Seeing Cannibals: European Colonial Discourses on the Latin American Other

submitted by

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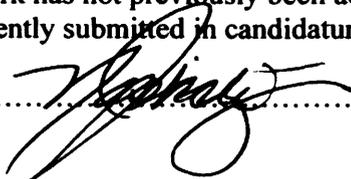
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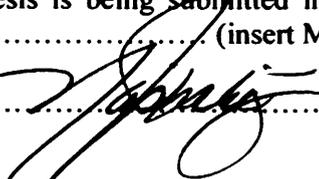
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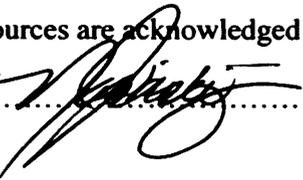
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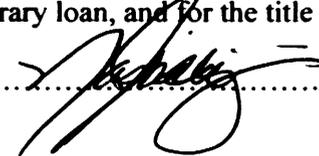
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Abstract

The figure of the cannibal has been central in the development of European colonial discourses on Latin America. It has functioned as a *locus* for coming to grips with otherness and as a crucial marker for differentiating between the "civilised" and the "savage" in European discourses. While there is an extensive academic body of work on the figure of the Latin American cannibal in written texts, a study dedicated exclusively to the images of Latin American cannibals is lacking. The present dissertation addresses this gap by looking at the role that printed images of cannibalism played in the construction of European discourses on Latin American otherness during the colonial period of the region (1500-ca. 1750). It focuses on a corpus consisting mainly of woodcuts and copperplates that illustrated the main European travel narratives, New World compendiums, maps and atlases of the period. Centrally, this work proposes that visual representations of the cannibal functioned as discursive sites for the deployment of strategic othering at the service of European colonialism in the Americas. The theoretical framework for this study is based on Foucault's work on discourse and the impact that particular systems of power/knowledge had on the representational regimes of the period. Further theoretical references include postcolonial theory through figures such as Said, Bhabha and Mignolo, as well as current debates on visual culture and visuality. In terms of methodology, the thesis locates the shifts in European forms of discursive othering over time and space by following a Foucauldian method of discourse analysis based on archaeological and genealogical analyses of the corpus. It also addresses the intertextual and interdiscursive threads that connect these printed images of Latin American cannibals to their accompanying texts and surrounding discourses.

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A los jefes Piripitín, gracias por brindarme el ejemplo para poder vivir una vida dedicada a hacer lo que me apasiona. Y gracias por ofrecerme las coordenadas para saber indignarme ante lo injusto y para comprender que la política se juega del día a día. A mi hermanito, tu apoyo estos dos años ha sido infinito y no puedo expresarte cuánto lo agradezco. Tenerte cerca ha sido un privilegio. "¡Vivan los hermanos Fernández en la isla de los frijoles dulces!".

Los nadies

Sueñan las pulgas con comprarse un perro y sueñan los nadies con salir de pobres, que algún mágico día llueva de pronto la buena suerte, que llueva a cántaros la buena suerte; pero la buena suerte no llueve ayer, ni hoy, ni mañana, ni nunca, ni en lloviznita cae del cielo la buena suerte, por mucho que los nadies la llamen y aunque les pique la mano izquierda, o se levanten con el pie derecho, o empiecen el año cambiando de escoba.

Los nadies: los hijos de nadie, los dueños de nada.

Los nadies: los ningunos, los ninguneados, corriendo la liebre, muriendo la vida, jodidos, rejodidos:

Que no son, aunque sean.

Que no hablan idiomas, sino dialectos.

Que no profesan religiones, sino supersticiones.

Que no hacen arte, sino artesanía.

Que no practican cultura, sino folklore.

Que no son seres humanos, sino recursos humanos.

Que no tienen cara, sino brazos.

Que no tienen nombre, sino número.

Que no figuran en la historia universal, sino en la crónica roja de la prensa local.

Los nadies, que cuestan menos que la bala que los mata.

-Eduardo Galeano

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Chapter One. Introduction

"En alguna ocasión hemos señalado que la dignidad se puede definir en relación al mirar al otro,
al ser mirados por el otro, y al miramos a nosotros mismos. [...]
Y una forma de mirar es una forma de preguntar."
- *Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos.*

Early on 6 February 2007, 73 year-old Emestina Asunción left her house to pastor her sheep in the sierra of Tetlalzinga, Veracruz. When her bruised and battered body was found later that day, she managed to tell her children before dying that federal soldiers had ambushed and repeatedly beaten and raped her. An initial necropsy at the municipal hospital confirmed that her death was due to severe anaemia brought on by profuse internal bleeding; there was also evidence of blunt trauma to the head, and sperm samples of at least three different men were collected (Amnesty International 2007, Tesoro 2007). On 13 March 2007, the *de facto* president of Mexico, Felipe Calderón, declared in an interview:

> I have been following the case of the woman that they say was murdered in [Veracruz]. The CNDH [National Commission for Human Rights] has intervened, and what has resulted from the necropsy was that she died of a non-attended chronic gastritis. (Gallegos & Herrera 2007)

A few days later, the president of the CNDH José Luis Soberanes released the results of this second official necropsy to the media, confirming *verbatim* Calderón's hypothesis. Soberanes insisted that those who speculated that Emestina had died as a consequence of rape lacked evidence and that, in all likelihood, she had died of chronic gastritis developing into a severe bleeding gastric ulcer (Morales 2007, Vera 2007). The official version prevailed, the case was closed, and to this day Emestina's murder is recorded as death by gastritis. Emestina was poor, elderly, female, and indigenous; she was four times other. And this was not the first time the stomach was at the core of delirious justifications for the brutal destruction of the other. The New World cannibal had been Emestina's predecessor; his gastric proclivities offered the conquistadors an excuse for his ultimate annihilation.

Unfortunately, Emestina and the cannibal's stories are not uncommon in Latin America. As Eduardo Galeano has so lucidly written:

> The division of labour among nations is that some specialise in winning and others in losing. Our part of the world, known today as Latin America, was precocious: it has specialised in losing ever since those remote times when Renaissance Europeans ventured across the ocean and buried their teeth in the throats of the Indian civilisations. (1973:11)

Inequality runs rampant in the continent. A perpetual colony, Latin America still looks to the powerful West to determine its destiny. The history of the continent is one throughout which Latin America has perfected its role as servant:

> We are no longer in the era of marvels when fact surpassed fable and imagination was shamed by the trophies of conquest – the lodes of gold, the mountains of silver. But our region still works as a menial. It continues to exist at the service of others' needs. (Galeano 1973:11)

As Latin Americans, our function has historically been to adopt the vanquisher's image of who we are and to assume it is a fundamental truth about ourselves. In the best of cases, Latin Americans can never be anything but apprentices, "rough drafts or dull copies of Europeans" (Fernández Retamar 1989:5). In the worst, we have happily imbibed the image of ourselves as backward, uncivilised, barbaric, savage. Yet these images are just that: they are mirages not mirrors. They are constructions that have sustained clear ideological functions throughout the five hundred years of our servility. The only way to destroy them is by staring at them so intently that their cracks will begin to show. If we understand how these images of ourselves were built, then we can begin to take them apart piece by piece.

This dissertation seeks to take apart some of the images imposed upon ourselves throughout the five hundred years of European presence in the continent. As it will be demonstrated further below, from the very first moment of contact the Amerindian was characterised as a naked, savage, monstrous cannibal. As such, the figure of the cannibal has played a central role for the construction of the Latin American subject. In other words, the Amerindian was always other. He was other to the European, other to 'civilisation', other to the very core. In sum, this thesis looks at the ways in which the Latin American native was constructed as irreducibly *other* through the figure of the cannibal. If the American Indian was produced as so radically different to his European counterpart, then his ultimate 'taming' and decimation was justified in the interests of European colonisation.

More specifically, the following dissertation will analyse the representational strategies mobilised in order to effectively achieve the definitive othering of the New World native. In short, the following chapters will look at the ways in which the cannibal was constructed as a powerful trope in European visual discourses that ultimately legitimated the supreme violences enacted upon the original inhabitants of the Americas.

