



1.1 Theodore Galle, Philippe Galle and Jan Collaert after Jan Van der Straet, *Amerigo Vespucci Rediscovers America*, from *Nova Reperta*, 1580. Photo: Bridgeman Art Library-Giraudon/Art Resource, New York.

VESPUCCI REDISCOVERS AMERICA: THE PICTORIAL RHETORIC OF CANNIBALISM IN EARLY MODERN CULTURE

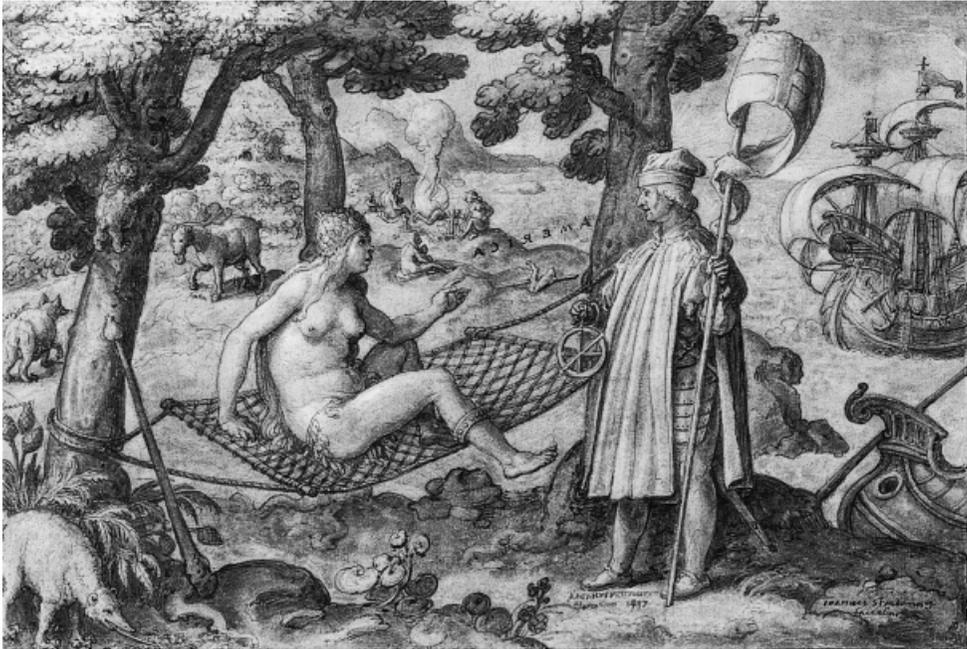
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Recent studies of cultural production in the early modern Atlantic world have engaged in the analysis of what has been called 'colonial discourse', a body of representations whose use of visual imagery and words trace the contours of the complex and conflictive relationships between colonial power and that which it sought to dominate.¹ The study of colonial discourse has often focused upon the rhetorical strategies employed in texts in which appeals to the conventions of certain literary modes and genres reveal representation's complicity in the exercise of colonial authority. Scholars have, for example, noted the deployment in such texts of the conventions of medieval romances and travel accounts as well as the use of the rhetorical figures of allegoresis and mimesis, all of which have been seen as having the effect of situating the Americas and their inhabitants in positions of difference and/or similarity to the cultures of early modern Europe in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.² Although analysis of colonial discourse has focused primarily on texts, visual imagery, with its similar dependence upon genres and modes of pictorial rhetoric, also intervened forcefully in the exercise of colonial power and domination in the Americas. This essay examines the visual culture of colonialism by focusing on the representation of a trope that is pervasive in early modern European images of the Americas – that of cannibalism. Previous studies of the textual and visual representation of that trope have noted that the discourse of cannibalism emerged in the sixteenth century as a differencing mechanism, a counterpoint to ideas about the ideal and individuated Christian subject of early modern Europe.³ But how, precisely, were those associations and differences articulated within visual culture? In what follows, I address this question by focusing on the well-known print derived from Jan Van der Straet's *Amerigo Vespucci Discovers America* (plates 1.1 and 1.2), so addressing not only the literature on the representation of the Americas and the practice of cannibalism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but also the ways in which visual representation intervened in complex ways in the con-

struction and maintenance of relationships of colonial power and subordination in the early modern Atlantic world.

