly, no German selections are included.

The offerings of both of these anthologies--and indeed, all travel narratives--may be read from a variety of perspectives by a variety of readers in different disciplines. Travel literature, only recently having moved into the limelight, has been read, analyzed, and applied with great effect by scholars of the humanities as well as those of both the social and physical sciences. It can be used, for example, to plot the navigational routes taken by the first explorers, to document native flora and fauna before Old World varieties were introduced, and to describe native peoples, their customs, habits, and language before many were suppressed or eradicated. It is precisely the fact that this body of literature can be read and interpreted by such a variety of disciplines that makes it both interesting and vitally important. It is also the reason why it remains such a treasure trove of information and fertile ground for further investigation for the linguist, historian, anthropologist, geographer, mariner, traveler, comparatist, sociologist, and literary historian alike.

David Woodward suggests that the concept of global, or spherical, thinking was a gradual one, and one that existed for centuries side by side with more popular and non-scientifically based thought systems. The Fifteenth Century, however, was the crucial turning point when Ptolomean projections and charts became increasingly common and were widely adapted by topographers and cartographers. "A key ingredient," Woodward writes, "was that a transition took place in the way people viewed the world, from the
circumscribed cage of the known inhabited world to the notion of the finite whole earth."5 This "notion" appears most tangibly in Martin Behaim's famous globe created for the city of Nuremberg in 1492. The 20" diameter globe is the oldest surviving European terrestrial sphere, and although there is no conclusive evidence that Columbus saw it, he was certainly aware of the existence of both it as well as other globes.6

Geographic knowledge of this "cage of the known inhabited world", though limited, was enhanced by imaginative and fanciful depictions of the unknown and the monstrous at the boundaries of civilization at the edge of the known world. And, as Stanley L. Robe points out, the reading public of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance clamoured for travel literature, "especially accounts of real or imaginary voyages to Asia and Africa that were pleasant reading and at the same time served as treatises on geography and natural history."7 In a similar vein, Rudolf Hirsch begins his study on printed reports of the early discoveries with the observation that formerly, "just as today, what was novel, exotic, sensational, or dramatic attracted readers, and printers early became aware of this; hence the record of the frequency and duration of publication is the best index of readers' interest or taste (even though items sold were not always read)."8

Mandeville's popular account of his travels to the Holy Land and India, contained illustrations of fantastic marvelous creatures, hybred human monsters such as the man with one giant leg, and another with a large head at the center of his body. Additional curiosities include a man with the head and neck of a crane, another
with six arms, and for good measure, a hairy naked wild woman.\textsuperscript{9} The popular appeal of Mandeville's strange mixture of the familiar and the exotic is evident in the scores of different, mostly illustrated, editions his work enjoyed.\textsuperscript{10}

Mary B. Campbell, in her discussion of Mandeville, notes that travel writing "hovers at the brink of the fictional abyss."\textsuperscript{11} She observes that the demarcation between fact and fiction in writing has not yet been established; Mandeville is more than "traveller" or "liar." He stands at the beginning of the development of fiction. In a reference to Percy G. Adams' \textit{Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel},\textsuperscript{12} she writes that "we can call Mandeville not only the "father of English prose" but the father of modern travel writing" (149). Adams, coincidentally the author of an earlier work \textit{Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800},\textsuperscript{13} provides a lengthy discussion of the subject in a chapter entitled "The Truth-Lie Dichotomy" in his latest study, noted above. He describes the Classical writer Lucian as not being particularly disturbed by the embellishing and even lying of travel writers since "it was traditional; what bothered him was that travelers were so naive as to think no one would find them out" (85). Adams proceeds to quote the beginning of Lucian's "burlesque récit de voyage" (Adams' term): "I will say one thing that is true, and that is that I am a liar" (85).\textsuperscript{14}

The same exotic elements appear, as well, in the depiction of the "Marvels of the East" as they appear in the 1492 Flemish manuscript of the \textit{Liber de naturis rerum creatarum}.\textsuperscript{15} Again we encounter the man with one giant leg, another with his head below his shoulders, the six-armed man, and as the note to the
reproduction explains, "various exotic dangerous women" or wild
dwomen. The year 1493 saw the publication of arguably the greatest
work of printing up to that time: Hartmann Schedel's Liber
chronicarum, popularly known as the Nuremberg Chronicle, printed
by Anton Koburger in Nuremberg. It was first published in Latin on
12 July 1493, and was followed by a German translation on 23
December of the same year. Its subject was the history of the world
from the beginning of time (Creation) to the present (1493), divided
into seven "ages," or Alter. The map of folio 12v and 13 depicting
the partition of the world into three parts (one for each of Noah's
sons) is flanked on the left by a row of seven "fabulous races of
mankind." From top to bottom, they are the man with six arms, the
wild woman, a man with six fingers on each hand, a centaur,
hermaphrodite, man with four eyes, and the "crane man." The
previous page, folio 12, contains two columns of seven figures each
which include the man with head below his shoulders, the man with
one leg, another hermaphrodite, and a cyclops.

Schedel does not claim that these figures are new; rather he
begins by citing familiar Classical sources as "proofs" and justification
for what he merely depicts. The German edition begins: "Von
mancherlay gestaltnus der menschen schreiben Plinius: Augustinus
und Ysidorus die hernachgemelten ding." Schedel's map on the
following pages is likewise based on a traditional source, a Ptolomaic
map published 1488 in Venice, and suggests the spherical nature of
the world.

The known world, represented by a variety of world maps, or
mappae mundi, contained the continents of Asia and Africa to the
south and east. Yet despite this geographic recognition, actual knowledge of the inhabitants of these lands was colored by Marco Polo's description of fabulous wealth and exoticism, Mandeville's fanciful tales of the Holy Land and India, hybred beasts and monsters, as well as fabled accounts of Prester John, the marvels of India, and the lingering medieval notions of the zones, antipodes, the rivers of Paradise, and the savage hordes of Gog and Magog.19

With the discovery of new-found regions to the west, assumed to be the eastern-most provinces in the realm of the Great Khan, the mapping of the Americas began. Coastlines began to take on definition, and interior regions, as yet unexplored and uncharted, were designated terra incognita. Martin Waldseemüller's Strassburg map of 1513, Tabula terrae novae20, shows some of the islands of the Caribbean as well as a fairly well-defined coastline of modern-day Venezuela and northern Brazil, with a distinct river area at the top of the map, in the general area of Venezuela and Brazil, labeled "Canibales."21 The interior is labeled in bold capital letters: terra incognita. Later, as the continent begins to take shape, the interior is labeled terra nova (Sebastian Münster's world map published in Novus Orbis, Basel 1532) or novvs orbis (Münster's world map completed 1538, published 1540).22 A German edition of Münster's map printed 1546 in Basel labels the new-found lands of South America as "Die Nüw Welt."23

As knowledge of the New World expands, so, too, do the fantastic tales of wild and strange peoples who inhabit these exotic climes. As Campbell writes in her discussion of Mandeville, "the farther we penetrate into the East, the weirder it gets (153)," and
this statement may be applied to early descriptions and depictions of
the West with equal validity. The interior of Münster's 1532 map
contains depictions of the usual sea monsters and mermaids, and the
border cartouche is composed of exotic scenes of an elephant being
shot by a hunter with bow and arrow, a winged serpent monster,
strange hybrid humans with heads of animals, and at the lower left,
a vignette composed of four elements, labeled canibali. At the left he
depicts a branch hut with impaled human limbs and head. Next he
shows a chopping block with two men chopping and dismembering a
human body, a woman kneels on the ground observing them and at
the same time turning a spit over a fire. On the spit is a human
body. Finally, to the right, a man leads a horse to the cannibals' camp. Hanging from the horse's back are two human bodies, one on
each side.

In Münster's map there emerges a curious, certainly horrifying,
idea of the New World as a place of danger and death. The map is
composed of elements that are both old, established conventions of
mapmaking, as well as new additions. Traditional visual elements
are the ship in the sea, sea-monsters, and mermaids; the exotic
elements of the border cartouche are standard elements of maps of
the time. While the first three scenes of the New World vignette will
become standard components of the depiction of the cannibals' feast,
the fourth (man leading nag to camp) is interesting for another
reason. The pose and gait of the man, with reins held in his left hand
and with a stick over his right shoulder, is based on Old World
models, and aside from his nakedness, could be taken directly from
an Old World woodcut. New in this map, however, is the attention
given to the grisly scene of native cannibalism as it was perceived to have been practiced in the New World. In addition to the scene itself, Münster identifies the general area of the new-found continent where the act of cannibalism occurs, namely the northern coast of South America, which he labels with the caption canibali.

Münster's map of 1538/1540, Novvs orbis, presents the Americas from the north and Terra florida, through Mexico, Central America, South America, to the Straits of Magellan to the south. Again, the general area of Brazil is labeled Canibali, and the first element of the cartouche described above is moved from the decorative border of the map to the actual interior region of Brazil. Just under the tag Canibali, the hut of branches is depicted, complete with hanging human limbs and protruding human head. Another new element appears in this map as well. To the south, the area of the Straits of Magellan is labelled Regio Gigantum, based partly on tales of supposed huge native inhabitants, but incorporating the medieval notion of monsters and giants into the contemporary New World landscape. The hand-tinted version of the map (Basel, 1546) with South America labeled "Die Nüw Welt," contains the same features described above, with the additional green tint to the branch hut.

The visual motif of the man-eating cannibals of Brazil continues throughout the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Though the depiction becomes more stylized and aesthetically appealing due to the addition of color and the move from woodcut to copper plate engraving, the immediacy and horror is the same. The Map of South America by Arnoldus Fiorentinus van Langeren of 1595, for
example, with its curious east-west orientation (the Caribbean north coast of Venezuela and Brazil appear to the right) presents scenes of cannibalism within the interior of Brazil. At the top left a skirmish is depicted; just below, the cannibals' chopping block. To the right appears the barbecue with human limbs, and just above, completing the visual circle with more pastoral imagery, two native huts, a tree, and hunter carrying a bird.

Additional use of the cannibal motif, either by label or by explicit depiction, may be seen in Johannes Ruysch's World Map (Rome 1507)\textsuperscript{25}, (label); Pierre Desceliers' World Map (Dieppe, 1550)\textsuperscript{26}, (label and depiction); Diego Gutiérrez' 1562 World Map, "the largest known map of the New World printed up to that time,"\textsuperscript{27} (depiction); Abraham Ortelius' \textit{Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis} (Antwerp, 1564)\textsuperscript{28}, (depiction); Gerardus Mercator's \textit{Nova et Aucta Orbis Terrae Descriptio} (Duisburg, 1569)\textsuperscript{29}, (label); Pieter van den Keere's World Map of 1607 (depiction); Willem Blaeu's World Map of 1617 (depiction); and a reworking of Blaeu's map by Pietro Todeschi in 1673 (depiction).\textsuperscript{30}

In his essay, "Maps, knowledge, and power," J.B. Harley discusses the symbolic role of decorative elements, including cartouches and vignettes, in the history of European cartography.\textsuperscript{31} He suggests that such motifs form a "bizarre racism" and contribute to the "colonial authority of individual nations" (299). I do not see this to be the case with the examples indicated above. Maps of the New World, while gradually becoming a genre of their own, clearly belong within the tradition of popular illustration and the travel narrative. Indeed, the first sea and navigational charts were drawn
up for the express use of travelers and sailors. Printed maps appeared in the Nuremberg Chronicle of Hartmann Schedel and the Cosmographia (1st ed. 1544) of Sebastian Münster, and vied for space with their depictions and descriptions of marvelous beings and human monstrosities. From the beginning, maps, like much of the literature of travel, straddled the abyss between fact and fiction, the familiar and the exotic. Neither should be discounted as the product of eager Europeans hungry to colonize the "Fourth Part of the World," nor discarded outright as a conscious distortion of the "truth" as we believe it.

Rather than emphasizing power relationships, as Harley would suggest, this literature represents the otherworldly and exotic, as well as the dangerous aspects of the New World. Travel literature presents a series of descriptions of difference. Travelers describe the same or similar scenes and events from their particular perspective (and through a temperament), just as artists depict what they have heard, read, or seen first-hand. Literary and iconographic motifs of the New World are freely exchanged, borrowed, reworked, and copied in order to produce works that are new, and yet, at the same time, strangely familiar.

An example of this literary description and artistic depiction of difference is evident in the so-called "Munich woodcut" of 1505, which consists of both illustration and accompanying text. It has been described as the "earliest illustration meriting serious attention," but to my knowledge, it has never been accurately described. In some cases, the description actually distorts and misrepresents the contents of the work. Since it is the first
illustration of Native Americans upon which subsequent artistic works are based and perceptions (and misconceptions) formed, a thorough analysis is necessary. The woodcut is visually divided in half, by a tree trunk supporting the roof of a wood hut, and contains three main fields of action: a wooden shelter and its occupants to the left, a series of figures in the foreground to the right, and behind both the hut and figures lies the open sea with two European ships at the upper right. Four lines of text appear below the illustration. Before examining the four lines of text and the description it provides of New World natives, we will take a closer look at the woodcut itself.

Five naked adult figures, bedecked with feathered adornment on their heads and waists, appear around a crude stone "table." To the rear sits a man on the left gnawing a human arm and gazing at a male-female couple to the right. The man is kissing the woman who shows exposed breasts and reaches for a human leg lying on the table. In the foreground left, a man holds a stalk of corn in front of him at waist level and observes the couple in their amorous pursuits. In the right foreground of the hut, a second woman with both breasts exposed sits facing us nursing a child. Another small child stands to her side, and to its right, now within the right half of the illustration in the foreground, an older boy touches him on the shoulder. To the boy's right stands a man wearing a feathered skirt and fully adorned with feathered ornamentation his head, neck, elbows, and ankles. He holds a bow and looks at the woman nursing the child in the hut. To the extreme right in the foreground are two male figures, similarly attired, one with his hand resting on the other's shoulder and both
with feet touching. The "active" male carries a spear, the shaft of which extends between his legs and rests on the ground; part of the bow of the second male is visible before it extends out of frame. To the rear, in the upper center of the woodcut, a fire is burning, and above it, hanging from a tree, is the strangely contorted trunk of a man.

At first sight, the illustration would seem to represent scenes of native family life, eating, and love-making. Yet these proceedings are harshly juxtaposed against and dominated by grisly evidence of cannibalism. The contrast of these "acts," presented as natural and normal occurrences in their daily life, with the amorous couple in the hut and the mother nursing her baby, is unsettling and jarring. On the one hand, the natives seem peaceful enough and appear to possess human passions (lovemaking) and traits (rearing a family). They are depicted in a traditional European manner, and are physically appealing and statuesque. They are not monsters--and yet they commit the most "monstrous" act imaginable: the consumption of another human being.

Indeed, the underlying theme of the woodcut is one of appetite and consumption, both of a culinary and carnal nature. In addition to the obvious satiating of hunger by nourishment (the man in the hut, the nursing child), the illustration presents a variety of sexual situations and possibilities. In addition to the heterosexual couple in the hut, we are presented with evidence of a family (or at least our idea of a family structure) in the figures of the woman, the three children, and the armed and fully adorned man looking on. Or, perhaps, he is looking beyond her and at the partially adorned man
to the far left, who is observing the amorous couple and holding a cornstalk in front of himself at waist level. In short, in iconographic terms, the man has an erection. And the two men, engaged in a partial embrace to the far right? They provide the illustration with sexual balance and suggest a homosexual coupling. The amount of action occurring within the frame is staggering. Yet, although this scene of native life is presented as natural and without shame, the observer (certainly that of the Sixteenth Century as well) is expected to experience horror, shock, and even revulsion.

The centrally-placed "family," the woman nursing child, the two other children, and the man looking on, a "scene of savage family harmony,"

is a direct descendant of the European depiction of the wild family, and is closely allied to the iconography of the wild man and wild woman. Timothy Husband, in his exhaustive treatment of the wild man motif in literature and European iconography

reproduces numerous examples of the imagery of wildness. An engraving of the Wild Folk Family from ca.1470-90

depicts a bucolic scene of a wild couple sitting on the ground at the foot of a rocky cliff. They are naked (but hairy) wild folk of pleasant demeanor; the mother holds a happy infant and the father looks at a wild child about to climb onto his back. All four figures are touching each other, and this "connection" reinforces the idea of the family unit, possible even in the wild state. A manuscript illumination from the French "Ballad of a Wild Man" of around 1500 presents a scene of a wild family in exactly the same stance and position as that of the Munich woodcut, except in reverse and with only one young child. To the left stands the wild father holding a long club, to his right a
young son looks toward his wild mother who is nursing a baby. If this "wild family" were transported to the New World, clad in feathers, and surrounded by cannibals, it would become the "cannibal family" which occupies the central position of the Munich woodcut.

In his early discussion of the woodcut, Rudolf Schuller observes ten orthographic differences in the four lines of text of the Munich (the visually superior color-tinted) copy and that of the New York Public Library. His conclusion is that the Munich cut is both the earlier of the two and that the text is "the superior one." The four lines are a paraphrase of Vespucci's earlier voyages and description of the New World natives (German translations discussed below), and the Munich version reads as follows:

The caption serves a dual purpose. It provides an explanation of what is already visibly apparent, then moves beyond the simple mirroring function to introduce information not readily accessible through mere observation of the woodcut.
After identifying the subject of the illustration, their physical appearance is described positively, feather adornment noted, and the curious markings on the men identified as a type of jewel ornamentation. The focus of the description changes suddenly, and we learn that communal property is the norm. Social custom is described: men may consort with any woman they please. Their demeanor is described: they are a quarrelsome people (we assume that they quarrel with outsiders, since they seem quite content in the woodcut). Again, there is a shift in focus, and the obvious is described: they are cannibalistic. And finally, two new details emerge: these natives live long lives, and have no government. The abrupt shifts in narrative direction between describing the obvious and introducing new information is jarring and reflects the discordant visual contrasts noted above.

Taken as an entire unit, the Munich woodcut presents a set of visual images or tropes that will be repeated, reused, and refined in the years to come. On both the iconographic and literary levels, the woodcut establishes a set of stated and implied dichotomies that serve to separate and differentiate the New World from the Old. In order of appearance they are: naked/clothed, communal/private property, free use of women/regulations, quarrelsome/peace-loving, cannibalistic/non-cannibalistic, longevity (of myth)/Biblically-prescribed "three score and ten", no law (lawless)/law. Throughout the course of this study we will witness the gradual refinement of these dichotomies as they are repeated and refined in the works intended for publication, introduced in Chapter 2.
In one of the earliest discussions of the Munich woodcut, Wilberforce Eames compares the text to the German Vespucci translation (details below) of 1505, published the same year as the Munich woodcut. Vespucci's account of the native Indians fills several pages, and he quotes extracts, "in their exact order" and in English, for comparison with the Munich woodcut. Following Eames' example, I have included a lengthy excerpt from the 1505 Vespucci translation into German which appears as Appendix 1 below.

The similarity of Vespucci's lengthy description and the caption of the Munich woodcut is striking. He devotes considerable space to the physical appearance, nakedness, and physical adornment of the New World natives. While the Munich woodcut notes simply: "Auch haben die mann in iren angesichten und brust vid [i.e. vil] edel gestain," Vespucci elaborates this aspect at length. In addition, Vespucci attempts to draw comparisons between what he describes and what he knows of history and the Old World, in order to make his new and exotic report comprehensible to the reader. Thus, the "lascivious" natives resemble the epicurian bauchfuller described by Seneca, and the hanging human body parts resemble the Europeans' method of drying and preparing "speck und schweine fleysch." In addition to his attempt to present the unfamiliar and new in familiar terms, Vespucci also introduces bizarre and horrifying details: the women, described as "gelüstig und gayl," when they become pregnant, induce miscarriage (abortion) by applying "etlicher gyfftigen thieren" to their bellies which results in depriving the fetus, or gemecht, of nourishment.
Eames is the first to note that "there is no mention in the book of the Indians wearing feathers on different parts of their bodies."\(^{42}\) This curious omission is noteworthy, for the matter of feathers is a curious one, and will serve as a bridge that connects the discussion of the interplay of art and literature with cartography, cabinets of curiosities, and the exhibition and reception of New World artifacts and objects in Europe.

Likely explanations for Vespucchi's neglect in mentioning native feather adornment are that he forgot, that he visited an area where it was not common, or that he visited during a time when no particular festivities or rituals were taking place. It is assumed that Vespucchi talked to Alberto Cantino, a "Lisbon-based diplomatic agent of the powerful Italian Este family,"\(^{43}\) or spy in the rivalry for New World control between Spain and Portugal, before the latter smuggled an important document out of Portugal. The object of this intrigue was a World Map, the so-called "Cantino" map of 1502. It bears this name because the name of the cartographer was kept secret for political reasons, as was the Portuguese attempt to keep secret the geographic shape of both Africa to the East and the newly-discovered lands to the West. It is dated 1502 because of evidence that the Duke of Este received it in November of that year.

The "Cantino" World Map\(^{44}\) is the first Portuguese map of the New World, and is also the oldest surviving map to show the Spanish-Portuguese line of geographic demarcation of the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed in June 1494, and shows Portuguese control of Brazil and the East Indies. The map shows the coastline of South America, identified on its northern coast as a Portuguese territory by
the addition of small Portuguese flags. The eastern portion of Brazil is dominated by three large colorful parrots, or red macaws. With no caption present to indicate "The New World," novus orbis, terra nova/incognita, or "Brazil," the New World is identified solely by the presence of these exotic birds.

In fact, Jan Michel Massing notes that so many feathers of parrot and macaw were brought to Europe from the New World that "a Venetian spy reported from Lisbon that Cabral had discovered 'a new land they call the land of the Parrots.'"45 Pedro Reinel and his son Jorge are the first Portuguese cartographers known to have signed their own works. The two Reinels, along with Lopo Homem, produced the so-called "Miller" Atlas46 around 1519. The combination map and sea chart of South America presents a well-defined coastline of northeastern Brazil and fills the ocean with European ships. The interior of the landmass, labelled with the descriptive tag Terra Brasilis, is filled with scenes of native life and exotic flora and fauna.

Naked native inhabitants chop and gather wood in the forest, represented by several tall trees. Small monkeys and colorful birds—eventually a winged beast (a griffin?)—are depicted in action. But at the top of the map, in a prominent position both spatially and socially are three male figures (two standing, one seated on the ground) wearing bright feathered head-gear, capes, and skirts. To the left, a man stands with both feet solidly on the ground and holds a bow in one hand, arrows in the other. To the right, a man is seated on the ground, one leg extended, and appears to be examining a bow or making an arrow. In the center, a man is presented in motion, with
both arms extended with his colorful feathered cape spread out behind him, as if in flight. A large bright red bird flies above him, and adds strength to the visual suggestion of this native man not merely wearing feathers, but actually "becoming" a bird.

A year or two after the creation of the "Miller" Atlas, feathers again became the object of wonder and admiration--this time in connection with the Aztec treasure on display in Europe at the court of Charles V in 1520-21. Frequent mention is made of Albrecht Dürer who, in an attempt to escape his plague-ravaged homeland, travelled to the Low Countries in 1520-21. On 27 August 1520 he notes in his Tagebuch that he observed with amazement the many New World items, Montezuma's gifts to Cortés who, in turn, forwarded them on to Europe and the Emperor, Charles V. Although his observations are often quoted, there has been no attempt (to the best of my knowledge) to trace the path of the artifacts to the Old World and their subsequent dispersal.

In the first letter of Cortés, dated 10 July 1519 and sent to Queen Doña Juana and to the Emperor, Charles V, Her Son, the conquistador describes (among other things) fans, capes, mirrors, helmets, containers, decorative objects, and feathered clothing, made of gold, jewels, precious stones, exotic animal pelts, and featherwork. These articles were often wrought in a "mixed-media" format: turquoise and malachite mosaics, for example, in conjunction with gold, jewels, and ornamental featherwork. Cortés notes first "a large gold wheel with a design of monsters on it and worked all over with foliage. This weighed 3,800 pesos de oro. [. . .]" (40), and later "a large silver wheel which weigned forth-eight silver marks [. . .]" (45).
These articles were exhibited first in the Case de la Contratación in Seville; from there they traveled to Valladolid, and thence, according to Massing, "to Brussels and displayed there at the time of Charles V's coronation in Aachen." Massing notes that the objects caused great interest as they traveled through Europe, and they were seen by Bartolomé de Las Casas, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, and Francisco López de Gomara (515). But the only living artist known to have both seen the exhibition and recorded his observations and impressions is the German Albrecht Dürer:

Auch hab ich gesehen die dieng, die man dem könig auß dem neuen gulden land hat gebracht: ein gancz guldene sonnen, einer ganczen klaffter braith, deßgleichen ein gancz silbern mond, auch also groß, deßgleichen zwo kammern voll derselbigen rüstung, desgleichen von allerley ihrer waffen, harnisch, geschucz, wunderbahrlich wahr [i.e. Wehr, Schilde], selczamer klaidung, pettgewandt und allerley wunderbarlicher ding zu maniglichem brauch, das do viel schöner an zu sehen ist dan wunderding. Diese ding sind alle köstlich gewesen, das man sie beschächt vmb hundert tausent gulden werth. Und ich hab aber all mein lebtag nichts gesehen, das mein hercz also erfreuet hat als diese ding. Dann ich hab darin gesehen wunderliche künstliche ding und hab mich verwundert der subtilen ingenia der menschen in frembden landen. Und der ding weiß ich nit außzusprechen die ich do gehabt hab. Ich hab sonst viel schöner ding zu Prüssel gesehen, [. . .]51

Dürer describes the same "golden sun" and "silver moon" described by Cortés in his list, but rather than listing the weight (or monetary value) of each, Dürer (the artist) notes their dimensions and size. Massing correctly notes that the "European reaction to the Aztec treasures is a typical response to objects outside their original
context.\textsuperscript{52} The two discs, interpreted as a "golden sun" and "silver moon" were most probably Aztec calendars. This misinterpretation by New World viewers, according to Massing, "seems to stem from the traditional relation between planets and metals found in Western astrological and alchemical writings" (515). Massing suggests that Dürer may have even believed the "sun" and the "moon" to be a type of hieroglyph, "similar to those he had sketched with pen and ink in 1513 for Willibald Pirckheimer's translation of the Hieroglyphica" (515). In any case, however, New World artifacts were clearly interpreted out of their original context and in strictly European terms. Thus, from the beginning, even the most sympathetic view of the New World was shaped by and based on misinterpretation and misunderstanding.