While important scholarly inroads have been made with regards to the figure of the cannibal in European colonial literature (see Arens 1978, 1998; Duviols 1985;

Greenblatt 1991, 1993, 1994; Lestringant 1990, 1993, 1997; Reding Blase 1992; and Todorov 1994), a detailed study of the figure of the New World cannibal in visual representations has not been fully realised until now. This dissertation will address this gap by focusing exclusively on the body of visual representations through which the Amerindian was depicted as a cannibal. In order to achieve this, the following work will be based on a collection of printed images, produced in Europe between the late fifteenth to mid-eighteenth centuries, in which the New World native is depicted as a cannibal. Printed images have been selected because the printed medium is considered to have been the main source of the distribution of knowledge in the chosen timeframe. Hence, the images included in books, atlases and compendiums or produced as single-leaf engravings were, in all likelihood, the most highly distributed sources of information on the Americas. The timeframe has been selected because it corresponds to the colonial period during which most of Latin America was directly under European control. As it will become clear as the thesis develops, images of Latin American cannibalism faded out of European visual cultures from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, when Latin American nations commenced their struggle towards independence. For this reason, it can be argued that the cannibal held a close relationship with European colonialism and that, as soon as Latin American nations broke away from European control, the figure of the cannibal lost its immediate function in colonial discourses and morphed into other tropes for dealing with alterity.

Following from the above, the main tenet of this dissertation is that the figure of the cannibal played a central role in the development of European colonialism in the region. By producing the Latin American subject as fundamentally other and as fundamentally inferior, Europe justified its literal and discursive appropriation of the continent's peoples. In order to address this hypothesis fully, specific research questions will be posed. For instance, is it the case that the cannibalism trope was a central theme for representing the New World native, or was this trope produced fortuitously, just one among many other ways of representing the Americans? Was this trope developed in a relatively consistent way or were the images of the Latin American cannibal part of an erratically constructed discourse? In the same vein, what are the continuities and/or variations that characterise these images of cannibalism? What role did visual representations play in this context? How did the trope of the cannibal serve to enhance, facilitate and legitimise the European colonial project in the Americas? And finally, what was the relationship between images of cannibalism, pre-existing European discourses and the colonial mission?

1.1 A new world

When Europe first came into contact with the Americas, it called it a New World. And while this term has been heavily criticised due to the Eurocentric categories that it reveals, the term can also be re-appropriated and used to refer to the colonial situation brought about by this encounter. As Williams (1993) has argued, the colonial situation of the Americas was initiated by Columbus's voyages and it "[has] generated a 'New World' in the sense that [it] confronted people from 'Two Old Worlds'" (1993:xxx n.7). Hence, the 'New World' is new in that it was born of an "inventive process of a thing made in the very image of its inventor" (Roque 1993:1028). This research project emerged from an interest in the relationship between this inventor and its inventee.

This dissertation focuses on the relationship between power and representation. A sustained focus on the historical situation of Latin America as a colonial region has been formulated in order to better understand the condition of the region as an imaginary entity that has been shaped through representations of it imposed by its colonisers past and present. Accordingly, this dissertation is the result of a concern with Latin America's current political, social and cultural issues, as well as an attempt to understand the historical processes that continue to influence events in the area. Much like Gutting's (2005) theorisation of Foucault's histories of the present, this research topic was born of the "perception that something is terribly wrong in the present" (2005:10). As Mignolo has argued:

> from the perspective of the locus of enunciation, understanding the past cannot be detached from speaking the present. [...] It follows, then, that the need to speak the present originates at the same time from a research program that needs to debunk, refurbish, or celebrate previous disciplinary findings, and from the subject's nondisciplinary (gender, class, race, nation) confrontation with social urgencies. (1995:5-6)

In this context, this dissertation focuses on ways of interpreting images that are "effective in exploring the potential meaning of the cultural creations of the past for the circumstances in which we find ourselves today" (Bryson 1994:xvii). The primary goal is not only to look towards the past, but to better understand the present.

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Fig. 1.1. van der Aa, P. Guaymures grands de stature et grands mangeurs d'hommes, in *La galerie agréable du monde*, 1729

Cannibalism was a trope that was ever-present in the continuing European colonial discourses on Latin America (see section 1.2). It was to become a marker of the distance (both literal and symbolic) between the Old World and the New. Moreover, cannibalism served a role as a discursive trope in the construction of different forms of social identities. It was a point of departure for an array of images of the New World native; it defined and positioned the other; it became 'proof' of savagery (fig. 1.1). Importantly, cannibalism provided European colonisers with a "metaphorical and a reality-based justification for imposing their own forms of cruelty and a justification for inculcating values that were perhaps as violent as the military conquests" (Williams 1993:xxiv). But above all, it was an excuse that allowed particular social groups to define *themselves* as either victims or executioners, as innocents or monsters, as virtuous or immoral. At their very core, representations of cannibalism articulate "I am *this* because I am not *that*". In this sense, cannibalism was a European obsession that has been "largely overlooked today in the historical record and generally glossed over in historical reconstructions of the discovery, conquest, and colonisation of the New World" (Palencia-Roth 1993:21). Yet, however disregarded or glossed over it may be in many current historical reconstructions, the significant corpus of images analysed throughout the following dissertation demonstrates that it was a trope that was mobilised consistently and frequently

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throughout several hundred years in order to depict the Latin American indigenous peoples.

Given the above, the framework for approaching this topic is the field of Foucauldian and colonial discourse analysis of visual representations. If colonial discourse can be defined as "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" (Schreffler 2005:295), then colonial discourse analysis is a way of "understanding the relationship between discourse and power during colonial expansion" (Mignolo 1995:7). As McLeod (2000) has outlined, colonial discourse analysis rejects the assumption that texts exist regardless of their historical contexts by postulating three tenets: a) context influences the production of meanings and, conversely, texts have the power to influence their context; b) 'high culture' has taken part in a history of colonial exploitation; c) it is fundamental to understand the mechanisms used by colonial discourses in the past in order to resist colonial representations in the present.

In this sense, the trope of the cannibal continues to resonate in contemporary social and cultural debates Latin America. The figure of the cannibal continues to impact the social configuration of Latin American nations in the sense that it sets the discursive basis for categorising the colonial and postcolonial subjects into the 'good Indian' (the Arawak) and the 'savage' (the cannibal Carib). In Latin America, the 'good Indian' is presented as the compliant, silent subject, subservient to his colonial master's interests. The 'savage', on the other hand, forms part of the raucous, out-of-control masses that threaten the stability of the region's governments. In other words, the theme of the Latin American cannibal has initiated a series of othering processes which, while having changed in approach and shape over the centuries, persist to this day. Faced with this polarisation, Latinamericanist movements during the twentieth century have confronted the theme of cannibalism in order to subvert, resist and reappropriate it. For instance, cultural *avant gardes* such as the *modernismo* movement in Brazil (Andrade 1928) and Fernández Retamar's *Calibanismo* (1989) have championed the figure of the Latin American cannibal as a means of resistance to the cultural hegemony of Europe in the region (these approaches will be dealt with in more detail in chapter two). The fact remains that the trope of the cannibal continues to be central to Latin America's discussion and construction of a regional identity. In order to engage fully with this discussion, the history of the cannibal must be fully confronted.

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1.2 An old story

The first cannibals

While the concept of humans that ate human flesh existed in Europe well before Christopher Columbus's first trip to the Americas in 1492, it was his contact with the native peoples of the Caribbean that launched the word *cannibal* into European vocabularies. Born of a misunderstanding of the name of neighbouring Caribe tribes (*caribe* became confused with *caniba*, see Colás 2001 and Dibie 2001), the Antillian cannibal became the ghost that would haunt European images of the New World. Heavily influenced by explorers such as Mandeville and Marco Polo, Columbus's journey was constantly marked by the contrast between what he expected to find and what he actually found:

> As I have found no monsters, so I have had no report of any, except on an island "Qwaris" [...] which is inhabited by a people who are regarded in all islands to be very fierce and who eat human flesh. They have many canoes with which they range through all the islands of India and pillage and take as much as they can. They are no more malformed than the others, except that they have the custom of wearing their hair long like women. [...] They are ferocious among these other people who are cowardly to an excessive degree, but I make no more account of them than of the rest. (cited in Jane 1988:14-16)

So, while Columbus kept his eyes open for the monsters that were supposed to live on the fringes of civilisation, he was also quick to distance himself from such forms of superstition, and contented himself with reporting the absences of such fantasies.

