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From Alterity to Allegory: Depictions of Cannibalism on Early European Maps of the New World



James Walker

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Depictions of Cannibalism on Early European
Maps of the New World

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Foreword

The Philip Lee Phillips Map Society of the Library of Congress is a national support group that has been established to stimulate interest in the Geography and Map Division's cartographic and geographic holdings and to further develop its collections through financial donations, gifts, and bequests. The Phillips Map Society publishes a journal dedicated to the study of maps and collections held in the Division known as *The Occasional Papers*. This installment focuses on images of cannibals on early European maps of the New World.

I heard Dr. James Walker, the author, deliver a version of this paper while attending a conference at the Society for the History of Discoveries in Tampa, Florida in 2013. I was impressed with his discussion of a wide range of cartographic sources, including a number of important holdings in the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress. He synthesized an array of cartographic works and thoughtfully commented on how the imagery on the borders of the early European maps of the New World presented a false impression of both the land and people that was believed to be true by many Europeans. Dr. Walker reminded the audience how maps, especially wall-sized maps, were considered encyclopedic sources of information. Such is the testament to the power of the printed word and more so to the power of the printed image that they can shape one's view of the world. This fact is one of many compelling reasons that we are fascinated by maps.

During that weekend, I was meeting with the Phillips Map Society Steering Committee. Thomas J. Touchton, a long-standing member and great contributor to our group's interests, arranged for the Steering Committee to gather at SHD. It was there that Dr. Walker was suggested as a new Steering Committee member, as well as Robert David, the current director of the Miami International Map Fair. (A position previously held by Joseph Fitzgerald, a founding

and respected member of the Steering Committee, who recently retired from the board.) Both gentleman have a great fascination for maps, and we moved to “recruit” them. Their contributions, as those of all members, help our group thrive and prosper. With that thought in mind, while each one of us is on the lookout for the next compelling map to research or collect, we should also be watchful for new members who possess the desire to learn, collect, and even write about maps. These are the qualities that motivate members of the Phillips Map Society.

Ralph E. Ehrenberg
Chief, Geography and Map Division

Preface

My collecting and research interests in maps are derived from how early European maps of the “New World” served not only the purpose of detailing geography, but how these maps presented the point of view of their European makers. When European map readers learned of discoveries, as in newly discovered from the European perspective, they were assimilating Eurocentric political and ideological concepts associated with these lands. The earliest published texts of exploration and discovery addressed geography, the culture and customs of native peoples, and potential resources. They illustrated European imperial aspirations and helped to establish and reinforce stereotypes of indigenous peoples, particularly as cannibals. Eurocentric worldviews appeared in place names, such as New Spain or New France, which imparted a European right to sovereignty. Map legends identified resources that Europeans wished to acquire. Even the seemingly innocuous decorative features on maps, such as ships, ethnographic images, and cartouches, when placed near unfamiliar landscapes, enabled mapmakers to image the New World as a place that would belong to Europeans; in doing so, indigenous peoples were shown as inferiors -- those “others” who were fascinating and yet bestial. The following article draws from the work of many scholars who have described this phenomenon.

I extend my appreciation to Ralph Ehrenberg and the Philip Lee Phillips Map Society for the opportunity to prepare this article and to Ms. June Black at the University of Oregon for her assistance in procuring several of the images.

James Walker, M.D.
Steering Committee
Phillips Map Society

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From Alterity to Allegory

Introduction

From the time of the first accounts of Christopher Columbus, the attribution of cannibalism to the native peoples of the land that became known as The Americas emerged as one of the most resilient themes on maps of the “New World” throughout the sixteenth century. The genesis was a letter that Christopher Columbus sent to the Spanish monarchy in March 1493 that reported on his voyage to a land he believed was Asia. Interest in Columbus’ voyage was great. Within a year, the letter had been published in twelve editions and three languages.¹ While on his expedition, Columbus had received reports about a native people who allegedly kidnapped and ate their captives. These accounts were given by the Arawaks, a people who lived on the island known in the present-day as Puerto Rico; however, these accounts were not independently verified by Columbus’ party.² Nonetheless, Columbus recorded the claim in his journal on November 23, 1492, and with that entry, the word *cannibal* became a part of the European lexicon.³ One version of the word’s origin is that “cariba” (generally thought to mean “bold” or “valiant man”) was a self-descriptive term used by the native people who lived to the south of the Arawaks. The Arawaks, who accused the aforementioned group of eating human flesh, corrupted the name to “caniba.”⁴ Europeans quickly adopted a pejorative association of man-eating with the word “carib,” and thereafter designated any alleged practitioner of human-flesh eating as a “Carib.” Indeed, the etymology of the word “Caribbean” may be understood as “sea of cannibals.”

In July of 1493, Columbus returned to the New World, and his contingent allegedly encountered cannibals during forays into villages on present-day Guadeloupe and later, on other islands in the present-day Lesser Antilles. Columbus’ physician, Dr. Chanca, wrote and circulated a letter with this dubious information, although its contents were very much believed at