ALLEGORIES AND FANTASIES OF CANNIBALISM

Born in Bruges, the Flemish draftsman and painter Jan Van der Straet (1525–1605) spent much of his career working in Italy, where his surname was transformed into Stradano as well as della Strada and Stradanus.⁴ It may have been in Florence that Van der Straet made his drawing of Amerigo Vespucci encountering an allegorical figure of ‘America’ (plate 1.2), probably in the second half of the



1.2 Jan Van der Straet, *Amerigo Vespucci Discovers America*, late sixteenth century. Pen and bistre, heightened with white, 19 × 26.5 cm. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Estate of James Hazen Hyde, 1959 (1974.205). Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

sixteenth century.⁵ That drawing became widely known in early modern Europe, for it was used by the Antwerp engravers Theodore and Philippe Galle in collaboration with Jan Collaert (plate 1.1) as one of the images in their *Nova Reperta*, or *New Discoveries*, a portfolio of twenty prints first published in 1580.⁶ The prints documented a series of discoveries and inventions, such as gunpowder, the printing press, olive oil and eyeglasses. The print derived from Van der Straet’s drawing of America, however, documented a different kind of discovery: that of the New World, which it attributes to the Florentine navigator Amerigo Vespucci.⁷ The text that the publishers appended to the print states the nature of



1.3 Titian, *Danae*, 1554. Oil on canvas, 128 × 178 cm. Madrid: Museo del Prado. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, New York.

this discovery in strongly allegorical terms: 'America. Americus rediscovers America – he called her but once and thenceforth she was always awake.'⁸

In the print, as in the drawing upon which it is based, Europe's encounter with America is portrayed as the meeting between a man, whose astrolabe, standard and ships aid in his identification as Amerigo Vespucci, and a nude woman, seated on a hammock, who represents the New World or America. Studies of this image have emphasized its use of gender and sexuality as metaphors for the exploration and conquest of territory, here cast in terms of a series of pictorial oppositions including those of female/male, nude/clothed, reclining/standing and nature/culture.⁹ The representation of cultural or territorial encounter as a kind of sexual encounter is pervasive in early modern visual and textual culture,¹⁰ and is aided in this image by the iconographic relationship between the figure of America and a number of reclining nude women that appear in the canon of Renaissance painting, including, for example, Titian's *Danae* (plate 1.3), where an imprisoned woman reclines as Jupiter's shower of golden coins falls from above.

An even closer iconographic relationship, however, is that between the reclining woman in Van der Straet's image and the similar allegorical figure of



1.4 Title page with *Four Parts of the World* from Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1570, Antwerp. Photo: Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, USA.

America on the title page to Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (plate 1.4), first published around 1570.¹¹ In addition to the parallels in the positions of the figures' torsos, arms and legs, both wear comparable head and leg ornaments; the club or spear that rests against the tree in Van der Straet's image also resembles the one held in the hand of the figure in the frontispiece, in which America is depicted, nude, as a huntress of men, her identity indicated by her bow and arrow and her grasp of the head of her victim in her hand.

In its depiction of America as a huntress and, potentially, a cannibal, the frontispiece participates in an iconographic tradition that would endure beyond the sixteenth century. Among the most influential of the images that followed it in early modern European visual culture was one that appeared in early seventeenth-century editions of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (see plate 1.8), an emblem book that provided generations of artists with a standard pictorial vocabulary. In

an image from an edition of the *Iconologia* published in Padua in 1611,¹² the allegorical figure of America (see plate 1.8) appears as a partially clothed woman who wears a feathered headdress and holds a bow and arrow.¹³ Between her bare feet is a decapitated human head pierced with an arrow that resembles the one held in her right hand (plate 1.5). The emblem's unorthodox juxtaposition of a severed human head with the figure's feet encourages the visually literate spectator to contrast America's intact body with the decapitated head at her feet, presented as a kind of macabre punch line to the composition. In a general sense, this iconography for America echoes the composition of a painting by Giordano (plate 1.6), in which the biblical Judith holds a sword in her right hand as she rests her left foot on the decapitated head of Holofernes.¹⁴ In the same way that that image operates through synecdoche, presenting a single episode as emblematic of a larger narrative, the images of America from the *Iconologia* and Ortelius's atlas, too, suggest a narrative, one in which the allegorical figure is to be understood as having used the weapons that are her attributes to acquire the head of her victim. In the image from the *Iconologia*, that narrative is reinforced in the accompanying text, which notes that,



1.5 Detail of Cavalier d'Arpino (attr.), *America*, from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, c. 1603. Richmond, Virginia: Library of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia, USA. Photo: Denise Lewis.