Examples of such misunderstanding and reinterpretation appear most clearly in the depictions of New World natives by Old World artists, none of whom had seen their subjects first-hand. The prime example is the transmutation of the Brazilian ceremonial feathered cape into a feathered skirt, seen for the first time in the Munich woodcut. Massing suggests that these "skirts" are "a misinterpretation of cloaks."\textsuperscript{53} Their persistent recurrence in art is due to the urge to clothe the naked natives, and is evidence of the free exchange of visual motifs among artists of the time. Dürer's accompanying illustration to Psalm 24 (Fol. 41r) dated 1515 in the Book of Hours of Maximilian\textsuperscript{54} portrays a native man with long club wearing a curious rounded feather head-piece, feathered neck ornamentation, and holding a shield. His torso is bare, and he is shown wearing a feathered skirt and sandals.
Similarly, one of Hans Burgkmair's contributions to the woodcut pageant *The Triumph of Maximilian* (c.1517-1518)\(^55\) depicts a New World scene comprised of two parts. On the left, a group of men, women, and children in various states of attire (with feathered skirts or jaguar-skin shawls and loincloths as the only elements of dress) hold spears, baskets of foodstuffs, and stalks of corn. They are accompanied by a variety of animals (European-looking sheep and cows) and hold children, monkeys, and macaws. To the right, a group of ten men (warriors) in feathered skirts are depicted holding clubs, spears, axes, and bows and arrows. The weapons are of the European variety, and even the men's physical proportion, stance, and hair style--replete with facial hair--echo European and Classical models and convention. Indeed, Burgkmair's two costume studies of "Indian" models posing with exotic artifacts, show both with beards, whereas "American natives did not tolerate hair on their bodies."\(^56\) These examples demonstrate that however well-meaning and meticulous Old World artists were in their depictions of New World inhabitants, they were nonetheless not accurate. These "composite renderings," to use Massing's term, differ markedly from early written descriptions of New World natives, such as the Vespucci translation, which stress their nakedness and cannibalism.

The Aztec treasure, which consisted of some 54 articles according to a 1519 inventory and seen and described by Dürer, remained on display in Brussels until early April 1520. According to Veth and Müller, Charles V appears to have kept for himself and taken with him back to Spain the "golden sun," but gave the "silver moon" to his aunt Margaret of Mechelen.\(^57\) In 1524 he sent gifts of
mosaic and featherwork to his brother King Ferdinand, which made their way, in turn, to his son Ferdinand of Tirol's collection in Schloss Ambras. Various other items were given to Pope Clemens VII (Guilio dei Medici), and the four jewel-encrusted mosaic masks in Italian collections no doubt were originally gifts made by the Pope to his relatives and friends, the Florentine Medici. Veth and Müller, after noting the dispersal of the treasure, write: "So sind die einzelnen Teile der fürstlichen Spende, die Cortéz von den Mexikanern empfangen, in alle Winde verstreut" (107-108). Yet the treasure did not disappear entirely.

The reconstruction of the dispersal of the Aztec treasure is complex, and details must be pieced together from a variety of sources. Some of the original 54 items have been recorded at museums in London, Copenhagen, and Vienna. An inventory of the contents of the eighteen pine cabinets of the Ambraser Kunstkammer reveals a cache of articles from the New World. The collection at Ambras was organized according to the principle of material; thus, items of wood, stone, or gold and silver would all be displayed together, regardless of their time or place of origin. The ninth cabinet contained the works of feather, "Federarbeiten aus Kolibrifedern," which travelled there from Mexico via Cortés, Charles V, and Ferdinand. Three of the most valuable are the feathered headpiece (Mörisch Huet), a shield (Rundell), and fan (Windtmacher). According to Scheicher (108), when Ferdinand celebrated his second marriage to Anna Katharina Gonzaga, he removed feathers from the Montezuma's feathered headpiece and created new headgear for his horses and riders. Thus, while Charles
V's gifts to Margaret of Mechelen seem to have vanished, those made by him to his brother Ferdinand seem to have remained together and, aside from the loss of a few feathers, intact.

Indeed, an accession list of the Naturhistorisches Hofmuseum of Vienna from 1908\textsuperscript{61} notes two important collections acquired by the museum, both from the former Ambras collection. The first, made in 1880, contained 20 objects such as a mirror of obsidian, a Brazilian battle axe, and one piece of "altmexikanischer Federschmuck," which is not described. The second collection acquired in 1891 consisted of five exquisite works of feather art, from the period of Cortés and the conquest of Mexico. Heger writes: "Die ersten vier Stücke gehören zu den größten Kostbarkeiten, welche das Hofmuseum heute aufzuweisen hat" (35). The items in question are two shields, one of a mosaic of featherwork and gold, the other of wood and inlaid turquoise, a round feather fan, a small animal head mosaic made just at the time of the conquest (using newly-introduced silk and glass), and a small picture of St. Hieronymus made of fine featherwork.

Unfortunately, it seems, many of these works had fallen victim to the ravages of time, and more precisely to moths. Still, they attest to the awe and amazement with which the Europeans viewed the first artifacts from the New World. Veth and Müller (105) quote the Venetian envoy Contarini, who in 1525 recalled the beauty of the Aztec treasure: "Sie machen [. . .] auch bewunderungswürdige Arbeiten aus Vogelfedern; sie haben auch eine gewisse Veränderlichkeit; je nachdem das Licht darauf fällt, schillern sie in verschiedenen Farben, wie wir das auf dem Hals einer Taube sehen."
Perhaps it was this aspect, as well, that fascinated Dürer and prompted him to record his artistic impressions in his diary.

The German literary contribution to the opening up of the New World is significant. Reports of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries of new-found regions made their way to Europe, and were soon translated into German. Christopher Columbus' first letter to the Spanish king was published in 1497 as "Eyn schön hübsch lesen von etlichen insslen die do in kurtzen zyten funden synd durch den künig von hispania, vnd sagt von grossen wunderlichen dingen die in den selben insslen synd." Rudolf Hirsch (538) has identified 22 editions or issues of writings of Columbus printed during the period 1493-1522.

The oldest piece of "Americana" in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel is a 1505 broadside by an anonymous artist announcing Vespucci's discovery of the New World. The caption reads: "Das sind die new gefunden menschen oder volcker In form und gestalt Als sie hie stend durch den Christenlichen Künig von Portugall, gar wunderlich erfunden." The first German edition of the Basel translation made from the first edition in Latin of Vespucci's letter appeared in 1505: "Von der neu gefunden Region so wol ein welt genempt mag werden, durch den Cristenlichen künig, von Portugal, wunderbarlich erfunden." The Wolfenbüttel Bibliothek also contains a copy of Vespucci's letter to the Portuguese king published in Straßburg by Johann Grüninger in 1509: "Diß büchlin saget wie die zwen durchlützigsten herren her Fernandus K. u Castilien und herr Emanuel. K. zu Portugal haben das weyte mör ersuchet vnnd funden vil Insulen, unnd ein Nüwe welt von wilden
Vespucci's account proved popular, as evidenced by the various editions published between 1505-1509 that survive. Hirsch (540) notes that reports on Vespucci's travels "exceed those of Columbus almost threefold (60 as against 22). In 1515, at least two different editions were published of an "extremely curious and interesting plaquette [which] purports to be a translation into German of a letter describing the arrival of a vessel from Brazil to a port not mentioned," entitled: "Copia der Newen Zeytung auss Presillg Landt."68

In 1518, evidence of a different sort of interest in the New World appeared in the form of a four-leaf pamphlet in quarto: "Ain Recept von ainem holtz zu brauchen fur die kranckheit der frantzosen vnd ander flüssig offen schäden aus hispanischer sprach zu teütsch gemacht, darzu das Regimennt wie man sich darinn halten vnd auch darzu schicken soll." Another edition followed in 1519. Baginsky notes that they have been attributed to Leonardus Schmaus' pamphlet "Lucubrati uncula" of 1518. Both deal with the use of the New World guaicum wood, lignum indicum, as a remedy for the New World disease of syphilis. The work was expanded from four to six leaves and appeared in 1524 as "Ein bewert Recept wie man das holtz Guagacam fur die kranckheit der Frantzosen brauchen sol." Though knowledge of the treatment of the disease seems to have reached the stage that the use of guaicum wood could be described as "proven," or bewert, the true origin of the disease was still unknown. The euphemistic "kranckheit der Frantzosen" was, in reality, a product of the European encounter with the New World.
The first signs of the disease appeared as early as 1494, and two years later the syphilitic was depicted by Albrecht Dürer. Alfred W. Crosby is skeptical as regards the treatment of the disease by guaicum. "It came from America, as did the disease; and this is, of course, the way a thoughtful God would arrange things" (154). The decoction of the wood caused heavy perspiration, as Crosby says, "a very desirable effect, according to humoral theory" (154). The Fugger of Augsburg, the greatest banking family of the day, made a fortune importing the wood to Europe, and "were among the most enthusiastic promoters of the Columbian theory of the origin of the pox" (Crosby 156). Hirsh (537) excludes, among other things, "pseudoscientific treatises (like booklets on syphilis)” from his discussion on early printed reports of New World discoveries on the grounds that "they cannot automatically be accepted as proof of interest in the Discoveries." While this may technically be true, they indicate a general interest in "the Americas", as well as in finding a cure for a "New World disease" in particular.

Throughout the Sixteenth Century, works from other languages continued to be translated into German. Hernando Cortés conquest was published as Translation vss hispanischer sprach zu Frantzösisch gemacht, so durch den Vice Rey in Neapols, Fraw Margareten Hertzogin in Burgundi zu geschrieben [s.l., 1522], and Von dem Newen Hispanien, so im Meer gegem Nidergang. zwo gantz lustige vnnd fruchtreiche Historien, [ . . .] (Augsburg, 1550). Hirsch (543) notes that four translations of Cortés appeared in German. In addition to reports from the Spanish conquistadores, news of missionary activity was made known in publications such as Juan de Zumarraga, Bishop
of Mexico's Ein Sendbrief des Bischofs der grossem [sic!] stadt Temixtitan in der Newen erfundenn welt, gen Tolosa in Franckreich geschrieben [s.l., 1533?].

Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera's work which contains accounts of early discoveries in America was published in 1570 in Frankfurt as Warhafftige Beschreibunge aller Chronickwirdiger namhaftiger Historien vnd Geschichten, so sich bey Menschen gedächtnuss, von dem tausend vier hundert vnd vier vnd neuntzigsten, biss auff das tausend fünfzehnhundert vnd sieben und viertzigste jar, hin vnd wider in der gantzen Welt, [. . .] zugetragen [. . .].

Accounts of missionary activities of the Jesuits were also published: Sendtschreypen vnd warhaffte zeypungen. Von Auffgang vnd erweiterung des Christenthums, bey den Hayden inn der newen welt; Auch von veruolgung vnd hailigkait, der Gaistlichen Apostolischen Vorsteher daselbs, so erst dises jar, auss den Orientischen Indien kommen, vnd jetzt inn teutsche sprach transsferiert worden [München, 1571].

The new-found lands soon appeared as additions to German-language encyclopedic works: In 1534 Sebastian Franck published his Weltbuch: spiegel vnd bildtniss des gantzen erdbodens von Sebastiano Franco Wördensi in vier bücher, nemlich in Asiam Aphricam, Europam vnd American, gestelt vnd abteilt, . . . Auch etwas von dew gefundenen welten vnd Inseln, . . auss vilen weitleüffigen büchern in ein handtbuch eingeleibt vnd verfasst, vormals dergleichen in Teütsch nie aussgangen. A reworked reissue appeared in 1542, two years before Sebastian Münster published an account of the New World under the heading "Von den neüwen inseln" in his Cosmographia. Beschreibung aller Lender
Durch Sebastianum Munsterum in welcher begriffen Aller völcker, Herrschaften Stetten, vnd namhafftiger flecken, herkommen: Sitten, gebreÜch, ordnung, glauben, secten, vnd hantierung, durch die gantze welt, vnd fürnemlich Teütscher nation. [...](Basel, 1544). His mappa mundi contains the inscription "America seu insula Brasilij," and the map (xxiii) has the following on the verso: "Die newe wældt der grossen und vilen Inselen von den Spaniern gefunden." 76

Hirsch (544) has divided the 34-year timespan 1493-1526 into four periods which reflect the impact of the discoveries of Columbus, Vespucci, an interim period, and the discoveries of Cortés. The German-speaking language area leads with 43 printed translations of the literature of travel into the vernacular. The other totals: Italy 37, France 17, Spain 13, Low Countries 8, Bohemia 1. Production in the German-speaking lands waned with the advent of and growing interest in the Reformation. Hirsch balances his statistical findings with the statement that the "concern with explorations was not unique, and was not greater than, or even equal to, the concern with the Turkish threat, or religious fervor, or popular science and medicine, or abuses of temporal power" (550).

A point that soon becomes apparent to readers and scholars of travel literature is that the term "New World" depends entirely on one's perspective. Indeed, there are many "new worlds," new for those doing the traveling and "discovering." Some historians prefer to speak, for example, of the 500th anniversary of Columbus' "encounter" or "first contact" with the New World--and in this sense, the "New World" pertains specifically to the Americas. "The Americas", too, is a concept fraught with ambiguity, and one must
constantly ask to which "America" one refers. Harold Jantz writes:
"So wie Amerika in der Vergangenheit unzählige Male neu entdeckt wurde (und immer noch entdeckt wird), ebenso scheint es auch kein Ende nehmen zu wollen in den Entdeckungen, die man in den Schriften über Amerika beziehungsweise an den Orten, wo diese Schriften schlummern, machen kann."77

In an attempt to limit the scope of this investigation, I have chosen the "New World" (or the "Amerika" to use Jantz's term) of the earliest European encounter. The geographic location is restricted, primarily, to the north coast of South America in roughly the area of modern-day Venezuela and Brazil. Rather than examining the entire spectrum of literature published on this region in the early Sixteenth and through the late Seventeenth Centuries, I have chosen to focus on the literary remains of German travelers to the New World, written in German. These often fragmentary, unflattering, and conflicting remains, consist of personal letters and journals, as well as works intended for publication and public consumption.

The first Chapter of this investigation into early German travel writings on the New World will provide a brief historical background and set the scene for the German adventurers in the New World. The second Chapter will introduce the main figures whose writings form the core of this study, and provide a synopsis of their texts. This is followed in Chapter 3 by a detailed examination of the writings themselves, and particular emphasis will be given to the description of the new lands and new peoples encountered. Frequent reference and comparison will be made with similar descriptions found in other contemporary sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travel
narratives. Chapter 4 will examine two figures which dominate the New World landscape, the cannibal and the Amazon, and I will suggest ideological reasons for their continuing popularity. Finally, I will present conclusions and suggest possible uses and meanings of this literature to us today.

I will also note its ramifications for the future in our continuing attempts at definition and re-definition of ourselves against the framework of the exotic, the foreign, the "other." We will see that just as in the areas of art and iconography where visual motifs were freely exchanged, borrowed, and copied, literary motifs of the New World are similarly recycled, creating in essence variations on a single theme. In his discussion of the newly emerging concept of "global thinking" in the time up to the early Sixteenth Century, Woodward concludes: "Such an image of the whole earth allowed the idea of a finite world over which systematic dominance was possible, and provided a powerful framework for political expansion and control." We will see that just as the artistic and literary spheres share a common vocabulary of images and motifs, which develop separately along similar parallel lines, we will discover, too, that both art and literature function within a broader historical-political framework and serve to describe, depict, and define the self, and by extension the state, against the "other," the foreign, and the exotic.
NOTES

1 Justin Stagl, *Apodemiken: eine räsonnierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1983). Stagl's introduction provides a historical overview of the field, which he dates from 1577 and the publication of Hilarius Pyrckmair's *Commentariolus de arte apodemica seu vera peregrinandi ratione*. He writes:


5 Woodward 85.


16 Color reproduction and commentary in Levenson 124.


18 Levenson 124 and the catalog entry on Schedel.


21 This detail is visible in the large color reproduction in Nebenzahl 64-65.
24 Reproduced in Bagrow, color plate I; and Leithäuser, color plate facing p.294.
25 Nebenzahl 48-51.
26 Nebenzahl 112-115.
28 Nebenzahl 121-123.
29 Nebenzahl 126-129.
32 One copy is in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and another in the New York Public Library; it is a broadside of 35.5 x 25 cm, hand-colored, and printed in Augsburg by Johann Froschauer. Reproduced in William C. Sturtevant, "First Visual Images of Native America," *First Images of America*, vol.2, 417-454.
33 Sturtevant 420.
34 A typical description reads: "It shows a group of 11 people--men, women and children--engaged in domestic pursuits or carrying
weapons, while human limbs are being eaten, or are drying in the smoke or hanging in the store. The people are using a crude poled shelter on the sea shore, with ships shown out to sea." David Beers Quinn, "New Geographical Horizons: Literature," First Images of America, vol. 2, p. 643. Another describes "standing and seated Indians wearing feather garments and eating humans, with two European ships in the background." Sturtevant 420. He continues, however, with useful anthropological observations. The most detailed description appears in Baginsky, note 62 below.


37 Reproduction of an engraving by Master bxg. Germany, housed at the Vienna Albertina; Husband 11.

38 Original housed in Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Ms.fr.2374, fol.3 verso; Colin 27.

39 Rudolf Schuller, "The Oldest Known Illustration of South American Indians," Indian Notes 7 (1930) 494.

40 Schuller 493. Curiously, Schuller cites the complete text of the New York version
41 Wilberforce Eames, "Description of a Wood Engraving Illustration the South American Indians (1505)," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 26 (1922) 759.

42 Eames 759-60.

43 Nebenzahl 34.

44 Housed at the Biblioteca Estense, Modena. Complete map in color reproduced with full-page detail of The New World portion, Nebenzahl 35-37. Also in Bagrow, color plate "G"; Leithäuser 203; and *Circa 1492* 86.


50 Jean Michel Massing, "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach," *Circa 1492* 515-520.


52 Massing, "Images" 515.

53 Massing, "Images" 516.

54 Reproduced in color in Massing, "Images" 514. The original is housed in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

55 Reproduced in Massing, "Images" 517. The original is housed in the Stuttgart Staatsgalerie Graphische Sammlung.

56 Massing's comments refer to entry 405 of the *Circa 1492* catalog: Two Costume Studies c.1519-1525 by Hans Burgkmair: "Black Youth Holding a Club and a Shield", and "Black Youth Holding an Ax," housed in the British Museum.


58 W. Lehmann describes elaborate mosaic masks, some of which were among the original items on display in Brussles, and their path to museums in London, Rome, Berlin, Vienna, Copenhagen, and Gotha.


61 Franz Heger, "Die archäologischen und ethnographischen Sammlungen aus Amerika im k.k. naturhistorischen Hofmuseum in Wien," *Festschrift herausgegeben anlässlich der Tagung des XVI. Internationalen Amerikanisten-Kongresses in Wien, 9.-14. September 1908* (Wien: im Verlage des Bureaus des XVI. Internationalen Amerikanisten-Kongresses, 1908). Heger includes a list of acquisitions by the Naturhistorisches Hofmuseum that is organized according to geographic origin of particular items, then by origin of the collection. Under the heading IV.A, Mexiko, Altertümer, we see that in 1880 the museum acquired 14 items (from the 2647 total acquisitions) from the Ambraser Sammlung. Other items from the Ambras collection appear in other categories to arrive at the total 20 mentioned above.


Baginsky [1] cites as imprint: [Basel: Michael Furter, 1505]. The pamphlet consists of 16 illustrated pages in octavo format.

Jantz 16. The pamphlet consists of 32 illustrated leaves in octavo format.

Baginsky [1]-3 cites some 12 different editions.

Baginsky 4 quotes the bibliographer Harisse.

"Brazil" is spelled varyingly as "Presilg Landt", "Presillg Landt", and "presillanndt." Imprint information cited is [Augsburg: Erhart Oeglin, 1515?].

Baginsky 4 gives as imprint: [Augsburg, 1518]

Baginsky 5.


Baginsky 4, 7 provides detailed bibliographic information on these two editions.

Baginsky 5.

Ellipses in Baginsky 8.

Baginsky 6 quotes the bibliographer B. Quaritch: "This edition is not merely a reissue of the original, with a fresh title, [. . .] but is entirely a new setting-up of the text."

Baginsky 7.

See note 63 above.

Woodward 87.
Chapter 1

The Germans in the New World

The now little-known account of German adventures in the New World appears most commonly as an introductory historical aside in various tourist guides to South America, particularly Venezuela. The geographic area which became the realm of German activity corresponds to the present-day North Venezuelan states of Falcón and Zulia, around Lake Maracaibo. One contemporary travel guide contains the following summary, which, while simplistic and historically inaccurate, is nonetheless typical of the genre:

Charles V leased the province to a family of German bankers called the Welsers. The first German governor arrived on Coro on February 24, 1529. He immediately set the tone. Using Coro simply as a base for expedition into the interior, the Welsers were unconcerned with establishing a community, or having good relations with the local Indians. Their interest was profit, and they pillaged and explored the interior for natural resources, holding their fingers tight with expectation. It was Charles V's idea, in leasing the area out to the Welsers, for them to begin some profit making industry. But their attempts failed eventually, and in 1546 their lease was revoked.¹

This chapter will first examine the events that led to the German enterprise in the New World, and thus establish the social and historical framework against which the major players function. Then we will turn to the men themselves and the writings that resulted from their experiences and adventures in the Americas.
German financial interests, represented by the two large south German houses of the Fugger and Welser, were at play in the earliest voyages of the Portuguese to Africa. These two financial houses had, to varying extents, large sums at stake in these voyages, and would continue their monetary backing of later voyages to the New World. Both the Fugger and the Welser were part of the old and well-established German network of trade routes dating back to the time of the Hanseatic League, and had a long history of business with their Iberian counterparts. Konrad Haebler, author of the monumental six-volume work on typographical history, *Typen-repertorium der Wiegendrucke* (1905-1924), also published widely on early sixteenth-century history, in particular, Charles V, the Fuggers, and the Welsers. He writes that from time immemorial (*von jeher*), Portugal had depended on high-quality shipbuilding expertise from northern Germany. In exchange, the Germans enjoyed a series of rights and privileges in Lisbon, especially in relation to their own personal freedoms, the storage of wares, and the importation of wood and other ship-building supplies. (They were so renowned as shipbuilders that on 14 March 1523, Charles V requested from the City of Lübeck eight ships with copper and materials for shipbuilding to be sent to Spain. From there they were to be used in a voyage to the Spice Islands.) Thus, the arrival of abundant Portuguese high-quality and cheap spices on the Medici-controlled Lisbon market in 1485 appeared "to threaten the market for East Indian pepper that the House of Fugger had been distributing."
In 1903, Haebler had the following remarks on the early (pre-1490) history of the Welser house: "Die ältere Geschichte der Welserischen Handlung ist trotz dem Eifer, mit welchem in neuester Zeit das Gebiet der deutschen Handelsgeschichte durchforscht worden ist, noch immer fast ganz in Dunkel gehüllt" (Haebler 1903, 1). The later history of the Welser house is not much improved. Even today, ninety years after Haebler, references to Welser endeavors in the New World are found in histories of the Fugger family. Defininitive histories of the Welser house are decidedly lacking. Taken together, these various asides and references provide some clues into the Welser-sponsored South American venture.

The following four excerpts from histories of the Fugger family serve to shed some light on the Welser undertaking in the New World:

Während die Welser auf den Inseln und an der Küste Mittel- und Südamerikas Stellungen ausbauten und ihre Tatkraft der Erschließung von Venezuela zukehrten, stand Fugger noch immer vor dem Sprung nach der Neuen Welt.  

Fuggers eigene koloniale Absichten waren durch die Erfahrung der Welser überflügelte.

Besonders das in Spanien steckende grosse Kapital, das nicht herauszuziehen war, und die unglückliche Unternehmung in Venezuela machten Bartholomä Welser schwere Sorgen.

Die südamerikanischen und spanischen Erfahrungen der Welser, ihre Prozesse um venozolanische Rechte, die nach mancherlei Fehlschlägen im Gestüpp der aus iberischem Nationalgefühl ihnen abgeneigten Gerichtshöfe der amerikanischen Kolonialwelt oder der spanischen und
The Fuggers seem to have been content merely to watch from the sidelines as the Welsers gained practical experience and established settlements in Venezuela and the surrounding area. In addition, they seem to have watched as the Welsers encountered a variety of problems: large sums of money tied up in enterprises with little or no return, a maze of legal, bureaucratic, and political intrigue, and a court system unsympathetic to their cause.

Or so, at least, it would seem. In reality, the Fuggers had negotiated an agreement with the Spanish Council of the Indias (Consejo de Indias) through their agent in Madrid, Veit Hörl. The agreement allowed them limited rights in South America, from Chincha (south of present-day Lima, Peru) the southernmost point of Pizarro's domain, southwards to the Strait of Magellan and up to a distance of 200 leagues (leaguas) inland. The area comprised roughly the present-day boundaries of Chile. Detailed information on negotiations between the Germans and Spanish is scant; the Fugger archives reveal nothing. Panhorst notes that a Fugger-outfitted ship sent to the area, probably on an orientation mission rather than in a serious attempt to establish a colony on the mainland, sank off the coast of Chile. The loss of this ship, Panhorst suggests, convinced the Fuggers to avoid sinking more money into the effort; they were satisfied to bide their time and watch the "progress" of Francisco Pizarro and Diego Almagro in Peru to the north. When these two did not enter Fugger territory to the south, this was evidence enough for
the Fuggers that there was nothing there worth looking for; they seem to have simply left the area to others (Panhorst 144-46).

But the Welsers, and to a lesser extent the Fuggers, had not simply packed their bags and gone to the New World. The matter is much more complicated, and again, the prime forces are high finance and politics. Both houses had made several large loans to Charles V who was elected Emperor in 1519. Some of this money eventually arrived in Spain where, via Welser representatives Heinrich Ehinger (see Appendix 2 below) and his brothers in Saragossa, it financed early voyages to the New World (Panhorst 144-46). Charles V, after taking possession of the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, "then developed a scheme to enter upon a sharp competition with the Portuguese drug trade [sic],\(^{12}\) with the help of this new possession." This was accomplished with the help of north German shipbuilders.