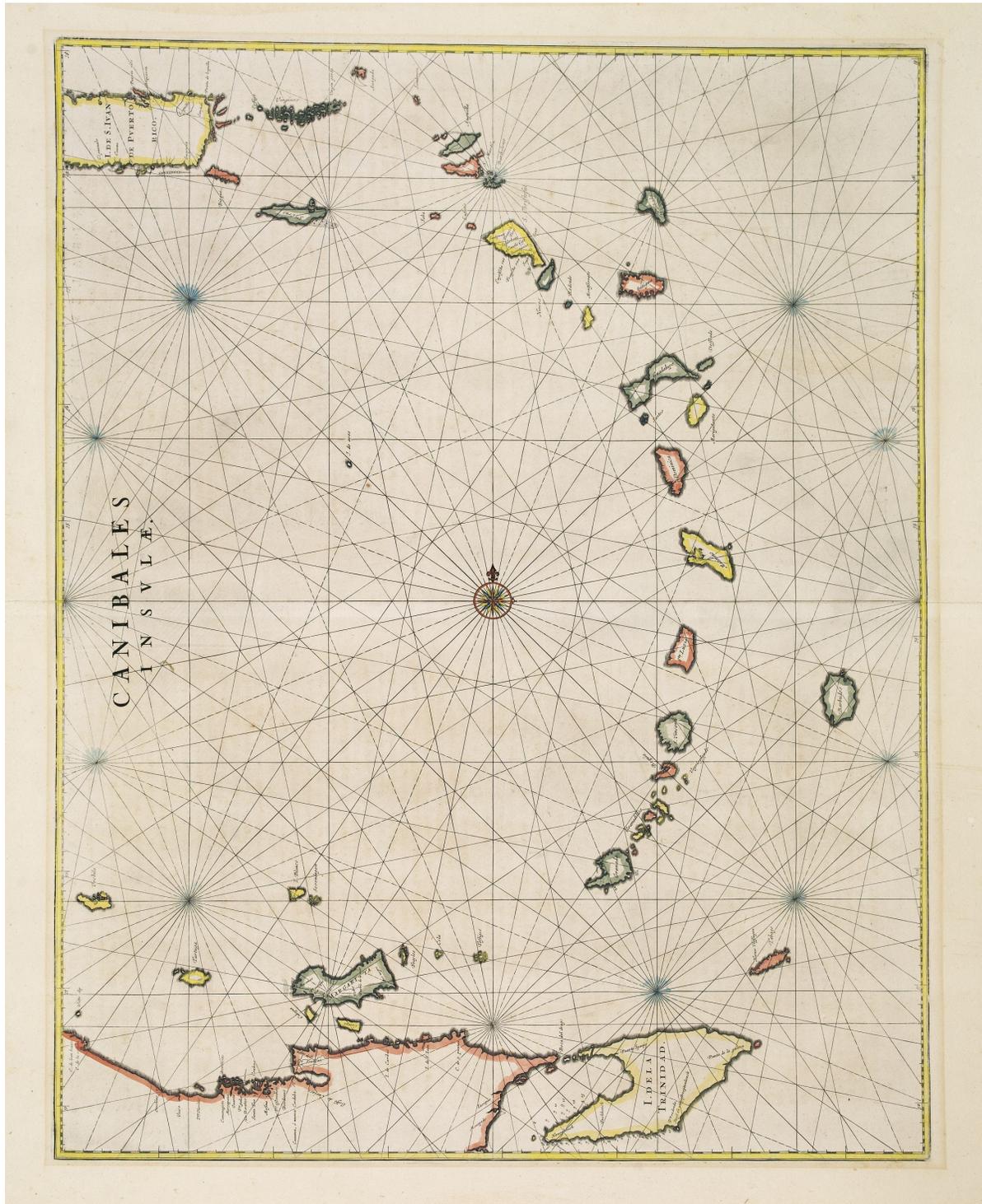


Figure 1

the time. A second-hand report by Nicolò Syllacio to the Duke of Milan in late 1494 repeated the story of cannibalism.⁵ Syllacio noted: “[In a village on Guadeloupe] a large number of Indians [were] fixed on spits and roasted over hot coals... while many bodies lay in heaps, minus heads and limbs.” These letters strengthened the link between the Lesser Antilles and practitioners of cannibalism.

The reports became accepted facts in Europe. In 1511, the first chronicler of the history of the Indies, Peter Martyr d’Anghiera, referred to the present-day Antilles as the “Cannibal Islands.”⁶ The name began to appear on maps, such as one published in 1662 by Joan Blaeu in Amsterdam. **Figure 1** In 1688, Vincenzo Coronelli and Jean Nolin published a map of the West Indies that noted the presence of warrior cannibals near Dominica.⁷

Cannibals on the Edge of Civilization

Amerigo Vespucci greatly expanded the association of cannibals with the New World. He authored accounts of cannibalism among the native populations, known as the Tupi or Tupinamba, who were living along the present-day coast of Brazil. These stories were circulated more widely than the preceding accounts by Columbus. Vespucci said of the native peoples: “They are a warlike people... the enemy dead they cut up and eat... one of their men confessed to me that he had eaten of the flesh of more than 200 bodies...”⁸ The European readership seemed to believe these extraordinary accounts. Readers, in fact, generally did not question Vespucci’s shadowy claims of participating in six voyages to the New World nor his authorship of the popular *Mundas Novus* of 1504.⁹

It is likely Vespucci’s reports sparked a kind of morbid interest in cannibalism given that Europeans considered it as the most abhorrent of acts. The association of it with native

persons in the New World sealed their fate, and Europeans moved to eliminate it. In 1503, Queen Isabella commanded that: “I give license and power to all and sundry persons who may go by my orders to the Islands and Tierra Firme... that if said Cannibals continue to resist... they may be captured and taken to these my Kingdoms and Domains and to other parts and places and be sold.” The order legalized enslavement of native peoples who resisted European authority. Although slavery was already being practiced, the order contributed to the vast depopulation of the Greater and Lesser Antilles and Bahamas by the end of the next decade.¹⁰

Queen Isabella’s edict was of no surprise, as it reflected a European mindset that had been shaped by two thousand years of textual and pictorial narrative of cannibalism, also known as *anthropophagi*. Although these words have differences, practically speaking, they were understood to mean the same thing; however, cannibal emerged as the dominant term, which was part of literary tradition that dated from antiquity.¹¹ Some of the notions that Queen Isabella had drawn upon were depicted in many *mappae mundi*, such as the early thirteenth century “Psalter” world map. It illustrated many of the alleged monstrous races who were often arranged along the fringes of Africa, including an image of a man-eater. In almost all of these accounts, cannibalism existed on the periphery of civilization, such as in India, Scythia, and Ethiopia.¹²

Therefore, it is not surprising that cannibalism was the most sensationalized of the all the alleged practices of native populations. Other allegations included sodomy, incest, polygamy, infanticide, nakedness, and the eating of insects. Thus, two thousand years of classical and medieval discourse had established for Queen Isabella and other Europeans that cannibalism defined the “other” as savage, barbaric, heretical, and above all, not European.

Man on the Spit

Perhaps the first image of a cannibal in the Americas was a woodcut that accompanied one of the editions of Vespucci's letter published in Augsburg ca. 1505. **Figure 2** Features of partial nudity, feather headdress and skirt, leg bands, and armaments were all described by Vespucci, but the principal subject of the illustration was cannibalism. The butcher-shop-like atmosphere of dismembered limbs strongly reinforced Vespucci's narrative.¹³ The association between native people and cannibalism was linked to a place on the map.¹⁴ By the latter half of the sixteenth century, there was some debate in Europe about a broader understanding of cannibalism as ritualized ceremony.¹⁵

Mapmakers played a very important role in transmitting this stereotype. Maps are a form of discourse, like text, and they imparted information about the New World and its inhabitants. Especially relevant to the armchair traveler, world and hemispheric maps provided a "spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, and events in the human world."¹⁶ Mapmakers conveyed this knowledge with text, toponyms, and images. In 1506, an anonymous Portuguese mapmaker drew parts of South America that was beginning to be understood as a separate continent from Asia. **Figure 3** Known as the *Kunstmänn II*, this perhaps was the first map to illustrate cannibalism in the New World. The infamous image of the "man on the spit," which the mapmaker placed along the coast of present-day Brazil, was derived from Vespucci's graphic description of the alleged murder and roasting of one of his crew.¹⁷

Martin Waldseemüller's iconic *Universalis Cosmographia* published in Strasbourg in 1507 is best known for the introduction of Amerigo Vespucci's feminized first name, America, on the southern continent. Noteworthy to this discussion was Waldseemüller's identification of the "dreaded cannibals" along the coast of present-day Brazil. The German cartographer, work-



Diese figure aussagt uns das velt vnd in sel die gefunden ist durch den christlichen künig zu Portugal oder von seinen vnderthonen. Die leüt sind also nackent hütsch. biann wolgestalt von leb. it heißet
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 Vnd die mann haben drey weyber welche in gefallen. es sy mütere. schweste. oder secunde. dajnn haben sy mit vnder schayd. Sy steeyen auch mit ainander. Sy essen auch ainander selbs die erschlagen
 w edar vnd henken das selbig fleisch in den tanch. Sy werden alt hundert vnd fünfzig iat. Vnd hat in kein regiment.