The bow and arrow are her weapons, which the women of these provinces use as habitually as the men. The human head at her feet plainly shows that it is the custom of many of these barbarous people to eat human flesh.¹⁵

Underscoring the cannibalistic content of the emblem, the animal that rests at America's feet and which serves as a backdrop for the decapitated head is also described in the text as a reference to the consumption of human flesh: 'The reptile, or alligator, is among the most notable of the animals in those nations, for they are large, and fierce, and devour not only other animals, but men too.'¹⁶

These references to cannibalism in the representation of America from the *Iconologia* partake of a broader phenomenon in early modernity in which that practice is linked discursively with the inhabitants of the Americas. Peter Hulme has noted that the appearance of the terms 'cannibal' and 'cannibalism' in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European texts is heralded by an entry in the *Journal* of Christopher Columbus, where, on 23 November 1492, he reports having heard of a group of man-eating people in the Antilles called '*canibales*'.¹⁷ Subsequent journals, letters and chronicles of European explorers in the Americas consistently refer to the consumption of human flesh as a standard practice of certain New World societies.



1.6 Giorgione, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, c. 1504. Oil on canvas, transferred from panel, 144 × 68 cm. St Petersburg, Hermitage. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, New York.



1.7 Detail of Galle, Galle and Collaert after Van der Straet, *Amerigo Vespucci Rediscovered America*. Photo: Bridgeman art Library – Giraudon/Art Resource, New York.

But while the visual references to cannibalism are fused with the human figures in the *Iconologia* and the Ortelius frontispiece, the association between the consumption of flesh and the allegorical figure is asserted less forcefully in Van der Straet's image, and it is the nature of that association which, I want to suggest, is revealing with respect to the representation of cannibalism and, ultimately, relationships of colonial power in early modern images of the Americas. Echoing the disposition of the figure of America in Ortelius's frontispiece, the scene of cannibalism depicted in the background in Van der Straet's image is curiously juxtaposed to the female figure's hand. This vignette depicts several figures seated around a fire, where they cook a human leg on a spit (plate 1.7). Its place near the centre of the composition is, I believe, crucial to the operation of the image; it is as if Van der Straet, in appropriating the image from the atlas, removes the sign of cannibalistic activity from America's grasp, leaving her empty-handed as she addresses Vespucci. Relegated to the background of the pictorial space, the reference to cannibalism in the Van der Straet image – the cooking scene – is thus initially indistinct. To begin with, therefore, the relationship between Vespucci and America, positioned in the foreground of the pictorial space, overwrites the relationship between America and her surroundings. In this way Van der Straet's composition incites in the spectator a predictable response: one in which he or she performs a double-take, asking, 'Is that a scene of cannibalism I see?'¹⁸

Rather than appealing, as many of its predecessors did, to the genres of the map, the letter, the journal, or the chronicle, Van der Straet's visual representa-

tion of the Americas – with its initially indistinct representation of cannibalism – thus resonates with what Tzvetan Todorov identified as ‘the fantastic’, a literary mode characterized by its emphasis on, in his words, ‘that hesitation experienced by a person who knows only the laws of nature, confronting a supernatural event’.¹⁹ Here that hesitation, marked by the spectator’s predictably interrogative response to the image, encourages a closer examination of its iconography and composition, in which a series of dismembered limbs ultimately present themselves as signs of cannibalistic activity. The way that the engraving elicits this response is not an isolated instance within sixteenth-century representation, for European chroniclers in the ‘age of discovery’ similarly evoked the world of dreams, uncertainty and hesitation in their descriptions of the Americas. For example, in an often-cited passage from his memoir, the Spaniard Bernal Díaz del Castillo describes his first glimpse of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan, the city that the Spaniards would ultimately conquer and transform into an imperial administrative centre. He writes,

When we saw all those cities and villages built in the water, and other great towns on dry land, and that straight and level causeway leading to [the city], we were astounded. These great towns and temples and buildings rising from the water, all made of stone, *seemed like an enchanted vision from the tale of Amadis. Indeed, some of our soldiers asked whether it was not all a dream.*²⁰

Díaz, writing in the late sixteenth century, some time after the events of 1519–1521 that he describes, remembers this vision of Aztec Tenochtitlan as similar to both dreams and to imaginative passages from a medieval romance. With his references to ‘seeming’ and ‘dreaming’ and his infusion of visible reality with the aura of the imaginary, Díaz’s rhetoric evokes the fantastic. As Stephen Greenblatt has argued, this rhetoric of enchantment and wonder is a recurring mode of discourse in early modernity, one in which references to the familiar – here the world of dreams and medieval literature – are deployed in the explanation of difference.²¹ At the same time this strategy renders the unfamiliar more legible; its dependence upon that which is not real keeps the object of description at a distance, thus preserving its essential difference from the world of the describing subject. And by problematizing the distinction between fact and fiction, between the real and the imaginary, descriptions like that by Díaz position themselves within a discourse on colonial power and domination. In the case of Díaz’s description, the text participates in that discourse in two interrelated ways: first, it presents the vision of the Aztec capital as a memory – an abstraction that no longer exists in its materiality – and, secondly, it suspends that memory between reality and the world of dreams, thus casting it as an indeterminate object that could be, and ultimately was, conquered.