As a gesture of gratitude, Charles V granted the Welser family a number of rights and privileges. In a document dated 22 November 1532, the family was promoted to the rank of nobility (in Stand und Grad des Adels der recht edelgeborenen Lehens-Tournier-Genossen und rittermäßigen Edel-leute).\(^{13}\) On 6 April 1541, Bartholomew Welser, the family patriarch, was given an imperial letter of passage, and on 7 June 1546 was granted municipal exemptions on import and export taxes. But the prize was the contract of 27 March 1528 which allowed the Welser company sole rights to the province of Venezuela: exploration, colonization, and exportation of any and all goods, with certain exceptions and conditions attached.\(^{14}\)
This was accomplished after a series of negotiations in Burgos between Ehinger's authorized representative Hieronymus Sailer and Francisco de los Cobos, Charles V's secretary. The series of agreements permitted the Welsers to recruit and transport fifty German miners to Santo Domingo, and thence to various colonial provinces. These miners, it was thought, would establish bases and serve to pave the way for later efforts of colonization. Haebler discovered the original contracts with the miners drawn up by Ehinger and Sailer in the Königliches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden. In addition, the agreement of 12 February 1528 permitted the Welsers to import some 4000 black slaves for work in the mines. Originally the crown was opposed to the idea, but gave in to the repeated requests by colonists, and established a quota system for their import. Haebler writes: "Das Geschäft war ein außerordentlich gewinnbringendes und darum viel begehrtes" (1903, 53). The agreement also gave them control of the area within established boundaries. Haebler describes the geographic location as being "das Land vom Kap Maracapana im Osten bis zum Cabo de la Vela und der Grenze der Provinz Santa Marta im Westen, in nordsüdlicher Richtung aber vom atlantischen bis zum stillen Ozean [. . .]" (1903, 54).

Arrangements were made which guaranteed premium harbor space in the busy port of Seville for storage of supplies and transfer of goods. Charles V had appointed his secretary Francisco de los Cobos as official overseer in all matters pertaining to precious metals discovered in the New World, including smelting and minting. The final agreement between Los Cobos and Ehinger and Sailer stipulated
that they would turn over to him 1% of all gold and silver bars minted and stamped. In addition, Los Cobos was to be sole owner and executor of any salt mines discovered in the new territories.

In 1528-29 Ehinger and Sailer, in the name of the Welser company, aggressively advertised in Seville for colonists to travel to Venezuela. Haebler reports that many eye-witness accounts of the Germans' recruiting exist and tell of gatherings in the streets and plazas where, after drum roll, the agents would read the conditions of hire to the local residents. According to the Seville archives, 281 persons departed for the New World aboard four ships on 7 October 1528. Garcia de Lerma, a wealthy businessman from Burgos who had spent many years with Diego Colón in Santo Domingo, was the leader of the voyage. Ambrosius Dalfinger (see Appendix 2 below), the first German Governor of the colony appointed by the King, accompanied the group (Haebler 1903, 93-94). Spanish sources reveal a different picture, and serve to establish the precarious nature of German-Spanish relations in the colonies. They state that Dalfinger was the fourth Governor of the Province of Venezuela, and the first to be appointed by the Germans, who arrived there, it seems, without proper authorization of the King.16

The first Germans arrived at Coro, where the Spanish had already established a base under Juan de Ampies, who was displaced to the northern islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curacao. From Coro, several treks were made into the interior. But all did not proceed smoothly. There was considerable friction between the Germans, Spaniards, and the local indigenous populations. The Spanish were attempting to establish territorial claims based on the 1494 Treaty of
Tordesillas, where according to legend, the Pope divided the map into two parts, Spanish and Portuguese. The Spanish perceived a territorial threat from the Germans, operating with the permission of Charles V. They, on the other hand, were operating under Papal decree.

Friction also came from within the German ranks. At first, only twenty-four miners came from St. Joachimstal, a Welser-controlled mine, to the New World. Heinrich Ehinger was pressured by miners to lay out specific work conditions and agreements in writing which guaranteed them the same rights as if they worked in Spain. When the first group arrived, they were immediately affected by the climate, and the Welsers complained that they had spent more for "Arzt und Apotheke" for twenty-four men than required for fifty. Of these, no less than 10% died in the first years, and many others took advantage of a special exit clause in their contract which allowed them return home after one year in the New World colony (Haebler 1903, 63).

As to the matter of importing slaves, the Germans were completely unprepared. As stipulated in the agreement with the Crown, the 4000 slaves had to be brought in within a four-year period. At the expiration of the agreement in 1532, the Germans had not brought in one. Two years later, on 21 June 1534, the Welsers requested permission from Charles V to move to other colonies some 800 slaves who had been left by the Spanish and were without work (Haebler 1903, 83-84). It would appear that while the Welsers recognized the money to be made in the slave trade, they desisted
for reasons other than desire for money; they were simply financially overextended and physically underequipped.

Thus far we have seen the circumstances and machinations that brought the Welser Germans to the New World. Their arrival at Coro was further complicated by additional logistical, financial, and social difficulties. The decision-making process of the time was complex and cumbersome; different hierarchical levels were constantly at play, making what, at times, seem differing and conflicting decisions and pronouncements. The governorship of the new territory is similarly confusing, as Governors are appointed now by the Spanish, now by the Welsers, now by the Emperor.

Haebler (1895) attempts to make some sense of the mass of historical documentation, and suggests that the Ehinger brothers played a much more important role in Spanish negotiations than usually assumed (see Appendix 2). Welser interests were negotiated both with Charles V and in the Spanish courts. At the same time, the Ehingers negotiated directly with businessmen and speculators, the Council of the Indias, and the Spanish monarchy. They acted both independently from the Welsers to gain certain rights and privileges and represented the family directly in an attempt to gain others. Again, Haebler enlightens the reader as to common sixteenth-century business practices in Europe, and it appears that the seeming independence of the Ehinger was not unusual. Large financial houses who sponsored young men of good name through a course of study at business schools could expect, indeed require, them to stay on in their service for a certain period. After completion, they would set
out on successful careers on their own or with their families (Haebler 1895, 74-77).

Haebler suggests that the Ehinger brothers were in precisely this position. Thus, by acting directly for the Welsers they were fulfilling their obligation and boosting their reputation with the company, and by acting seemingly independently from the Welsers (though still with their interests at heart), they were seen as learning the skills of successful negotiation and establishing and raising their own reputation for their later careers. When seen in this light, what at first sight seems a complicated and even confused system of decision-making turns out to be the normal, every-day system of operation for the sixteenth-century world of international business.

In order to provide a historical background and context to the German travel narratives under examination in the following sections, we will first look at the lives, exploits, and writings of the men concerned. The first, Titus Neukomm, were it not for his only surviving letter, would certainly have died in obscurity. The latter two, Nicolas Federmann and Philipp von Hutten, are fairly well documented. I will present a chronological synthesis of biographical background information, summarize their written accounts, and discuss the editions of works used in this study. By so establishing this initial framework, we will be able to better analyze and understand the texts under consideration against the general background of European exploration and colonization. We will see, too, that the fates of both Federmann and Hutten are inextricably connected to the Welser family, and that their deaths foretell the impending demise of the Welser colony in the New World. Finally,
we will see that the story of the individual adventurer is simply a part of the entire mosaic of New World exploration and colonization, in which the Germans played a role.

I. Titus Neukomm

The name of Titus Neukomm survives in one document only. Franz Joetze discovered a transcription of a letter Neukomm had written from the settlement at Coro to his mother and brother in Lindau, dated 6 September 1535. The letter appears in a chronicle compiled by Augsburg merchant Ulrich Neukomm, and Joetze published the letter, with a brief introduction in 1907.18

Joetze establishes only a vague relationship between Titus Neukomm, author of the letter, and Ulrich Neukomm, transcriber. He mentions that Ulrich's brother Alexius played a "verhängnisvolle Rolle" in the history of the city (271), and later mentions that Titus is a "Vetter," and son of one-time Lindau Bürgermeister Henni Neukomm, who died in 1522 (272). In regard to the letter itself, Joetze is correct in his assessment that it is not comparable with the longer reports of Federmann or Hutten, replete with "schlichte Innigkeit." It is, however, important because of its detailed description of the native inhabitants around Coro.

Neukomm's letter is in response to that of his brother, dated 23 December 1534 (received 20 July 1535). He attempts to set both brother and mother at ease; they had heard from Hieronymus Sailer that Titus had departed Seville for Santo Domingo in the New World:
He does not stay there for long, and soon sets off with Nicolas Federmann for the Welser colony of Venezuela, where the latter is to take on the post of Governor. Upon arrival, however, they find another German installed in the post of Governor, namely Georg Hohermut von Speier. Hohermut has made plans for an expedition into the interior and sets out on 12 May with a group of 90 mounted men and 310 foot soldiers. Federmann is to set out a week later with an additional 300 men, take a different route, and rejoin Hohermut in the interior. One hundred men, Neukomm included, remain behind to defend Coro. Joetze notes that Federmann did not, in actuality, begin his expedition until June 1536 (274).

Neukomm proceeds to describe the land, inhabitants, and customs of those living in the area of Coro. He ends his letter with a description of a brief skirmish between a group of Europeans and natives that resulted in the death of Ulrich Sailer. Apparently, after buying and bartering for food and drink, the Europeans, Sailer among them, also attempted to take along a few pretty native women ("etliche hüpsche Weiber") for a sail on Lake Maracaibo. The residents objected and pursued them in several small boats. When they reached the European vessel half way, they quickly jumped into the water, overturned their small vessels for protection, and shot at them with bows and arrows from the water, killing some fourteen. He closes by sending the Welsers a bill for sundry debts, and asks his
brother Joachim to convey greetings to their mother Elisabeth and to read his letter to her.

The only information on Neukomm's further activities and fate appears in a brief introductory note written by Ulrich Neukomm as a preface to the transcription of the letter in his chronicle: "[Er ist] folgendts auch an Kayserischen Hoff khomen, und daran Ledig standts gestorben; seiner wirdt auch in der Lindauerischen Kirchhofftaffel gedacht, [. . .]" (272).

II. Nicolas Federmann

The literary remains of Nicolas Federmann consist of his Indianische Historia published in 1557. It is his own translation from the notes made in Spanish and recorded by the Notario Scribano publico during the expedition of 1530-31. This translation was published after his death (details below) by his brother-in-law Hans Kiefhaber as: Indianische Historia, ein schöne kurzweilige Historia Niclaus Federmanns des Jüngern von Vlm erster raise so er von Hispania un Andolosia ausz in Indias des Oceanischen Mörs gethan hat, und was ihm allda ist begegnet bisz auff sein widerkunft inn Hispaniam, auffs kurzest beschriben, gantz lustig zu lesen. [Hagenau: Getruckt bei Sigmund Bund &c.] 1557. From published descriptions, it appears to consist of 64 leaves of 19cm in 4\circ, and by all accounts, is extremely rare. It was reprinted in its entirety in Arnold Federmann's Deutsche Konquistadoren in Sudamerika.19

The core of Nicolas Federmann's Indianische Historia comprises ten chapters, each describing a different native people, or Nation. Framing this core is, at the one end, the description of the voyage to
the New World and the arrival at the colony of Coro. At the other is the account of the return to Coro from the interior, the voyage back to Spain and finally, his arrival in Augsburg. Our prime concern will be with Federmann's description of the New World as found in his ten central chapters, which I will refer to in following Chapters with the following numeric system. The framing chapters will be identified with lower-case letters:

- Indianische Historia [Voyage to the New World]
- Ankunft in der Stadt Coro
- Die Nation Xideharas
- Die Nation Ayamanes
- Die Nation Cayones
- Die Nation Xaguas
- Die Nation Caquetios
- Die Nation Cuybas
- Die Nation Cuyones
- Die Nation Guaycaries
- Die Nation Caquetios
- Die Nation Cyparicotes
- Wiederankunft in Coro
- Wiederankunft aus Coro in Hispanien
- Wiederankunft aus Hispania gen Augsburg

The division of the narrative into chapters appears in the Inhaltsverzeichnis of Arnold Federmann's edition and may or may not reflect the divisions as originally conceived by Nicolas Federmann or his first editor, Hans Kiefhaber, who published the work after Federmann's death.

Of Nicolas Federmann's background and early life, virtually nothing is known.20 As a representative of the Welser family interests in Venezuela, he arrived in 1530, shortly before Ambrosius Dalfinger unexpectedly returned from his expedition into the
interior; until then, he was presumed dead. During this time, Federmann served the Welser colony in the capacity of Governor (Statthalter), a post he promptly returned to Dalfinger upon his reappearance.

On 12 September 1530 Federmann set out on his first expedition, the primary purpose of which was to explore the Welser colony and establish ties with the local populations, and secondly to search for gold and other treasure. He took with him 110 Spanish soldiers on foot, 16 with horses, and approximately 100 natives of the Caquetios tribe who served as bearers. His travels took him and his men through a variety of landscapes, populated by various peoples, or Nationen (Federmann's term), around the periphery of Coro: the Xideharas, Ayamanes, Cayones, Xaguas, Caquetios, Cuybas, Cuyones, Guaycaries, and the Cyparicotes. The following summary is an account of Federmann's encounter with the Indios naturales of the first five Nationes (Federmann's variant spelling shows obvious Spanish influence), and serves to establish the background against which Federmann operates. In order to avoid shifting back and forth between past and present tenses, my paraphrase of Federmann's account is in the present tense and, as will be evident later, is more in keeping with Federmann's writing which stresses the urgency of the present.

On the first day, the men travel a short distance from Coro, pitch camp and remain for two days. Federmann appoints captains and other leaders to maintain order among the ranks, and begins the trek southwards, whereupon they enter the land of the Xideharas. The first village is discovered well-equipped with all the necessities
of life: food, drink, and, according to Federmann, several gold nuggets. The natives provide the newcomers with supplies, and even gold, albeit begrudgingly and more out of fear than goodwill. They are surly, warlike, and cannibalistic, as are their neighbors. The surrounding country is correspondingly rough. Federmann takes what he needs and moves on (Federmann 96-97).

The inhabitants of the next Nation, the land of the Ayamanes, are a small and timid people, but they are easily lured with gifts of trinkets: fish hooks and glass rosaries. As the Federmann group moves on, native caciques tell him of a land of dwarfs ahead, across much rugged terrain and many wide rivers. At first, the men encounter only empty villages; the natives have fled to the mountains. Federmann, anxious to meet the locals after hearing fantastic accounts of their small size, sends out a delegation with an interpreter to round them up, with force if necessary. That evening, after numerous skirmishes, some 150 native men and women of extremely small stature are brought to camp. They are immediately baptised, given presents, and released (104). Federmann, having ingratiated himself with the local cacique, is given an unexpected present of a native woman to accompany him (105-106), and they move into the region of the Cayones.

The land is barren and empty; the villages are found deserted, the residents having fled to the mountains. Some native prisoners are taken and put in chains to prevent their flight. Skirmishes ensue, and the first Europeans die; they are buried secretly in an attempt to perpetuate the natives' belief in the newcomers' immortality (108).
The troop enters the land of the Xaguas, described by a captive Cayone bearer and guide as bestial cannibals. For four days the men wade through rising waters; supplies are low, and Federmann describes the situation with the understatement: "Wir hatten auch mehr Gebrech an Proviant denn Überfluss. (110)" He finally dispatches a small group of men to surprise a village in a morning attack and obtain whatever supplies they can. The natives are terrified and believe the newcomers to be devils; they are all held captive. In an effort to establish friendly relations with the Xaguas, and in an attempt to compensate them for the damage done to their village, Federmann employs the services of an accompanying Cayone as an interpreter. The Cayones and the Xaguas are neighboring tribes who, while not on friendly terms, could tolerate each other. This man conveys to the Xaguas that the newcomers desire only provisions and permission to pass through their lands. Federmann, in an attempt to establish peace, retains the most important leaders and caciques, but releases five of the Xagua prisoners with the mission to bring neighboring leaders to camp.

His strategy is a success, and the next day various caciques converge on the camp with some 800 accompanying men and women. Though communication is difficult, Federmann manages to ensure safe passage. The section ends with a brief description of the peoples encountered thus far, based on hearsay rather than first-hand experience: "Die vorgesagten Nationen oder Völker Xideharas, Ayamanes, Cayones und Xaguas essen alle Menschenfleisch, und ist je eine Nation der andern feind. (113)"
Federmann's group moves now into the territory of the fifth Nation, that of the Caquetios, the most populous and well-equipped of all the groups encountered before or after. This central narrative episode, as will be demonstrated below, is important in the sense that various motifs converge, thus creating the highpoint of the Indianische Historia. In stark contrast to the harsh physical conditions and rough peoples encountered thus far, it must have come as a surprise for Federmann to descend into the land of the Caquetios and see twenty native villages along the banks of a great river flowing through a fertile valley.

These people have expelled all other native groups and kept the best and most fertile flatland for themselves. Federmann changes his normal plan of action and decides not to attack, but rather to send a few accompanying Xaguas into their villages to trade trinkets for salt and to prepare the natives for the forthcoming friendly visit of the Europeans (114). Eventually the men enter the villages, obtain supplies, and convince the locals of their peaceful intentions. Federmann is impressed by the physical appearance of the people and of the general abundance, prosperity, and well-being. This almost idyllic valley is surrounded on all sides by hostile cannibals, and Federmann hears tales of great riches in the far beyond.

By now, some 60 men of Federmann's group have fallen ill, and many must be transported in hammocks, or Hamacos (Federmann's spelling, 117); he decides to move on before even more become sick and die, which would destroy the natives' perception of their immortality and leave them vulnerable to attack. He describes the
group as: "mehr Zigeunern und Krüppeln, denn Kriegsleuten gleich. (118)"
Approximately 200 Indios assist in transporting the sick men and supplies until they reach a wide plain, the border. Afraid they will be led into enemy territory, the natives depart, leaving the group alone and short-handed. The most urgently-needed supplies are divided among the men able to carry them, and the rest are buried for retrieval at a later date. Just as the situation seems hopeless, it is discovered that a small boy and his mother, unable to follow the others away, have remained behind. The native woman, or India, proves conversant in the language of the next people, the Cuybas, and thus provides both a helpful way out of dire straits and a narrative link to the next episode.

The subsequent chapters and accounts of encounters with the other various Nationes are no less interesting, and the reader is treated to tales of continuing bouts with hunger, thirst, bad food, sickness, the exchange of gifts, native hostility, battles, and death. The significance of the horse is revealed; one man on horseback has the effect of fifty on foot (121), and India, the native interpreter, gains prominence and functions as intermediary between Federmann and other native peoples. Federmann describes his own looting and plundering of villages for provisions, and public torture and execution of captured caciques in order to instill the natives with fear. At long last, on 31 August 1531, he and a few bedraggled men arrive back to their home base at Coro.

All the while, Federmann's adventures had been recorded in Spanish by a Notario Scribano publico who accompanied the group. Upon his return, Federmann translates his tale into German. The
next year he returns to Europe, by way of Seville, to the Welser headquarters in Augsburg, where he arrives on 16 June 1532. His account apparently satisfied the Welsers, for on 6 February 1535 he arrived again in Coro, in the company of Georg Hohermut von Speier, who had been appointed Governor of the province.

Hohermut appoints Federmann as his Vice-Governor (Vicestatthalter) (Kunzinger 84), and charges him with the task of establishing a colony at the Cabo de la Vela. Previous attempts in 1531 to construct a fortress and found a settlement there were unsuccessful due to the shallow water and lack of stones for building. The following course of events has proven difficult to reconstruct, due to the lack of precise information coupled with the frequent change of Governorship and appointments of interim Governors.

Later in the same year or the next (sources are vague on this point) Federmann appoints a representative to serve in his stead at Coro during his second expedition, this time to investigate rumors of riches and gold and of a Sonnentempel on the banks of the Meta River. Shortly after his departure, news arrived at Coro that he had been appointed Governor of Venezuela by the King. His absence gave rise to rumor and unrest; it was alleged that his governorship had been detrimental to the province. He was responsible for the depopulation of entire villages. He had forced natives, including many caciques, to travel with him under poor conditions, and was responsible for farming coming to a standstill. There follow numerous other episodes which cast Federmann in an unfavorable light, and he drops out of sight around 1539. Rumors circulate in
Coro that he is still alive in 1540, but by May 1555 he most certainly is dead.²⁴

Both Konrad Haebler and Arnold Federmann present a different story as to the fate of Nicolas Federmann after his second expedition.²⁵ He was brought to Spain as both captive and defendant, and was soon involved in a series of Spanish and German court cases lodged by representatives of the Spanish crown and the Welser colony. Prime charges against him were his maltreatment of both natives and German colonists, mismanagement and neglect of his administrative duties as Governor of Coro, the selfishness and arrogance of acting independantly without approval of his superiors, and perjured testimony. Evidence against him was of both political and personal nature; Federmann was even charged with being a Lutheran: "Estaba en fama de luterano" (Arnold Federmann 60 gives this uncredited quote in Spanish).

A reading of the historical literature indicates that, over time, pieces of the Federmann biographical puzzle have been put together. Klunzinger (1857) and the ADB (1877) are extremely vague as to the latter portion of Federmann's life, omitting mention of his court cases, and indicating that he must have died sometime before 1555. Haebler, after consulting the original Spanish documents, is able to expand significantly the general knowledge of Federmann's last days and ignominious death.

By 1541, Federmann was a sick man; he realized that he would not live much longer and, perhaps stricken by conscience, attempted to settle the charges lodged by the Welsers (Haebler 1903, 272-73). He penned a document wherein he confessed to his various acts
against Welser interests. Haebler writes that this document was read before the Council of the Indias on 27 February 1542, after Federmann's death; exoneration of charges against him was not granted.

III. Philipp von Hutten

In contrast to Federmann, Philipp von Hutten's life is well-documented. He was born in 1511, the second son of Bernhard von Hutten of Birkenfeld, Amtsmann in Königshofen, Arnstein and Schmalkalden, and Gertrud von Ebersburg. Arnold Federmann (19) refers to Philipp as "Vetter des Dichters Ulrich von Hutten," a claim he leaves undeveloped, and which is unsubstantiated by other sources. If this were the case, Philipp would have been born 23 years after his cousin Ulrich (1488-1523). While certainly possible in terms of time, this relationship, if true, would certainly have been noted by others both before and after Arnold Federmann. Philipp was raised by Graf Heinrich von Nassau, served as page to Charles V, and arrived in Venezuela with Georg Hohermut von Speier (sent by the Welser to serve as Governor of the province) and Bartholomäus Welser on 6 February 1535.26

Philipp von Hutten's writings consist of a journal and eight letters written between expeditions, between October 1540 and March 1541.27 According to Arnold Federmann (55), this material was first published as the appendix to the German translation of the letters of Cortés, printed in Augsburg in 1550, but I was unable to
find further documentation on this edition. The material was reprinted, for the first and only time, in Johann Georg Meusel's Historisch-litterarisches Magazin (Erster Theil), published in 1785. Meusel provides an introductory note as to the provenance of the material. The reader, he says, may thank the patron of the first part of the Magazin, a Karl Friedrich Reinhard von Gemmingen.28 "Er [Gemmingen] fand sie unter den Papieren des vor zwey Jahren verstorbenen letzten männlichen Sprößlings des uralten, verdienstreichen freyherrlichen Huttenschen Stammes, . . ." (Meusel 4). Gemmingen had the partly-illegible manuscripts transcribed, and provided Meusel with a copy.

Meusel presents Hutten's work along with other literary and historical ephemera, and essays on linguistics, numismatics, and jurisprudence. His editorial comments are few, but his criticism of the German enterprise is interesting. He wishes the journal could have been more detailed, yet, he asks rhetorically: "wer wird es von Reisenden jener Zeit erwarten, die mehr Durst nach Gold, als Begierde nach Kenntniß des Menschen und der Natur in ferne Lande trieb" [viii]. He characterizes the endeavors of the Germans in a disarmingly modern way:

Man erkennet daraus noch genauer, als aus andern Nachrichten, den Geist jenes Zeitalters, und das rohe Betragen der Europäer gegen die unglücklichen Amerikaner; auch die sonst redlichen Teutschen befleckten sich mit allen den Grausamkeiten, die man den Spaniern mit so vielem Recht zum ewigen Vorwurfe macht [viii].
Hutten's journal is dated 20 October 1538, the day of its completion in Coro. His letters, with corresponding identification for subsequent discussion in Chapter 2, and brief summary of their contents, are as follows:

L1 20 October 1538, to Senor Geuder: Hutten tells of the hardship, hunger, and death endured on the expedition, the promise of rich lands ahead, and the purported existence of cannibals and Amazons.

L2 31 March 1539, to his father: Hutten apologizes for the long time between letters and visits home and attempts to set his parents at ease.

L3 31 March 1539, to his mother: In one short paragraph Hutten sends greetings and consolations.

L4 16 January 1540, to his brother Moritz: In the longest letter (10 pages) Hutten laments the news of his father's death, tells of his desire to set out on a second expedition, complains of five years of mounting debts incurred in the New World, the shortage of supplies in the colony, and speaks of his concern for personal honor. He tells of the hardships that plague every expedition, floods, hunger, and death, and he recommends Nicolas Federmann for good treatment in Germany, should he ever return. He tells of riches found in other New World colonies, combined with reports of treachery, deceit, and cruelty of rival (Spanish) factions. He tells of gold mines in Honduras, reports the splendor of Yucatan and Mexico discovered by Cortés, and closes with greetings to all and best wishes to his mother.

L5 6 December 1540, to Moritz: Further tales of great riches found by others elsewhere, of Cortés, the fabled sieben Städte. He speaks of his best friend Franz Lebzelter and others, and
confesses his desire to try his luck at fame and honor.

L6 12 December 1540, to Moritz: Tells that he has been appointed Capitan general, and hopes to serve the Welsers well.

L7 9 March 1541, to his brother Wilhelm: Apologizes for an unexpected turn of events, the death of Hohermut, that requires him to postpone his anticipated trip home.

L8 10 March 1541, to Moritz: Confesses his excitement over the forthcoming expedition, tells of his friend Franz Lebzelter, requests that relics be sent to the colony along with a testimonial in Latin. He reports the (re)arrival of Bartholomew Welser to the colony, pledges his service to the Welsers, tells of his desire to bring honor to the family name, professes his desire to discover rich lands, and ends with the prophetic statement: "[. . .] ich fürcht mehr den Krieg mit den Christen, [als mit] den Indiern, [. . .]."

Three months after arrival in the Welser colony, Hohermut mounts an expedition into the interior; Hutten accompanies the group and records his experiences in his journal (mentioned above). They enter the surrounding mountains on 20 May 1535, and from the start the group is beset by difficulties: dangerous mountain passes, mighty rivers that must be forded and which sweep away both men and horses, oppressive heat, lack of water and food, and difficulties with hostile natives. In the villages little can be found--indeed, the first village had been burned, either by hostile neighboring tribes or by the villagers themselves to discourage the intruders and to afford them no illgotten spoils, food, and supplies. The situation does not improve, and by now many men are sick and dying. With the onset of the winter season, even less food is to be had; what little they find
proves responsible for their sickness. By now, dissention was spreading within the group. Hohermut imprisons one of the ringleaders, as Hutten says, "aus viel Ursachen die nicht Noth zu schreiben (59)."29

Hohermut hears a tale from a native cacique of lands rich in gold beyond the Cordillera mountain chain to the east. With this in mind, the men are able to weather their eight-month stay at their camp on the Upfa River while they wait out the rainy season and scout the surrounding area. All the while, another German, Stephan Martin (see Appendix 2), and a small group of men were sent on two missions with the charge of finding a pass through the mountains; both attempts were unsuccessful. The Hohermut party finally sets out in their continued search for riches.