Figure 2



Figure 3

ing with a very limited number of sources on the New World, relied on Vespucci's reports, which he believed were factual.

Figure 4 The act of naming something is a powerful element of mapmaking that often contributes both a descriptive and possessive understanding of the person, place, or thing being named. In this case, the word cannibal was unusual, because it incorporated three meanings or concepts – a people, a practice, and a place.

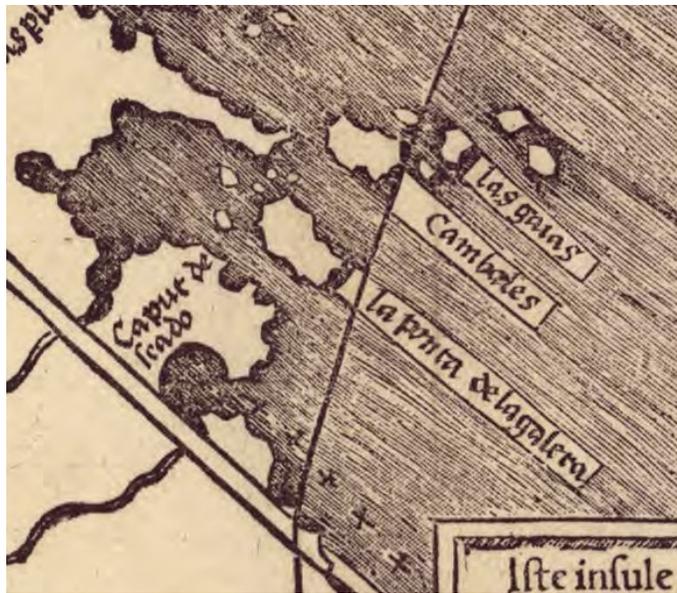


Figure 4

In 1507, Johann Ruysch's world map published in Rome reflected uncertainty in the geographic relationship between the New World and Asia. In the region of the southern Caribbean islands, Ruysch identified the location of cannibals. **Figure 5** At this point in history, maps often incorporated a great deal of explanatory text, and Ruysch borrowed information about the

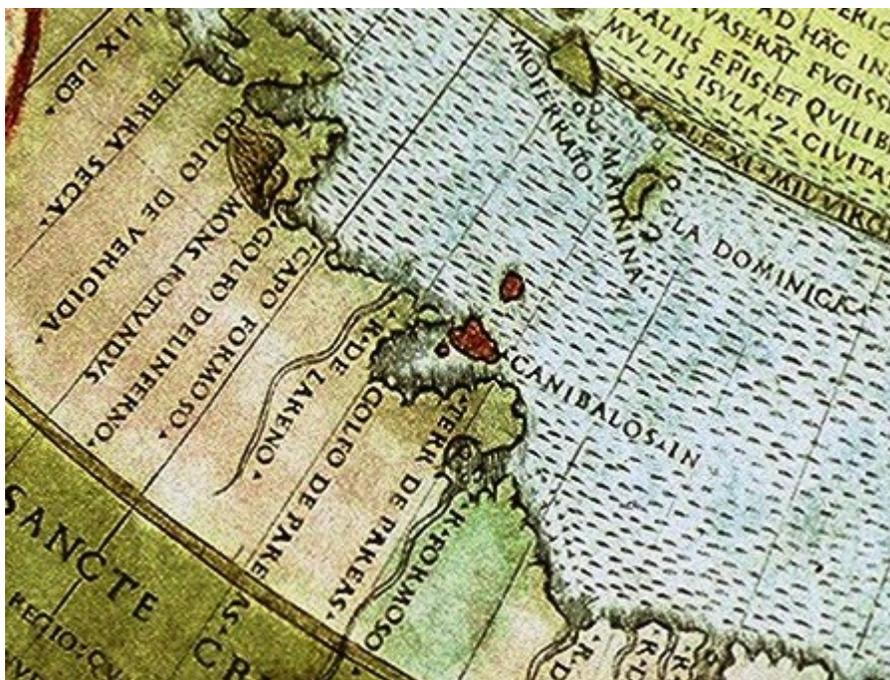


Figure 5

inhabitants from Vespucci to elaborate upon his map. In a map legend for South America, he wrote: "The men and women go either naked or adorned with interwoven fibers of wood and birds' feathers...they have no reli-

gion and no king; they wage war among themselves continually. They devour flesh that of captives in war.”¹⁸

Similarly on Waldseemüller’s 1513 *Tabula Terre Nove*, known as the



Figure 6

“Admiral’s Map,” the location of cannibals was fixed just below the

Equator along the northern coast of South America. **Figure 6** In 1516, Waldseemüller’s magnificent wall map, the *Carta Marina*, was perhaps the first printed map to illustrate scenes of cannibalism in the region of present-day Brazil. Text on the map concerning this area can be translated to mean the land where the *anthropophagi* live. **Figure 7**

In 1521, the expedition of Hernán Cortés to present-day Mexico reinforced the associa-