Van der Straet’s placing of the scene of cannibalism in the background of the pictorial space, and the spectatorial uncertainty and hesitation that this generates, is one way in which the image of Vespucci and ‘America’ appeals to the

representational mode of the fantastic. A further appeal to that mode occurs in the foreground, where the figure of America is presented iconographically and textually as awakening from sleep, a state intimately associated with disorientation, dreams and the imagination. Here, as the engraving's publishers make clear in their accompanying caption ('thenceforth she was always awake'), awakening is a metaphor for discovery, and serves as a revealing psychological counterpoint to the structure of Diaz's chronicle. In that text, it was the conquerors who wondered if they were dreaming, while in the print it is the figure of America who is presented at the liminal moment between sleep and full consciousness.

These iconographic and compositional choices evoke the phenomenology and mood of the fantastic, but that representational mode surfaces in the image in other ways as well. Louis Montrose has noted that the cannibalism scene is compositionally linked to the allegorical figure of America. It is partially encircled by America's head and left arm; her posture – with her prominently bent right leg – resonates with that of the women seated near the fire in the distance; and both the dismembered human leg on the spit and the one near America's pointing finger are inverted and reversed versions of her own limb.²² For Montrose, these formal interrelationships attested to a discursive link in early modernity between woman and the cruel incivility of the inhabitants of the Americas.²³ Indeed, the imagery, like that of Ripa's emblem and the figure of America in the Ortelius frontispiece, implies a narrative. The cooking scene in Van der Straet's image is thus presented as having been preceded by a scene of killing and dismemberment, indicated pictorially by the human leg pierced with a spear near America's extended hand, which, in turn, is preceded by America's awakening from her hammock and preparation for the kill, an act she may accomplish with the use of the weapon that rests against the tree next to her. In a comparison with the images from the *Iconologia* and the Ortelius atlas, however, Van der Straet's image intimates that the act of consuming human flesh is potentially separable from the bodies and beings of the inhabitants of the Americas.

This pictorial distinction between the figure of 'America' and the cooking scene of cannibalism is further emphasized by the apparent juxtaposition in the image of two or more distinct modes of visual rhetoric. The problematic nature of the representation of America in this image has been the subject of some analysis: José Rabasa noted the coexistence of both literal and figurative meanings in the scene of Vespucci's encounter with America,²⁴ and, more generally, Peter Mason problematized the notion of allegorical representations of America as allegories per se.²⁵ But I want to emphasize here that the representation of the adjacent cooking scene, too, intervenes forcefully in this rhetorical complexity and interpretive uncertainty. In its overt construction of a narrative of cannibalistic practices as well as in its appeal to the literary tradition through which those practices were linked to the inhabitants of the Americas, the scene exists within the discursive framework of the letter or chronicle. By contrast, the figure of

America is presented through its caption as an unequivocal allegory. This generic and rhetorical complexity in the image amounts to a blurring of the line between the allegedly factual nature of the chronicle and the conventional symbolism of allegory, a deft mixing of the pictorial language of genre in its evocation of the fantastic.

Van der Straet's pictorial placement of the visual reference to cannibalism is not, however, unique, for a similar spatial composition is at work in other contemporary images.²⁶ In its deconstruction of the allegory of America, by placing the signs of cannibalism in a space distinct from that which she occupies, this composition can be seen as indicative of anxiety about the practice of cannibalism as well as of the ambivalence and instability of early modern discourses of colonial power. Indeed, European texts reveal that although the practice of cannibalism was always suspected of American cultures, it was almost never witnessed. Such anxiety is evident, for example, in Amerigo Vespucci's so-called 'First Letter', written in 1500 to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici in Florence, in which the author describes the people he saw on his arrival at the island of Trinidad: 'We discovered that they were of a race called Cannibals, for almost the majority of this race, if not all, live off human flesh: and of this fact Your Magnificence can be certain.'²⁷ Vespucci's emphasis on the certainty of the practice in the absence of real evidence masks his uncertainty and partakes of a broader, colonial rhetorical practice in which the establishment of truth is always a complex and contested act.²⁸ This anxiety about truth and believability in the text pervades sixteenth-century literature on European exploration in the New World, and anticipates similar, modern-day anxieties about cannibalism and the question of whether or not it occurred, or continues to occur, in certain parts of the world.²⁹ This rhetoric is similarly deployed in the text accompanying the figure of America in Ripa's *Iconologia* (plate 1.8), where the author's statement that 'the human head at her feet plainly shows that it is the custom of many of these barbarous people to eat human flesh' is problematic in terms of its logic. Rather than 'plainly' indicating the consumption of human beings, the picture might be read, for example, as a sign that people in the Americas collect (or collected) human heads as trophies.³⁰