These faraway hostile tribes were 'described' to Columbus by the peaceful peoples with which he first had contact, the Arawak, who mimed how two men were missing pieces of flesh from their bodies, "indicating to him that the cannibals had eaten them in mouthfuls" (Columbus 2000:129). The Arawak tribes were described as anything but aggressive in Columbus's initial letters: "they are a very gentle people" (2000:62) who most certainly will become "good servants, and of quick wit as they quickly give answer to all my demands, and I believe that very easily they will become Christian as I do not think they belong to any sect" (2000:60). In contrast to

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the peaceful Arawak, the ferocious cannibals living on neighbouring islands were deemed to be aggressive warriors. While Columbus described the Arawak to the Spanish rulers as 'a gentle people' who could easily be converted to the Christian faith, their savage cannibal counterparts the Caribs would make excellent slaves:

> We believe that they [the cannibals], having abandoned that inhumanity [of eating human flesh], will be better than any other slaves, and their inhumanity they will immediately lose when they are out of their own land. (cited in Greenblatt 1988:71-72)

Thus, based upon hearsay, faulty interpretation and overall confusion, the binary of the bad cannibal and the good savage was born.

The rumours of man-eating savages living on the fringes of the world soon became hyperbole. After Columbus had returned to Spain with tales of unseen cannibals and several Arawak in tow, his letter to the Spanish monarchs was published and amply distributed throughout the continent, becoming the topic of widespread discussion. Doctor Chanca, one of Columbus's companions during his second voyage to the Indies, was also instrumental in the exaggerated construction of these savage man-eaters.[1] In his letter to the city of Seville, Dr. Chanca embellished the previously existing stories of the as yet unseen cannibals: "there we found a great quantity of men's bones and skulls hung up about the houses like vessels to hold things" (cited in Jane 1988:30). Further evidence consisted of gnawed bones and the neck of a man cooking in a pot. Women captives of the Carib-cannibals encountered by the explorers described the cannibals' cruelty,[2] explaining to the Spanish party that the Carib would capture and eat male children, take war prisoners home to cut up for meat and eat at once the bodies that were already dead. Furthermore, the cruel cannibals would castrate boy captives, keep them as servants until they were grown, and then kill them and eat them in a feast. Yet Chanca himself was well aware of the incredulity that such accounts would provoke:

> I believe that those who do not know me and who hear these things may find me prolix and a man who has exaggerated somewhat. But God is witness that I have not gone one iota beyond the bounds of truth. (cited in Jane 1988:72)

Similar accounts were circulated through other authors, one of the most notable of which was Amerigo Vespucci. In contrast to Columbus's enthusiastic salesmanship, Vespucci's proto-ethnographical interest in indigenous customs and

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[1] There is some degree of controversy as to the reliability of his testimony. Some authors (Hulme 1998, Arens 1978) affirm that Dr. Chanca never even left the caravels during this second trip.

[2] As some authors have argued (Todorov 1984, Greenblatt 1991), the accuracy of these communications between Columbus and the Arawak could only have been based on misunderstandings and selective interpretation given there was no shared language between the two.

practices derived from the direct contact Vespucci experienced while living with a native tribe on the Brazilian coast for twenty-seven days. For Reding Blase (1992), this direct contact resulted in a portrayal of the native based on the principles of a humanist, scientific and aesthetic approach to otherness. However, such relatively balanced descriptions of cannibals and their practices also incorporated European categories of value as well as mythological elements:

> They live together, without king, without authority and each is his own lord [...], they are not even idolaters. [...] They live according to nature and may be called more precisely epicurean than stoic. [...] They live 150 years and rarely become ill. (cited in Reding Blase 1992:58)

Thus, the cannibals first imagined by Europe were construed as demure primitives, bellicose man-eaters or mythological creatures of astonishing longevity.

Cannibal empire

As it started to become clear that the lands found by Columbus were not the Indies but a previously unknown continent, the colonising missions in the Americas began to increase in intensity. Colonies were established on Cuba and on other of the major islands in the Antilles. The priorities for these colonies were, first and foremost, to find firm land. Several expeditions were sent out towards the West, a few of them succeeding in touching firm ground on the Yucatán peninsula as well as on what is currently known as the port of Veracruz. One such expedition was lead by Hernán Cortés, who was eventually to become the conqueror of one of the largest empires in Mesoamerica.

Cortés's expeditionary letters are interesting on several grounds. Cortés's sense of pragmatism and tactical prowess is underscored in the chronicles he sends back to the Spanish monarchs. Most of Cortés's encounters with the inhabitants of these unknown lands were understood in terms of what could be gained through such interactions. He immediately sought out alliances with city-states that were tributaries to Moctezuma, ruler of Tenochtitlán, the Mexican empire. Cortés related that the otomies, subjects of the Mexicas:

> declared themselves willing to be the subjects of your Majesty and my friends, begging me to defend them from the [Mexica] lord who ruled them by force and tyranny, taking their children to kill and sacrifice them to his idols and giving them other grievous causes for complaint of which they informed me. (1962:33)

In this manner, Cortés tied the Mexican practices of human sacrifice with a moral justification for the Spanish crown to rid these peoples from their oppressors. And

while Cortés rarely mentions cannibalism directly, his letters to the Spanish sovereigns reveal a dutiful will to convert the Indians to the Christian religion. Thus, at the 'great mosque'[3] in the centre of Tenochtitlán Cortés ordered that the largest idol be "flung down the stairs" (1962:90) and subsequently had the Mexica cleanse the temples that were "full of the blood of human victims who had been sacrificed, and placed in them the image of Our Lady and other saints, all of which made no small impression upon Muctezuma and the inhabitants" (1962:91). He also forbade them to make human sacrifice to the idols "because besides being an abomination in the sight of God, it is prohibited by your Majesty's laws which declare that he who kills shall be killed" (1962:92).

Bernal Díaz del Castillo's (2005) account of the conquest is more explicit and, in some cases, embellished with regards to the description of Mexica human sacrifices. Díaz del Castillo was one of the expeditionary members accompanying Cortés during his entry into Tenochtitlán. He, who in his old age resented the official chronicles of the conquest, decided to write his *Verdadera historia de la conquista de la Nueva España* (*True History of the Conquest of New Spain*) some thirty years after the expedition and relying for it on his memory. Whereas Cortés's *Letters* tend to be clear and pragmatic, Díaz del Castillo continually affirms himself as one of the fundamental expeditionaries who was cheated out of his deserved subsequent compensation by the Spanish crown. Given this context and in the interest of seeking more credibility than other texts circulating at the time, Díaz del Castillo's account is extremely descriptive and rich in detail:

> When they sacrifice a wretched Indian they saw open the chest with stone knives and hasten to tear out the palpitating heart and blood, and offer it to their Idols, in whose name the sacrifice is made. Then they cut off the thighs, arms and head and eat the former at feasts and banquets, and the head they hang up on some beams, and the body of the man sacrificed is not eaten but given to these fierce [zoo] animals. (2005:295)

Yet for all the detail in his narration, Díaz del Castillo never mentions having been witness to either ritual sacrifices or acts of cannibalism. Most of his accounts are based on rumour: "As we afterwards learned, [...Moctezuma] daily sacrificed youths to [his gods] so as to get an answer from them as to what he should do about us" (2005:130). In another passage, Díaz del Castillo writes:

> I have heard it said that they were wont to cook for him the flesh of young boys, but as he had such a variety of dishes, made of so many things, we could not

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[3] Many of the Spanish conquistadors frequently used the terminology of the re-conquest of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors which had taken place in Europe as recently as 1492. As such, the Mexica's temples were called mosques in the parallel drawn between the two conquests.

succeed in seeing if they were of human flesh or of other things, for they daily cooked fowls, turkeys, pheasants, native partridges [...] but I know for certain that after our Captain censured the sacrifice of human beings, and the eating of their flesh, he ordered that such food should not be prepared for him thenceforth. (2005:290)

In comparison to Cortés, Díaz del Castillo made it a priority to mention such acts of sacrifice and cannibalism; this may be due to the fact that his chronicle was written thirty years after the actual conquest, a fact that may have resulted in his incorporating into his *Verdadera historia* many of the myths and sayings about the Mexica popular in Europe at the time.

Chronicles from an indigenous point of view are rare as most of the Mexica codices were destroyed as heretical texts by the Spaniards once the conquest was consolidated (León-Portilla 1972). In the texts that survive there are a few mentions of sacrificial rites involving cannibalism, particularly in the context of offerings rendered to the *conquistadores* who upon arrival were considered gods. One text narrates that sacrifices were made before Cortés, which angered him as he was offered blood in a gourd. Other texts describe ceremonies that included all types of offerings such as "fasting food (or maybe food made from human meat) and pieces of compressed amaranth seed" (León-Portilla 1972:79). A more detailed account tells of a welcoming commission sent by Moctezuma to greet the Spaniards:

He sent captives with which to offer them sacrifice: they [the expeditionaries] might want to drink their blood. And so the envoys did. But when they (the Spaniards) saw that sight they felt disgusted, they spat, they rubbed their lashes, they closed their eyes, they shook their heads. And the food that was stained with blood was thrown away in disgust, as if it had been rotten blood. (León-Portilla 1972:34)

At this early stage of conquest, the figure of the cannibal was to be the mediator of the first encounters between the two peoples.