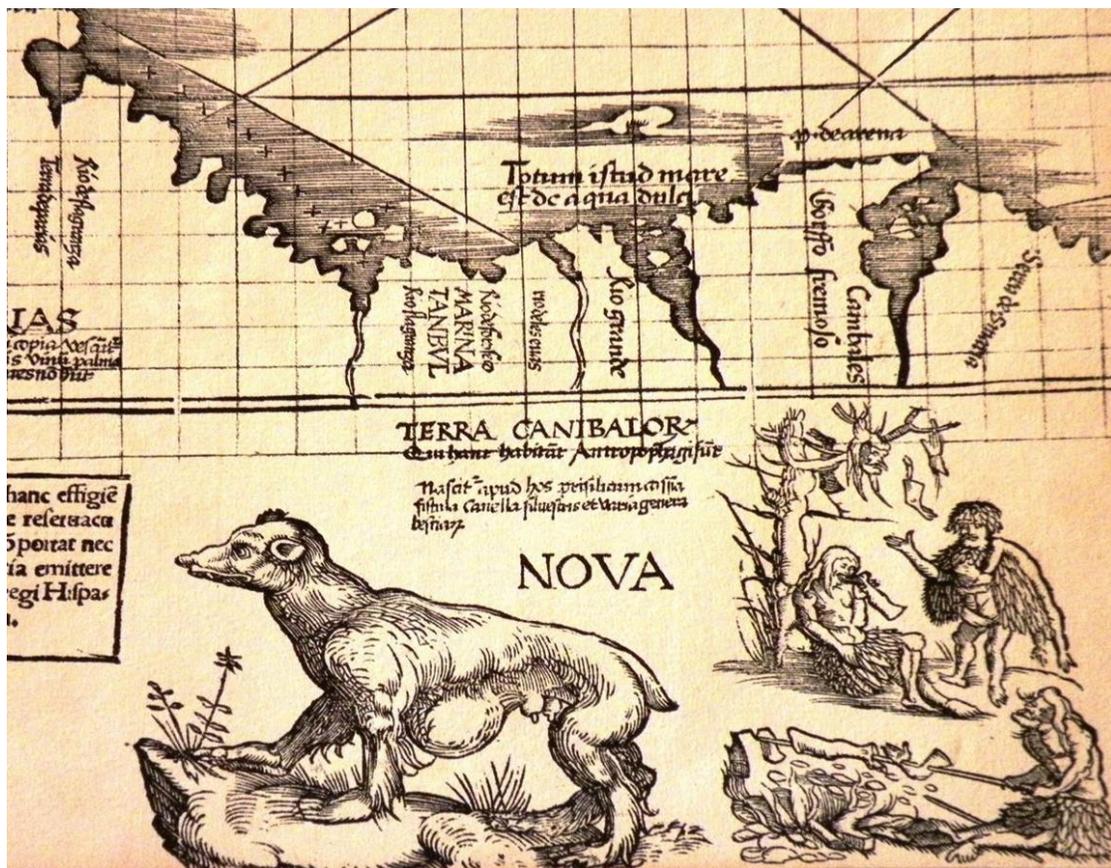


Figure 7

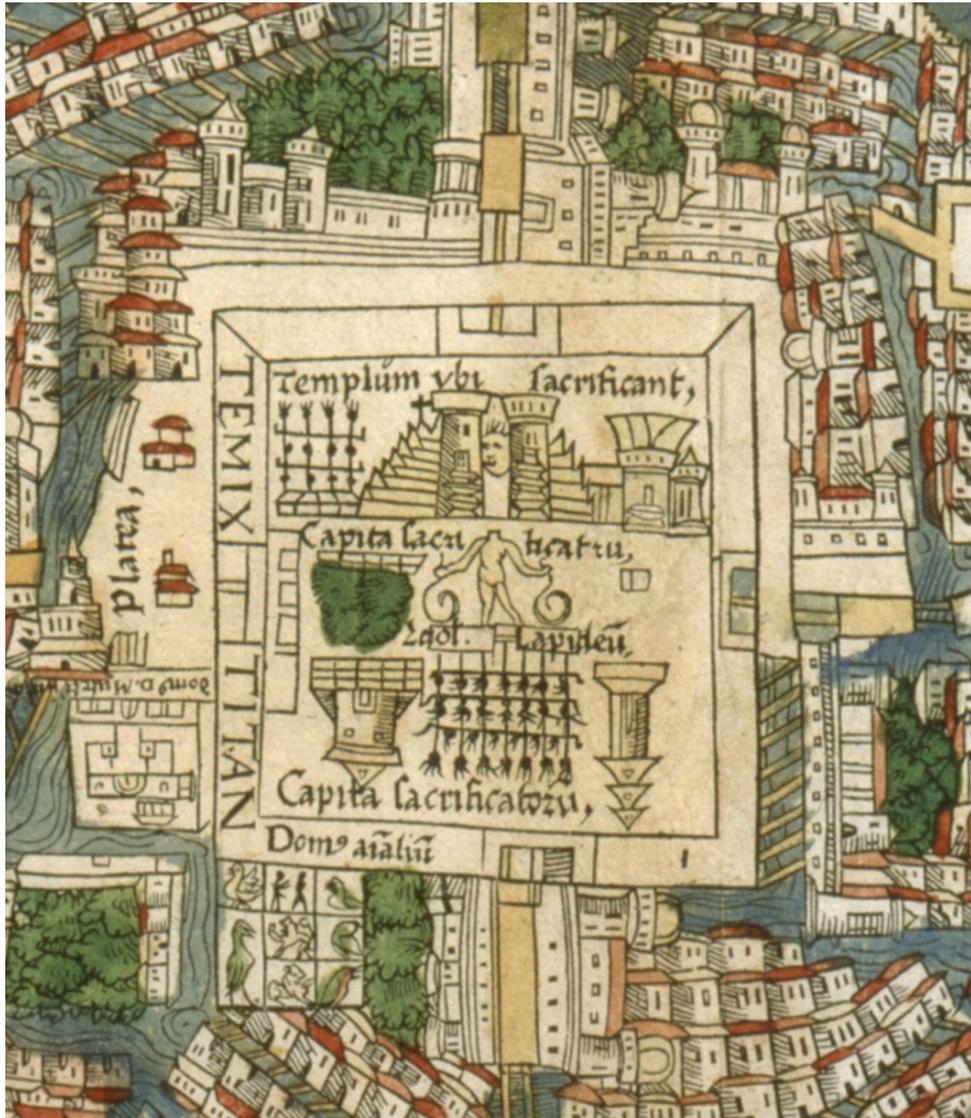


Figure 8

tion of cannibalism with the New World, and hence subsequent representations of cannibals on maps. Cortés reported that his party observed human sacrifice and ritual cannibalism among the Aztecs to which Europeans reacted harshly and acted to extinguish.¹⁹ Cortés' account was preserved in his communications with the Hapsburg Emperor Charles V. Cortés' second letter to the king, originally written in 1520, was published in Nuremberg in 1524, and some copies were accompanied by a map. The map is recognized as the first published cartographic representation of a city in the New World. It showed the layout of the Aztec capital Tenochtitlan (called *Temixlian* on the map) that was situated in the middle of Lake Texcoco, including the Temple of Teocalli and the Temple Mayor shown in a perspective view. In his letter, Cortés expressed his wonder and admiration for the city's design, architecture, and grandeur. The view suggested a geometrically ordered metropolis, one of the markers of European civilization.²⁰ Yet the prominent central temple convincingly illustrated the sacrificial practices of the Aztecs. Specifically, a decapitated victim flanked by two skull racks. **Figure 8**

There was no equivocation about the barbarism that Cortés described along with the punishment that he meted out against the alleged practitioners of the rituals. The two aforementioned images, the epitome of architectural elegance and human cruelty, superbly illustrated the dual nature of Spanish understanding of the New World that began with the accounts of Columbus. It was a place that was desirable, glorious, and civilized (to an extent); yet hellish, dangerous, and barbarous.