In its suggestion that the act of consuming human flesh is potentially separable from the bodies and beings of the inhabitants of the Americas, Van der Straet's image also gestures towards a transformation in European conceptualizations of the Americas and, more generally, of early modern colonialism, in which the notion of 'America' as a consumer of human flesh is minimized and subsequently recast as the object of European consumption. This transformation is suggested in Van der Straet's drawing, but it is also evident in a comparison of the images of America and Europe in the *Iconologia* (plates 1.8 and 1.9). In contrast to the image of America, in which much of the pictorial field is empty, the image of Europe features the allegorical figure surrounded by an abundance of objects and attributes that nearly fill that space. Europe is com-



1.8 (left) Cavalier d'Arpino (attr.), *America*, from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, c. 1603. Ink on paper, 11 × 9 cm. Richmond, Virginia: Library of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia, USA. Photo: Denise Lewis.

1.9 (right) Cavalier d'Arpino (attr.), *Europe*, from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, c. 1603. Ink on paper, 11 × 9 cm. Richmond, Virginia: Library of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia, USA. Photo: Denise Lewis.

positionally linked with those objects; she holds a small temple in her right hand and points with her left hand to the cornucopia that flank her as well as to the crowns, sceptres and other symbols that rest on the ground below her. The figure of a horse appears next to her, echoing the disposition of her own head and body. In sum, the image displays elements of social and cultural consumption, for it articulates in visual terms ideas of abundance and the totality of an ensemble, a seamless continuity between the allegorical figure and the objects and ideas that surround her.

These ideas are emphasized in the accompanying text as well, where they are presented as symbols of 'kingdom' and of the monarch as a 'body politic' rather than as a flesh-and-blood mortal body.³¹ Ripa writes, for example, that, '[Europe] shows with her index finger ... the kingdoms, crowns, scepters, garlands, and other similar things, being that in Europe there are the best and strongest princes of the world ...'.³² In contrast to the social and cultural integrity and totality emphasized in the emblem of Europe, America is instead represented in terms of distinct and sometimes dismembered parts. Indeed, while Europe is characterized by an ensemble of objects and attributes that constitute the body politic, America is presented instead as an ensemble of anatomical units that constitute the flesh-and-blood body. Her dress or cloak leaves her breasts and legs exposed, and the

human head resting between her feet has been separated from the body of which it was once part. The sense of the figure as a conglomeration of parts is also suggested in the text, which describes her as having a 'terrible face' (*'volto terribile'*), and notes that her clothing 'covers her shameful parts' (*'le copri le parti vergognose'*).³³

These representations of Europe and America, in which the former is represented in terms of totality and wholeness, and the latter is cast in terms of parts and fragmentation, can be read as symbolic of an imperialist view of the social and political make-up of both Europe and the Americas. If the image of Europe is one of social and political integrity, cohesion and organization, the representation of America is one of social and political chaos. It is not surprising, then, that the text that accompanies the image of Europe presents her as a kind of solution or correction to the fragmented social and political structures that are 'natural' to America. As noted above, Ripa writes that 'in Europe there are the best and strongest princes of the World', and he follows that observation with a comment on the way in which that quality and strength has impacted on the global social order. Noting that the 'Roman Pope' is one of those princes, he praises the way in which the Pope's 'authority extends to all who have the Holy and Catholic Christian Faith, which thanks to the Lord God, today has reached at last to the New World'.³⁴ As such, these emblems of Europe and America come to be seen as constructing a narrative of a colonial process in which the savage and disorderly Americas will ultimately be civilized as well as governed by European powers.