The spiritual conquest

The arrival of evangelical missions to Mesoamerica brought on a further range of attitudes with regards to ritual sacrifice and cannibalism. Evangelisers' reaction to New World idolatry varied significantly across a spectrum that went from absolute condemnation to the fervent defence of the natives in order to ensure their souls for Christianity. The Las Casas-Sepúlveda debate on the humanity of the New World

natives was particularly central in establishing Spanish policy toward the Indians.[4] On the one hand, Juan de Ginés Sepúlveda maintained that the cannibal rituals practiced by the Indians were evidence of their lack of reason. Hence, in his eyes the colonising mission was justified in order to banish the crimes of demon worship, human sacrifice and anthropophagy. On the other hand, Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas argued that while there *was* evidence of cannibal practices among the Mexica, their religious customs were not proof of animality or lack of reason. To this end, he dedicated his voluminous *Apologética* (1967) to prove that all civilisations have practiced some form of sacrifice or offering to their gods at some time or another, and that this characteristic of the Mexica had become misdirected but could once again be guided in the right direction through proper religious instruction. For this Dominican friar, the Spanish colonisers had no direct jurisdiction over the natives of the Americas, regardless of their 'idolatry' and practices of human sacrifice. Instead, the Indians could be redeemed and cleansed of their extreme religious practices through the process of becoming (human) subjects of the Spanish Crown.

What most of the missionaries *did* have in common was the need for recording and describing in minute detail most of the indigenous rites in order to better eradicate them from the indigenous peoples. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (1969, 1992) is a prime example of this production of knowledge about the New World native. While the word cannibalism is rarely used in this compendium, Sahagún puts into classificatory order the information passed on to him by Indians who had lived through the Conquest and were well-versed in the rituals and ceremonies of their religion:

> After being skinned, the old men called *cuacuacuilti* took the bodies to the *calpulco*, where the master of the captive had made his vow or promise. There it was divided and a thigh was sent to Motecuzoma for him to eat, and the rest was divided amongst the other principles or relatives. They went to eat it at the house of the one who captured the prisoner. They cooked the meat with maize and gave each person a piece of that flesh in a gourd with its broth and boiled maize, and they called that food *tlacatloalli*. (Sahagún 1992:108)

At least twenty or more ceremonies are described throughout the *Historia* in a similar fashion. By recording the minute details of all these ceremonies, the aim was to empower evangelisers to better recognise and eradicate idolatrous practices.

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[4] This debate will be outlined in detail in chapter seven.

While the colonising missions in the Americas were initially dominated by Spanish and Portuguese expeditions, Northern European nations also eventually established settlements in the New World. The differences between the two types of accounts (Catholic and Protestant; Northern and Southern Europe) hinge on the fact that they were produced in the context of two completely dissimilar colonising projects. Spanish and Portuguese colonial texts tended to be directly addressed to the Monarchs or specific royal officials.[5] Protestant accounts, in contrast, very quickly became great travel narrative collections that circulated amply throughout the continent. For Haynes (cited in Bartolovich 1998), this difference was due to the suppression of information on the part of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns as they attempted to keep knowledge of the fledgling colonies as secret as possible. Protestant countries, on the other hand, based their expeditions on private investment and actively encouraged the circulation of information on the New World in order to assure sponsorship.

Of the several Protestant expeditionary tales of life amongst cannibals, Hans Staden's *Captivity* (1945 [1557]) is considered one of the first and most meticulous. The book is written in two different genres, both based on his period of captivity amongst the Tupinamba of Brazil. The first part is written in the style of a travel narrative in which Staden recounts his firsthand experiences with the cannibal Tupi. This dramatic account reiterates European use of cannibalism as a defining characteristic of American natives. For Staden, the savages of Brazil can be distinguished from other peoples because "they eat people's flesh" (1945:4); their cannibalism defines them. The second part of the *Captivity*, written in a more objective tone, enlists in great detail the customs, social organization, production of objects, and traditions of these peoples. Much attention is given to the cannibal ceremonies practiced by the Tupinamba. The procedures, rituals, and tools used in these practices are described in great detail:

> Then a blow is delivered on the neck, the brains burst out and the women take the body and drag it to the fire. [...] When [the prisoner] has been skinned, a man takes him and cuts his legs above the knees and also the arms. Then come the women, who take the four pieces and run around the cabins, making great noise. [...] They eat the intestines and also the headmeat; the brains, tongue and everything else is for the young ones. [...] This I saw and witnessed. (1945:232-243)

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[5] Columbus's letters to the Sovereigns, however, were illustrated, massively reproduced and circulated in Europe. Other compilations of information, such as those produced by Las Casas and Sahagún, were conceived in the context of a limited audience of knowledgeable scholars and Court decision-makers.

Furthermore, it is through Staden's text that Tupi cannibalism becomes enmeshed with the concept of vengeance because, as Staden explains, they eat their captives out of great hate and in order to humiliate their prey.

André Thévet's *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique* (1558) further develops on the contrast between indigenous 'savages' and 'civilised' Europeans. For him:

> America is today inhabited [...] by marvellously strange and savage peoples, without faith law, religion, or the least civility, living like irrational beasts just as nature produced them. [...] We should offer up praise to the Creator who has enlightened us in these things, and has not left us in a brutish state like these poor Americans. (cited in Elliot 1976:20)

Other French accounts of Brazilian expeditions are sometimes a relativistic defence of the natives. Jean de Léry, for instance, was quick to point out that while cannibalism *outremer* may be horrifying, equally appalling things took place in Europe daily:

> If you consider in all candour what our big usurers do, sucking blood and marrow; and eating everyone alive – widows, orphans, and other poor people, whose throats it would be better to cut once and for all, than to make them linger in misery – you will say that they are even more cruel than the savages I speak of. (cited in Hulme 1998:15)

Theodor de Bry, although never having set foot upon foreign lands, also participated in this controversy via his travel narrative compendiums. They consist of a collection of expeditionary stories – which include Hans Staden's *Captivity*, Las Casas's *Breve historia de la destrucción de las Indias*, as well as other texts on the colonisation of Florida and other North American territories – all amply illustrated. His agenda was clearly a political one given that he was publishing his books as a Protestant who had settled in Frankfurt after being forced to leave his native Flanders by the Spanish Inquisition. As such, de Bry's work highlights what Lestringant considers to be the two main themes in the Huguenot corpus: "the denunciation of the crimes of the Spanish Conquest [and] a defence of the free and happy savage" (1993:128).

The enlightened cannibal

The American cannibal continued to be a pawn in Old World power struggles throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Initial reactions of disgust and condemnation gave way to the "rationalisation of the uncanniness of Léry's cannibal" (Greenblatt 1993:xii). Peter Martyr of Anghiera, for instance, was one of the first to use the image of the cannibal as a literary device for political criticism (Reding Blase

1992). He situates the American cannibal in the context of a Golden Age, an early precursor to the naked philosopher present in the works of the Encyclopedists. In Martyr's *Decades*, the American savage directly addresses Columbus and questions his unjust invasion of his world:

> We have been told that you have wandered with powerful armies all these provinces that until now were unknown to you, and that you have caused not little fear to the peoples that inhabit them. This is why I warn you and prevent you, that souls, when they exit the body, have two paths: one tenebrous and horrible, prepared for those who have damaged humankind; other pleasant and delightful for those who in life loved peace and tranquillity amongst people. If, then, you are aware that you are mortal and that everyone's future merits are signalled by present works, you will harm no one. (cited in Reding Blase 1992:76-77)

Moreover, the figure of the New World cannibal as naked philosopher was a cornerstone for the work of Michel de Montaigne. In his essay entitled 'Des cannibales' (1965 [1580]), he recounts the encounter between King Charles IX and a group of Brazilian Indians. As he makes clear a few lines into his essay, Montaigne introduces an element of cultural relativism as can be surmised in one of his most quoted passages: "I find that there is nothing barbarous and savage in this nation, by anything that I can gather, excepting, that every one gives the title of barbarism to anything that is not in use in his own country" (1965:254). When addressing the Indian's cannibalism, Montaigne compares it to instances of European practices he deems as – or more – barbarous than New World anthropophagy:

> I am not sorry that we should here take notice of the barbarous horror of so cruel an action, but that, seeing so clearly into their faults, we should be so blind to our own. I conceive there is more barbarity in eating a man alive, than when he is dead; in tearing a body limb from limb by racks and torments, which is yet in perfect sense. (1965:258)

However, for all the idealisation of the American cannibal as paradigm, the Indian subject continued to exist in function of the European. His idealisation turned him into a symbol for the "tiredness that the European man feels with regards to his own civilisation" (Reding Blase 1992:144), prompting him "to look towards America with optimistic eyes" (1992:144). The clothed philosopher looked his naked counterpart in the mirror only in order to better see himself. The cannibal became symptom not subject.