In 1532, the woodcut map, *Typus Cosmographicus Universalis*, further cemented the connection of cannibalism with the New World. The map was published in Basel and attributed to Sebastian Münster; however, it was Hans Holbein, one of the great German artists of the century, who may have designed and cut the corner elements and central figures.²¹ It would be



Figure 9

noteworthy enough to mention the two angels turning a crank, upon which the earth rotates that suggested the artist had knowledge of Nicolaus Copernicus' heliocentric theory eleven years before Copernicus published his treatise in 1543; however, of concern to this paper are Holbein's prototypes of allegories of the four continents located in the corners on the map. In the lower left corner, under a descriptive banner, is an image of a full spectrum of cannibal activity in proximity to South America. **Figure 9**

The idea was echoed in diplomatic maps that outlined treaties between European powers. A case in point is Diego Gutiérrez's map of the western hemisphere, a cartographic treasure of The Library of Congress. Gutiérrez was the cosmographer in the Casa de la Contratación in Seville, Spain from 1554 to 1569. His map was engraved and published in 1562 in Amsterdam by Hieronymus Cock.²² It was the largest engraved map of the New World at that time, and as noted by the former head of the Geography and Map Division of The Library of Congress, Dr. John Hébert, it was produced with the intent to serve as a diplomatic map. The striking cartographic work affirmed the allegiance of Spain and France in a recent treaty and clearly delineated Spanish sovereignty and dominion in the New World. The map was arguably the last printed Spanish map to appear for nearly a century, which was a statement of imperial ambition and documentation of what was both known and imagined about the geography and peoples of the New World. Among the rich imagery were scenes of cannibals that included the infamous man-on-spit. **Figure 10**

Mapmakers from the famous Dieppe school in Normandy also generated stunning artistic renditions of native peoples on their manuscripts. A map showing cannibal activity was included in the *Universal Cosmography* of Guillaume Testu in 1556. Another well-known cannibal scene appeared on a map painted by Jacques de Vau de Claye in 1579.²³



Figure 10

What is most revealing during this roughly 150 years or so, is that while geography on maps changed to incorporate the latest explorers' accounts, the repetition of unchanging imagery of cannibalism contributed to the perpetuation of the stereotype of native people as savage and uncivilized. Historian Michael Palencia-Roth observed that "...the elaboration and re-elaboration of very little material can go a long way toward creating a pervasive cultural image."²⁴



Figure 11

Non-European Mapmakers and Cannibalism

European authored maps influenced a few mapmakers in the Ottoman Empire and Asia who incorporated second-hand knowledge of native peoples of the New World into their own cartographic representations of the world. The Ottoman admiral Piri Reis drew a nautical chart of the world for presentation to Sultan Suleiman I in 1513. Reis placed along the South American coastline representatives of the fabled monstrous races of antiquity, including the *Blemmyes*, persons whose heads lay within their chests, and *Cynocephali*, people with the head of a dog.²⁵ **Figure 11**

Columbus was clearly a source of inspiration for the Ottoman mapmaker.²⁶ Reis included many annotations on his 1513 map, and notably, two of them indicated that his sources of information included a map recovered from a Spanish slave who claimed to have sailed with Columbus on several voyages. Another inscription also related to alleged Spanish encounters with cannibals.²⁷ It is tempting, therefore, to suggest that Reis may have transferred the location of the *Cynocephalus*, who were mentioned by Columbus, from the Lesser Antilles to present-day Brazil, where the widely read accounts of Vespucci alleged that the practice of cannibalism took place.

This cross-cultural borrowing of cartographic information also occurred in the Far East. Anonymous Jesuit-trained Japanese artists painted a magnificent eight paneled folding screen, likely between 1610 and 1614, that is now part of the collection of the Museum of the Imperial Collections in Tokyo. The work is titled *Twenty Eight Cities of the World*. The screen map was likely based on a 1606 printed world map by Willem Blaeu in Amsterdam.²⁸ The inset in the South Atlantic depicts a cannibal feast that suggests cannibal activity on the nearby South American continent. **Figure 12** This particular inset is somewhat unique when compared to other works of Japanese cartography of that era. Several Japanese painted screens from the sixteenth century included an hierarchical arrangement of peoples of the world. Races identified as superior were placed above other peoples.



Figure 12

Scholars speak of this model as a sort of “visual taxonomy” by the Japanese to tabulate or systemize the knowledge of residents of other regions.²⁹ The inset of cannibals is set apart from the other figures on the screen in order to bring emphasis to this particular theme. The likely origin of this cannibal scene was Theodore de Bry’s *Grand Voyages*. Both the Japanese screen and the Reis map are fascinating examples of information transfer from Europe to other cultures.

America as an Allegory and Cannibalism

In 1570, the great Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius published his atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* with a title page that combined historical information with innovative geographical metaphor, including the first allegorical representation of America pictured holding a severed head. Scholars disagree about who engraved this image, but with slight modifications, this title page was used in approximately 7,500 copies of the thirty-one editions of this atlas published in multiple languages from 1570 to 1612.³⁰ In the text that accompanied the title page, Adolf van Meetkercke described the image of America: “[She] is sitting completely naked... in her right hand, she holds a wooden club with which she kills the obese and fattened prisoners of war. She roasts their bodies, torn to quivering pieces... or she boils them... she devours the limbs, still raw and freshly slain... the limbs still warm, quiver under the teeth... what barbarous impiety does this mean? What contempt of supreme powers!”³¹ The lurid prose of van Meetkercke contrasted with the languid pose of the semi-naked figure on the title page. The combination further imparted the understanding of America as a place that was both desirable and dangerous.³² **Figure 13**

The likely source for Ortelius’ image was the travel account of the German adventurer Hans Staden, whose nine month captivity among the Tupinamba was published in 1557 and was a bestseller throughout Europe.³³ Ortelius’ allegorical image, however, greatly expanded the geographical dimensions of Staden’s experience – and that of Columbus and Vespucci – by what anthropologist Frank Lestrigitant has defined as *Tupinambazation*, which is “the process... of extending the ethnic and cultural traits of the Tupinamba Indians [in Brazil] to all the native peoples of the New World.”³⁴

Within a few years of the *Theatrum*’s first publication, engravers, painters, and other