COUNTERING CANNIBALISM

A later stage in this genealogy of images and ideas effects yet another transformation, intervening in the established iconography for America and presenting an alternative view of the political structures and futures of early modern colonialism. In 1666 the theologian Isidro Sariñana y Cuenca published a pamphlet commemorating the ceremonies practised in Mexico City – then part of the Spanish Habsburgs' 'universal monarchy' – to commemorate the death of King Philip IV of Spain.³⁵ In addition to describing the funerary rituals that took place inside the royal palace and the city's cathedral, the publication also contains a series of sixteen emblematic images which, in various ways, address the death of the king and the reaction of his loyal subjects to it. Reproducing paintings that were publicly displayed as part of the royal funeral in 1666,³⁶ the images as they appear in the publication are accompanied by poems and commentary by the author which elaborate on their complex iconography and aid in their interpretation. Among them is one in particular that appeals to the conventional representation of the parts of the world as they appeared in Ripa's *Iconologia* and in the frontispiece to the Ortelius atlas. The image (plate 1.10) is symmetrical, its pictorial space bisected by a sailing ship and the undulating lines of the sea which separate the two halves of an architectural structure. The split



1.10 *America and Europe*, from Isidro Sariñana y Cuenca, *Llanto del Occidente en el más claro Sol de las Españas*, 1666. Mexico City: Viuda de Bernardo Calderon. Photo: Duke University, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library.

structure consists of a dome supported by eight columns atop a stepped platform, and is flanked by the figures of two women.

The accompanying commentary by Sariñana explains the emblem:

This hieroglyphic depicts Europe and America, each one dedicating half a tomb to His greatness, as two worlds were necessary to form one worthy of his memory; so that in the funeral rites that Spain celebrated, half of it was erected, to which New Spain had to add its complement . . .³⁷

In keeping with the conventions of seventeenth-century European iconography, the emblem depicts the two parts of the world as women whose clothing and attributes distinguish them from one another. The figure on the right is shown with a crown on her head and holding a sceptre in her hand, thus corresponding in general to the conventional representation of Europe as a queen in both the Ripa and the Ortelius publications. The figure on the left, however, departs from the traditional iconography. In the words of Jaime Cuadriello, she appears ‘dressed as a matron chieftan, with a quexquemitl, a large fan with feathers, and a copilli, or royal diadem on her head’.³⁸

In contrast to the figures of America in Ripa’s *Iconologia*, the Ortelius frontispiece, and the print after Van der Straet’s drawing, the image in the *Llanto del Occidente* portrays America, like Europe, as a clothed queen or empress. In trans-

forming America's status in this way, the emblem's artist challenges the visual hegemony of the *Iconologia* and, simultaneously, presents a complex and conflictive message about the present and future of early modern colonialism. The architectural structure that positioned Europe atop the reclining America in the Ortelius frontispiece has been turned on its side, and the allegorical figures for both continents are now dressed in royal garments and stand on an equal footing. Is this image indicative of Europe's consumption of the savage America and subsequent reconstruction of her in her own civilized image? Or is this imagery, with its pictorial emphasis on movement from right to left and from Europe to America, a foreshadowing of America's movement from colony to nation?

Notes

The present article is an expanded version of a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, New York, 1–3 April 2004.

- 1 On 'colonial discourse' and its analysis in the Latin American context, see Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797*, London and New York, 1986; Patricia Seed, 'Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse', *Latin America Research Review*, 26:3, 1991, 181–200; José Rabasa, *Inventing America: Spanish Historiography and the Formation of Eurocentrism*, Norman, 1993, 3–22; Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, Ann Arbor, 1995.
- 2 In addition to the works cited in note 1, see, for example, Humberto E. Robles, 'The First Voyage Around the World: From Pigafetta to García Márquez', *History of European Ideas*, 6:4, 1985, 405–420; José Rabasa, 'Dialogue as Conquest: Mapping Spaces for Counter-Discourse', *Cultural Critique*, 6 (1986), 131–59; Peter Mason, *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other*, London, 1990; Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*, Chicago, 1991; Beatriz Pastor Bodmer, *The Armature of Conquest: Spanish Accounts of the Discovery of America, 1492–1589*, trans. Lydia Longstreth Hunt, Stanford, 1992; Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities*, Cambridge, 2001.
- 3 See, for example, Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*, London, 1975, 53–137; Hulme, *Colonial Encounters*, especially 13–87; Álvaro Félix Bonaños, 'Antropofagia y diferencia cultural: Construcción retórica del canibal del Nuevo Reino de Granada', *Revista Iberoamericana*, 61:170–1, January–June 1995, 81–93; Pedro Fonseca, 'Primeiros encontros com a antropofagia ameríndia: De Colombo a Pigafetta', *Revista Iberoamericana*, 61:170–1, January–June 1995, 57–79; Charles Zika, 'Cannibalism and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Reading the Visual Images', *History Workshop Journal*, 44, 1997, 77–105; Hulme, 'Introduction: The Cannibalism Scene', in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme and Margaret Iversen, eds, *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*, Cambridge, 1998, 1–38.
- 4 On Van der Straet's life and career, see Alessandra Baroni Vannucci, *Jan Van Der Straet detto Giovanni Stradano: Flandrus pictor et inventor*, Milan and Rome, 1997, 16–60.
- 5 On the drawing and the possible dates of its execution, see M.N. Benisovich, 'The Drawings of Stradanus (Jan van der Straeten) in the Cooper Union Museum for the Arts of Decoration, New York', *Art Bulletin*, 38, 1956, 249–51; Alice B. McGinty, 'Stradanus (Jan van der Straet): His Role in the Visual Communication of Renaissance Discoveries, Technologies, and Values', PhD diss., Tufts University, 1974, 21; Claire Le Corbellier, 'Miss America and Her Sisters: Personifications of the Four Parts of the World', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 19:4, April 1961, 210; Rabasa, *Inventing America*, 23–48; Federica Ambrosini, 'Rappresentazioi allegoriche dell' America nel Veneto del Cinque e Seicento', *Artibus et historiae*, 1:2, 1980, 71–2; Baroni Vannucci, *Van der Straet*, 282–4.
- 6 A facsimile edition of the *Nova Reperta* was published in 1953 by the Burndy Library in Norwalk, Connecticut. On the engravings, see Jean-Claude Margolin, 'À propos des *Nova Reperta* de Stradan', in François Laroque and Franck Lessay, eds, *Esthétiques de la nouveauté à la renaissance*, Paris, 2001, 1–29; Baroni Vannucci, *Van der Straet*, 397–8.
- 7 On the engraving, see Honour, *Golden Land*, 88–9; Michel DeCerteau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley, New York, 1988, xxv–xxvi; Hulme,