1.3 An explorer's map

The present dissertation is structured in the following way. As discussed above, chapter one is an introduction to the main concerns posed by the research project. Firstly, this chapter looks at the overall scope of this project. By describing the general limits of the investigation, as well as the main hypothesis and derived research questions, this section establishes the general theoretical framework of the dissertation. Moreover, it establishes a link between historical representations of Latin American peoples and the inequality that characterises the subcontinent today, in the context of a Foucauldian theorisation of histories of the present. It also includes a brief overview of the figure of the cannibal in European travel narratives that contextualises and confirms the persistence of the trope in European colonial discourses.

Chapter two looks at the main body of contemporary works on New World cannibalism in the context of colonial Latin America. The focus has been on the most significant discussions surrounding the topic, particularly the materialist and symbolic anthropology debates, the controversial denialist claims propounded by authors such as Arens (1978), and postcolonial theory approaches to the topic. In order to achieve this, the chapter has been divided into three sections. The first explores the trope of cannibalism as a locus of controversy in anthropology and the ways in which contemporary anthropological texts perpetuate many of the othering strategies imbedded in European colonial discourses. The second section addresses Arens's claims that there is no hard evidence for non-Western cannibalism as an ongoing socially sanctioned practice. For him, cannibalism has been an ideological trope mobilised in order to justify the European colonisation of non-European peoples. The second section also explores literary and critical theorists' reactions to Arens's hypothesis and further research conducted on the colonial-discursive function of the trope of cannibalism. The third section is an overview of the most significant texts that have, in some manner or other, analysed the role of the colonial cannibal in visual representations.

Chapter three addresses the theoretical framework within which this dissertation is conducted. This chapter is an exercise in establishing the links between theoretical approaches to discourse and visual culture. More specifically, it focuses on Foucauldian theorisations of discourse and it explores the implications that Foucault's work might have in the realm of visual representations. The first section of the chapter looks at Foucault's overall theorisation of discourse, and the relationship established

between discourse and the sayable and the visible. The second part hones in on the role of discourse in the context of visual culture by establishing that visuality is a type of discourse. The third section explores the function of art historical approaches to the image as discursively constructed and power-mediated. The fourth and final part addresses the role of the image in the construction and effectivity of colonial discourses. It achieves this by providing an overview of postcolonial theory and concentrating on its approaches to the role of visuality in colonial contexts.

Chapter four presents the main methodological considerations involved in the development of this dissertation. It sets out the main objectives and research questions relevant to this project. Moreover, it discusses the principle methodological premises that have informed both the archive work and the analysis chapters by focusing on the archaeological and genealogical axes of analysis theorised by Foucault. The chapter also describes the archive work and research processes that were involved in the realisation of this work.

Chapter five is the first of the analysis chapters and it looks at the relation established between the cannibal and European discourses on the body. This chapter analyses the role that Christian, classical and popular discourses of embodiment played on the development of the visual representations of the Latin American native. The first section of the chapter explores the ways in which the cannibal body was represented according to classical canons, particularly as a whole closed body. The second part addresses the role that the fragmentation of the body played in the construction of visual representations of New World cannibalism. The third section looks at the shifts in epistemic regimes that brought about a new scopic regime fixated on the depths of the body. In this part, both the anatomisation of the cannibal and the metaphorical construction of the body as a colonial territory are explored.

Chapter six addresses the images of Latin American cannibalism and their intersection with European cosmographical knowledge along the axes of space and time. The role of the cannibal in European discourses on space is explored through an analysis of the geographical knowledges of the period and the visual representations of the New World as a cannibal landscape. In terms of time, the relegation of the Americas to an imagined pre-historical era is investigated as a strategic form of othering through the denial of contemporaneity. The allegorisation of the continent through the trope of cannibalism is also explored in the final section of this chapter.

Chapter seven looks at the relationship between the cannibal and European theological discourses. It focuses on the representational regimes that equalled

cannibalistic practices and rituals in the Americas to idolatry and possession by the devil. It also addresses colonial debates surrounding the degrees of 'humanity' inherent to the American native as well as the role of the cannibal played in the wars of religion between Catholics and Protestants. In short, this chapter sketches out the internal disputes that characterised different .European groups' struggle over the cannibal's soul.

Finally, chapter eight discusses the overall results obtained from this research project. In the conclusions, the overall configuration of the corpus of images is described, with particular attention granted to the continuities and shifts located over time and space. Also, the importance of the role of the image is discussed in detail in this section. Furthermore, the process of othering that Latin American natives were submitted to is thoroughly analysed, summarising the findings from the previous chapters. This final chapter argues, in sum, that this dissertation has proven that a) New World cannibalism was a singular and consistent visual trope used to describe the American other; in fact, at times other characteristics of New World peoples were effaced and cannibalism was highlighted as the single defining trait of the continent; and that b) colonial discourses of New World cannibalism were sturdily imbricated in pre-existing European discourses on the body, cosmography and theology; in this sense, Europeans consistently mobilised familiar points of reference for assimilating and producing knowledge about the other. The New World cannibal was always a cannibal seen through European eyes.

Chapter Two. Literature Review

The following literature review is limited; such an admission is made unreservedly. The universe of works addressing cannibalism as a general concept and practice is as immense as it is varied. Cannibalism as a metaphor for incorporation, a survival mechanism, a paraphilia associated with serial killers or a type of cyber-transgression: none of these aspects of man-eating shall be addressed yet they are some of the many shapes that cannibalism takes. This work is interested in studying cannibalism in another context altogether. It seeks to analyse the techniques of representation that resulted in the portrayal of native Latin-Americans as faraway, primitive, voracious, godless, naked savages best tamed in the interest of a European colonising project. In other words, this chapter looks at how cannibalism was constructed as an ideological element in European discourse with regards to the colonising project in Latin-America. In seeking to address this question, the present literature review is atypical in that it more or less blurs the line between the most influential and authoritative texts on the subject and those texts that reproduce the colonial discourses they are sturdily imbricated in. Hence, the review intends to do a two-fold job: it covers the main authors on the topic of cannibalism in European colonies in Latin-America, but it also treats such texts as part of a discursive horizon that is by no means objective or intrinsically authoritative. As such, the texts referenced were chosen taking into consideration their relevance in terms of their historical pertinence, their capacity to function as statements of an emerging or consolidated discourse, their ongoing role as repetitions of, or elaborations on, previous discourses, and their capacity to question, subvert or provide a new point of view towards the topic. Thus, this review is not especially strict on the limits it imposes on itself, but is more interested in following the discursive threads of the original colonial texts and the way these have woven themselves into contemporary neo-colonial and postcolonial discourses. The first section of this chapter looks at the ways in which anthropology as a discipline has dealt with the topic of American cannibalism. This section has proven particularly rich with regards to the intensity of the debate and the persistence of colonial discourses that one can glean from these discussions. The second section explores cultural-critical positions on the topic, with a particular emphasis on the importance of representation in the construction of the trope. In order to achieve this, the section looks at literary criticism and postcolonial theorisations of the trope, as well as incorporating Latin American scholars' positions on the possibility of the figure of the

cannibal as recourse for subversion of colonial discourses. The third and final section looks at the body of works that have directly dealt with visual representations of cannibalism in the Americas. Focusing exclusively on sources that have realised iconographical studies or theorised on the images of New World cannibalism, this section seeks to establish that, while many such texts address the subject, there is an evident absence of texts dealing with the images of New World cannibalism through the perspective of colonial discourse analysis.