As stories of golden lands become more frequent, so too do tales of the warlike Amazon women, a race of Immortales, and cannibals. At the Río Bermejo, Hohermut hears that gold is a mere 15-20 leagues away. But to reach it, the men must find a pass through the mountains. Again, Stephan Martin is sent out; he is attacked twice by natives, and the second time he and two others are captured and strangled.30 Martin's death caused great dismay among the men; not only was he Hohermut's right-hand man, but he had spent most of his life among the native peoples of the area and understood their ways and knew how to deal with them (Klunzinger 80). Increasing sickness among the ranks forces Hohermut to turn back to Coro on 10 August 1537.31

The return trip is marked by increasing hunger, disease, misery and death. At the Río Sarare, Hohermut finds traces of
Federmann's second expedition which had passed them by, but attempts to follow and join them are unsuccessful. Arnold Federmann (53) reports of a native woman (perhaps the India mentioned on p. 60 above?) who had learned Spanish and traveled with the Federmann party. She had become sick and stayed behind; when questioned, she named Federmann as the group's leader. Hohermut's bedraggled band arrives defenseless and almost naked, having sold or traded everything for food, at the home base of Coro on 27 May 1538, more than three years after departure. Of the 400 who had originally set out, only 160 returned; by then, all had been assumed long dead. The men enjoy rapid recovery from their wounds, thanks to the good climate of Coro, and Governor Hohermut prepares for a second expedition.

Hutten makes a short trip between 1539-40. After being attacked by natives, he encounters a group of 86 men, the remainders of the original 400-man expedition of Antonio Sedonno (poisoned) which had been searching for the Sonnentempel in the Meta River region for three years. Hutten considers it his duty to take them prisoner--they are in Welser territory without permission--and delivers them to Governor Hohermut in Coro.

At the end of 1540, news arrives that Hutten, to the great joy of the inhabitants of Coro, has been named Governor of Venezuela; he is given the additional charge of mounting another campaign of exploration within the next two to three months. The ambitious starting date was delayed. Hohermut, after making a short trip to Santo Domingo to secure supplies to mount his planned second expedition, died suddenly on 11 June 1540. In Spring of the
following year, Bartholomäus Welser returned from Germany and Hutten promptly made Lim his Lieutenant Governor.

Tales of the rumored riches of El Dorado become even more imbedded in the minds of the men; Federmann is convinced that great treasure is close at hand, and the small trinkets and nuggets of gold he displays are enough to convince the others of the truth of the tale. Hutten appoints two men to serve as captains: Bartholomäus Welser and Pedro de Limpias, who had long served as trailblazer and scout. On 1 August 1541 Hutten is finally equipped and sets out with 200 men on foot and 150 on horseback. Haebler notes that this expedition differed significantly from previous ones in that it was specifically forbidden to enlist Caquetios natives as bearers. To compensate, a considerably greater number of horses were provided to carry both men and supplies. Haebler sets the number of men at a few more than 150, most of whom were equipped with a horse.

A ways inland, Limpias and a few other men break away from the main group and set out on their own in the hopes of joining with a Spanish party nearby. Because of the onset of the rainy season, his way is blocked, and he is obliged to rejoin Hutten's group. After negotiating the rapids of the Guaviare river, the group reaches the land of the Omaguas, rumors of whose great wealth had spread far and wide. As it turned out, their wealth consisted mainly of a highly developed system of agriculture and trade. The farther Hutten penetrates their territory, the more they resist, and Hutten decides to retreat. He is convinced, however, that he is at the edge of a very rich land indeed. On the way back to the coast, Limpias becomes
unhappy with his subordinate role and breaks away again. He later returns, but relations are completely broken between him and Hutten.

In the meantime, the leadership of Coro has become embroiled in political and factional in-fighting. Haebler notes that one-time nationalistic rivalries now turned to personal ones (1903, 323). The new Governor's representative Diego de Buiza, a Spanish nobleman, begins the slavetrade again, paying adjoining natives for bringing in their neighbors to sell as slaves. He soon disappears from the scene, appointing a Welser representative Heinrich Rembold to serve in his stead. According to Haebler (1903, 313), the Welser, by this time, had given up any ideas of making a profit on their New World colony. They were, in fact, ready to pull out entirely and write off the entire undertaking as an experiment failed. Resistance to giving up the colony came from the ranks of the colonists themselves, represented now by Diego de Losada and Juan de Villegas. These two friends who had taken new lands in the name of the Welser soon had a falling out and contributed to the further factionalization of political life in Coro. Haebler suggests that these events contributed to Rembold's death; but before he died, he appointed two representatives to fill his post: Bernardino Manso and Juan de Bonilla. By this time, as well, the Welser and Federmann were engaged in mutual lawsuits, as well as with and against the Spanish.

On 1 January 1545, Juan de Carvajal arrives in Coro, with what later turn out to be forged credentials making him Governor of the colony. Villegas, in cahoots with Carvajal, decides to ruin the city. They begin to terrorize Coro: they commandeer horses, slaves, and even property and possessions inherited by survivors of deceased
explorers. Carvajal recruits men from the city to accompany him on an expedition, and by April 1545 has moved his headquarters from the city of Coro to the interior; Melchior Grubel, a Welser representative, is now in charge of Coro. Carvajal personally charges the Welsers with not fulfilling the terms of their contract: they had failed to bring in the stipulated 600 colonists and 50 miners; the Welsers file countercharges. In an attempt to pull rank, Carvajal sends Limpias to bring in Hutten. Limpias is successful, and Carvajal receives him graciously, at first, then tells him that the Welser are no longer in control—rather, the Spanish king is—and that Hutten should consider himself as a prisoner.

Hutten manages to escape, leaving Carvajal in a rage. Hutten, Bartholomäus Welser, along with two Spaniards Diego Romero and Gregorio de Plasencia and others, continue on their way, and eight days later stop for a rest. Carvajal, in the meantime, has declared the Hutten group outlaws (vogelfrei). While Hutten's men are foraging for provisions away from camp, Hutten and Welser are taken prisoner while napping in their hammocks and put in chains.

That evening Carvajal presides over their "trial," declares them guilty and prepares their execution. Native slaves whet their machetes and behead first Romero and Plasencia, then Hutten and Welser. Carvajal leaves their heads and bodies on the ground all night, and the next day prepares the heads with salt to take back to his friends as trophies. The possessions of the executed men are sold to the highest bidder at auction, and Carvajal proclaims that he is answerable to no one and declares that he would even take the Prince of Spain captive if he were to express his disapproval.
One or two men from Hutten's party manage to make their way to Coro with the news of the infamous deaths of their leaders. Carvajal is finally brought in, and after various court processes is brought on his horse to the gallows to be hanged. His goods are seized by the state on 17 September 1546. The ADB suggests that the motivation for Carvajal's attack was out of greed: he wanted the treasure that Hutten had collected during the course of his five-year journey. Klunzinger (103) characterizes the suggestion that the murder was motivated by financial greed as unrichtig, even though the families of the victims believed this to be the case; he attributes the attack to Carvajal's "natürliche Grausamkeit," combined with the fear that Hutten would become Governor of Venezuela and exact legal retribution against him. Haebler convincingly shows Hutten and Welser's deaths as yet another stage in the progressively deteriorating relations between the men representing colonial powers in the New World.

Philipp's brother Moritz, the Bishop of Eichstätt, was determined not to let the matter rest. Included in Meusel's Historisch-litterarisches Magazin is a series of letters written after the deaths of Hutten and Welser. Moritz lodges formal complaints with the King, requests retribution of the guilty parties, and the return of his brother's and Bartholomew Welser's belongings. In a reply to Moritz by Bartholomew Sr., the latter reports the execution of Carvajal and echoes Moritz' desire for the return of their possessions to the rightful heirs. In his reply to Welser of 31 March 1547, Moritz expresses the desire to appeal directly to Charles V, but reports that the latter had made a sudden departure, and he seems
resigned to further waiting: "Dieweil es aber Gott also verhänget, müssen wirs in Gedult auch tragen" (109).

In closing his discussion of Hutten's demise and subsequent punishment the perpetrators, Meusel writes: "die Akten schliessen sich damit; und diese Unthat gehört vielleicht mit unter die Menge derer, die in Amerika oft ungestrafft verübet worden, und womit die Vorsehung jenes unglückliche Land vielleicht an seinen eigenen Eroberern rächte" [ix-x]. His remarks are, in retrospect, prophetic. Neither Hutten or Welser's personal effects nor "treasure" was recovered.

In the course of this chapter, we have seen the origin and development of German interests in the New World against the overall framework of European exploration and colonization. It is evident that the German role in New World exploration and colonization is a part of the greater historical mosaic, yet it is an area generally left untouched by scholars and historians. The German role in these initial efforts of the early Sixteenth Century was significant, and we will see that the Germans remain influential throughout the century in the areas of writing and publishing accounts of their adventures in the New World.
NOTES


3 More detailed biographical and bibliographical information on Haebler may be found in Hans Lülffing, "Konrad Haebler," *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 7 (Berlin: Duncker + Humblot, 1966) 422-23.


5 Haebler 45, refers to documents in the Stadtsarchiv Lübeck.


8 Pölnitz 164


11 Panhorst, Karl H., "Das Kolonisationsunternehmen der Fugger in Amerika" Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv 2 (1927/28) 131-149. Panhorst, like Haebler above, notes the lack of information on this aspect of German colonial endeavor in the New World (135). Panhorst 134-35 refers to his correspondence with the director of the Fugger-Archiv, Prof. Dr. Strieder of Munich, in which this dearth of information is again confirmed.

12 Jacob Strieder, Jacob Fugger the Rich: Merchant and Banker of Augsburg, 1459-1525 Mildred L. Hartsough, trans. (New York: Adelphi, s.a.) 99, should read spice trade.


14 ADB 41:685.

15 Published as Anhang 5-6 in K[onrad] Haebler, "Welser und Ehinger in Venezuela" Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg 21 (1895) 66-86.


17 See Haebler (1895) Anhang 5-6.
18 Franz Joetze, "Brief eines Lindauers aus Venezuela vom Jahre 1535," Forschungen zur Geschichte Bayerns 15:4 (1907): 271-78. References to Neukomm's letter refer to this source. After consulting a variety of standard biographical reference works, I was unable to locate or identify Franz Joetze.

19 Details of Federmann's first trip are taken directly from his narrative reprinted and edited by Arnold Federmann in his Deutsche Konquistadoren in Südamerika (Berlin: Hobbing, 1938). Nicolas Federmann's spelling is quoted as in the original (reprinted) text; references are given in parentheses and refer to this 1938 edition. Karl Klunzinger (identified as a doctor and frequent traveler to Egypt and the Nile Valley in Friedrich Embacher, Lexikon der Reisen und Entdeckungen, 1. Abteilung: Biographien der Forschungsreisenden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart, 1882) writes on the availability of Federmann's work: "Das Buch ist auf der hiesigen königlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek vorhanden, sonst aber äußerst selten." Karl Klunzinger, Antheil der Deutschen an der Entdeckung von Südamerika; oder Abenteuer des Ambrosius Dalfinger und des Nikolaus Federmann, beider von Ulm, des Georg Hohermut von Speier und des fränkischen Ritters Philipp von Hutten unter der Herrschaft der Welser von Augsburg in Venezuela (Stuttgart, 1857). 2. Arnold Federmann (1938) writes in his introduction: "Leider existieren von diesem Druck nur noch ganz wenige Exemplare als größte Seltenheiten auf unsern Bibliotheken und auch der 1859 veranstaltete Neudruck ist antiquarisch nicht mehr aufzutreiben. (10)" Haebler (1903) gives the publication date as 1558, and notes
that it was "ein paarmal nachgedruckt. (186)" He also mentions that it was translated into various languages. Franz Joseph Brecht, "Feldhauptmann Nikolaus Federmann: zu seinem 400. Todesjahr," Deutschtum im Ausland 25 (1942) 197-200, writing four years later, notes that the work exists only in the form of various copies. Curiously, no mention of Federmann's work appears in Silva Montañes (note 16 above). With these conflicting comments in mind, I attempted to locate as many references to different editions as possible, with the following results: The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Alphabetischer Katalog 1501-1840 lists only one item, a French translation: Belle et agreable narration du premier voyage de Nicolas Federmann, le jeune d'Ulm aux Indes....-Paris, 1837, with the notation: "Nicht mehr vorhanden." The British Museum Catalog contains the 1557 original edition, the 1837 French edition cited above, a Spanish translation: Narración del primer viaje de Federmann a Venezuela. Caracas, 1916, as well as references to Klunzinger and Arnold Federmann, and a small number of articles and monographs. The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints lists the 1557 original, the 1837 French and 1916 Spanish editions, with an additional Spanish entry: Viaje a las Indias del mar océano. Buenos Aires, [1945]. Clearly, the 1859 reprint edition referred to by Arnold Federmann is, indeed, as rare as he suggested in 1938. The various translations and editions alluded to by Haebler in 1903 seem to have all but vanished. The only complete reprinting of the Indianische Historia that I could locate, and to which is referred here,
is contained in Arnold Federmann's *Deutsche Konquistadoren in Südamerika*.

20 The *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (ADB, 1877) begins its coverage of Federmann in the year 1530, the year he arrived in Venezuela. Klunzinger 15-16 (note 19 above) mentions only that a Hans Kiffhaber of Ulm was his brother-in-law, and that a Daniel Federmann of Memmingen translated a history of the Netherlands, *Lod. Guicciardini descrittione de tutti i paesi bassi, e carte* (Antwerp, 1567) into German.

21 The ADB states that it was here, in Augsburg, that Federmann wrote the account of his adventure. Perhaps the ADB refers to Klunzinger, published 20 years earlier, where he also says that Federmann wrote his story in Augsburg (62). Neither source corresponds with Federmann's statement (155) that he translated his story from the Spanish into German in Coro; it likewise does not take into account Federmann's statement that he worked from a Spanish document, which apparently has not survived. Could the two previously mentioned sources actually suggest that Federmann reworked his story in Augsburg with the intent of publication? If so, why was it not published between 1532-35, rather than in 1557, some 15 years after his death?

22 The ADB says he departed in 1535; Joetze (274) and Klunzinger (86), on the other hand, say the expedition began in June 1536. Arnold Federmann (59) regrets that the official report that Federmann *may* have submitted is not available: "Der offizielle Bericht, den er eingereicht haben wird, ist nicht auffindbar."
23 Klunzinger (87) reports that Geronimo de Ortal heard of the temple in 1536, and mentions that Herman Perez de Quesada searched for it in the mountains northeast of Bogotá.

24 Klunzinger (91) reads: "Gewiß ist, daß er vor Mai 1555 starb." The ADB reads: "Gewiß ist, daß er vor dem Mai 1555 starb." This is a certainty because the Welser interests lost their claim to Venezuela in 1555. As in Note 4 above, the ADB seems to rely on Klunzinger's work, albeit uncredited.

25 Arnold Federmann 60-68; Haebler (1903) 269-277.

26 Arnold Federmann 49. The ADB contains conflicting information; it states that Hutten was born in 1511 and that he arrived in Coro at the age of 25, making it 1536. The ADB continues by saying that he participated in Hohermuth's expedition of 1535-38. If Hutten were born in December 1511 and arrived in the New World in February at the age of 25, it would have been 1536. Thus, we may only state that Philipp arrived in the year 1535 (that we know for sure) at the age of either 24 or 25.


28 Arnold Federmann (55) notes Gemmingen as being from Wächtersbach bei Hanau. He suggests that the original manuscript is no longer extant.

29 Arnold Federmann identifies the man as Francisco de Velasco (50), who was accused of leaving one Captain Cevallos to die of hunger. Klunzinger 72, as usual, provides more details: Hohermut's
Lieutenant Velasco was dispatched on a mission with 60 footsoldiers and 12 mounted men to bring back provisions and native bearers. Thirty days later a few bedraggled men and 60 natives with corn and salt return. On 31 December 1535, Velasco returns; rumors circulate that he had left Captain Caballos to die of hunger. 4 January 1536 Hohermut decides to move on, and puts Velasco in chains on account of his suggesting mutiny. Note spelling variations in the name of the Captain.

30 Arnold Federmann 52, says he and several of his companions were wounded and that Martin died of his wounds 20 days later. Klunzinger 79-80, says that he was attacked from two sides and was killed along with two others. These discrepancies are easily overcome by referring to Hutten's journal where he writes simply and clearly: "Schickt der Gubernator Stephan Martin aus mit 40. Christen zu Fuß Weeg zu suchen, dann es alles Gehölz ist, und die Pferd sonderlich Winters Zeit vor Waßer nicht auskommen mögen, grienfen die Indier gedachten Martin an zwen Orten an, erwürgten ihn und 2. Christen, verwunden ihr viel, war wunder daß ein einiger Christ davon kam. (69)"

31 Arnold Federmann 53. Klunzinger 81, gives the date as 13 August.

32 Klunzinger (96) gives the date June 1541.

33 Note the discrepancy in total numbers of men, as well as dates of departure, in both Klunzinger and Haebler.
Chapter 2
The Land and People

In this Chapter we will examine specific recurrent aspects and themes that appear throughout the writings of Hutten, Neukomm, and Federmann as they relate to descriptions of the land and the people. We will see that these particular elements form a vocabulary of motifs common to New World travel literature in general. After an examination of the recurrent motifs common to early descriptions of the New World land and peoples, we will turn to the narrative of Nicolas Federmann. In a close reading we will examine the use of these motifs as a background, against which he superimposes his own set of perceptions and categories, his interpretation of events, and encounters with various native peoples along the way. Finally, we will address the problem of language and communication in the work of Federmann, as well as other New World travelers.

In order to establish a framework for discussion of each text, a schematic reference chart will be necessary to identify the particular text. In the case of Federmann the particular chapter is of importance; in the case of Hutten, his journal and letters. We will first examine the writings of Hutten and Neukomm which are similar in many respects. The letters and journal were intended to convey information to a single person, and not to provide entertainment. The particular elements and details are mentioned consecutively, unlike Federmann, who links motifs in a more complex and literary way.
Philipp von Hutten's writings consist of a journal and eight letters. The letters will be identified and referred to according to the schema presented in Chapter 1, p. 59-60 above. Reference to these works will follow this formula: H (Hutten); J or L (journal or letter), with individual letters identified as 1-8; and page number of Meusel's edition, i.e.: H L2 81.

Since only one letter of Titus Neukomm (to his mother and brother)¹ has come down to us, it will be referred to with the letter N (Neukomm) and page number from Joetze's article, i.e. N 277. References to Nicolas Federmann's Indianische Historia will refer to specific sections as identified in Chapter 1, p. 51, and will be referred to by the following formula: F (Federmann), the numeric code given above, and page number of Arnold Federmann's edition, i.e.: F VIII 133.

In order to demonstrate how these German works fit into greater overall framework of travel literature in general, comparative references will be made to the following figures who traveled through the New World landscape in the same general timeframe. References to Columbus are taken from the Hakluyt Society edition² and will be noted as: C (Columbus), the number 1-4 (indicating the particular voyage), and page number: i.e. C 2 66. References to Cabeza de Vaca's travels through the interior of Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and northern Mexico, and later to Paraguay and Brazil (1530's-50's) will be noted as: CDV A (for Adventures³) or CDV O (for Odyssey⁴), and page number. References to Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's Conquest of New Spain,⁵ a
description of Cortés' encounter with the Aztecs, appear as: S (Sahagún), with page number, i.e. S122.

I. The Land. Titus Neukomm, who remained in Coro to keep the books during Hohermut and Federmann's expeditions, reports of the weather from his European viewpoint. He writes of "Ain fast Warm Landt," (N 274) that is said to be unhealthy for those used to colder climates. It does not seem to disagree with him, however, as he writes: "[. . .] Das wir Alhie Ain fast Warm Landt haben, und für unser Nation [. . .] auch ungesund sein will, wiewoll es mir bißher gezimpt" (N 274). The hot weather does not agree with Hutten, a more active man; a few days after setting out he discovers a burned village and remarks "funden kein Wasser war fast heiß musten Pferd und Leut mit grosem Durst ungetruncken bleiben" (H J 51-52).

Neukomm gives a description of the New World summer and winter: "Gott wolle das es sich nit verendere, wissen alhie von kainem Winter nit, dann es alhie durch das ganz Jar auß in einer grossen Werme ist, allain ist die Differenz oder Underschid zwischen dem Somer und Winter, das es alhie auch ain ganzer Sumer außgehe, das es nit ain mal regnet, Aber im Winter Zeit laßt es nit und regnet zu Zeitten" (N 274). Continuing his description of the seasons Neukomm writes: "Wir haben alhie auch durch das ganz Jar auß die Bäum und Feldung grien, und frische selzam Indianische frücht, von disem ist khain underschid zwischen Sumer und Winter" (N 274).

Hutten's view of the winter season is less idyllic. He describes a twenty-day delay due to "Winterzeit und böß Wetter" (H J 55) and
notes that almost all the men are sick. While he and his men stop at the Apía River to celebrate Easter Sunday, it begins to rain, so much so that they are prevented from crossing: "in Summa wurden von dieser Rivir acht ganze Monath aufgehalten, in welcher Zeit die armen Christen groß Noth und Armuth an Proviant erlitten haben, deren viel sturben" (H J 63). The next year, Hutten and his men are again hampered by the rainy season: "mochten weder hinter sich noch vor sich, dann wir ein mächtig Rivir vor uns hatten" (H J 69), and he reports that the horses must stand constantly in the water. The stories of great riches they are told by local natives are not enough to keep them moving: "fing das Volck an, fast kranck zu werden von dem hartten Winter und Feuchtigkeit des Lands, darneben groß Arbeit und Hunger gelitten" (H J 70), and they are held back by waters "eines Mannes hoch"(H J 72).

Federmann, too, has his share of problems caused by the ever-present water; he writes of his desire to change location:

[. . .] samt dem wir uns versahen, der Kranken Gesundheit zu erwarten, auch weil wir solche ihre Schwachheit, als Fieber und etliche offene Schäden, die von dem Wasser werden geursacht sein, nicht für langwierig achteten. Wir hatten aber die Tage, die wir still lagen, mehr Krankheit denn Gesundheit zu warten; dann solche Krankheit war nicht, als wir es geachtet hatten, durch die feuchte Provinz Variquecemeto verschuldet, sondern von der Arbeit und der Reise, die wir vier Tag durchs Wasser taten, samt der ungewohnlichen flüssigen, auch zu Zeiten unreifen Speis; denn an solchen, die einem herabkommenden Menschen wieder zur Gesundheit helfen, hatten wir Gebrech" (F VI 125-26).
Hutten's journals and letters repeatedly describe the harsh physical conditions he and his men encounter. In the first page of his journal he tells of a "fast böser Paß von Wasser und Koth einer viertel Meil lang" (H J 51) that had to be forded, during the course of which "ertrunck ein Christ und ein Pferd" (H J 51). It is "ein böß Land," inhabited by "ein böß Nation" which he describes as "ein keck und wehrhaft Volck" (H L1 77). Later, he and his men enter a particularly treacherous region characterized by "viel böser Paß" and "ein große Rivier," where again "ein Christ ertranck" during the crossing (H J 56).

Hutten tells of his crossing of the Rio Cacanari, a "fast groß und böse Rivir, welche wüst und von Indiern unbewohnet ist, aus Ursach der Tiger, dann uns an wider umziehen ein Tiger ein Indier mitten im Lager erwurgt, und hinweg schleufft" (H J 61). Hutten no doubt refers to an area inhabited by jaguars, which would be equally frightening to the newcomers unaccustomed to such ferocious creatures. Federmann, too, encounters a beast which he calls Tigertier, but while Hutten merely describes it, Federmann eats it. After spearing the animal through the mouth and transporting it back to camp, Federmann describes the ensuing feast:

Als aber der Durst gelöscht war und wir den Hunger noch mehr empfunden und nichts hatten, assen sie das Tigertier, wiewohl es sonst nit gessen wird, denn es ein stinkend und freilich ein ungesundes Fleisch ist. Unsere Mägen hätten aber, glaub ich, Bachscheiter zerzerrt, und sonderlich dieweil uns jedem kaum zwei Nuss gross gebühret; denn wir ob fünfhalb Hundert Personen Trossvolk hatten. Der Tiger aber war ungefähr von eines halbjährigen Kalbs Grösse" (F X 152-53).
Whether of custom's sake or of necessity, we will see in the descriptions below that people consume far worse than *Tigertier*.

II. The People. Neukomm describes the native inhabitants as small of stature, brown-completed, and naked. He continues with an extended description of the one article of clothing that both men and women wear:

>[Sie] gehen nacktent, allain, das sie Ir scham bedecken, das Mansbild mit einem gewex, das wext wie im Teutschland die Kürbißen, allain das sie klein und Langlecht waxen, ungefarlich einer spann Lang, und einer umbgefaßten spann in die Dick, das schneiden sie hinden umb ain wenig Ab, und machen es hol, und stecken es Also an Ir scham, und binden es mit einem Baumwollin schnierlin umb den Leib, das es fornent grad hinauß ragen, und die zwo schellen bedecken sie nit, lassen sie nun also hinab hangen. Das Weibsbildt bedeckt ir scham mit einem Düchlin von Baum woll gemacht, von vill gemel und farben, das tragen sie der gestalt, binden ain Baumwollins schnierlin umb den Leib, nemlich underhalb dem Nabell, und stecken das Baumwollin Diechlin vornen darunder, das lessen sie zwischen den bainen hindurch gehen, und stecken es hinden auch durch das Schnierlein, Also das sich das Weibs bildt hinen und fornent bedeckt, ist schier ain Manier, wie die Menner im Teutschland die Briechen tragen, Aber das Mansbildt bedeucht sich nit weiter dann wie gesagt, mit einem klainen Kerbeßen, sonst gehen sie nacktend wie sie Gott auff die Welt geschaffen hat [. . .] (N 275).

The preceding passage has been quoted in full for several reasons. Neukomm's description of New World inhabitants is the longest and most detailed one that exists in German writings of this period and from this geographic area. In addition, the fact that these details were written in a letter to Neukomm's mother (or brother; see Note
1) is extremely curious; one is tempted to inquire into Neukomm's own sense of scham. Finally, the tone of the description, not to mention the subject matter itself, is reminiscent of the German Vespucci translation of 1505 (see Appendix 1).

Neukomm's vivid description of penis sheaths and loincloths appears to have been accompanied by a drawing that, unfortunately, has not survived. He has attempted, however, to describe these accessories in such a way as to make them immediately understandable, even without the drawing. He describes the hollowed squash- or gourd-like object as "wie im Teutschland die Kürbißen," albeit smaller and longer. The women's loincloth is worn "wie die Menner im Teutschland die Briechen tragen," and the mental image is complete.