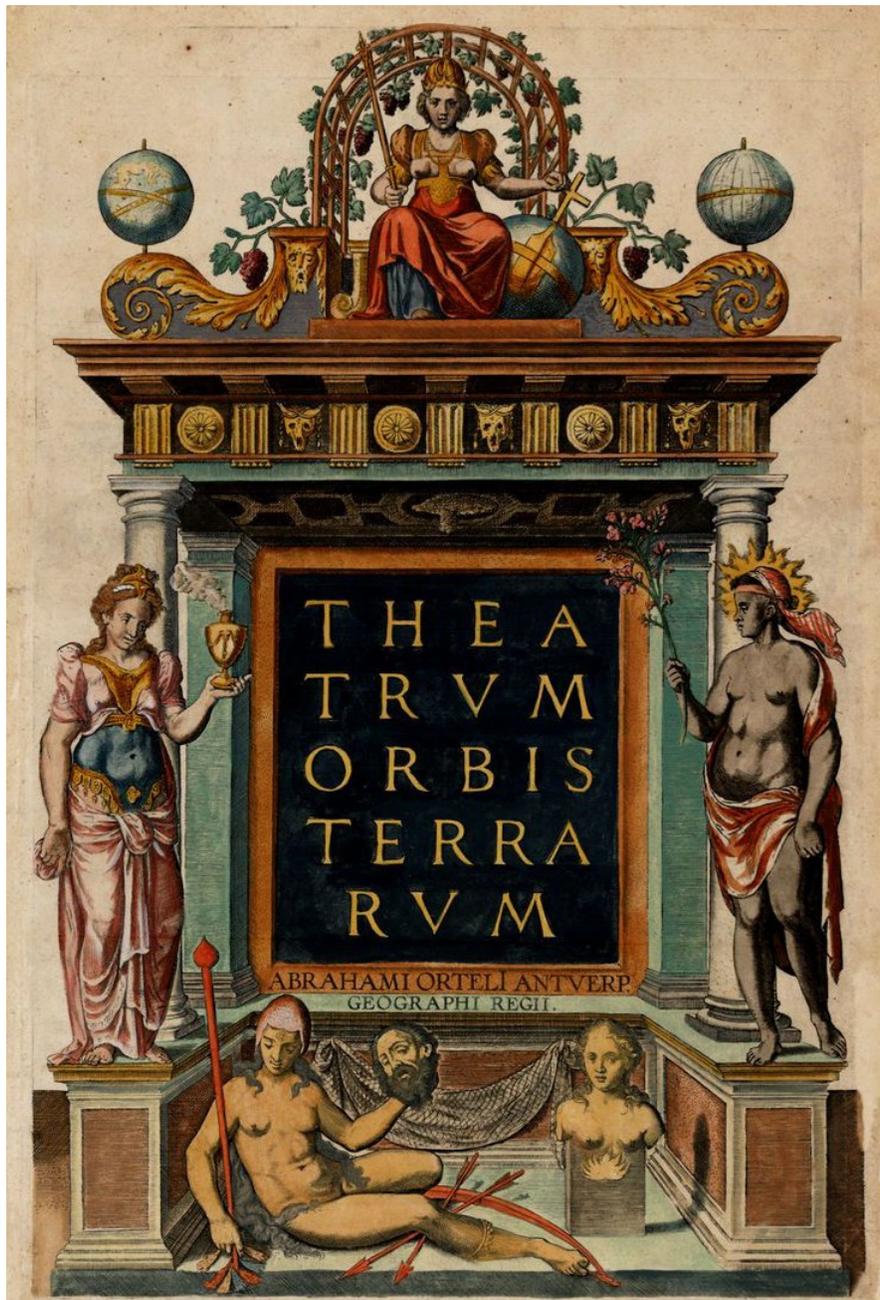


Figure 13

mapmakers adopted Ortelius' novel iconography and allegorized images of the continents, which appeared on large numbers of maps and non-geographic prints and paintings well into the mid-seventeenth century. In 1581, the prominent Antwerp engraver and printer, Philip Galle, published a representation of America carrying a Tupinamba-like war club and severed head.³⁵ In 1589, the Florence-based artist Jan van der Stradanus drew the well-known image of Vespucci awakening America with an elaborate background cannibal scene, which included America wearing the same style of head cap as worn by the figure on the Ortelius' title page.³⁶

Europeans believed that the conversion of native peoples to Christianity would end cannibalism, and the notion was reflected in art. In 1595, the notable Veronese painter Paolo Fari-nati painted a dramatic fresco of America, in this case personified as a man, holding a cross and looking away from a roasted torso to cast his gaze upon the cross.³⁷ And perhaps the most influential of all the allegorical images to follow Ortelius' example was a 1603 illustrated edition of Caesare Ripa's *Iconology* that depicted a pierced severed head at the feet of America.³⁸

Maps were an important source of this kind of allegorical representation of the continents. In 1594, Petrus Plancius published in Amsterdam a folio-sized world map. In one of the corners a Mexican and a Peruvian, both meant to personify America, posed in front of an elaborately prepared cannibal feast. **Figures 14 & 15** In 1604, Josua van den Ende engraved a large wall map of the world that is held by the National Library of France. At the bottom of the map was a personification of America. She was partially clad in a feathered skirt and seated on an armadillo with clear examples of cannibal activity at her feet and in the background. In 1611, in Amsterdam, Pieter van den Keere, drew a magnificent world wall map that is held by the Sutro Library in San Francisco. In one corner, Peru receives tribute from other natives whose booty includes an arm and head.



Figure 14



Figure 15

A similar representation appeared on a 1617 world wall map by Claes Janszoon Visscher. This map was one of the most highly embellished maps of the so-called Dutch golden age of cartography; only one copy survives in Vienna. At the top a remarkable large border panel three figures are featured that represent America seated next to an equally-sized figure of Europe. Visscher depicted the Peruvian leaning toward the imperial European figure as if in conversation yet turning away from the cannibal scenes in the background of the image. In contrast, the Mexican figure appears to be looking at the cannibal scene and perhaps reflecting on what was about to be left behind. The image suggested Farinati's 1595 painting. In both cases, the visual discourse paralleled the writing of contemporaries, such as the Jesuit scholar José de Acosta and others who confidently predicted that adoption of European secular practices and religious ideology in America would lead to abandonment of what Europeans considered savage cultural behaviors.³⁹ Historian Stephen Greenblatt uses the term "assimilation of the other" to describe the process.⁴⁰

Cannibals Fade from Maps

By the late seventeenth century, allegorical images of America became less threatening, and the cannibal motif that had been deeply embedded in European graphic narratives slowly disappeared from maps.⁴¹ A hundred years later, personifications of America in new editions of Ripa's *Iconology* no longer featured references to cannibalism. Nonetheless, Abraham Ortelius had broken new ground in 1570 with the geographical allegory of America on the title page of his atlas. He and others who followed posited that European readers would not be critical of their presumption of assigning practices of one group of native peoples living in the area of present-day Brazil to all native peoples of the lands that were called America. After all, again to

quote Palencia-Roth, “[T]he cannibal played a major role in the European imagination. Here was something concrete to think about, to write about, to portray... the cannibal represented the New Man at the point of greatest difference from the European; he is the New Man as the extreme *Other*.”⁴² Ortelius’ allegorical figure, indeed, was predictable. As art historian John Higham has noted: “As a personified abstraction America sprang from a Eurocentric world vision.”⁴³