2.1 Anthropology's anthropophagi

Anthropology has been one of the disciplines that has analysed cannibal practices most consistently and intently. The topic of cannibalism has been crucial in Western depictions of non-Western peoples throughout the development of this discipline. It has served as a trope from which to set standards of comparison between peoples and it has played a crucial role in the production of knowledges about certain groups. Born of explorer's observations of faraway peoples that resulted from the first wave of European colonisation, this discipline became formally established during the late eighteenth century through the systematisation of the bodies of knowledge of non-European peoples by European scholars. Anthropology has been, in this sense, a continuation of the travel narratives and cosmographical compendiums on the New World produced between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a result of this background, the discipline boasts a vast archive of the discussions, debates and knowledges surrounding the alleged cannibal practices of non-European peoples. Given that this area of study is one of the first to standardise information about cannibalism as well as providing a link between colonial texts and contemporary debates on the subject, it proves a good starting point for approaching contemporary discourses on anthropophagy.

Structuralist approaches to the trope, such as Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes tropiques* (1973), originally published in 1955, have been some of the earliest attempts of the twentieth century to establish an anthropological explanation of cannibalism. Based on a cultural-relativistic anthropological stance, Lévi-Strauss argues that, while cannibal practices in certain native communities may inspire "the greatest horror and disgust" (1973:441) in the Western observer, they must be studied in the context of a cultural relativism based on the premise that as no society is fundamentally good

neither is any society fundamentally bad. Thus, a distinction must be established between the cannibalism brought on by nutritional necessity and the ritual cannibalism consistently practiced in foreign societies. The former is exempt from any form of judgment because, as Lévi-Strauss affirms, "no society is morally protected from such hunger pangs" (1973:441). The latter type can be further categorised into positive and negative forms of cannibalism. Positive forms of ritual cannibalism include those practices that are prompted by a mystic, magic or religious cause that involves the consumption of a fragment of the body of a parent or enemy, thus ensuring the incorporation of values or the neutralisation of powers. For Lévi-Strauss, these rites can be viewed in a positive light due to the fact that they "are usually carried out very discreetly and involve only a small quantity of organic material" (1973: 441).

Lévi-Strauss considers that this cultural relativistic stance is important when approaching the topic of cannibalism because, firstly, it introduces a degree of moderation and honesty in Western anthropologists' evaluation of foreign societies; secondly, it "removes from our own customs that air of inherent rightness which they so easily have for anyone unacquainted with other customs, or whose knowledge is partial and biased" (1973:443). However, for all of Lévi-Strauss's championing of a less condemnatory anthropological approach to the topic, cannibalism still remains a phenomenon to be frowned upon when practiced excessively:

> I need only cite the example of Aztec culture, whose maniacal obsession with blood and torture (a universal obsession, in fact, but overt in the case of the Aztecs in the excessive form that comparison allows us to define) – however explicable it may be through the need to overcome the fear of death – puts it on a level with ourselves, not because the Aztecs were the only people wicked in this way but because, like us, they were inordinately so. (1973:444)

In this view, the problem with cannibalism is not so much its existence but its excess. In other words, "To eat yourself? Maybe, but not too much!" (Dibie 2001:171).

Other anthropological approaches to the topic of cannibalism have mobilised an 'objective' stance on the topic by basing themselves on classificatory charts and statistics of the diverse types of anthropophagy. Authors like Sanday (1986) have championed a taxonomy of the practice by classifying the different forms of cannibalism according to who is the object of consumption, the motives for its use, and the emotional modes of its practice. In this view, cannibalistic practices can be classified into *exocannibalism* and *endocannibalism*. Exocannibalism refers to the consumption of a person external to the community performing the cannibalisation; importantly, this external figure tends to be a stranger, enemy or warfare captive. The opposite is true in endocannibalism. In this variant, the person cannibalised forms part

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of the group and tends to be a relative or esteemed member of the community. As Sanday (1986) explains, in endocannibalism:

> Human flesh is a physical channel for communicating social value and procreative fertility form one generation to the next among a group of humans tied to one another by virtue of sharing certain substances with common ancestors. [...I]t binds the living to the dead in perpetuity. (1986:7)

As far as the motivations behind anthropophagy are concerned, there may be several reasons that account for its practice. According to these detailed systems of classification, cannibalism may also respond to beliefs in ritual magic and funeral rites or it may also be linked to pathological mental illness. Other authors have focused on the emotional modalities of its practice. Sagan (1974), for example, makes a clear distinction between aggressive cannibalism (which normally entails the eating of enemies) and affectionate cannibalism (the eating of relatives or friends).

A cultural materialist view

A large site of discursive density in twentieth century discourse on cannibalism is centred on the ecological-materialist hypothesis first forwarded by Harner (1977, 1979). This increase in the intensity of the debate was brought about by the publication of an article in the *New York Times* (subsequently published in *American Ethnologist*) entitled 'The ecological basis for Aztec sacrifice' (1977). In it, Harner argues that Mexica ritual cannibalism was the result of a lack of suitable domestic herbivores that could provide the adequate intake of animal protein to sustain human life in the context of overpopulation. For Harner, cannibalism was a ritualistic institution instigated and perpetuated by the simple need for protein.[6] Additionally, his hypothesis points to a selective consumption of animal protein based on hierarchical positioning in Mesoamerican societies. Thus, "under the conditions of high population pressure and class stratification that characterized the Aztec state, commoners or lower-class persons rarely had the opportunity to eat any game" (1979:4). Under these circumstances, ritual human sacrifice and its subsequent

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[6] Moreover, Harner alleges that certain groups of anthropologists and other experts on Aztec culture have suppressed information that supports his hypothesis "in the interest of maintaining cordial relations with the present-day descendants of the Aztecs" (Kidd 1988:750). Alternatively, the guise of misdirected nationalism or exacerbated European ethnocentrism has silenced such information: "Some modern Mexicans and anthropologists have been embarrassed by the topic: the former partly for nationalistic reasons; the latter partly out of a desire to portray native peoples in the best possible light. Ironically, both these attitudes may represent European ethnocentrism regarding cannibalism – a viewpoint to be expected from a culture that has had relatively abundant livestock for meat and milk" (Harner 1979:3).

cannibalism was a way of mobilising huge sectors of the population to participate in wars in order to capture prisoners and ensure protein consumption for their superiors and themselves, given that those that had captured prisoners had earned the right to eat human flesh. His ecological hypothesis also accounts for the "fierce, ravenous and carnivorous deities" (1979:5) of the Mexica pantheon of gods. Moreover, it explains the reasoning behind the steepness of the stairs on Mexican pyramids, which becomes understandable "given the need for efficiently tumbling the bodies from the sacrificial altars to the multitudes below" (1979:5). In his closing arguments, Harner distances himself from Lévi-Strauss's assertion that the Mexica suffered from "a maniacal obsession with blood and torture" (Lévi-Strauss cited in Harner 1979:6), arguing that an ecological explanation of the topic renders:

> the Aztec emphasis on human sacrifice understandable as a natural and rational response to the material conditions of their existence. [...] A materialist ecological approach reveals the Aztecs to be neither irrational nor mentally ill, but merely human beings who, faced with unusual survival problems, responded with unusual behaviour. (1979:6)

Harner's text finds resonance in those of other authors. Harris (1991b), also of a cultural materialist persuasion, elaborates on Harner's original hypothesis by revising a few aspects. While Harner bases his hypothesis on a sustained corpus of documents and statistics, Harris makes more sensationalistic conjectures such as the possibility that the Mexica ate the brains of their sacrificial victims given that "most cannibals consider the brains a delicacy" (1991b:165). According to him, the human flesh that was given to carnivorous zoo animals, as documented by chroniclers of the conquest, was *probably* "eaten by the guardians at the zoo [in Tenochtitlán]" (1991b:165). And "Aztec priests [were] ritual butchers in a state-sponsored system dedicated to the production and redistribution of animal protein. Other duties were less significant than their role as butchers" (1991b:165). However, even Harris has to admit that the estimated number of sacrifices performed yearly could hardly make a significant impact on the nutritional situation of the Mexica people. For him, the redistribution of protein did not necessarily improve the content of animal protein and fat in everyday diets; he sustains that its importance was mainly political in nature. Mexica human sacrifice and cannibalism implied the rewarding of certain groups during crucial periods of agricultural deficit. This confirmed the elites' control over the masses, who became willing participants complicit in the cycle of redistribution which was in synchrony with the moments of most food scarcity. Therefore, Harris argues that in ecological niches that *do* have readily available herbivores for domestication (i.e.

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Europe), societal prohibition of cannibalism emerges alongside the evolutionary development of said culture. Consequently, ecological areas that have an abundance of domestic herbivores such as "the states and empires of the Old World" (1991b:169) have tended to develop "religions of love and mercy" (1991b:169). In contrast, the desolate ecological landscape of Mesoamerica that lacked such resources developed "a state-sponsored religion whose art, architecture, and ritual were [...] thoroughly dominated by violence, decay, death and disease" (1991b:147).