The nakedness of the natives in Cabeza de Vaca's descriptions is less sensational, perhaps because he and his men, at times, also wandered the Southwest without clothing. Of the Florida natives around the Bay of Horses (Vaya de Caballos) he says: "The inhabitants of all these parts go naked, except that the women cover some part of their persons with a wool that grows on trees [Spanish moss], and damsels dress in deerskin" (CDV A 63). In fact, he equates nakedness with beauty in an early description of the Florida natives: "They loomed big and naked and from a distance looked like giants. They were handsomely proportioned, lean, agile, and strong" (CDV A 42).

Columbus' descriptions of natives seem incidental to his main interest: telling of his search for gold and new territory for the Spanish Crown. The topic of nakedness does not interest him at all.
On the first voyage, he notes: "they [natives of Hispaniola] have no arms [i.e. weapons], they go naked, and are moreover too cowardly; [. . .]" (C 1 13), and on the second: "They all, as I have said, go naked as they were born, except for the women of this island, who some of them wear a covering of cotton, which they bind round their hips, [. . .]" (C 2 61).

Neukomm continues his description of the inhabitants with details of body ornamentation of both sexes: necklaces, and worked gold pieces set "in den Ohren" and "in der Nasen" (N 275). Again, Vespucci elaborates this detail at length (see Appendix 1). The women wear colorful cotton leggings and bindings around their knees and feet: "das halten sie under Inen gar Hüpsch und vill, wann daß Weibsbild die Füß umb [und?] die Knie khlain hat" (N 276). The men wear colorful headgear made of parrot feathers; again Neukomm refers to an illustration which has not come down to us. He does not explain whether the women's leggings and men's hats are worn in addition to the genital coverings as every-day wear, or if they are worn on festive occasions only. The men, he notes, normally have no facial hair; on rare occasions when they do, it is "gar wenig" (N 276). We know from other sources that men routinely plucked all body hair.10 Unfortunately, Neukomm's illustrations have not survived. It would have been interesting to compare his first-hand depiction of New World natives with his own written description. Even more interesting would have been the comparison of his illustrations to the Munich woodcut, where natives are presented wearing European-style beards.
Neukomm describes the men's bows and arrows, fish hooks made from fishbone and treated with a poisonous and deadly plant, a two small bags filled with "kraut und bulffer," a type of earth and tobacco, which they respectively eat and smoke in sea-shell pipes (N 276). Neukomm provides an early description of a hammock (though does not use this name to describe it), "Ain Baumwollin Duch" worn by the men when they travel for several days across country and hung between trees, and used as well in their houses. Hutten, more interested in describing the physical surroundings than the local populations, quickly describes a hostile encounter with "ein ander Nation Aranacamos genannt so mit Gifft schießen" (H J 60), and another group of inland natives:

Dieser Indier Wehr ist Flitzen-Bogen und Tortas oder Spieß so sie werffen schleudern, tragen Schild von Elend haut gemacht, damit sie den gantzen Leib bedecken, schier gemacht wie die Behemischen . . . wurden ihr viel erstochen, viewohl der mehr theil davon kam, [. . .] (H J 65).

Unfortunately, Hutten's manuscript is illegible at the point of comparison of the protective deerskin outer garment to something Bohemian. After a skirmish with 500 natives in which 60 were captured, 46 killed, and the rest frightened away (only four Europeans were wounded and one horse shot), Federmann describes the village: "Dieses war der erste Pueblo oder Flecken, darinnen wir die vergifften Geschoss fanden, [. . .]" (F VI 122).

Burial rituals differ, depending on the rank of the deceased. A simple person is buried with little ado: "schlechts gleich wie man in Teütischland Ain Vich vergrebt" (N 277). The death of a high-ranking
person, on the other hand, is celebrated by means of a ritualistic cremation ceremony:

[. . .] und wann alhie Ain fürnemer Indianer stirbt, so nemen In andre seine freundt und verbrenen sie zu bulffer, und machen Ain groß fest, und thun daß bulffer en Ir Dranck, und trincken es, und werden so foll, das ir kainer nit mehr waißt, was er thut, und wann sie darnach wider Ain wenig zu Inen khomen, so danzen sie und haben Ain groß fest, das ist Also ir begrebnuß (N 276-77).

It would appear that this is a first-hand account of ritualistic endophagy, or a case where cannibalism involves a friend, or known member of the family or clan rather than an outsider (exophagy). This topic will be discussed in Chapter 3. In any event, Neukomm's report does not seem to be based on hearsay evidence. Cabeza de Vaca describes similar rites of endo-cannibalism among the Capoque and Han near the Bay of Horses. The dead are buried. The medicine-men, on the other hand, are burned to a powder on a funeral pyre while the villagers celebrate and dance. "A year later, when his rites are celebrated, the entire village again participating, this powder is presented in water for the relatives to drink" (CDV A 62).

The native diet consists of fish, deer, rabbit, and a variety of roots that they boil and fry. Neukomm provides the first German description of New World corn: "und Ir korn darauß sie Brott machen, wext rund und lengelut [länglich?] mit vill kernen [. . .] darauß machen sie Auch ir Dranck, damit sie sich gleich als voll drincken, als in dem Teutschland vom Wein [. . .] (N 276). Federmann, too, mentions corn as part of the native diet; during a period of particularly ample supply of food, he writes:
"es gebrach uns auch nicht Wasser und Mais (das ist ihr Korn), auch nicht Hirschen-Wildpret, dessen wir täglich unsre Notdurft im Lager hatten" (F VI 121). He also provides what may be the first German description of the potato when he mentions finding "Mais, Juca, Batata, Oyama" (F II 98) in a deserted native village.

Hutten pays little attention to food, which he typically describes as "provisions," as in the following: "am Weeg kamen täglich viel Indier in Conoas [Hutten's spelling] zu uns mit Proviant" (H J 61). These supplies seem to consist of Machilz (a root) and fish. He writes that the little food they are able to obtain at one point along the journey, "Machilz und Jucka," makes the healthy men ill, and the sick even sicker (H J 59). They encounter some friendly native in Conoas who twice supply the men with "Machilz und Fischen" (H J 60-61). After the successful crossing of a treacherous mountain pass, the men stop to celebrate. Unfortunately, Hutten does not provide a more complete description of the food than the following sentence: [Wir kamen] in ein hübsch groß Poblo mit viel machilz. Hie hielt der Gubernator dem ganzen Lager ein Panquet¹², aßen hundert und zwen Christen mit ihm am Tisch" (H J 66).

Toward the end of Hutten's sojourn, he and his men encounter even worse conditions and are forced to eat a variety of unappetizing foodstuffs:

Ist ein Grau, was Ungeziefers als Schlangen, Kroten, Heydexen, Ottern, Lacerdas [hair or bristles, from the Spanish la cerda], Wurm Kraut und Wurzel, auch viel einerley Geschlecht und unachtende Speiß die armen Christen auf diesen Zug gessen haben, auch etlich wider die Natur Menschen-Fleisch gessen haben, nemlich ward
The episode is retold in a letter which recounts their various hardships, and includes additional important details:

... dann uff dieser Reiß kein Ungeziefer kraut noch Wurzel ungeßen blieben ist, als Lacertas, Schlangen, Kroten, Mauß, viel seltsamer Würm, davon ein Grau zu reden, ist nicht zu glauben, was guter Koch der Hunter ist, Auch etlich Christen wider menschlich Natur heimlich Menschen Fleisch gessen, sonderlich ward ein Christ gefunden so im Holz sich verborgen, der ein Viertel von einem jungen Kind in einem Hafen mit etlichen Kräutern kocht hat. Ein Hund ward hundert, und ein Pferd am Schelm gestorben oder von Indiern umkommen vierhundert Pesos um zu essen verkaufft (H L1 78).

These passages have been included in their entirety in order to demonstrate that the most lurid descriptions of cannibalism, which will be discussed in the next Chapter, implicate the Europeans themselves.

In a description of the hardships he and his companions endure on "Bad Luck Island," or Malhado, Cabeza de Vaca writes: "We survivors escaped naked as we were born, with the loss of all we had. [...] I had eaten no other thing than toasted maize, and sometimes I found myself obliged to eat it raw; for although the
horses were slaughtered [. . .], I could never eat their flesh, and I did not eat fish ten times" (CDV O 65).

The description of vile food is similar to the description Columbus gives of natives of Haiti encountered on his second voyage: "They eat all the snakes, and lizards, and spiders, and worms, that they find upon the ground; so that, to my fancy, their bestiality is greater than that of any beast upon the face of the earth" (C 2 66).

Cabeza de Vaca describes the diet of the Capoque and Han (mentioned above) as consisting partly of antelope and fish, but the quantity is so small and famine so prevalent that they eat spiders and ant eggs [pupae], worms, lizards, salamanders, snakes, and poisonous vipers; also earth and wood--anything, including deer dung and other matter I omit. I honestly believe that if there were stones in that land they would eat them. They save the bones of fish they consume, of snakes and other animals, so they can afterwards pulverize and eat them, too (CDV A 79).

Sahagún's description of the "wretched Mexicans" shortly before the fall of their civilization tells of men, women, and children crowded together in small spaces with little to eat: "They did not have fresh water to drink or bread of any kind to eat. They drank salty and stinking water and ate mice, lizards, tree bark, and other inedible things. Because of this, many became sick and died" (S131). An additional sentence appears in Sahagún's 1579 version, the Florentine Codex, but is lacking from his 1585 revision. It reads: "auja gran hambre entre los mexicanos y grande enfermedad porque bebian del agua de la laguna: y comjan sauandixas, lacartixas y ratones eta (f.67v.)" (S 122). Clearly, people in dire need will eat anything they can to stay alive.
From the preceding examples we have seen that the early explorers and conquistadores function in a hostile environment characterized by danger and deprivation, hardship and hunger. Whether in reference to the surrounding landscape or the native inhabitants, these are the motifs that most impress the modern-day reader of these travel writings. It is with this background in mind that we turn to an examination of Nicolas Federmann’s Indianische Historia.

III. Federmann's narrative

Federmann, at the beginning of his work, notes the Dalfinger’s return to Coro after an eight-month journey into the interior and the loss of some hundred men: "Von dieser Länder Sitten und Ceremonien viel zu schreiben wäre; will's aber hiermit unterlassen, als ein Ding, das ich nur gehört und nit selber erfahren. Denn meine Meinung nicht ist, anderes denn was ich selbst gesehen, und aus eigner Erfahrung für Wahrheit bekennen mag, zu beschreiben" (F b 94). This statement would seem to imply that Federmann assumes the role of reliable narrator and that his reading audience might expect the "truth" from one who has seen and experienced it firsthand. Yet unlike Hans Staden who, also in 1557, published his account of adventures in Brazil: Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der wilden nackte grimmigen Menschfresser Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen13, Federmann makes no claim to truthfulness (Wahrhaftigkeit). Indeed, his title suggests quite the contrary: [. . .] Ein schöne kurtzweilige Historia [. . .] auffs kurtzest beschreiben, gantz lustig zu lesen.
Of course, we will discover neither narrator strictly reliable; exaggeration and embellishment of the "facts" is the order of the day. Staden, at this point, will be mentioned only peripherally. His realm of operation is against an entirely different historic, geographic, and political background. The Germans in Brazil were fortune hunters, and allied themselves with whichever side was convenient or expedient, be it Spanish, Portuguese, French, or Dutch. Staden's description of cannibalism, however, will be discussed in Chapter 3. Federmann is driven by his lust for gold and desire to claim new territories and subjugate native peoples, characteristics that should immediately discount his reliability as a truthful and objective narrator.

This unreliability, however, does not detract from Federmann's ability to tell a tale. We will see that he effectively links the motifs of danger and deprivation, hardship and hunger, as they pertain to both the land and people to create a vivid and exciting account of his experiences, both real and embellished. Federmann's description is different from those of both Hutten and Neukomm--it was written to be read and enjoyed--yet Federmann, too, was simply another German conquistador. Why is his style so different? Did he really write the Indianische Historia (published posthumously)? or was it ghost-written and published by Hans Kiefhaber? And what role did the Spanish Notario Scribano publico have in its conception and production? Due to lack of firm evidence to the contrary, we may assume that the Indianische Historia was a collaborative effort, shaped in part by the original Spanish scribe, reformulated by Federmann, and finally realized and published by Kiefhaber.
In the writings of Hutten and Neukomm, the reader is presented with an unconnected string of events, facts, and impressions: a description of a skirmish with natives, the number of men killed or wounded on both sides with particular attention given to the horses, a note on poisoned arrows, and the hope that gold and fortune lie ahead. This narrative "string" serves primarily to move the reader forward through the text and to its end, which the reader knows will occur since the author himself is writing the account.

Federmann's narrative technique is more sophisticated, motifs are inter-connected, and references are continually made to past as well as future events. Throughout the first four chapters of Federmann's story, which was briefly summarized in Chapter 1, certain recurring descriptive adjectives and motifs serve to characterize the land and peoples encountered. The examples are as presented below.

The Xideharas are the first people encountered by Federmann and his group, and they enter their territory with ease. The Xideharas are "in ruhiger Possession samt aller Notdurft, Speis und Getränks nach ihrer Art, samt etlichen Kleinotern von Gold, [. . .] (F I 96). Federmann's men are well received, but they discover that the Xideharas have very little gold and no mines in their country. They do not trade with their adjoining neighbors: "Denn je eine Nation, so das Gebirg bewohnen, mit der andern Feinde ist, und all Menschenfleisch, und je einer den andern, wo sie einander bekommen oder fahen könnten, essen" (F I 96). Federmann begins his ascent through the mountains "ein rauh und hoch Gebirg" (F I 96) and encounters a fearful village that begrudgingly supplies the men
with provisions and a small amount of gold. According to Federmann, they had to get it out of them: "[Das] haben sie tun müssen" (F I 96). Close to the border with the adjoining cannibalistic Ayamanes, Federmann is told that the land is "unbewohnt und öde", "ein rauh und gebirgig Land", and that the inhabitants are "ein klein Volk und Zwerge, jedoch streitbar" (F I 97).

Already in the first chapter, Federmann draws parallels between the New World landscape and its inhabitants and divides the land and people into two categories. The first is the flatland (near Coro); if not a land of plenty, there is at least enough food and drink for the natives to share with the newcomers. The mountainous region, on the other hand, is characterized by physical roughness and correspondingly rough and cannibalistic inhabitants, not at all eager to give any of their scarce supplies to the passing strangers. Federmann has prepared the reader for the next chapter, entry into cannibal territory, by reporting hearsay evidence from an adjoining hostile tribe. We must proceed to examine Federmann's account of these peoples before continuing with the description of his categorization technique.

The first village of the previously-described Ayamanes proves friendly enough, and Federmann gives them some worthless trinkets (fish-hooks and glass rosaries). The villages encountered later, however, are deserted; the natives have taken flight to the mountains. Subsequent villages are even burned, along with any supply of food the men might have taken. Surprisingly, though, a group of small people descend from the mountains and approach Federmann. They tell of trouble with their neighbors, and how these
have destroyed their homes and fields, and taken their women and children as slaves. They ask Federmann for protection; he gives them trinkets, baptises them, and attempts to educate them: "soviel sich lästt lehren, vom christlichen Glauben sagen" (F II 100).

Another village of little people, or Zwerge, proves as friendly as the first, and Federmann is given gifts, gold, and even the cacique's wife. Federmann describes her tears of fear: she believes the men to be devils, but he nonetheless takes her with him on his travels.

We see that the hearsay reports of cannibalism given to Federmann by the Xideharas were false. Indeed, it could well be, that the Xideharas were the ones responsible for the attacks on the Ayamanes, although the distance and mountainous terrain would probably preclude the possibility. Instead of cannibals, Federmann encounters a "sehr kleines Volk [. . . von] zierlicher Proportz und Gestalt" (F II 104). They give Federmann many "Präistentes und Schenkungen" and food is in abundance, "dessen es ohn Ende einen Überfluss gibt." They even give him a human being! These people, then, must be included in Federmann's categorization of the "good." They are of pleasing proportion, though small, and generous beyond belief. Thus, mountain-dwellers, too, can be "good," if they are generous and provide Federmann with supplies and gold.

The next group encountered, the Cayones, are timid. They desert their villages and flee to the mountains. Federmann describes various attacks, but provides no descriptions of the inhabitants aside from their belief in the immortality of the strangers. Federmann has one dead man buried at night, "denn sie [die Indios] uns für untödlich schätzten" (F III 108). He fears that if the natives discover
their vulnerability and mortality, they will be likely to attack. Villages encountered later are "öde und leer" (F III 109). Thus, the Cayones can be categorized as timid and fearful, on the one hand, and aggressive and warlike on the other. They are inhospitable, neither providing Federmann with provisions or willing to reciprocate by accepting Federmann's worthless trinkets. Though not overtly cannibalistic, the Cayones must be assigned to the "bad" side of Federmann's classification scheme.

Federmann now enters the land of the Xaguas. Several accompanying Cayones prisoners lead the way, and inform Federmann about their neighbors:

"[. . .] dieweil diese Nation je eine der andern Feind wären, auch beide Teil Carne humana, das ist Menschenfleisch, essen und einander, mit was Listen sie Mögen, nachstellen; nehmen auch ihren Weg durch das Wasser als ein nackend Volk und sonst von Art mehr Fisch denn Fleisch seiend, damit man ihr Gespur nit kündte vermerken oder diese kündte ausgespähet werden" (F IV 110).

Federmann now proceeds to avoid any contact with the natives, taking care to avoid their villages and any high spots where they might be on the lookout. Based on the evidence of prisoners, Federmann says "die vorgesagten anstossenden Nationen [i.e. the Xaguas] waren unsere Feinde [. . .]" (F IV 110). Federmann sends out a team of men to attack the Xaguas at night while they are sleeping and bring back prisoners. This is easily done, as the natives believe their attackers to be devils.
The prisoners are somehow able to understand Federmann's peaceful intent and convince entire villages to come for a visit. More than eight hundred men and women from the surrounding area arrive at Federmann's camp late in the afternoon, and he reports: "Brachten mir auch Schenkungen von Gold samt aller Notdurft an Proviant und Wildpreß" (F IV 112). Gold, it seems, has become more important than the necessities. The natives escort Federmann through their land, serving as bearers, "ohne die wir schwerlich hätten können fortkommen" (F IV 112). The mountains gradually come to an end and they reach the land of the Caquetios, "das eben und schönest Land, das in Indias gesehen mag werden" (F IV 112). Federmann ends this section with a pronouncement on the four previously-described peoples through whose lands he passed: "Die vorgesagten Nationen oder Völker Xideharas, Ayamanes, Cayones und Xaguas essen alle Menschenfleisch, und ist je eine Nation der andern feind; [. . .]" (F IV 113).

Clearly, this is not the case, as evidenced by Federmann's own account. He may believe this to be true, based on the evidence of neighboring hostile peoples and accompanying prisoners, but has not provided the reader with a single eye-witness, first-hand account of actual cannibalism. He has not even reported evidence of such activity such as alleged human bones or skulls that could have been shown him. The Xaguas, it turns out, are a friendly enough people, who present Federmann with precisely what he desires: gold and provisions. In yet another case, the tag of "cannibalism" has been applied by one people to their bordering enemy, either believing this
to be true, or in an attempt to frighten Federmann into leaving their lands once and for all.

We are now at the mid-point of Federmann's narrative, and in the realm of the fifth Nation, the Caquetios which, according to the chart on page 51 above we see are listed twice, as V and IX. Federmann passes through their territory twice, both on his way from and return to Coro. We will examine these descriptions of the Caquetios, before closing with a look at "das hartnäckigst, böseste, falscheste Volk" Federmann encounters.

The Nation of Caquetios, according to Federmann, is composed of two branches who barely tolerate each other. The first group encountered lives in a constant state of preparedness for possible war with neighbors on all four sides: the Xaguas, Cuibas, and Ciparicotes (the tenth Nation, later spelled "Cyparicotes"), "welche Nationen alle drei Menschenfleisch essen und also ihre Feinde, die sie im Kriege oder wie sie diese sonst fangen mögen, metzigen und schlachten" (F V 116). (An examination of section X, "Die Nation Cyparicotes" reveals no evidence of cannibalism; the subject is not even mentioned.) They share the fourth side with the other branch of Caquetios, with whom they are "nit Freund" (F IX 145).

This powerful and populous people has expelled various other peoples from the valley into the surrounding mountains; they alone dwell upon the plain and till the best, flattest, and most fertile land. They prove to be a generous people: "In allem bewiesen sie uns gute Freundschaft" (F V 115), and are eager to accept gifts, and make offerings of gold and food to Federmann. Federmann interprets their generosity: "[Sie] gaben uns soviel Präsent und Schenkungen aus
gutem Willen und solchs allein, um ihre Herrlichkeit darmit zu beweisen und nicht, wie in andern Flecken und vor fürgereisten Nationen, aus Furcht, […]" (F V 116). His initial hesitation about entering their territory, prompted by tales of their warlike nature by accompanying Xagua [i.e. enemy] guides, is soon overcome. Federmann estimates the population to be at 30,000, a number based on the swift assembly of people from surrounding villages to greet him. He describes them as "sehr wohl proportioniert und stark" (F V 115).

The second branch of the Caquetios is also composed of handsome people, as he reports: "Es ist ein Volk sehr guter Länge und Proportz, auch starker Disposition gliedmässig. Auch sehr schöne gerade Weiber, also darum wir dieses Tal und Provinz, so die Indios Vararida nennen, el valle de las damas nenneten, welches zu teutsch "der Frauen Tal" geheissen ist" (F IX 147). They are, however, an audacious or frech people, and Federmann is immediately faced by a group of 7000 natives dressed in war appareal: "begegneten sie uns ganz frech und stunden auch in aller Ordnung, auf uns zu schiessen" (F IX 146). Even after the usual introductory speech, Federmann reports their manner as frech, and comments on their Nation as a whole: "Von der Grösse dieser Pueblos oder Flecken und von der Menge der Einwohner, auch was frechen, stolzen und kriegsgebräuchigen Volks sie sind, haben wir bisher und auf dieser Reis nit erfahren" (F IX 146).14

Both branches of the Caquetios prove to be equally pleasing physically to Federmann. He is impressed by the size of their land, the beauty of their valley, and the size of their villages and towns.
He finds the first group most cooperative when it comes time for the gift-giving ritual of reciprocity. He is able to take advantage of their generosity and obtains necessary supplies, as well as gold. He seems oblivious to the fact that this time, if what their displaced neighbors say is true, these are a powerful people indeed. The second group is not about to play Federmann's game, and the sheer numbers of their forces no doubt prevent him from taking what he wants, as he does elsewhere. They are a firm (or frech) people, well-armed and prepared (kriegsgebraucht) to take on their enemies, including Federmann.

The Guaycaries are a water people whose livelihood depends upon their fisheries. They live in close contact with the Caquecios and trade fish for fruit and other foodstuffs. Federmann describes them as "das hartnäckigst, böseste, falsche Volk" he has encountered (or will encounter) thus far; his chapter subtitle reads: "Von den kohlschwarzen, stolzen, frechen und bösen Völkern dieser Nation [Guaycaries], was Drang, Trutz und Untreu sie den Christen bewiesen,[. . .]") (F VIII 133). Federmann sends for the local cacique who arrives with his entourage, "mit gewehrter Hand, mehr schwarzen Teuflen denn Menschen gleich sehend" (F VIII 133). Other peoples previously appeared with arms in hand, yet Federmann interpreted this as a sign of respect: 800 Xaguas, for example, appear "mit Stecklin, sonder einige Gewehre, in der Hand, wie sie zu Bezeugnis der Freundschaft zu tun im Gebrauch haben. Brachten mir auch Schenkungen von Gold samt aller Notdurft an Proviant und Wildpret." (F IV 112).
The Xaguas, though armed, bring gold and provisions; the Guaycaries, on the other hand, appear armed and bring nothing. Federmann pursues the matter and asks the cacique "warum er nicht mit freundlichen Gebärden und wie Freunds Gebrauch käme [i.e. bearing gifts]" (F VIII 133). The cacique's reply is that they travel armed on account of the "Löwen und Tigertier," no doubt jaguar and puma. Federmann interprets the tone of the cacique's reply as "etwas stolzlich," and notes that he will pay for his action (which was simply to appear as Federmann requested). As he moves on, he encounters ever-larger numbers of natives, "allweg bei guter Wehre, uns wenig Freundschaft erzeigen[ing], auch uns nichts schenkend, noch auch die Essensspeis uns umsonst gebend" (F VIII, 134).

Federmann plans and executes deeds of gross inhumanity against the Guaycaries. One cacique, described as having "viel Stolz" (F VIII 140) is shot in front of other prisoners as a warning ("zum fürchterlichen Exempel") to others who might intend to deny Federmann supplies and provisions. Another cacique is taken prisoner and put in chains. Resisting natives, described as stolzlich (F VIII 141) are attacked and killed. The men charge into them on horseback and run them through like pigs ("wie die Säu erstachen"). Those attempting escape are hunted down and strangled. Federmann indicates that over 500 natives perished in the battle; injuries on his side are roughly 18 ("fünf Christen [. . .] und etw andreizehn Indios"), with no fatalities. Yet another cacique is taken prisoner, put in chains "dieweil er mir dreimal den Glauben gebrochen" (F VIII 142) and taken, along with 23 other "Männer und Weiber, meist Principales oder Fürnehmste" back to Coro. The native
women are given to Federmann's men for the purpose of "serving" them.\(^{16}\)

Federmann describes a plot (Betrug) staged by natives in order to rescue two of the captive women. A native woman visits him and presents him with a gift of gold jewelry, described (in retrospect) as "ein teuflisches Bildnis," and requests the two captive women be freed. The women are eventually handed over, but Federmann expresses anger the next morning when he discovers that all natives have fled the area. Federmann is convinced that the women were, in reality, sisters of the cacique: "Denn wo es sonst schlechte Weiber gewest wären, hätte man uns die gelassen" (F VIII, 145). He describes the episode and the Nation of the Guaycaries as characterized by treachery and deceit.

Federmann's relations with the native peoples he encounters are based on a predetermined set of assumptions. Those who give, provide, and reciprocate are "good"; those who do not are "bad." Hence the brutal treatment of the Guaycaries and the denunciation of their Nation. Not only do they not provide the desired gold, supplies, and provisions, but on the one occasion where a gift-giving ritual occurs, it is subverted by the native woman who has an ulterior motive: the freeing of the two native women. She does not give for the sake of giving. Instead of praising her gift of much-desired and sought after gold, Federmann vilifies it as a depiction of a demonic and heathen image ("ein teuflisches Bildnis"), thus setting the stage for the subsequent story of his "deception" by the natives.