- Colonial Encounters*, 1; Rabasa, *Inventing America*, 23–48; Baroni Vannucci, *Van der Straet*, 397–8; Margolin, 'À propos des *Nova Reperta*', 7.
- 8 Translation by Bern Dibner in the 1953 facsimile edition. The text on the print reads, 'America. Americanus Americus retexit – Semel vocavit inde semper excitam.'
 - 9 See De Certeau, *Writing of History*, xxv–xxvi; Louis Montrose, 'The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery', *Representations*, 33, Winter 1991, 1–41; Rabasa, *Inventing America*, 23–48.
 - 10 See, for example, Margaret D. Carroll, 'The Erotics of Absolutism: Rubens and the Mystification of Sexual Violence', in *Expanding the Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, New York, 1992, 138–59; Dianne Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The 'Heroic Tradition' and its Alternatives*, Cambridge, 1999. Oriana Baddeley has drawn attention to the prevalence of the allegory of rape in the staging of this encounter with the 'eroticised Indian nude greeting the arrival of the Spanish conqueror with equanimity'; she writes, 'the naked fertile America is quite literally discovered by the explorer Vespucci; the clothed, civilized European ... bringing technology and knowledge to the available, desirable but primitive Americas.' See 'Engendering new worlds: allegories of rape and reconciliation', in O. Baddeley, ed., *New Art from Latin America: Expanding the Continent, Art and Design*, 37, 1994, 10–18. On these phenomena in the context of colonial Latin America, see Verena Stolcke, 'Invaded Women: Gender, Race, and Class in the Formation of Colonial Society', trans. Walden Browne, in *Women, 'Race', and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, eds Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, London and New York, 1994, 272–86; Peter Hulme, 'Polytropic Man: Tropes of Sexuality and Mobility in Early Colonial Discourse', in Francis Barker et al., eds, *Europe and Its Others: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature*, vol. 2, Colchester, 1985, 1–15.
 - 11 On the imagery of the title page, see W. Waterschoot, 'The Title-page of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*', *Quaerendo Amsterdam*, 9:1, 1979, 43–68. Waterschoot hypothesizes that the artist of the image may have been Hagenberg, Philippe Galle, or Maarten de Vos. See also Georgianna Ziegler, 'Ex-gendering the World: The Politics and Theatricality of Ortelius's Titlepage', in *European Iconography East and West*, Leiden, 1996, 128–45; Elizabeth McGrath, 'Humanism, Allegorical Invention, and the Personification of the Continents', in *Concept, Design and Execution in Flemish Painting 1550–1700*, Turnhout, 2000, 43–71.
 - 12 Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, 1611; reprint, with a preface by Stephen Orgel, New York, 1976. The first illustrated edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* was published in Rome in 1603.
 - 13 Orgel notes that the woodcut images in Ripa's *Iconologia* are said to be adaptations of designs by the Cavalier d'Arpino. See Ripa, *Iconologia*, n.p. The image of America in the *Iconologia* is briefly discussed in Le Corbellier, 'Miss America', 216–19; Honour, *New Golden Land*, 89; Ambrosini, 'Rappresentazioi allegoriche', 69–70; Peter Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic*, Baltimore, 1998, 106.
 - 14 On the painting and the scholarly literature on it, see Terisio Pignatti and Filippo Pedrocchi, *Giorgione*, Milan, 1999, 120–3, 193. The history of visual representations of the Judith theme is reviewed in Mary D. Garrard, *Artemesia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art*, Princeton, 1989, 282–302.
 - 15 Ripa, *Iconologia*, 361. 'L'arco, & le freze sono proprie armi', che adoprano continuamente si gl'huomini, come anco le donne in assai Prouincie. La testa humana sotto il piede apertamente dimostra di questa barbara gente esser la maggio parte usata pascersi di carne humana ...' (author's translation)
 - 16 Ripa, *Iconologia*, 361. 'La Lucerta, ouero liguro sono animali fra gli altri molto notabili in quei paesi, perciòche sono così grandi, & fieri, che deurano non solo li altri animali: ma gl'huomini ancora.' (author's translation)
 - 17 The episode and the text documenting it are studied by Hulme in *Colonial Encounters*, 13–43.
 - 18 Related to this is Rabasa's assertion that 'All the American motifs appear slightly out of focus if one compares them to the supporting emblems surrounding Vespucci.' See Rabasa, *Inventing America*, 28.
 - 19 Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre*, trans. Richard Howard, Cornell, 1970, 25.
 - 20 Author's emphasis. It continues: 'It is not surprising therefore that I should write in this vein. It was all so wonderful that I do not know how to describe this first glimpse of things never heard of, seen, or dreamed before.' Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, trans. J.M. Cohen, New York, 1963, 214.
 - 21 Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 132–6.
 - 22 Montrose, *Work of Gender*, 179–82.
 - 23 Montrose, *Work of Gender*, 181
 - 24 Rabasa, *Inventing America*, 26–7.
 - 25 Mason, *Infelicities*, 106–109.
 - 26 See, for example, Adrian Collaert's engraving after Martin de Vos of America riding on the back of an armadillo, in which the prominence of the allegorical figure initially overwrites the scenes of the preparation of human flesh for consumption that appear in the distance. The image is reproduced in Rabasa, *Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 274.