Other researchers in the field have been highly critical of Harner and Harris's ecological-materialist hypothesis. Price (1978) critiques Harner's work on several points. Importantly, Price argues that Harner's work is epistemologically weak as it is fundamentally based on controversial evidence, "a failure to note alternative positions" (1978:102) and, in some cases, assumptions based on a complete lack of evidence.[7] Additionally, these epistemological problems are further exacerbated "by the extension of the hypothesis to explain the patterning of state-organized warfare, imperial expansion, and demographic strategy" (1978:98). Price's alternative model affirms that "the institution of human sacrifice in combination with cannibalism [served] to stabilize and reinforce an existing system of social stratification and distribution of political power" (1978:105). In order to assuage such sources of conflict, Price considers that cannibalism functioned much in the manner of a periodic redistribution of sumptuary goods. Thus, the redistribution of human flesh, as well as jade, gold, cotton, feathers and cacao, was "a means of pacifying an economically and politically powerful class that was therefore potentially troublesome" (1978:106). In this view, Mexica cannibalism, human sacrifice and warfare were embedded in a more complex "reticular system of technology, political economy and social organization" (1978:113).

Other rebuttals to Harner and Harris's hypothesis include Ortiz de Montellano's (1978) work, in which he attempts to disprove the materialist model on the basis of several arguments. Firstly, Ortiz de Montellano insists that had cannibalism been practiced as a means to increase protein consumption, human flesh from ritual sacrifices could have only effectively reached a privileged 25 percent of the Mexica population. Furthermore, the author argues that pre-Columbian diets in the Mexican basin were not as protein deprived as Harner suggests. In Ortiz de Montellano's

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[7] Price states that the only evidence Harner presents of protein shortages in pre-Columbian Mesoamerica is the human sacrifice/cannibalism complex itself, thus making Harner's argument circular and redundant: Mexica cannibalism is proof of protein deficiency, and protein deficiency is the cause of Mexica ritual cannibalism.

words, "to assume that a diet requires protein from domesticable herbivores just because that is the usual American and European diet is quite ethnocentric" (1978). Additionally, Ortiz de Montellano argues that Harner and Harris's thesis does not take into consideration the symbolical aspect of such rites:

> Sacrificial victims were believed to have become sacred. Eating their flesh was the act of eating the god itself. This communion with superior beings was an important aspect of Aztec religion. [...] Communion, in conjunction with a belief in the real presence (which some Christian religions practice), is no different in symbolism to the actions of the Aztecs in consuming what they considered to be the flesh of the gods. (1978)

For him, Mexica sacrifices were rituals of thanksgiving "rather than a redundant search for meat at the conclusion of a large hunt for wild game" (1978) and its corresponding ceremonial practices.

Despite these critiques of Harner and Harris, other authors have recently revived the ecological hypothesis, furthering a 'neuro-biologicist' explanation for New World cannibalism. Ernandes (2002), for instance, argues that the consumption of maize – not protein deficiency – "could provoke brain serotonin deficiency, which, in turn, could provoke some neurobehavioral after-effects, such as the tendency towards aggressive behaviour or religious/ideological fanaticism" (2002). Thus, this *serotonin* deficiency would explain "cannibalism and other peculiarities of Aztec culture" (2002) and, more broadly, it would "indicate a probable alimentary background for aggressive or fanatical behaviour in populations heavily dependent on food that can lower brain serotonin" (2002).

A symbolic dimension

Other anthropologists (Sahlins 1978 and 1979, Sanday 1986) have been highly critical of the cultural materialist stance on New World cannibalism. Sahlins argues that a "Western business mentality" (cited in Sanday 1986:18) is at the very heart of Harner and Harris's arguments. For him, this utilitarian view where everything in the superstructure is governed by an economic function means that the symbolic dimension of human practices gets lost in (cultural) translation: "Once we characterise meaningful human practices in these ideological terms, we shall have to give up all anthropology because in the translation everything cultural has been allowed to escape" (cited in Sanday 1986:18). Hence, for him the distinctive quality of man "is not that he must live in a material world [...] but that he does so according to a

meaningful scheme of his own devising" (cited in Sanday 1986:18). Sanday (1986) highlights the symbolic dimension of New World practices by arguing that cannibalism functions as cultural system or, in other words, "a system of symbols and ritual acts that provides models of and for behaviour. [...] Ritual cannibalism facilitates the flow of life-generating substances and power, expresses social unity and programmes psychological reactions" (1986:31). Moreover, she argues that Aztec cannibalism can only be understood in the context of a broader symbolic system of Aztec sacrifice:

> [...] cannibalism by itself did not exist for the Aztec. It is true that human flesh was consumed, but neither was it ordinary human flesh nor was it eaten in an ordinary meal. Cannibalism as a cultural category among the Aztec was invented by anthropologists. For the Aztec, the consumption of human flesh was part of a sacrament bringing humans into communion with the gods. The Aztec focused not on the consumption of flesh but on the sacred character of the event. (1986:18)

For Sanday, cannibalism is an anthropological category coined in order to describe other people's ritual practices yet this concept proves insufficient for fully explaining the complex symbolical dimension of these practices.

Other authors such as Sagan (1974) have taken the symbolic dimension of cannibal ritual in a more Freudian direction. According to Sagan's psychogenic hypothesis, cannibalism is "the elementary form of institutionalised aggression" (cited in Sanday 1986:11) and, as such, oral incorporation is an elementary psychological response to anger and frustration. Moreover, Sagan argues that cannibalism is characteristic of a primitive stage of social development. He believes that "the undeveloped imagination of the cannibal" (cited in Sanday 1986:11) deals with frustration directly through oral aggression because the cannibal "is compelled to take the urge for oral incorporation literally" (cited in Sanday 1986:11). Thus, in the case of endocannibalism the cannibal mourns through aggression and/or frustration the person who has abandoned him; in exocannibalism, the cannibal consumes his enemy in order to vanquish his strength or to incorporate it into himself. Furthering his psychogenic reading of cannibalism as a primitive state, Sagan argues that when cannibalism occurs in 'more advanced' social systems (i.e. Western-European societies), it is usually due to a regressive response to social integration because "it is inevitable that the satisfaction of aggressive needs sinks to a more primitive level" (cited in Sanday 1986:11). Sagan's hypothesis on cannibalism leads us, then, to the well-worn dichotomy of the civilised and the primitive.

It is mostly in the anthropological vein that early to mid-twentieth century approaches to Latin American cannibalism have been theorised, as explored above. However, in many cases these discourses on the cannibal were rehashes of colonial texts disguised in pseudo-scientific attire. Similar arguments to the cultural materialist hypotheses had been put forward as early as Cardano's *De rerum varietate* (1557), where the Italian philosopher argued that cannibalism ran rife in the New World because "there was no quadruped, nor sheep, goats, deer, horses or donkeys" (cited in Lestringant 1997:123) that could have been consumed for meat. Harner's 'novel' hypothesis seems to be only the latest episode in a discursive thread stretching from the sixteenth century. Many of the same anthropological terms of discussion were coined early on in the conquest and colonisation of the Americas and continue to be perpetuated as recently as the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Yet while many anthropological approaches to the topic offer up 'ahistorical', 'objective' explanations of non-Western cannibalism, such positions are reductive and fallaciously based on 'the proof' that such practices indeed exist in 'non-civilised' peoples. In fact, throughout this dissertation there is a significant distance from the aforementioned anthropological hypotheses given that the 'real' existence of cannibalism in the Americas is considered irrelevant. Rather than adopting these supposedly 'objective' approaches to the topic, the present dissertation sustains that these anthropological debates are good examples of how colonial discourses persist in contemporary debates, albeit taking on different forms over time.