Federmann's description of encounters with and perceived dangers posed by various native peoples through whose lands he
passes is superimposed upon the framework of real danger (hardship, deprivation, hunger, and death) described in the works of Neukomm and Hutten. These motifs of hardship and danger are repeated and substantiated in descriptions of Columbus, Sahagún, and Cabeza de Vaca as well. Taken together, this vocabulary of motifs serves to form and shape the overall concept of the New World as a harsh, rough landscape, populated by equally rough, rude, and dangerous peoples.

Throughout the Indianische Historia, the reader is continually impressed and amazed at Federmann's gift of interpretation and communication. What must have been, in reality, a grotesquely comical display of exaggerated gesture and contorted expression, becomes a type of communication based on the ritual of gift-giving and reciprocity. As we have seen in the examples above, those who participated in Federmann's ritual and provided him and his men with the necessary food (and gold) were categorized as "good." Those who did not, or posed actual or perceived opposition or threats, were characterized as "bad." While the ritual of gift-giving may be considered a symbolic or semiotic form of speech, actual speech, that is to say, language, also played an important role in Federmann's adventure.

Accompanying Federmann's party are two Europeans who speak the language of the Caquetios. Who they are or how they learned the language is not divulged. As Federmann and his group proceed through the area, they take with them members of local tribes to serve as bearers, without whose services, Federmann says, it would have been difficult to proceed (F IV 112). These natives,
usually of hostile tribes, also serve to inform Federmann (by crude
gesture, it would seem) of the cannibalistic nature of "those other"
neighboring tribes, through whose lands Federmann intends to pass.
Usually only one or two natives, each speaking different languages,
serve as "translators" to Federmann. Once, however, Federmann
reports that no less than five natives serve to translate one
conversation, thereby conjuring the image of the children's game of
"telephone," where a simple sentence is whispered from one person
to another until, finally, it bears no resemblance to the original
statement.

Denn wie zuvor gesagt, wir hatten ob dreiundsiebenzig
Meilen von denselbigen und inzwischen fünf Nationen,
deren jegliche eine besondere Sprach redte, durchreiset,
und war uns solchs Ding, das uns erfreuete, (wie
gewöhnlich geschieht), dest unglaublicher: denn ihr wohl
habet zu bedenken, wie verdrossen wir bis zur
Erreichung der Caquetios uns haben müssen behelfen,
einander zu verstehen; denn ich allein von der ersten
Sprach, der der Caquetios, zwen Christen und vertraute
Dolmetschen, die dieselbige Sprach sehr wohl kundten,
bei mir hatte, und hernach bei den Xideharas mussten
wir durch zwen, bei den Ayamanes durch drei, bei den
Cayones durch vier und bei den Xaguas durch fünf
Personen reden. Derhalben ist nicht zu zweifeln (bis
einer den andern verstanden hat und also bis in die
fünfte Zunge übersetzt ist, was ihm von mir ist befohlen),
dass jeder etwas darzusetzt oder davonnimmt, also dass
unter zehen Wörtern, die ich ihnen befohlen, kaum eines
meinem Gefallen und unserer Notdurft gemäss geredt
wurde; welches ich nicht für ein kleines oder weniges
Gebrechen halte, das uns oft an dem Erforschen vieler
heimlichkeiten des Lands, darum wir dann meist
ausgereist sind, verhindert hat (F IV 112-13).
Yet this admission notwithstanding, Federmann seems convinced throughout the course of his narrative that he truly understands and comprehends not only the various natives' languages, but their motives and perceived plots against him as well.

In regard to learning foreign tongues, Tzvetan Todorov notes that "one learns the language when one is on a position of inferiority," and that we "cannot imagine Columbus or Cortés learning the language of those they subjugate, and even Las Casas never masters a native language." While Las Casas enjoys the reputation of being a sympathetic defender of the Indians, Columbus and Cortés are controversial figures, to say the least—especially in this quincentenary year of Columbus' encounter with the New World. A brief examination of their efforts of communication is in order here.

Todorov, in his discussion of Columbus' use of language and symbolic action, remarks that "the situation is one of total incomprehension" (31). Las Casas, he says, jotted in the margin of Columbus' journal: "They were all groping in darkness, because they did not understand what the Indians were saying" (Todorov 31). Columbus, although himself a polyglot, "speaks equally well (or badly) Genoese, Latin, Portuguese, Spanish" (Todorov 29), displayed a complete lack of comprehension when it came to foreign languages. He was convinced from the outset of his voyage that he would eventually arrive at the easternmost regions of the Land of the Great Khan. Columbus took with him "a certain Luis de Torres, a converted Jew [who] had served the adelantado of Murcia and knew, it is said, Hebrew and Aramaic and also some Arabic." And it was this man
whom Columbus dispached to "negotiate" with the Indian cacique, who, fortunately perhaps, did not keep the appointment.

In addition to Columbus' disastrous attempts at communication through language, he engaged in a series of symbolic acts. In order to take possession of the "new-found" territories, Columbus acted according to proscribed European convention. He landed, had a proclamation read stating that the lands were to be taken for the Spanish crown (and pausing for comment of objection from any curious native onlookers), planted the Spanish standard, and considered the act legally completed and binding. While this must have seemed completely logical, normal, and straight-forward at the time, it serves today to demonstrate the ludicrous attempts and misattempts at communication.

Cortés, too, had his share of communication difficulties, but was aided at the outset by Melchior and Julian, two Mexican natives who had learned Spanish and served as interpreters (Todorov 61). But more importantly, he was aided by a native Nahuatl (Aztec) woman sold as a slave to the Mayas, called Malitzin by natives, and Doña Marina by the Spanish. She soon learns the Spanish languages and proves an invaluable aide to Cortés in his "cultural conversion" (Todorov's term, 100) and subjugation of the native inhabitants. They soon become inseparable (she becomes his mistress), and the two of them are soon referred to as a unit, "El/La Malinche. Hilde Krueger suggests that Marina fulfills a sort of spiritual function as well, and writes: "What made her an exceptional, unique being in the eyes of the Indians was the fact that Cortés spoke through her
mouth, just as the priests and those initiated into the mysteries transmitted God's words."20

She fulfills the function of "[translator, guide, mother--all key positions in the conquest,"21 and soon occupies a central position--if not equal to Cortés himself. She is depicted in distinct positions of power. In the Lienzo de Tlaxcala Manuscript,22 she is portrayed in her role as interpreter. In a group of three figures, Cortés sits in a chair. To the right sits a native leader, and to the left Marina stands, with her arms and fingers extended and in the very act of interpreting. In the Florentine Codex,23 Marina occupies the central position between Cortés and his soldiers on the one side and the Mexican Indians on the other. She is shown in the mediator role with hands folded and in the act of listening.

The Germans, too, mention accompanying native women who may (or may not) serve as interpreters. Federmann, after the native bearers take flight, leaving them to cope with their supplies on their own, relates the following:

Denn es waren uns die Indios, so uns den Weg zeigen sollten, wie vorgesagt, entlaufen, doch zu allem Glücke ein kleins Knäblein und ein indianisch Weib, die den Indios, so uns verlassen, nicht folgen konnten, unter uns und bei den Christen geblieben, von denen die India der Cuybas Sprach etwas kundte, aber doch nit wellte gestehen, dass sie den Weg wüsste" (F V 118-119).

Unlike Cortés, who welcomed the services of Marina, Federmann seems content with his albeit cumbersome system of communication, and does not mention any role the India may have played or what eventually became of her.
Throughout this Chapter we have examined the descriptions of the New World as they relate to the land and the people. The writings themselves vary in both style and tone, as well as in the manner in which the material is presented and interpreted. Through the personal letter of Titus Neukomm, we gain insight into both the land and the people. Neukomm describes the weather and vegetation, then proceeds with an a description of the natives, their dress and ornamentation, weapons, food, and funeral rites. He ends with an account of a skirmish between the newcomers and the natives when the former attempt to take native women and supplies. In the letters of Philipp von Hutten, we encounter, first, an synopsis of the events described in his journal, along with additional details. We gain insights to his private and personal side when we read of his homesickness, his love of his parents, and his regret for postponing an anticipated trip home. This is the only time, in the course of this study, where such private emotions surface.

Hutten presents a different side in his journal. His concern is more for the numbers of men and horses lost than in describing the land and peoples he encounters. True, he describes the landscape, but only as an obstacle to overcome, and in terms of its inhospitable, formidable, and potentially lethal aspects. Hutten's letters and journal are written in a clear, straightforward way. He makes no attempt to interpret events, but simply describes them as they happen.

Federmann, in contrast, is a problematic figure, and this is reflected in his Indianische Historia. Although his tale is presented as a "true" one, we must not take it at face value. Apart from the
dubious authorship of the work is the fact that he continually interprets language and analyzes events as he thinks or wishes them to be. The work is an entertaining one, to be sure, and it is this very point that differentiates it from the writings of Neukomm and Hutten. The *Indianische Historia* was meant for publication.

Thus, while style and tone change with the particular author, the basic descriptive elements and motifs occur throughout all the travel writings we have examined. From Neukomm, Hutten, and Federmann, to Columbus, Cabeza de Vaca, and Sahagún, it is the occurrence of these motifs that link such seemingly disparate works. Yet despite the diverse origins of the authors and the geographic variety of subject matter, they all describe the New World lands and peoples--as well as their experiences--in similar terms. In the next Chapter we will examine the terrifying images of the "cannibal" and the "Amazon" that are repeatedly evoked throughout travel descriptions of the New World, and we will examine their importance in the formation of the New World concept.
NOTES

1 Neukomm addressed the letter to "Meiner lieben Mutter Elisabeta Newkhumin, oder meinem Lieben Bruden Jochim Neykhum zuo Lindaw" (N 272).


3 References from Cyclone Covey, trans. and ed., Cabeza de Vaca's Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America (New York: Collier, 1961)

4 References from Morris Bishop, The Odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca (New York: Century, 1933).

5 References from Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Conquest of New Spain: 1585 Revision, Howard F. Cline, trans., S.L. Cline, ed. and intro. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989).

6 "Ich bleib die Rayse alhie in Coro, sampt einem Andren der Herren Diener Ain Hispanier, alhie die Bücher zu halten, und sonst der Herren geschafft, deren dann wenig sein, außzurichten" (N 274).

7 "[. . .] Also das khain Ander sorg zuhaben ist, dann daz das Landt sehr warm und für unser Nation ungesund sein will, demnach wir in einem kalten Land erzogen worden, darnach sich dann einer darein schicken, und sein selbs Achtung haben muß" (N 273).

8 The quotation above continues: "Sie gehen nackend [. . .], wie Du kann hiemit auf einem Papier verzeichnet auch sehen und abnehmen magst [. . .] (N 275). Joetze comments in a note: "Die Zeichnung liegt leider nicht mehr bei."
"I was in this [general coastal] region nearly six years [but in this particular vicinity from early winter 1528 to early winter 1532, a merchant for perhaps 22 months], alone among the Indians and naked like them." Covey 67.


John Hemming, Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978) 64 quotes one eyewitness: "All men had their body hair and eyebrows removed and the tops of their heads shaved like monks' tonsures. 'They say that if they had their hair long in front and wore a beard, they might be seized and captured by these if they fell into the hands of their enemies; and also that [their removal] gives them more strength and endurance. If their body hair grows, the women remove the men's with a certain reed-like grass that cuts like a razor. . . . As for the pubic hair, they pluck it reciprocally from one another . . . and the women pluck the men's beards.' "

glossed by Joetze as "Tabak und Kauton" (276).

Panquet appears in Latin type in Meusel's transcription, indicating Hutten's treatment of it as a foreign word. Curiously, all Spanish words used by Hutten appear in German black letter type, i.e. Poblo, Senor, Capitan, etc.

Hutten encounters similar difficulties in the same region, and writes: "[Wir] fielen in die gedacht Poblo, erstachen ihr etlich, wurden bey 60. Stück gefangen, ein Pferd und 3. Christen erstochen, ist dieser Poblo Oytabo genant der erst de vallo de las dammas zu Deutsch der fraw thal genant, [. . .]" (H J 52). The name of the region is offset from the German black letter, and appears in Latin type in Meusel's transcription.

"er hat's aber, wie hernach angezeigt wird, wohl bezahlen müssen" (F VIII 133).

The passage in full reads: "Also fingen wir den Caciquen oder Herren und dreiundzwanzig Personen, Männer und Weiber, meist Principales oder Führermite. Den ließ ich zur Straf, dieweil er mir dreimal den Glauben gebrochen, in ein Ketten schmieden und hab also ihn und auch die andern, so mit ihm gefangen bis Coro geführt und die Weiber den Christen zu dienen ausgeteilt" (F VIII 142).


Todorov quotes Columbus' journal entry of 2/11/1492.

Todorov (98) quotes the Spanish historian Gomara who writes: "This fellow was uncouth, being a fisherman, and it seemed he knew neither how to speak nor how to answer."

Hilde Krueger, "Malinche," or Farewell to Myths (New York: Storm, 1948) 83-84. Krueger (18) also notes that "Everything that has come down to us about her is contradictory."

22 Reproduced in Cypress 29. The original manuscript is housed in the Archer M. Huntington Museum at the University of Texas at Austin.

23 Reproduced in Todorov 102. The original manuscript is housed in the Biblioteca Laurentiana in Florence.
Chapter 3
Among the Cannibals and Amazons

In this Chapter we will continue to examine the literary description of the cannibal as found in German and Spanish travel writing. Considerable attention will be devoted to the reports of Columbus, which were arguably the most influential in shaping the picture of the New World and its inhabitants. This will be followed by a brief examination of the cannibal motif in the literary and visual work of Hans Staden and Theodore deBry. We will then examine the various descriptions of the Amazon figure that appears in the same writings, as well as those of the English explorer Walter Ralegh. I will conclude with ideas and observations concerning the social and political ramifications of the particular type of myth-making that occurs in the travel narratives under examination in this study.

I. Cannibals

In Hutten's first letter, he summarizes his adventures and difficulties. He reports tales of rich lands ahead and of lands inhabited by Amazons, but notes as well: "[Wir] Musten durch ein böß Land ziehen, ehe wir in das reich Land kommen mochten, darinn ein böß Nation wohnt, Tscheckes genannt, so Menschen Fleisch essen, mit allen ihren anstoßenden Nachbarn Krieg haben, ein keck und wehrhafft Volck" (H L1 77). Curiously, a more detailed description of the Tscheckes is lacking in Hutten's own journal, and we may only
suppose that it, too, was based on hearsay evidence or was added later for dramatic effect.

In addition to the incident of survival cannibalism committed by one European, twice described (H J 73, H L 78) and discussed above, Hutten notes one last incident of cannibalism. In a long letter to his brother Moritz, the Bishop of Eichstädt, Hutten lists various unsuccessful expeditions, including one led by Pedro de Mendoza where: "[. . .] von 400. Mann 14. überblieben und zu Land al Nembre [Nombre] de Dios kommen ein porto des Meers von denen aus dem Peru pobliero, die andern alle von Indiern und Hunger umkommen und in solch extreme Hungersnoth kommen, daß ein Christ den andern geßen hat" (H L 92). This account is obviously based on second-hand sources, but curiously--and again--it is the Europeans themselves who are guilty of committing cannibalism.

In all cases described by Hutten where European survival cannibalism is discussed, it is not the Germans but the Spanish who are implicated. Such "evidence" will be used later, according to Bernadette Bucher, in the subsequent creation and spread of the "Black Legend" by the Protestants against the Spanish, in which the latter are depicted, among other things, as cruel, licentious, and cannibalistic.¹ In the one instance where Hutten suggests native cannibalism, he claims neither first-hand knowledge nor provides evidence of such activity.

Titus Neukomm does not mention cannibalism in his letter. He apparently had not witnessed it first-hand or even heard tell of it. He could, possibly, wish to spare his mother the grisly details, although he shows remarkable candor in his description of native
attire discussed above. Neukomm's writing style is clear and factual; his duty, after all, is to remain in Coro to record activity there: "Ich bleib diße Rayse alhie in Coro, [. . .] die Bücher zu halten, und sonst der Herren [Welser] geschäft, deren dann wenig sein, außerichten" (N 274). Hutten, too, appears to have been employed for the purpose of writing and recording the experiences of the Federmann expedition. He was, according to all sources², reared "als Edelknabe" at the court of Charles V, where he, no doubt, learned the art and style of writing of the day. The writings of Hutten and Neukomm differ both in content and style from that of Federmann, whose use of the cannibal motif was thoroughly discussed above.

Columbus' description of his second voyage is filled with references to cannibals. Upon closer investigation, however, each supposed incidence of cannibalistic activity is, in reality, based on hearsay or misinterpretation of evidence. On Guadaloupe, Columbus notes the "great quantity of cotton," in deserted native dwellings. He takes some with him, as well as two parrots and some food. Speaking of his activities in the third person, he writes: "he [i.e. Columbus] also brought away four or five bones of human arms and legs. On seeing these we suspected that we were amongst the Caribbee islands, which are inhabited by cannibals; [. . .] (C 2 24-25)." Later, a captain and six men³ leave for the interior of the island. Columbus, not knowing of their departure or of their whereabouts, believes the worst. "We had already looked upon them as killed and eaten by the people that are called Caribbees; for we could not account for their long absence in any other way, since they had
among them some pilots who by their knowledge of the stars could navigate either to or from Spain, so that we imagined that they could not lose themselves in so small a space" (C 227).

These two examples are typical of Columbus' interpretation of observations; in his own way, he is convinced that cannibals exist, thus anything he sees (bones), serves to prove their existence. Similarly, the "disappearance" of capable navigators (lost on land) serves as the "proof" he needs that they have been eaten by cannibals. Todorov examines Columbus' distortion of language in his own "absurd and imaginary dialogues" concerning the Grand Khan, the ultimate goal of his voyage. "The Indians utter the word Cariba, designating the (man-eating) inhabitants of the Caribbean islands. Columbus hears Caniba, which is to say, the people of the khan" (Todorov 30). Robert Schomburgk notes that "Carib and Cannibal were synonymous at that period," and quotes Peter Martyr of Angleria: "Edaces humanarum carnium novi helluones anthropophagi, Caribes alias Canibales appellati." Amidst the obvious linguistic confusion, described by Todorov as one of "total incomprehension" (31), we can hardly expect Columbus to provide logical and credible interpretation of the peoples he encounters.

By way of introduction to Columbus' description of "proof" of cannibalism to follow below, we should examine his report of the first meeting with the people on the island. He reports that "several men and women came on the beach up to the water's edge, and gazed at the ships in astonishment at so novel a sight; and when a boat pushed on shore in order to speak with them, they cried out, "tayno, tayno," which is as much as to say, "good, good," and waited
for the landing of the sailors, standing by the boat in such a manner that they might escape when they pleased" (C 2 27). Columbus here interprets both word and action of the astonished natives. Rather than interpreting their words "taino, taino" as a greeting, he views them as words of approval and welcome. He describes them as "more civilized than those [i.e. natives] that we had hitherto seen," that they constructed their straw houses "in a much superior fashion," and that they were "well stocked with provisions," and showed "more evidences of industry" which consisted in spinning and weaving cotton so well "as to be no way inferior to those of our own country" (28-29). I suspect that, in actuality, the natives were identifying themselves as members of the Taino group, living on Hispaniola and along the northern coast of Colombia.

Columbus takes two men and twenty women "of their own consent" aboard their vessels, and notes that "several of the boys, who were captives, came to us fleeing from the natives of the island who had taken them prisoners" (C 2 28). Columbus does not say why he suspects these people to be prisoners. The boys could have been simply unable to contain their curiosity and wanted to see the strangers close-up or take a ride in their boat. He describes "a vast number of human bones and skulls hung up about the houses, like vessels intended for holding various things" (C 2 28), but does not explain further. In an elaborate display of interpretive skill, Columbus relates his "conversation" with the women of the island as to the identity of their prisoners:
We enquired of the women, who were prisoners in the island, what people these islanders were: they replied that they [i.e. the prisoners] were Caribbees. As soon as they learned that we abhorred such people, on account of their evil practice of eating human flesh, they were much delighted; and, after that, if they brought forward any woman or man of the Caribbees, they informed us (but secretly), that they were such, still evincing by their dread of their conquerors, that they belonged to a vanquished nation, though they know them all to be in our power (C 2 29).

From this confusing passage it is clear that Columbus is not "amongst the Caribbee islands, which are inhabited by cannibals" (C 2 25), as he imagined himself to be shortly before. Indeed, it would appear it he were in the area of Taino domination, and that these people had captured a few neighboring hostile cannibals of the Carib nation. This short episode is fraught with contradictions: why is Columbus unable to recognize the little boys and "twenty of the female captives" who were "taken with their own consent" as cannibalistic Caribs? why does he not imply from the human cooking utensils "hung up about the houses, like vessels" that he is actually among the cannibals and in great danger? and finally, how is he able to communicate his abhorrance of the Carib cannibals and convey the concept of eating human flesh?

It is little wonder that the natives were "much delighted" upon discovering, as Columbus believes he has successfully communicated to them, his "abhorrance." No doubt much hilarious farcical role-play was needed to convey the concept, and on the basis of Columbus' interpretive prowess thus far, the natives could well have understood Columbus to be like the "prisoners," a cannibal! The natives point out their "prisoners" as cannibals, but they do so
secretly, perhaps knowing full well that this is not the case, yet in an attempt to humor their strange guests.

Columbus provides fanciful details of the cannibalistic Caribbees as provided him by his island women. He discovers that they are brutal, engage on raids on neighboring islands, and carry off young and beautiful women to use as concubines. The women, earlier "much delighted" (C 229) in Columbus' great interest in cannibalism, continue their tales with gusto and an almost Sadeian zeal:

These women also say that the Caribbees use them with such cruelty as would scarcely be believed; and that they eat the children which they bear to them, and only bring up those which they have by their natural wives. Such of their male enemies as they can take alive, they bring to their houses to make a feast of them, and those who are dead they devour at once. They say that man's flesh is so good, that there is nothing like it in the world; and this is pretty evident, for of the bones which we found in their houses, they had gnawed everything that could be gnawed, so that nothing remained of them, but what from its great hardness, could not be eaten: in one of the houses we found the neck of a man, undergoing the process of cooking. When they take any boys prisoners, they dismember them, and make use of them until they grow to manhood, and then when they wish to make a feast they kill and eat them; for they say that the flesh of boys and women is not good to eat. Three of these boys came fleeing to us thus mutilated (C 231).

The preceding passage has been given in full since it is the first written description of the cannibal's feast, and will be useful for comparative purposes with Staden and deBry later. In addition, it is similarly riddled with inconsistencies and misinterpretations, of
which the following are a few: how are the women able to convey
these horrors to Columbus? why is he unable to separate the story he
is told of supposed cannibalism among the Caribbees from the "signs"
of obvious cannibalism around him—gnawed bones and neck stew?
and how is Columbus able to determine these bones are of human,
not animal, origin?

Clearly, Columbus' own accounts prove themselves to be
unreliable. They are based on hearsay evidence of neighboring
hostile tribes and the misinterpretation of physical evidence, as well
as Columbus' own seeming desire to wish himself into a landscape
populated by such dangerous peoples. In the account of Trinidad,
visited on his third voyage, Columbus remarks on his failing eyesight,
then proceeds to describe the native inhabitants and their gold
jewelry in great detail. The gold is from a land not far away to the
west, but Columbus is advised "not to go there, for fear of being
eaten." He continues: "I imagined that by their description they
wished to imply, that they were cannibals who dwelt there, but I
have since thought it possible, that they meant merely to express,
that the country was filled with beasts of prey" (C 3 124). What he
records as fact is, in reality, a two-fold interpretation of reports he
hears from one native people about another. At first, he assumes
that cannibals are involved; after later consideration, he believes that
wild animals are the culprits. Now, however, Columbus gives no
reasons and cites no "evidence" for his change of mind. Similarly, in
the passage quoted above, it could well have been the case that
animal bones were used as utensils and hung outside native
dwellings, and that the bone simmering in the pot was one of some
native animal species.

In our initial discussion of the popularity of Columbus' writings
(see p. 23 above), we noted that Hirsch (538) has identified 22
editions of Columbus published between 1493-1522. Still, the
numbers notwithstanding, Hirsch believes the popularity of
Columbus' writings to have been "confined to limited groups of
readers" (539), mainly because "Columbus' search for a westward
route to India was not recognized as anything beyond a mere
extension of Portuguese explorations to the south and east" (539-
540). Hirsch ends with the observation that "the publicity given to
Columbus set the scene for the greater impact of Vespuc"i's voyages"
(540). When we recall the Munich Woodcut of 1505, we find
elements of cannibalism as described by both Colombus and
Vespuc"i. Thus the visual image would appear to be based upon two
popular written, supposedly eye-witness accounts, with the caption
drawn directly from the Vespuc"i text.

The descriptions of native cannibalistic practices as recorded
by Sahagú in his Conquest of New Spain are few, but nonetheless
telling. S.L. Cline has compared Sahagú's original 1579 text, the
Florentine Codex, against the 1585 revision, and notes some unusual
differences. In his original description of human sacrifice, Sahagú
"is not as graphic about the sacrifice but does give the name of the
god honored [Macujltotec]" (S 119). The 1585 revision describes the
god simply as "the idol" (el ídolo), describes the subsequent
quartering and distribution of the victims' bodies, with the new
addition: "Having divided them in this manner, they ate them roasted
or boiled" (S 119). Thus, the notion of native ritualistic cannibalism seems to have been a later addition, and may or may not be true. The removal of the god's name from the original description and its new designation as simply "idol" serves to devalue both the native people and their religion.

Similarly, the description of the "wretched Mexicans" just before the fall of the empire (quoted in Chapter 2 above) tells of their drinking stagnant water, as well as eating "mice, lizards, tree bark, and other inedible things," which caused many to become sick and die. The following sentence has been added to the 1585 revision: "None of the children survived, for their own mothers and fathers ate them, which was pitiful to behold and even greater to endure" (S 131). Again, the description of New World cannibalism is an added accretion that serves to further define the native inhabitants as savage and cannibalistic.

The documentation left concerning Cabeza de Vaca and his reports of native cannibalism is more problematic. Sources contain information that, at first sight, would seem to implicate the natives in its practice. After closer examination, however, we see that this is not the case. We must keep in mind that the ritualistic endophagy (consuming powder or ash of deceased or cremated relatives) introduced in Chapter 2 is a different topic altogether from both institutionalized cannibalism--eating humans as practice and source of food--and survival cannibalism practiced by people in extreme circumstances.