- 27 Amerigo Vespucci, *Letters from a New World: Amerigo Vespucci's Discovery of America*, ed. Luciano Formisano, trans. David Jacobson, New York, 1992, 9.
- 28 Tom Cummins, 'From Lies to Truth: Colonial Ekphrasis and the Act of Cross-cultural Translation', in Claire Farago, ed., *Reframing the Renaissance*, New Haven, 1995, 152-74.
- 29 See especially William Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy*, New York, 1979; Hulme, *Colonial Encounters*, 45-87; Arens, 'Rethinking Anthropophagy', in Barker, Hulme, and Iversen, eds, *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*, 39-62.
- 30 For that practice and its visual representation among the Moche of South America, for example, see Christopher B. Donnan, *Moche Art of Peru*, Los Angeles, 1978.
- 31 Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton, 1957.
- 32 Ripa, *Iconologia*, 356. 'Mostra con il ditto indice . . . Regni, Corone, Scetti, Ghirlande, & alter simili cose, essendo che nell'Europa vi sono I maggiori, e più potenti Principi del Mondo . . .' (author's translation)
- 33 Ripa, *Iconologia*, 359.
- 34 Ripa, *Iconologia*, 356. 'Il Sommo Pintefice Romano, la cui autorità si stende per tutto, doue hà luoco la Santissima, & Catholica Fede Christiana, laquale per fratia del Sig. Iddio hoggi è peruenuta fin al nuouo mondo.' (author's translation)
- 35 Isidro Sariñana y Cuenca, *Llanto del occidente en el ocase del mas claro Sol de las Españas . . .*, Mexico City, 1666. A facsimile edition with an introduction by Guillermo Tovar de Teresa was published in Mexico City in 1977.
- 36 Sariñana, *Llanto*, fol. 42v.
- 37 Translation by the author. Sariñana, *Llanto*, fol. 42v-43r. 'Se pintaron en este Geroglifico la Europa, y la America, dedicando cada uno medio tumulo à su grandeza [sic], como eran necessario dos Mundos para integrar uno decente a su memoria, como que en las que celebrò España, estaba erigida la mitad, que avia de añadir para su complemento la Nueva España . . .'
- 38 Jaime Cuadriello, 'Los jeroglíficos de la Nueva España', in his *Juegos de ingenio y agudeza: La pintura embemática de la Nueva España*, Mexico City, 1994, 91 (author's translation).

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