Endnotes

1. Michael Palencia-Roth, "Quarta Orbis Pars: Monologizing the New World," *Comparative Civilizations Review*, 4:42, (Spring, 1992): 6-10; for a complete translation see Samuel Eliot Morison, *Journals and Other Documents on the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (New York: The Heritage Press, 1963), 181-186; for an extensive review of the dissemination of this letter, see <http://www.oshermaps.org/special-map-exhibits/columbus-letter/iv-diffusion-columbus-letter-through-europe-1493-1497>.
2. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America The Southern Voyages A.D. 1492-1616* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 52-91. Morison's accounts of Columbus' voyages remain a standard reference.
3. Morison, *Journals*, 100.
4. Olive Patricia Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Alberta: The University of Alberta Press, 1984), 10; Frank Lestringant, *Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 15.
5. Morison, *Journals*, 229-245 for translation of the letter; for an account of the second voyage see Morison, *European Discovery*, 123-140.
6. Henry Harrise, *The Discovery of North America: A Critical, Documentary, and Historical Investigation* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1969), 475-476 for a translation of the verso of Martyr's map of 1511.
7. Philip P. Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters Europeans and Island Caribs, 1492-1763* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992), 14.
8. Morison, *European Discovery*, 286; Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture* (New York; Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 59-61. Leitch discusses how the frequently recycled image of the Tupinamba Indians contributed to the association of feathered garments with barbarism; Palencia-Roth, "Quarta- Orbis," 11-12; Palencia-Roth, "Cannibalism and the New Man of Latin America in the 15th- and 16th-Century European Imagination," *Comparative Civilizations Review*, 12 (Spring, 1985): 5-8.

9. Morison, *European Discovery*, 276-297, 304-312.
10. Michael Palencia-Roth, "The Cannibal Law of 1503," eds. Jerry M. Williams and Robert E. Lewis, *Early Images of the Americas: Transfer and Invention* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993), 2-29; Carl Ortwin Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), 161-162; Sauer also cites several sources on varying estimates of the decline of the native population including the account of a contemporary, Bartolome de Las Casas, who thought that between 1494 and 1508 more than three million natives died on Espanola (Hispaniola) alone, 155.
11. This literature is extensive and selected references include *Pliny Natural History, Preface and Books 1-2*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 513, 515; *The History Herodotus* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 318, 319; for an extensive overview, Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: a Study in the History of Monsters," in *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 47-74; for a discussion of how these themes were linked with later sixteenth century European visits to Brazil, see Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 183-205; Williams and Edwards, *Early Images*, 28-33.
12. Ann Ward, *Herodotus and the Philosophy of Empire* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2008), 48-51.
13. Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 15; Rudolph Schuller, "The Oldest Known Illustration of South American Indians," *Journal de la Societe des Americanistes*, Tome 16 (1924): 111-118.
14. For an introduction to this extensive literature, see David B. Quinn, "New Geographical Horizons: Literature," *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500-1625* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1990), 71-95.
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17. See http://cartographic-images.net/Cartographic_Images/309_Kuntsmann_II.html

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19. For a translation of Cortés' second letter, see Francis Augustus MacNutt, *Letters of Cortés* (New York: G.P. Putman's Sons, 1908, reprint edition), 261.
20. Barbara R. Mundy, "Mapping the Aztec Capital: The 1524 Nuremberg Map of Tenochtitlan, Its Sources and Meanings," *Imago Mundi*, 50 (1998): 11-33.
21. Suarez, *Shedding the Veil*, 75-78; Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World Early Printed World Maps 1472-1700* (London: The Holland Press, 1993), 74-75.
22. See online article by John Hébert <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gutierrz.html>. Printed versions of the article are held by the University of Texas at Arlington and the Denver Public Library.
23. For images and text (in French) see *L'Age D'Or Des Cartes Marines* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2013), 164 (Testu) and 142 (Vau de Claye). This splendid book is lavishly illustrated with many manuscript and printed maps, several of which illustrate cannibal scenes.
24. Palencia-Roth, "Cannibalism and the New Man," 20.
25. For a recent excellent discussion of the Piri Reis map see Gregory C. McIntosh, *The Piri Reis Map of 1513* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2000); another book with excellent large images of the map is Kemal Ozdemir, *Ottoman Nautical Charts and the Atlas of Ali Macar Reis* (Turkey: Creative Yayincilik Ve Tanitim Ltd., 1992), 57-61.
26. Palencia-Roth, "Cannibalism and the New Man," 2-3.
27. McIntosh, *Piri Reis Map*, 70.
28. Gunter Schilder, "Willem Jansz. Blaeu's Wall Map of the World, on Mercator's Projection, 1606-07 and Its Influence," *Imago Mundi*, 31 (1979): 36-54, but particularly 44.
29. Tomoko Goto, *Emergent Consciousness About the Self Depicted in the World Map Screens*, A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts University of British Columbia, September 2000, 53-63;

- Ronald P. Toby, "Imagining and Imaging "Anthropopos" in Early-Modern Japan," *Visual Anthropology Review*, 14:1 (Spring-Summer, 1998): 19-43, especially 27.
30. Rodney Shirley, *Courtiers and Cannibals, Angels and Amazons The Art of the Decorative Cartographic Title Page* (Netherlands: Hes and De Graff, 2009), 46-47; see the site of Marcel Van den Broecke for the most complete cartobibliography of this title page <http://www.orteliusmaps.com/ortindexnumber.html>
 31. Werner Waterschoot, "The Title-Page of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*," *Quaerndo Quarterly Journal from the Low Countries Devoted to Manuscripts and Printed Books*, IX (1979), 43-68; Rodney Shirley, "The Title Pages to the *Theatrum* and *Parergon*," *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of his Death 1598-1998* (Netherlands: Hes Publishers BV, 1998), 161-169.
 32. Mario Klarer, "Cannibalism and Carnavalesque: Incorporation as Utopia in the Early Image of America," *New Literary History*, 30:2 (1999), 389-410.
 33. Staden's firsthand account of cannibalism, and the crude woodcut images that accompanied the first edition (but were not reproduced in most subsequent editions), significantly rekindled interest in the subject to a European audience who, by this time, were more familiar with the geography of South America. The account has also seemed to rekindle interest among recent scholars of cultural exchange of the trans- Atlantic world. See, *The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse*, ed. Richard F. Burton (New York: Burt Franklin, 1874); for more recent academic studies, see H.E. Martel, "Hans Staden's Captive Soul: Identity, Imperialism, and Rumors of Cannibalism in Sixteenth-Century Brazil," *Journal of World History*, 17:1 (March, 2006): 51-69; and Neil L. Whitehead, "Hans Staden and the Cultural Politics of Cannibalism," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 80:4 (2000): 721-751.
 34. Lestringant, *Cannibals*, 118.
 35. John Higham, "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: the First Female Symbols of America," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 100 (1990): 45-51.
 36. Michael J. Schreffler, "Vespucci Rediscovered America: The Pictorial Rhetoric of Cannibalism in Early Modern America," *Art History*, 28:3 (June, 2005): 295-310.
 37. Palencia-Roth, "Cannibal Law of 1503," 53-55.