On the "Island of Doom" (Covey 1961) or "Bad Luck Island" (Bishop 1933), named Malhado by Cabeza de Vaca, he and his men
experience extreme hardship and privation. The weather is cold and stormy, and no food is to be found. He writes: "Five Christians quartered on the coast came to the extremity of eating each other. Only the body of the last one, whom nobody was left to eat [i.e. he died of starvation and exposure], was found unconsumed. Their names were Sierra, Diego Lopez, Corral, Palacios, and Gonzalo Ruiz" (CDV A 60). As seen in numerous examples presented above, it is not the natives, but the Europeans themselves who engage in cannibalism. Cabeza de Vaca describes the reaction of the natives: "The Indians were so shocked at this cannibalism that, if they had seen it sometime earlier, they surely would have killed every one of us" (CDV A 60). The natives were clearly faced with survival in the same harsh environment as the Europeans, yet managed to avoid eating each other.

Morris Bishop notes that "their indignation was due, probably, to the proof that the Spaniards had succumbed to a temptation which they were trained to resist till death. Hunger was the very condition of their lives" (CDV O 69). His final interpretation of the event contains clear moralistic overtones of superiority: "A dim sense of social welfare forbade the natives to learn the taste of their fellows" (CDV O 69). Bishop continues with the contradictory statement: "And yet these tribes were later known as cannibals," and presents several examples of cannibalistic activity based on hearsay evidence and second-hand sources. He concludes with a speculative statement that negates everything he has presented: "But as Cabeza de Vaca specifically states that he saw no native cannibalism in all his
progress, one must conclude that the practice arose in later times" (CDV O 69).

It is precisely this sort of wishful thinking and willful misinterpretation of data and text that William Arens warns anthropologists against in his controversial book The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy. In the above-cited example, Bishop insists on the existence of cannibalism despite Cabeza de Vaca's insistence otherwise. He relies on the supporting "evidence" of others to make his point, which ends with a disclaimer of Cabeza de Vaca (the subject of his own investigation) and degenerates into mere speculation.

Upon examining the problem of cannibalism in anthropological literature, Arens soon became aware that "the cannibal epithet at one time or another has been applied by someone to every human group" (13). As I.M. Lewis says, "the application of the derogatory label "man-eater" is one of the most widely distributed methods by which the members of one group or community dissociate and distance themselves from outsiders beyond the pale." We have seen this to be the case in our examination of cannibalism motif in this and the preceding Chapter: it is the others, be they hostile neighboring tribe, or an entire native people in general, who are believed to practice or are accused of practicing the habit.

The resulting construction is the "us-them" dichotomy. Federmann's notion of good (us) and evil (them) is based on the notion of free exchange and the gift-giving ritual. This scale is superimposed against the larger framework of cannibalism. His dealings with native peoples are shaped by what he is told (biased,
hearsay evidence or outright lie) by accompanying native guides (or slaves), as well as what he expects to discover and what he believes to be true. Columbus' expectations and beliefs are similarly shaped. But nowhere is the "us-them," "civilized-savage" division so clear as in the work of Hans Staden.

Little is known of Staden apart from scant details of his origins that appear scattered throughout his narrative. He was born in "Homberg in Hessen" and made two trips to South America (Brazil) between 1547 and 1554, spending time as a "prisoner" among the Tupinamba natives. The ADB describes his writing style as "natürlich, überzeugend und ergreifend," yet the writer concludes with the conjecture: ". . . aus einigen Eigentümlichkeiten der Diction möchte man fast schließen, daß er die beiden Berichte nicht selbst geschrieben, sondern vielleicht dictirt habe." Unfortunately, the entry (written by F. Ratzel) does not provide any specific details as to what these particular peculiarities might be, but he does call Staden's authorship into question. He notes, as well, that contrary to expectation, no additional mention or further information concerning Staden appears in subsequent editions of his work.

Arens is of similar opinion and writes that it "is doubtful whether Staden, as a common seaman of the sixteenth century, actually wrote the book himself, and ghostwriters were not unknown even in this earliest era of publishing" (25). Indeed, the Vorrede by a Dr. Johann Dryander to the original edition suggests that there was collaboration between the two. A series of 53 crude woodcut vignettes, illustrating Staden's adventures, was obviously created by a different person, although Michael Alexander suggests that "Staden
must have supervised their execution.”

Bucher, without elaborating how she arrives at this position suggests that the first Marburg edition "includes a few crude vignettes after the sketches Staden drew from life and those by one of the expedition's sailors" (150). "At best," Arens writes, "the final product was produced under Staden's supervision, and some nine years after his return to Europe" (25). It is, he continues, the work of a committee and not that of a single individual. Curiously, the authorship of both German works on the New World intended for publication is questionable. Even more remarkable, perhaps, is the fact that they both were published within a year of each other: Staden in 1556, and Federmann in 1557.

Staden served as "mercenary on Mendoza's expedition" (Bucher 10), the very expedition described by Hutten (p. 109 above) as having themselves resorted to cannibalism. Staden is, to a large extent, responsible for our knowledge of cannibalism as supposedly practiced among the Tupinamba natives of Brazil. Further details are supplied by the Frenchman Jean de Léry in the account of his adventures in similar regions published in 1578 as Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil. Both these supposedly autobiographical accounts, along with Staden's lurid woodcuts of the cannibal's feast, serve as the basis for current description of a long extinct people (the Tupinamba had succumbed to disease by the end of the sixteenth century) in basic anthropological texts as well as the Handbook of South American Indians published by the Smithsonian Institution.

Staden's work is filled with improbable tales of his encounters with, capture by, and life with the Tupinamba natives. He is readily
identifiable in the woodcuts as the naked man with a long beard, fig leaf covering his genitalia, and hands clasped in prayer. He tells of his humiliation and torment at the hands of the Tupinamba, but surprisingly he manages to escape the ritual taunting and subsequent slaughter, dismemberment, preparation and cannibal feast he witnesses and later describes. A typical example of Staden's rhetorical story-telling style, complete with generous religious overtones, is the following passage. After a brief skirmish with the natives, Staden, wounded in the leg, is taken captive:


Wie ich nun in so grosser angst und jam er war / bedachte das ich vor nie betrachtet / nemlich der betrüchte jamertal / darinn wir hie leben / und ich fieng an mit weynenden augen zusingen auß grundt meines hertzen den Psalmen: Auß tieffer not schrei ich zu dir .

Da sagten die Wilden: Sihe wie schreiet er / ytzt jamert in (Cap. 20).

Unless Staden was speaking in the native tongue, the natives show great comprehension of the German language.

Staden attributes his luck mainly to his faith in God, but at times he tries his hand at a sort of divination and convinces the natives that he is able to predict storms as well as a good catch of fish. He tells the native chief that the natives are falling sick as a sign of God's displeasure at their cannibalistic and bestial ways, but Alfred W. Crosby believes this, ironically, to be evidence of an epidemic, spread by the European newcomers.10 Staden possesses powers of Faustian proportions, and indeed, the Faust tales are strikingly similar.
The Historia von D. Johann Fausten published in 1587 in Frankfurt by Spieß is filled with similar tales of travel, use of magic [incantations=prayer], dealings with the devil [evocation of the unknown=supernatural], and control of the elements. The Tupinamba see Hans Staden as a magician, able to predict the future and change the elements by means of his strange incantations. But where Faust is literally torn to pieces at the end of his book, Staden escapes a similar fate at the hands of the cannibals and ends by offering a prayer and a hymn. In many respects, Staden resembles the medieval hero, lost and wandering in the wild wood, facing indescribable and unspeakable horrors, and returning at long last, hale and hearty, to the Christian fold. Curiously, only one critic up to now has noted these similarities\(^\text{11}\), and much textual work remains to be done in this area. All in all, Staden's work is an adventure story typical of the chapbook tradition of the sixteenth century.

Staden's work was immensely popular with the reading public. The first 1557 edition was immediately followed by a second the same year. According to the ADB, this was followed by various others, including a French translation in 1559 and Flemish in 1563. My own investigation reveals the existence of nine different editions up to the year 1600; the next century shows some fourteen editions; and an additional five editions up to 1736.\(^\text{12}\)

In 1592, Flemish Protestant Theodore de Bry living and working in exile in Germany republished Staden's work as the third in his illustrated series Great Voyages. Staden's crude woodcut cycle depicting the cannibals' feast was reworked and refined, and appeared now as a series of detailed and elaborate copper plate
engravings. Bernadette Bucher provides an extensive and provocative analysis of the illustrations that appear throughout deBry's thirteen-part work. She demonstrates the power of the visual image and its use and effect in establishing a European worldview based on the Protestant Huguenot perspective and the development of the virulently anti-Spanish "Black Legend" theme.

What is most remarkable about Staden's work, however, is that for the first time definite links are made between the cannibal and the female. In the earlier works examined in this study, the term "cannibal" was a loose term applied equally to both men and women—indeed to entire peoples and cultures. In the case of Columbus we discern, however, great glee particularly among the women when he inquires concerning their experiences with the cannibalistic Caribbees. Staden shows, in both text and illustration, women as the major players in the ritualistic taunting, slaughter, division, and preparation of the victim of the cannibal's feast. But while Staden's woodcuts appear crude and two-dimensional, deBry's engravings portray the true horror of the proceedings. He depicts sides of ribs on the barbeque, women displaying and gnawing limbs and licking their fingers, and tubs to hold the blood, head, and entrails of the victim.

In both Staden and deBry, the women are shown naked. This is a significant fact, and thus we can begin to establish a list of characteristics that separate the savage cannibal from the civilized human: The cannibal is portrayed as dangerous and threatening, naked, female, heathen, and with a wild demeanor. The European is shown as the innocent victim, clothed (or with long beard and fig
leaf), and portrayed as a calm, God-fearing Christian. Arens writes that the "idea of the "others" as cannibals, rather than the act, is the universal phenomenon" (139).

His research leads him to the conclusion that "our culture, like many others, finds comfort in the idea of the barbarian just beyond the gates" (184). Staden has passed through these gates and entered a land of horror, yet in describing the "other," the cannibalistic savage, he also defines himself, and by extension, European culture. He is male (not female), Christian (not heathen), civilized (not primitive or savage), kind (not brutal), modest (not naked), and above all, not a man-eater.

Arens' remarks of the "barbarian just beyond the gates" certainly describes the medieval and Early Modern perception, and we are reminded of the images of the strange beasts, human monstrosities, and cannibals described in the Introduction. Whether or not we believe in the existence and practice of cannibalism (either endo- or exophagy) among New World peoples is, for the purpose of this work, not important. We are concerned here with the method of depiction and description of the cannibalistic act as it was believed or fancied to be. At either extreme are Columbus and Staden who claim first-hand knowledge of the practice, and Arens who denies its existence altogether. The truth, no doubt, lies somewhere inbetween, and is certainly impossible to ascertain today. Arens categorically denies cannibalism ever took place--except in rare cases of survival cannibalism. While his conclusion is controversial at best, it is nonetheless important to respect his investigative method--a method based upon a thorough examination of source materials and
an extremely close reading of documentation. And it is this method of close examination of original (German) texts that I have attempted throughout the course of this study.

I propose that by this time in the history of exploration and colonization, roughly the 1550's, a clear political and religious agenda was emerging. Staden and deBry, first and foremost, provided the reading public with popular entertainment. Staden's work, while clearly one of a mainly fictional nature, is the first German literary work to employ both word and text to describe and depict the New World. Like the Munich Woodcut of 1505, Staden paints a lurid picture of the New World natives and further develops the set of dichotomies (suggested and established by the Munich Woodcut and discussed in the Introduction), that persists to this day. DeBry further refines these images that serve to differentiate the New World natives from the Europeans.

Arens notes that the "significant question is not why people eat human flesh, but why one group invariably assumes that others do" (139). Lewis answers the question in part when he writes: "The ideology of man-eating provides a pregnant cluster of imagery and metaphor to express the exercise and experience of power, domination, and subjection which may be realized in different forms in particular historical and cultural contexts" (64). The New World was determined by various powerful interests as ripe for political and religious conquest. After all, what better candidate for a healthy dose of religion that the savage cannibal?
II. Amazons

The exotic figure of the Amazon has been the subject of recent critical examination in relation to Classical Antiquity, Greek culture, and Athenian society in particular. Similar to the analysis of the cannibal motif above, discussion of the Amazon focuses not on whether such groups of women actually existed beyond the bounds of "civilized society," but on the uses to which the Amazon myth was put and the societal ends it served. Particular emphasis is placed on the relation of the Amazon myth to the role of women, especially in regard to marriage and childbirth, in ancient Greek society. Although this society is far removed in both time and place from the focus of this investigation, many of the conclusions drawn from study of Greek Antiquity may be applied with equal validity to the role of the Amazon myth as it appears in travel narratives and reports of the New World. We will first examine descriptions of the Amazon figure found in travel literature, then suggest comparisons to its Greek counterpart and societal and political implications of its use.

Tales of early Amazons, recorded by Herodotus and Pliny, suggest their original realm as Scythia and the Black Sea region; some writers mention an older nation of Amazons in Africa. The etymology of the word is disputed; the OED suggests it is probably the popular etymology of a foreign word, but notes that it could well come from the Greek meaning "without breast," referring to the practice of cutting off the right breast in order to use the bow more efficiently. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language contains similar information; Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable defines the word as of definite Greek origin meaning "without
breast." It has been suggested that tales of Amazons are evidence of the existence of a matriarchal society throughout much of the Indo-European language area. As such, however, these myths and stories must not be taken literally or seen to reflect those societies as a whole. The general idea is that the Amazons live separately from men and visit them periodically for mating purposes. Any male offspring are given to the fathers (or are killed), the daughters stay with the Amazons and learn the art of the bow.

After the discovery of the New World, Amazons were reportedly sighted along the banks of the Amazon River by the Spanish explorer Orellana, hence its appellation in 1542, the same year as California was named after the rich Amazon Queen Califa. The river itself was "discovered" much earlier. John Hemming states that it was discovered "in January 1500 by a Spaniard, Vicente Yáñez Pinzón," and notes that, curiously, the "mouth of the Amazon lay inside the Spanish half of the world as defined by the Treaty of Tordesillas." In 1541, Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition was "near disaster" (Hemming 186) after traveling overland from Peru to Ecuador. He had a vessel built for his second-in-command, Captain Francisco de Orellana to sail for supplies. He was swept downstream, and unable to return, continued down the river, where on 11 February 1542 the party sailed into the main stream of the Amazon. Robin Furneaux writes that as a result of Orellana's voyage, "the great river was no longer known as 'the Freshwater Sea', or by its other, less imaginative name, 'the Rio Grande'. Now it was spoken of as 'the River of the Amazons' or 'the Rio Orellano'."
Kleinbaum notes that "as the exploration of the new lands progressed, Amazon sightings increased" (117). Francisco Cortés, a cousin and captain of Hernando, was sent out to explore lands to the south and in 1524 brought back

an account of the chiefs of the province of Ceguatan, who affirm that there is an island inhabited only by women without any men, and that, at given times, men from the mainland visit them: if they conceive, they keep the female children to which they give birth, but the male, they throw away. This island is ten days journey from the province, and many of them went thither and saw it, and told me also that it is very rich in pearls and gold.¹⁹

Another member of the Cortés party sent to find the Amazons was Nuño de Guzmán who wrote to Charles V in 1530:

"I shall goe to find the Amazons, which some say dwell in the Sea, some in an arme of the Sea, and that they are rich, and accounted of the people for Goddesses, and whiter than other women. They use Bowes, Arrows, and Targets; have many great Townes; at a certain time admit men to accompanie them, which bring up the males as those of the females issue, & c (Kleinbaum 118).²⁰

Both these early reports suggest that the Amazons live in a rich (hence desirable) land, although there is confusion as to its exact location, and Guzmán describes the Amazons as white goddesses (also desirable).

Gaspar de Carvajal, a Dominican friar who accompanied Orellana on his travels, believes the expedition actually entered the territory of the Amazons, who he described as "very white and tall, and have hair very long and braided and wound about the head, and they are very robust and go naked, with their privy parts covered,"
with bows and arrows in their hands, doing as much fighting as ten
Indian men" (Kleinbaum 121).21

The Germans, too, tell of the Amazons in their writings. Philipp
von Hutten reports a tale told to him by accompanying native guide
of a rich land some days journey away, as well as news of a strange
land populated solely by women: "[. . .] gaben uns dieser Indier
Anzeigung wie diese Rivir [Papamena] hinab etlich Tag-Reiß Weiber
wohneten, so mit den Männern gar kein gemeinschaft haben, dann
etlich Zeit im Jahr, in aller maß und gestalt, wie man von Amazonen
schreibt, [. . .]" (H J 68-69). He repeats the story in a letter, and
provides additional information:

[. . .] funden groß Zeitung vom reichen Land, glaub auch
nicht, daß wir 30. Meil davon gewest sein, Auch hätten
wir Zeitung einer schönen Rivier Papamena genannt,
hinab von Weibern, so ohn Manner leben, allein etlich
Zeit im Jahr, zu gleicher Weiß, wie man von Amazones
schreibt. Musten durch ein böß Land ziehen, ehe wir in
das reich Land kommen mochten, [. . .]
(H L1 77).

The land is populated by the cannibalistic Tscheckes, discussed
above. In both instances, details of the Amazons are few. They are
mentioned in connection with rich lands, although it is unclear if
these rich lands belong to them. In any case, both these rich lands
and the land of the Amazons lie beyond the land of the cannibals; to
enter it would pose great risk and potential danger. Hutten uses the
phrase "wie man von Amazonen/Amazones schreibt," and he was
certainly aware of the tales of Amazons--certainly those of his
contemporaries, and possibly those of Antiquity.
Although Hutten reports the tale of the Amazons as something he was told (hearsay evidence), the tone is quite different from reports of cannibals as seen above. So far, the only element of danger comes not from the Amazons, but from the cannibalistic natives whose lands lie between. Titus Neukomm does not mention hearing reports of Amazons in the letter to his mother; we must assume that he had either heard no such reports, or chose not to report tales he had not verified himself. And more surprising is the fact that Federmann makes no mention of the Amazons in his Indianische Historia. We must, however, keep in mind that absence of evidence does not necessarily imply evidence of absence. For further tales and descriptions of Amazons we turn to Columbus, the German conquistador Ulrich Schmidel, and the Englishman Walter Ralegh.

Columbus, describes the inhabitants of "a certain island called Charis," (Puerto Rico) as "most ferocious" and says they "feed upon human flesh." The people possess various types of boats and canoes, which they use to reach neighboring islands to "rob and plunder." The men "wear their hair long like women," and use the bow and javelin. He describes their relations with a neighboring tribe of what appear to be Amazons:

These are the men who form unions with certain women, who dwell alone in the island Matenín [one of the Virgin Islands], which lies next to Española on the side towards India; these latter employ themselves in no labour suitable to their own sex, for they use bows and javelins as I have already described their paramours as doing, and for defensive armour have plates of brass, of which metal they possess great abundance"
Columbus locates the Amazons on an island, rather than on the usual mainland region of the Guyanas and Brazil. He describes them as proficient in the use of weapons, and notes that they are able to defend themselves with a sort of brass shield or perhaps even armor. Most interesting, though, is the link to the cannibals, who visit them as their "paramours."

Ulrich Schmidel (or Schmidl) was another German from the south of Germany who decided to travel to the New World to try his fortune. He has been variously described "as mercenary" (Bucher 10) and an "unimaginative private soldier" (Bishop 236). In 1534 he joined with Pedro de Mendoza (mentioned above in connection with survival cannibalism) and his expedition to the La Plata region. He traveled throughout the area, even reaching present-day Peru, until roughly 1553, at which time he returned to Europe and recorded his experiences as he remembered them, some twenty years later. The earliest edition of his work appeared in 1567 as Warhafttige Historien Einer Wunderbaren Schiffart [...] as the second in a series of travel reports printed by Sigmund Feyerabend in Frankfurt. It also appeared as the seventh part of deBrys Great Voyages series in 1597, and soon thereafter in a Latin edition, as well as in a series put out by Hulsius. The second edition of 1602 includes a frontispiece of the author, clearly labeled "Contrafactur Ulrichs Schmidels." He is shown in a pose reminiscent of St. George: he stands in his suit of armor, with sword at his side, and spear in hand. He rests one foot on a jaguar lying beneath him on the ground in a pose of victory and control. He tells of his adventures in Peru and the Andes, the
founding of Buenos Aires, Asunción, and his travels with Cabeza de Vaca during the latter's South American period.

In the intervening years, the Amazon legend has grown in detail and in length; the following extended excerpt is from the beginning of Chapter 37 "Der Weiber Amazonum" of Schmidel's work. He repeats a description provided by a local native:


Upon further inquiry, the men discover that they will have to travel an entire month through water before they reach the general area of the Amazons.

Several interesting new details emerge from Schmidel's passage, namely: the Amazons are visited quarterly by men who live in the area and may or may not be part of the same general
community. In any case, they seem to enjoy friendly relations with these men, and give their male children to them for rearing. The women keep their daughters with them, instruct them in the ways of war, and sear their right breast for ease of handling the bow. As in the account of Columbus, the women live on an island; this time they appear to have enemies, but it is not specified where. Relations with cannibals are not mentioned. As with most explorer-writers, Schmidel does not claim to have seen them first-hand (Carvajal is the only one to have claimed to have entered their land); he merely reports what he hears from a local native.

Walter Ralegh traveled to South America and the region of the Guyanas in the service of Queen Elizabeth. He is mainly remembered for his description of fabled El Dorado and the City of Manoa, but in his work The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empire of Gviana, [... ] of 1595 (see note 4 below) he describes the Amazons as well. He establishes their location: "On the south side of the maine mouth of Orenoque [Orinoco], are the Arwacas: and beyond them the Canibals: and to the south of them the Amazones" (109). They live, as in previous accounts, on islands on the south side of the Orinoco to a distance of some "60 leagues" within its mouth (28). He reports that neighboring nations trade with the Amazons, who are said to be rich in gold and other treasure. Ralegh introduces his story of the Amazons as a digression from his main text and establishes his reliability as a truthful transmitter of hearsay evidence by saying: "I will set downe what hath been deliuered me for truth of those women, and I spake with a Casique or Lord of people that told me he had been in the riuers, and beyond it also" (28). He is the first writer
to connect the Amazons with their Classical, African and Asian counterparts, undoubtedly the result of his noble background and upbringing, and notes this historical link as proof of their existence: "in many histories they are verified to haue been, and in diuers ages and Provinces [. . .]" (28). His detailed description is quoted in full:

But they which are not far from Guiana do accompanie with men but once in a yeere, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation to be in Aprill. At that time all the kings of the borders assemble, and the Queenes of the Amazones, and after the Queens haue chosen, the rest cast lots for their Valentines. This one moneth, they feast, daunce, and drinke of their wines in abundance, and the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne Prouinces. If they conceive, and be deliuered of a sonne, they returne him to the father, if of a daughter they nourish it, and reteine it, and as many as haue daughters send vnto the begetters a Present, all being desirous to increase their owne sex and kinde, but that the cut of the right dug of the brest I do not finde to be true. It was farther told me, that if in the wars they tooke any prisoners that they vsed to accompany with those also at what time soeuer, but in the end for certaine they put them to death: for they are said to be very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. These Amazones haue likewise great store of these plates of golde, which they recouer by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene stones, which the Spaniaires call Piedras Hijadas, and we vse for spleene stones, and for the disease of the stone we also esteeme them: of these I saw diuers in Guiana, and commonly euery king or Casique hath one, which their wiues for the most part weare, and they esteeme them as great iewels (28-29).

Ralegh's curious literary description contains many of the motifs already encountered previously. The Amazons live apart
from male society; contact for mating purposes is periodic, in this case yearly. The resulting male offspring is returned to the father; the daughters are kept with the women. They also wage war and are said to possess great wealth. Several new motifs and embellishments also appear in Ralegh's description: the Amazonian mating ritual appears almost as a sort of sixteenth-century masque, a highly-stylized and romanticized idyllic love scene, or intricate dance. The celebration is in Springtime, the Kings and Queens assemble, the Queens choose their partners; the other Amazons choose by lot for their Valentine, a curious word in this case. The ensuing Moone is spent in an orgy of feasting, dancing, and merry-making. This first extremely positive description of the Amazons and their ways gives way to another, extremely negative view: they are depicted as "very cruell and bloodthirsty," warriors and killers of those who penetrate their lands uninvited. They are also said to mate with the prisoners before putting these unwelcome invaders to death. Ralegh also gives a description of their strange treasure, green stones, said to cure all manner of disease and discomfort. Here, for the first time and in one description, the dual personality of Amazons is portrayed. They are both amorous beauties operating within their own societal laws, rich, and with definite characteristics of motherhood and nurturing, as well as wild, rapist, man-killers, here closely allied to the cannibal women from the world of Staden's woodcuts.

The Amazons have no use for the man-made institutions of marriage and motherhood. They meet with men on their own terms for reproductive purposes only, and choose the resulting children they want to keep. Any man attempting to act outside their law is
put to death. These same observations have been made by Page duBois in an examination of the Amazonomachy and Centauromachy Parthenon friezes. The Greeks, in the battle against the Centaurs and Amazons fought against that which was not the ideal of "Greek man" or, more specifically, the Greek male. On the one hand they fought the Centaur, the half-horse, half-man creature, the mid-way point on the Chain of Being between animal and man. On the other, they fought the Amazon, a creature possessing both male and female characteristics, and similarly the mid-way point on the male-female scale. Thus, by defining the common enemy, the "other," the bestial or barbarian, Greek society was able to define itself as exclusively Greek and exclusively male-oriented. Greek society was defined by the polis, and all those living outside the city were perceived as a threat (70-71). Again, parallels are evident to the monsters and human hybrids believed to roam beyond the confines of society and depicted in border cartouches or even within the Terra incognita of early maps and literary works discussed in the Introduction.

The erotically charged, yet sexually ambivalent figure of the Amazon as described by writers in the New World, serves a similar function in both the literature and male-defined new society of America. The Amazon is a beautiful woman who must be found, tamed, and reincorporated into the framework of society, marriage, and motherhood, and her riches recovered and turned over to her tamer, her husband.

Yet, "male dominance is not universal," and the idea of the Amazon was superimposed on a New World landscape that, for the newcomers, was completely foreign. With strong traditions of
matrisocial, matrilineal, and matriarchal society, the Europeans were at a loss to explain this cultural phenomenon and seeming "reversal" of their norms in the New World. Indeed, in many societies, men and women lived separately, sometimes divided by an invisible line drawn through the village, sometimes in completely separate environments. Yolanda and Robert Murphy recorded their experiences among the Brazilian Mundurucú in the early 1950's in two separate works and described the very different realms that men and women occupy in that society.\footnote{27}

John Bierhorst, in the introduction to his study of South American mythology, notes the two distinct characterists that separate this body of mythology from that of other cultures are the "influence of shamanism and the pervasive tension between men and women."\footnote{28} Many of the myths serve to explain male dominance over women, who at one time held men under their control. Related to these myths, Bierhorst explains, "are the so-called Amazon myths, which tell of an ancient or faraway tribe of warrior women" (17). This Amazon mythology occurs in the areas Bierhorst describes as "Greater Brazil" and "Guiana" (17-20); not surprisingly these are the very areas we have examined throughout this study. A subject for further investigation, if indeed possible at this late stage, would be the identification and separation of indigenous tales of the Amazon from the European mythic overlay.

By "mythic overlay" I mean the problem of distinguishing between "original" native tales of South America and those of Classical Antiquity. The Amazon myth is, after all, "not only the earliest European legend to become acclimated in America [.. . ], it is
also one of the most obstinate and recurrent, [. . .])"29 Of course, the problems are immense, and perhaps insurmountable. For example, the European sensibility and "mythic overlay" is apparent already in the naming of the river in 1542 after the Old World model of the Amazon. Thus, from the beginning, a distinct set of cultural values and expectations was imposed on the New World. Of course, the literature reveals that "Amazon sightings" were common even before the river was named. This suggests that in order to make new, strange and exotic phenomena understandable, the first explorers defined the "new" in terms of "old" and familiar motifs.

Stith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk Literature lists two instances of South American Amazon tales.30 The first (F565.1-2) pertains to the notion that the Amazons kill all male children; the second (F566.2) that there exists a land where women live separate from men. Another curious entry is one (D915.5) that suggests that the Amazons control a river issuing from a cave. We know from historical and literary accounts that the Amazons always lived near water (along the river, or on an island), and thus the idea that they control the waterways is also credible. Of course, the idea that the Amazons choose their children based on sex, either giving the male children to their fathers, or killing them outright gives an entirely different meaning to the idea of "river" or "flow." Perhaps the notion of controlling the "flow" has more to do with procreation and childbirth than has been assumed up to now. According to Thompson's classification scheme, F=marvels and D=magic. Thus, it could be said that the "marvelous" (or incredible) race of Amazons is
in control of the "magical" process of birth in general, and life in particular.

The Amazon myth, as applied to the New World, seems then to have served two functions: to explain the seeming social and societal male-female role imbalance perceived by the Europeans in New World cultures, and to explain and make familiar the "new" by referring to old, familiar, established, and traditional motifs. Like the cannibal motif before, the Amazon motif provides both explanation and justification for further expansion, exploration, and colonization of new areas, as well as the subjugation and conversion of savage and brutal--this time female--natives inhabitants of the New World. With time, and with the continued penetration of South America by the Europeans, the figure of the "Amazon" becomes increasingly elusive. First thought to inhabit an island--now the river banks, and now regions further inland--the "Amazon" now resides firmly in the human imagination.
NOTES

2 See entries for "Hutten" in the ADB and Ersch und Gruber's Allgemeine Enzyklopädie.
3 Major's footnote identifies the "captain" as "Diego Marquez, the caterer," and notes his departure with eight other men. They reported finding many varieties of plant and animal life when they returned on 8 November.
5 Arens' work is published by Oxford University Press, 1979.
7 Warhaftig Historia und beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden, Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser Leuthen, in der Newen welt America gelegen [...]. Marburg, 1557. The work has been reprinted and translated into several languages. References refer to the facsimile edition published 1925 in Frankfurt.
9 See vol.2, *The Tropical Forest Tribes*, for an account of the Tupinamba based on Staden's tale and illustrated with his woodcuts depicting the cannibals' feast.


12 Printed catalogs of holdings of the following libraries were examined: The National Union Catalog of the Library of Congress, The British Library Catalog of the British Museum, and catalogs of The New York Public Library, Newberry Library, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, and the Bibliothéque Nationale.


16 Kleinbaum 118-124.
21 Kleinbaum quotes The Discovery of the Amazon, according to the Account of Friar Gaspar de Carbajal and other documents, trans. Bertram T. Lee, ed. H.C. Heaton (New York: American Geographical Society, 1934)
22 Underlined portions indicate use of italic type (as opposed to German black letter) in the original.
24 Schomburgk's note (29) tells of such green stones worn as amulets in the region, and refers to descriptions provided by Humboldt.


Concluding Remarks and Observations

Throughout this study I have emphasized the negative aspects of the New World, as seen, experienced, and believed by the first adventurers in the New World. They encountered a rough and harsh landscape, filled with physical danger, hardship, and privation. Surrounded by difficulties, they perceived danger and death as continual threats, posed in part by their unfamiliarity with native survival techniques. They felt threatened, as well, by the two menacing figures whose presence looms over the New World landscape and whose descriptions we have examined in detail, namely the cannibal and the Amazon.

These exotic, fantastic literary motifs belong to a much larger group of New World themes--all with positive overtones. When we think of early impressions of the South America, we remember the so-called "Southern Mysteries" that include the wild cinnamon forests of Camela, the Casa del Sol, the golden city of Manoa, the "White King," the "Copper-Crowned King," the Fountain of Youth and El Dorado. Subsequent Old World fantasies of the new-found lands include the utopias of the "Golden Age," the yearning for the "natural man" or "noble savage," and the wishful desire of the New World as an unspoiled "new Atlantis" (Bacon) and "brave new world" (Shakespeare). These mythical and legendary elements of the New World have become an ingrained part of our world view, yet the other side of the picture is ever-present.
Gustav Blanke has divided his discussion of "exotische Elemente" in early English literature on the New World into four parts, and curiously, his categories are the same as the ones discussed here: external appearance, nakedness, cannibalism, and Amazons.1 Germán Arciniegas sees all the literature of travel as part of whole larger picture:

All the conquests in the interior of America now interlace, like the great rivers which, from the Orinoco to the Plate, are linked together by a labyrinth of canals. In the conquerors' fancy, Mendoza thinks that his soldiers will shake hands with those of Pizarro; Federmann, that he will reach the Southern Sea; and those fighting in Peru, that by going north they will reach the El Dorado sought by those in Santa Marta. The same thing happens as in legends. Everywhere our chroniclers seek the dwarfs, the big-eared people, the giants. The lake of gold and the hill of silver are mirages toward which the troops of all the cities advance from the four corners of America. A travel book in which these are not mentioned will not sell in Europe. The Germans are no less fertile than the Spaniards in the matter of legends. The book of the conquest is but one, though written by different hands. Ulrich Schmidl will go on endlessly, rhapsodizing about the court of the Jurú king, and the Amazons! [. . .]2

And the book of conquest is one in another way. The problem of plagiarism and second-hand source-citing was rampant, and resulted in the constant addition and embellishment of exotic motifs. The practice resulted, as well, in the inconsistency and discrepancy of data, out of which we must make sense today (Arens 30-31).

In the broader picture of travel literature as a whole, the writings of the Sixteenth Century which have been examined here may be seen as an attempt to achieve a new way of thinking and
viewing the world. For example, another German traveler to a different "New World," made a pilgrimage to the East in 1496-1499. Thus, while Columbus was traveling and opening up altogether new territories to the West, Harff was traveling through familiar territories to the East and the Holy Land, already much described and depicted in the "Marvels of the East" genre, and by Marco Polo and Mandeville. Indeed, the account of his pilgrimage, while narrated from a different viewpoint, is told by means of time-honored images and tropes, including the familiar monsters, strange beasts, and hybrid half-human, half-animal creations which inhabited the fringe of civilization.

Adam Olearius (1599-1625) traveler, diplomat, and humanist was court mathematician and librarian of Herzog Friedrich von Holstein-Gottorp and loosely connected with the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft. In 1656 he published his Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung Der Muscovitischen vnd Persischen Reys[e] [. . .], a weighty, lavishly-illustrated tome and a work of a markedly different character. In the first chapter of the first book, entitled "Von Nutzbarkeit der frembden Reysen," Olearius establishes the role of man (the traveler) in both the world and in relation to its creator:

Nur Leute von schlechter geringer Natur und Gemüthe haben lust hinter dem Ofen zu sitzen / und in ihrem Vaterlande gleich als angebundene zu bleiben / aber die synd Edeler und voller Geist / welche dem himmel folgen / und zur bewegung lust haben. [. . .]

Es kan auch GÖtt dem HERRN / welcher nach anweisung der heiligen Schrifft allezeit ein sonderlich Auge auff die Reysenden und Frembldingen gehabt / nicht zuwider / sondern vielmehr angenehm seyn / weil

While this calculated rationalization of the nature and purpose of travel is not new, it is new in terms of the German contribution to travel literature, and points to the new Baroque conception of the world. Justin Stagl writes:

Unter "Apodemiken" [the subject of his work] verstehe ich Kunstlehren des richtigen Reisens. Es sind Werke, die zu einem praktischen Zweck über das Reisen reflektieren. Dieser Zweck ist die Verbesserung der Reisepraxis durch eingehende Verhaltens- und Beobachtungsanweisungen. Ihr Adressat ist der Reisende als solcher" (9).

Stagl begins his chronological list of works included under his schema with the year 1518 onwards (roughly the period discussed throughout this investigation), and includes as his first German-language entries Jörg Wickram, Der Rollwagen [i.e. Rollwagen-Büchlein] (1555) and Georg Pictorius, Raißbüchlein (Straßburg, 1557).

Curiously, however, as one moves through the list, Adam Olearius is conspicuously absent. This is even more astonishing given Olearius' enlightened attitude and his reluctance to report the existence of supposed "monsters" that he has not himself seen firsthand. In his description of the Samoyed people of Siberia he writes:

The shift of tone and perspective from compiler-writers such as Mandeville and Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle is remarkable. The accompanying engraving of the Samoyed reflects Olearius' description accurately. It depicts a series of five figures in the foreground set against a frigid forest landscape. They are clad in fur "trousers," long coats, hats, gloves, and long fur leggings. The central character is clothed in the manner described above--with coat pulled over the head, with arms hanging loose at the sides, and wearing a pair of snowshoes. Indeed, at first glance, as Olearius suggests, the manner of dress, if seen from afar, most certainly could give rise to (or serve to perpetuate) the myth of "man without a head" or "man with head beneath his shoulders" or "man with head in his chest"
encountered in the works of art and literature discussed in the Introduction.

Olearius, in his clear-headed and rational depiction and description of the world, realizes the concept of "global thinking" as presented by David Woodward."7 While his remarks concern the revolution in fifteenth-century cartography in particular, they may be expanded to encompass other aspects of thought as well:

A key ingredient [in forming the first coherent and rational view of the earth] was in that a transition took place in the way people viewed the world, from the circumscribed cage of the known inhabited world to the notion of the finite whole earth. The transition began with the concepts of the universality and interconnectedness of knowledge, neo-Platonic ideas that the circle of thinkers that included Leon Battista Alberti, Paolo Toscanelli, and Nicolas of Cusa was to share. For geography, this meant a movement away from local topological concepts towards those of a finite, spatially referenced spherical earth, a tabula rasa on which the achievements of exploration could be cumulatively inscribed. Robert thorne, merchant and geographer, boasted in 1527 that "there is no lande inhabitable nor sea innavigable."8 The circumnavigation of the world in 1522 had made everything possible.

In the Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung Der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse, Olearius makes the transition from the localized and regional accounts of the Sixteenth Century (Hutten, Federmann, Neukomm, and later Staden and Schmidel) to a travel report that covers enormous geographic areas and comprises some 800 pages. He establishes his journey (and resulting travel description) within the context of the world as God's creation and gift to man as "zeitliche Wohnhaß und Lustgarten." Man's charge, then, is to travel and
experience the wondrous fruits of new and different climes, thus
giving pleasure to himself and glory to the Creator.

In the development of the idea and concept of the New World
in the works examined in this study, lines of demarcation and
delineation were artificially drawn by the invader. Lands and their
inhabitants were judged on the basis of their intrinsic worth; that is,
lands deemed "fruitful" by European standards were good lands and
people possessing the qualities of generosity and hospitality were
good people. This notion is clearest in the Indianische Historia of
Federmann where the land and people could well be described as
one. Inhabitants of the flatland near the base of Coro are "in ruhiger
Possession samt aller Notdurft, Speis und Getränks nach ihrer Art" (F
I 96), and what they have is shared with Federmann. Those living in
a landscape described as "rauh und gebirgig," with villages
Federmann finds "öde und leer" turn out to be "ein klein Volk und
Zwerge" and "streitbar." They are, in addition, cannibals. Natives
willing to engage in Federmann's ritual of gift-giving are described in
neutral, if not positive tones; those who prefer nothing to do with
him are vilified and often killed in ensuing skirmishes.

We have seen that through the act of describing the "other,"
new and exotic lands and peoples of the New World, a picture of the
conquering European invader emerges. It is formed in contrast to
that which is described, and similar to the polarities presented by
duBois, the emerging self-definition is a series of "nots." The
newcomers are (in no particular order) not naked, not heathen, not
primitive or savage, not cannibal, not female. With the passing of
time, the lists continues; written by the Germans and English in order
to vilify the Spanish and create and perpetuate the "Black Legend," they define themselves as not Spanish and not Catholic.

The last mentioned pair has continued its long life in predominantly English-speaking North America and manifests itself in conceptions and stereotypes of Americans in particular concerning the inhabitants of lands South of the Border. Apart from the derisive term "little brown ones," inhabitants of the United States continue to define themselves and their culture with a similar list of perceived characteristics. They are, of course, in the main not Catholic and not Spanish-speaking. In addition, they wish themselves to be not lazy, not poverty-stricken, and in some cases, not Indian, or not dark-complexed.

These terms and stereotypes serve to separate people and societies one from the other. The Colombian José María Samper complained in 1861:

The European world has made more effort to study our volcanoes than our societies; it knows our insects better than our literature, the crocodile of our rivers better than the acts of our statesmen, and it has much more learning about how quinine bark is cut, or how hides are salted in Buenos Aires, than about the vitality of our infant democracy!°

This study has attempted to demonstrate, on the basis of examples from sixteenth-century travel literature, how these polarizations and dichotomies are created and perpetuated, often out of fear and desperation.

German travel texts served as the beginning of a study that became increasingly large and complex. Soon it became evident that
the themes and motifs I had intended to discuss in isolation were, in
reality, part of a much larger picture—the European effort of
colonization of the New World. It was clear that the German
contribution to this end could not be discussed in isolation, but rather
it must be seen as a small but important piece in the mosaic of New
World history. The German works of travel discussed through the
course of this investigation must also be seen in connection with the
similar works of art and cartography produced at the same time.
Indeed, the relationship between word and image is a close one, as
we have seen in the Munich Woodcut and in Staden's work, and
according to Harold Jantz, "something unexpected happened in the
Sixteenth Century."10 He explains:

Even though, in a physical sense, the Germans played a
relatively minor role in the exploration of America, in
contrast to the Italians, Spanish, and the Portuguese, the
French and English, nevertheless, iconographically, the
German contribution ranks first during the first century
of the discovery and exploration. Nearly all of the
earliest illustrations of American matters are German (in
the varied Columbus and Vespucci prints), the first of
high artistic quality are German (Dürer, Burgkmair,
Holbein), and the first larger series of authentic eye-
wit ness illustrations are German (Staden)" (Jantz 30-31).

While Jantz is correct in his assessment of the German contribution to
the visual arts in regard to the New World, he is only partially
correct in saying the Germans played a "relatively minor role" in the
exploration of America. Although the Welser enterprise was
shortlived, it produced the only literary documents we have of the
area from that particular time. And Jantz is completely incorrect, as
we have demonstrated above, in his assessment of Hans Staden.
Throughout the course of this investigation it became increasingly clear that works of travel served first to describe and explain differences, then to justify the presence of the invader. Travel literature serves to inform the reader, to be sure, but it also establishes power relationships and hierarchies between the visitor and the visited. Perhaps the most damning and prophetic statement encountered during the course of this study is a line from Philipp von Hutten's last letter: "[. . .] ich fürcht mehr den Krieg mit den Christen, [als mit] den Indiern, [. . .]" (HL 8 101), written before his death at the hands of renegade Spaniards.

The Welser enterprise in the New World came to an end for a variety of reasons. Even before the unfortunate deaths of Philipp von Hutten and Bartholomew Welser, the family was embroiled in a series of legal disputes with both the Spanish crown and unhappy New World colonists and miners who demanded free passage home. In addition, the Welsers faced ever-increasing competition from other nations for control and domination of newly-claimed New World territories. Finally, it seems, the Welsers realized that they could have little success as a family enterprise in direct competition with concerted national efforts of major powers, complete with governmental and financial backing.

While it is impossible to take much of these writings at face value, as has been demonstrated throughout this project, they are, nonetheless, important in our continuing process of personal and national self-definition. We see that the Spanish and Portuguese were not alone in their efforts in the New World. They were soon joined by the Germans, English, Dutch, and French. Every witness to
the opening up of the New World has his own particular story and perspective, and I have chosen to emphasize the German element in the colonial undertaking. If I have succeeded in inspiring the reader to further delving into the riches of South American lore and history in general, and to examining the literature of travel in particular, then I have accomplished my purpose.


3 Harff, Arnold, Ritter von, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight: from Cologne, through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France and Spain*, which he accomplished in the years 1496-1499, Trans. and ed. Malcolm Letts, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society; New Series 94 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1946). The work survives in various manuscripts, and while the dates are unknown, the work is believed to be based, in part, on the German *Pilgerbuch* printed by Stephan Planck in Rome in 1489 (Letts xviii).


5 Adam Olearius, *Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung Der Muscowitischen vnd Persischen Reyse: Schleswig 1656*, Ed. Dieter Lohmeier, Deutsche Neudrucke, Reihe: Barock 21 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag,
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Note on the Bibliography: The Bibliography has been divided into two sections. The first, Primary Sources, contains references to the travel narratives of Federmann, Hutten, and Neukomm, Columbus, Sahagún, and Cabeza de Vaca, Staden, Schmidel, and Ralegh, as well as historical and sociological works that were influential in establishing the theoretical framework of the dissertation. The second consists of references to other sources, books, and articles consulted or referred to in the body of the dissertation.

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The Munich Woodcut (1505)
Appendix 1

Excerpt from the German translation (1501) of Vespucci's third voyage

The following abbreviations have been resolved: the macron over "e" has been transcribed as "en" or "em," the tilde over the "n" as "nd." Umlauts have been used. While the single bar appears within the text to indicate punctuation, the double bar denoting type line endings has not been used. Editorial remarks appear within square brackets.

[A3r, 1.6] Ein volck sach ich ein milt güttig und hantweisig. Und gond alle nackend beyde weyb und man / Und gantz on bedeckung yr leiben an ellen enden / Wie sie auß muter leib kumen also gen sie byß das sie gesterben / Dan sie seind groß von leib vierschrotig [?] wol geschickt / guter schöner gelid maß und geferbt etlicher maß gegen rotem das ich mein dise von der ursach kumen das sie nackend geen und von der sonnen bescheinen also geferbt werden sie haben auch weit und groß harlöck und schwartz Sie sind mit irem gang und mit spyl treiben detig und gering und güttiger schöner antlytzen die sie doch inen selbs heslich machen und ungestalt dan sie poren inen selbs löcher yn die packen di mundlefftzen und die nasen und die oren / Du solt auch nit gedencken das solche löcher klain sein oder sie eins allein haben dan ich etlich gesehen hab die in iren antlytzen allein siben löcher der yetzliches so groß was das ein krichen wol in eins gen möchten / Sie verstossen inen selbs solche löcher mit blaben [blaBen] steinen / Cristallen Marmor und Alabaster
gar hübsch und schön und mit weysem gebein und mit andern
dingen so mit künsten gemacht werden nach ir gewonheyt und
gebrauch Und ob du also sehest ein so frembd ungewont ding
grossem seltzam wunderliche / Namlich einen menschen der do hat
in den packen allein und in den lefftzen siben stein der etlicher in
der lenng einer halben span du würst nit on groß verwunderung sein
/ Dan ich hab Dick wargenumen und über schetzt / Das siben
sollicher stein am gewicht haben xvi. lot über und on das in
yeglichen oren die mit dreyen löchern durch stochen sind / Sie noch
ander stein tragen die in rinngen hangen und disse weyß und sitten
ist allein der manen / Dan die frauen zestechen inen selbs ir antlytz
nit also mit löcherung dan allein die oren / Ein ander sitt und weyß
ist auch under und bey inen genug abweysig / Und wider alle
menschliche glaubung / Das ir frauen die eben gelüstig und gayl
seind / und iren manen machen das inen ire peiich geschwelen in
solcher über mestung das sie ungestalt unnd schmechlich erscheinen
und dz thon sie mit etwas funden und zunahung etlicher gyfftigen
thieren / Und von solcher sach geschicht das inen vil ir gemecht
verlieren die inen von mangels wegen der artzney faulen und
beleyben on gemecht Sie [i.e. the people as a whole] haben kein tuech
noch deck weder leines noch baumwolles / Dan sie es nit bedürffen
und haben kein eygen gut / Sunder alle ding seind inen gemein / Sie
leben alle sampt on ein König vnd on ein gebieter vnd ist ir yeglicher
ym selbs eyn [A3V] Herr-so und weiber nemen sie souund [so vil?]
sie wollen Und der sun mit der muter und der bruder mit der
schwester und der erst mit der ersten und der begegner mitt der
begegneten vereinigen sich Als dick als sie wollen scheiden sie die
vermehlichten ee / Und halten in solchen gantz kein ordnung /
Darumb haben sie keinen tempel und halten kein gesatz und seind
nit abgotter / Wz soll ich mer sagen / Sie leben nach der natur dz sie
wol epicuri-bauchfuller genantwerden mügen dan senici / Bey inen
sind kein kaufleüüt noch kauffmans gut / Die scharen des volcks
haben auch krieg / Und on kunst und ordnung / Ir eltern mit iren
rethen und gepoten underbiegen die jungen zue thun wz sie wollen /
Und rüsten sich zustreiten yn solichem sie einander graussamlich zu
tod schlahlen / Und welche sie also im krieg und streit fahen die
furen sie hyn damit das sie die bey leben lassen sunder inen selbs
behalten das sie davon mestigen [i.e. mästen, or metzen] / Und sie
essen dan einer den andern der do obligt den der underligt essen
Und under anderm fleysch ist inen menschen fleysch gemeinlich ir
speyß / Dyser ding aber solt du gewyß sein das diser zeiten gesehen
ist dz der vater seyn sun und sein gemahel gessen hat Und ich hab
einen gekenet mit dem ich auch selbs geredt von dem sie sagten das
er mer dan von dreyhundert menschen leiben geessen hat / Und bin
in einer stat gestanden siben undzweintzig tag da ich gesehen hab in
den heüsern gesalzen menschen fleysch und auff gehenchckt zu derren
/Wie dan bey uns gewohnheit ist / speck und schweine fleysch
auffzehencken / Mer sag ich darbey das sie sich verwundern
warumb wir nit unser veind fleysch essen und in unser speyß
brauchen / Dan sie sprechen dz solichs dz aller wol geschmacktest
best fleysch sey / Ir waffen sein pogen und pfeyl / Und wen sie zu
dem streyt eylend so bedecken sie ir leib an keinen enden fur
bewarung also gar und yn demstück besunder seind sie den
unvernunftigen thieren gleich / [. . .] Sie leben [A4r] wol hundert und
fünfftzig jar und werden selten kranck / [. . .]
Appendix 2

Biographical information and name variants of frequently-mentioned German figures.

Dalfinger, Ambrosius (also Thalfinger, and Ambrosio Alfinger, or Alfinger) of Ulm, Representative of Welser interests at the court of Charles V in Madrid. Appointed as first Statthalter of the new colony and arrived in Coro in early 1529. Led two expeditions into the interior in 1530 and 1532; native populations fared poorly under his hand. He died in 1532 of complications resulting from an arrow shot through his throat.

Ehinger, Heinrich (also Inger, Einguer, El Inguer), Representative, along with brothers Johannes and Georg, of Welser interests in Spain; his name appears on numerous documents, where the Welser are not even mentioned. Arnold Federmann mistakenly conflates the personages of Dalfinger and Ambrosius Ehinger into a single person. He writes: "[. . .] Ambrosius - er wird in den Quellen bald Ehinger, Inger, Alfinger, Dalfinger, Thalfinger genannt und war entweder Bruder des Heinrich und des Georg Ehinger oder stammte aus der in Ulm gut bezeugten Familie Dalfinger - [. . .]" (25). Arciniegas (1943) makes a similar mistake in conflating the personages of Ehinger and Dalfinger, and he gives another variant of Dalfinger as "Lespinger" (49). The preponderence of historical documentation overwhelmingly supports the existence of the Ehinger brothers (negotiators and
businessmen) and Dalfinger as separate and distinct individuals.

Federmann, Nicolas (also Nicolás Féderman, or Fédreman) of Ulm, arrived in Venezuela in spring 1530, shortly before Dalfinger returned from his first expedition. He described his first expedition made 1530-31 in his Indianische Historia, published in 1557 after his death. He undertook other expeditions into the interior, and served for a time as Statthalter during Dalfinger's absence.

Hohermut, Georg (or Hochermuth, sometimes Hohermut von Speier, and Jorge de Espira, Jorge Espira, or Spira) arrived 1535 with Philipp von Hutten and Nicolas Federmann, returning from a brief trip home, in Coro. Appointed Statthalter after the death of Hans Seissenhofer (or Seissehoffer, also Johann der Deutsche, or Juan Alemán). He mounted an expedition into the interior 1535-38 with Philipp von Hutten, and appointed Federmann to serve as Statthalter in his absence. He returned to Coro with less than half his group and died before in 1540 he could depart on a second trek.

Hutten, Phillip von (also Felipe Utén, Utre, Urre, Dutre) of the Steckelberg line of the Hutten family. Grew up at the court of Charles V, and departed for Venezuela with Bartholomäus Welser (the younger) in 1535. He accompanied Hohermut on his 1535-58 expedition and recorded his observations in a journal (later published) and letters to his family. After Hohermut's death, Hutten was appointed General-Kapitän of Venezuela until a new Governor could be chosen. In 1541 he
departed on an expedition into the interior where, in 1546, he was attacked and beheaded, along with Bartholomäus Welser, by Spanish renegades.

**Martin, Stephan** (or Esteban Martín), arrived in Venezuela as a young man and spent much time among the native peoples and learned their languages and ways. He accompanied Hohermut and Hutten on the 1535-38 expedition, and Hutten describes his mediating function, his importance in scouting the surrounding area, and his eventual death by strangulation.

**Neukomm, Titus** (also Tito), of Lindau, worked for the Welser in Seville, traveled to Santo Domingo in a Fugger vessel, and from there to Coro. His only written document is a letter written 6 September 1535 to his mother, and which contains numerous details of native life in the Coro region. Neukomm does not appear in the ADB since his letter was discovered and published first in 1907. He is, however, accorded a brief entry in Ismael Silva Montañes, *Hombres y mujeres del siglo XVI venezolano* tomo 3 (Caracas: Fuentes para la Historia Colonial de Venezuela, 1983) 300.