38. For a brief discussion of how the *Iconology* of Ripa was used, see <http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/ripacf.htm>. A partial translation of the text accompanying the figure of America reads, “The head she has at her feet is put there for good reason, to show that these inhuman people often eat human flesh. For they do not fail to eat together those who they have taken in war.”
39. José de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Jane E. Mangan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), especially Book VII, 444-449; and Pagden, “Forbidden Food,” 25-29. According to Acosta the natives of Mexico and Peru were ignorant of the natural order that prohibited eating of human flesh as well as insects, lizards, and so on. Their ignorance and worship of idols was of Satanic origin, but they were capable of overthrowing “the subjection to the devil and his tyrannies” and responding to the Gospel and Divine Wisdom “...which takes advantage of bad things to turn them into good...”
40. Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 3.
41. Palencia-Roth, “Cannibal Law of 1503,” 48-49.
42. Palencia-Roth, “Cannibalism and the New Man,” 2.
43. Higham, “Indian Princess,” 47.

Map Figures

Cover Diego Gutiérrez, detail of cannibal activity in Brazil from *Americae*, (Antwerp, 1562). Library of Congress. G3290 1562 .G7 Vault Oversize

Figure 1 Joan Blaeu, “*Canibales Insulae*,” from Vol. 11 of *Atlas Major* (1662). Blaeu illustrated what others (such as Martyr) implied in print, that all the islands of the Lesser Antilles were inhabited by Cannibals, not just those on which the practice had allegedly been observed. Library of Congress. G1015 .B48 1991

Figure 2 Anonymous, Cannibals from Vespucci’s description (1505). European artists may have taken license with some of the features illustrated here such as bearded men and elaborate feathered skirts, but the nature of the activity that was being observed by the two ships in the background was unmistakable. Wikimedia Commons. File:Cannibalism in the New World, from Vespucci.jpg

Figure 3 Anonymous, detail of coastal Brazil from the *Kunstmann II Map* (1506). This once lavishly decorated map is deservedly distinguished for much geographical and symbolic information about the New World, and the anonymous artist who drew this cannibal scene certainly intended it to be one of its most prominent features. Facsimile owned by The Library of Congress. G3200 1502 .K8 1966 TIL

Figure 4 Martin Waldseemüller, detail of Cannibal Island in the Southern Lesser Antilles from *Universalis Cosmographia* (1507). The putative location of cannibals to the Lesser Antilles and along the South American coast was a common feature on many early sixteenth century maps. Library of Congress. G3200 1507 .W3 Vault

Figure 5 Johannes Ruysch, detail of Cannibal Island, Lesser Antilles from *World Map* (1508). Close up of *Canibalos In.* in the southern Lesser Antilles. Library of Congress. G3200 1508 .R8 1924 TIL

Figure 6 Martin Waldseemüller, detail of the northwestern coast of South America in *Tabula Terre Nove* (1513). *Canibales* located in the southern Spanish Main. The location of cannibal activity was as imprecise as knowledge of the geography was to cartographers who had never traveled to the Americas. Courtesy of Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps.

Figure 7 Martin Waldseemüller, detail of interior Brazil in *Carta Marina* (1516). One might question the sources of the description of this peculiar rendition of an apparent opossum, but there was no ambiguity about the nearby activity and the explanatory legend. Library of Congress. Exploring Early Americas Exhibit.

Figure 8 Hernán Cortés, detail of central temple complex from “Map of Tenochtitlan” (1524). Dr. Lauren Beck (Associate Professor of Hispanic Studies, Mount Allison University) informed me that the small cross to the left of the top of the pyramid appeared

only in the Nuremberg edition of this map and not in the later Venice edition. Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago, Call No. Ayer 655.51.C8 1524b.

Figure 9 Sebastian Münster, detail of New World cannibal activity from *Typus Cosmographicus Universalis* (1532). This scene is remarkably similar to later depictions on maps and other prints of cannibal activity as part of allegorical representations of America. Here, however, Holbein has not illustrated the feathered clothing and adornments commonly used by later artists. Library of Congress. Illus. in E141.N93

Figure 10 Diego Gutiérrez, detail of cannibal activity in Brazil from *Americae*, (Antwerp, 1562). This image of cannibal activity under the prominent toponym *Regio De Brasil* exemplified the essence of a map that is part of its definition in Volume 1 of the *History of Cartography*, i.e., the “spatial understanding” of things such as cannibalism. See cover.

Figure 11 Piri Reis, detail of Blemmyes and Cynocephali along South American coast from *Carte de l’Atlantique* (1513). Close up detail of two classic “monsters,” now situated within the South American continent. Collection of Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R. 1633 mük.

Figure 12 Japanese painted screen, two of eight total panels of *Map of the World and Plans of Twenty-Eight Cities*. The concept of representing pairs of costumed figures from areas of the world both known and unknown to the Japanese was derived from the 1606 world map of Willem Blaeu which was the prototype of many *carte à figures* maps of the seventeenth century. Courtesy of the Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shozokan.

Figure 13 Abraham Ortelius, cover page of his atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* that was published in 1570. The allegorical image of America presented the reader with a duality of the new world as a beautiful yet dangerous place. Library of Congress. G1006 .T5 1570 Vault fol.

Figures 14 Petrus Plancius, *Orbis Terrarum Typus de Integro Multis in Locis Emendatus* (1594). Ortelius’ single allegorical figure of America occasionally gave way to three personifications- one from Mexico, Peru, and Magellanica. Here is an enlargement of Mexico. Wikimedia Commons. File:1594 Orbis Plancius 2,12 MB.jpg

Figure 15 Plancius’ *Orbis Terrarum* (see above). Here is an enlargement of Peru with cannibal activity in the background.

Back cover Claes Janz. Visscher, portion of *World Map*, 1617. This map was one of the most highly embellished maps of the so-called Dutch golden age of cartography; only one copy survives in Vienna. Courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.



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