2.2 The imaginary cannibal

The 'real' existence of cannibalism in the region (while possible and probable) is not considered the central issue in this work's approach to the topic. Following Arens's (1978) work, the 'provability' of cannibal practices in the region is secondary to the importance of representations of cannibalism, their usefulness in colonial discourse, and the practical consequences of their deployment. Arens has been one of the most controversial authors on the topic to date. In his book *The Man-Eating Myth* (1978), he argues that cannibalism as a defining trait of non-Western peoples is in fact a figment of Western imagination. He goes as far as to question the very existence of cannibalism as a socially sanctioned custom of non-Westerners. For him:

> anthropology has not maintained the usual standards of documentation and intellectual rigor expected when other topics are being considered. Instead, it has

chosen uncritically to lend its support to the collective representations and thinly disguised prejudices of western culture about others. (1978:10)

Arens's point of view implies a profound questioning of the reliability of documentary sources that describe acts of cannibalism. For him, chroniclers of the conquest and colonisation of the Americas incorporated a political and cultural agenda in their narratives and were, consequently, unreliable as sources of evidence. For Arens, cannibalism is best understood as part of a colonial discourse where these practices are "restricted to faraway lands just prior to or during their 'pacification' by the various agents of western civilization" (1978:18). This results in a double standard that dismisses reports of European anthropophagy yet unquestioningly accepts reports of non-European cannibalism in far-off lands. In other words, Arens considers that most scholarly works on cannibalism are based on a frank mode of ethnocentrism that helps to delimit "the boundary between civilized and savage" (1978:40). As a result, it is "the idea of 'others' as cannibals, rather than the act, [that] is the universal phenomenon" (1978:139).

However, Arens's work has been put into question on several accounts. Harris (1991a), for example, considers that Arens's dismissal of Staden's report of cannibalism amongst the Tupinamba is too simplistic and that it effectively distorts factual information surrounding the account. These discrepancies, considered by some authors a selective distortion of facts by Harris, puts into question Arens's overall hypothesis. For other authors, such as Lestringant, the denial of cultural cannibalism is part of a "crazed revisionism [which] under cover of idealism and intellectual high-mindedness, actually leads back to the misrepresentation of the Other" (1997:7).

The outside in

It is precisely the metaphorical tension of a struggle between self and other that is at the centre of cannibalistic practices and representations. As Kilgour (1990, 1998) and Kearney (2003) have argued from different theoretical positions, the trope of cannibalism functions in order to mark the limits between inside and outside. Kilgour's work (1990, 1998) on cannibalism as literary trope has been instrumental in defining anthropophagy as a charged metaphor and as a heavily symbolic practice. The reason for this double function, she argues, is that cannibalism condenses the idea of inside/outside and then collapses it unto itself in a paradox of incorporation of one's similar. Hence, through cannibalism's metaphorical function the boundaries of a

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"crude system of values in which what is 'outside' the territory is bad, and what is 'inside' is good" (1990:4) become established. In this context, "the most mortal of sins is to be an outsider" (1990:5). Cannibalism becomes one of the crucial markers of this outside-ness:

> "we" are civilised and eat nicely, "they" are barbaric and eat savagely; "we" eat normally, "they", perversely. Cannibalism can be used to justify attacks against groups seen as different from and thus threatening to a body politic, which therefore deserve to be, if not literally subsumed, at least incorporated through assimilation. (Kilgour 1998:239)

Yet while accusing other societies of practicing cannibalism serves to heighten the difference between one group and another, paradoxically cannibalism is an act that "implies the complete and utter loss of difference" (1998:240). As such, "cannibalism involves both the *establishing* of absolute difference, the opposites of eater and eaten, and the *dissolution* of that difference, through the act of incorporation which identifies them, and makes the two one" (1990:7). This conceptual tension is most likely at the root of the struggle over the actual meaning of the word 'cannibalism', as is manifest in the many discussions surrounding it as explored in the previous section. In Bartolovich's words, "'cannibal' seems to be a site of conflict in which different groups meet in their quite different uses and accentuation of the term, and struggle over its meaning" (1998:209).

Colonising the cannibal

Other approaches to dealing with the trope of cannibalism further highlight its representational function in the context of colonial discourses on the New World. As Greenblatt (1991, 1993) argues, analyses of representations of otherness should function under the premise that all representations are culturally constructed. Hence, matters of representation and discursive construction of subjectivities and objects of study put into question the simplistic understanding of the cannibal as an objective fact. In Greenblatt's words, the only certainty we have is that "European representations of the New World tell us something about the European practice of representation" (1991:7). Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that European representational practices were anything but homogenous and that the profound differences between European voyagers resulted in a variety of representations of the New World cannibal. Under this optic, the analysis of cannibalism should be based on

the consideration that representations are relational, local and historically contingent (1991). One of its goals would be to:

> register the powerful presence of otherness – not an abstract quasi-allegorical figure of the Other – [...in] a diverse range of cultures and representations and individuals with whom the Europeans were forced to interact. (1993:viii)

The figure of the cannibal is, then, the representational locus for a vast array of issues surrounding modernity, coloniality, imperialism, otherness, civilisation, and savagery.

For some authors, the role of the cannibal was to establish the mechanisms for the subsumption and assimilation of outsiders to a European colonial project. Hulme (1998) has argued that cannibalism must be understood as "a topic within the dialogue between Europe and its others, and therefore within the context of the colonial world" (1998:5). Given the former, disciplinary areas such as literary criticism and postcolonial studies have strongly focused on the figure of the cannibal under the argument that it was "created to support the cultural cannibalism of colonialism through the projection of western imperialist appetites onto the cultures that they then subsumed" (Kilgour 2001:vii).

In this context, the term 'cannibal' has run parallel to what O'Gorman has termed "the invention of America" (cited in Mignolo 2002:455). O'Gorman's rejection of America as a European 'discovery' is based on his debunkment of Eurocentric versions of events. Consequently, in Mignolo's reading of O'Gorman the "question [...] is not *who* was the first [to 'discover' the New World] but *why* and *by whom* Columbus's 'discovery' of America was constructed as the first" (2002:xxiii). With new imperial powers surfacing in the Old World, new modes of production of knowledge began to be instituted. For example, the 'expurgation of idolatry' became a mode of:

> double epistemic lobotomy [...which] demonises at the same time it ignores the complex frame of knowledge [of the Amerindians]. [...] Idolatry was recognised as some kind of knowledge (generally associated with the devil) but was not described as sustainable knowledge. (Mignolo 2002:517)

Thus, the denigration of the other through mechanisms of infantilisation, demonisation and animalisation responds to what Hogan has called the 'pedagogy of humanisation' (cited in Phillips 1998:191). This form of colonial authoritarianism, through which the native's humanity is restituted to him by the 'Colonial Father' (Phillips 1998:191), is just one of the many mechanisms put in place in order to subsume and assimilate alien outside-ness.

Perhaps these mechanisms are most evident in the construction of the Edenic Indian and his opposite, the anthropophagus Caribe, giving way to the production of

the new colonial subject whose identity would continue to be split between the Noble Savage and the beastly Indian (Reding Blase 1992, Vignolo 2005). For Vignolo (2005), this construction went through a complex transition that involved the transmutation of the concept from being a warning signal, to a symbol and, finally, to an emblem of the continent which he inhabited. Through this process, "the medieval monster is transformed into the savage of modern colonial ideology" (2005:151). By highlighting the divergent representations of the American native as either Edenic innocent or voracious cannibal, Lestringant (1997) has also argued that the New World Indian was a pawn in the power struggles that ran rife through Europe during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and beyond. Moreover, Lestringant has sustained that the figure of the New World cannibal has been crucial in establishing some of the basic tenets of modern European philosophy and political theory. In his seminal work *Cannibals: The discovery and representation of the cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne* (1997), Lestringant explores the role that the cannibal has played in European literature and philosophy. For him, the figure of the Noble Savage descends directly from the New World cannibal and has functioned as a trope through which Europe has, at a first stage, constructed a sense of identity and, at a second stage, used the cannibal to question a decadent European society.

Other works on the figure of the cannibal have adopted a cultural-critical stance based on Arens's (1978, 1998) negationist position. For Hulme, these sceptics reject literal cannibalism as a figment of European imagination by asserting that it is "a calumny imposed by European colonisers to justify their outrages" (1998:3). However, Hulme argues that such positions tend to oversimplify the problematics of the term. In his view, revisionism and denial of this type runs the risk of negating the existence of the concept in colonial discourse and the questions to which it has given shape. Thus, for Hulme cannibalism *does* exist; at the very least, cannibalism "exists as a term within colonial discourse to describe the ferocious devouring of human flesh supposedly practised by some savages" (1998:4). He goes on to qualify this statement by clarifying that cannibalism is "now primarily a linguistic phenomenon, a trope of exceptional power" (1998:4) rather than a literal practice. In order to resolve this tension between potential 'real' cannibalism and cannibalism in discourse, he suggests that a distinction be made between the terms *anthropophagy* and *cannibalism*. Anthropophagy would function as the general term for instances of 'real' cannibalistic practices, while cannibalism would be reserved for the "ideology that constitutes itself around an obsession with anthropophagy" (1998:4).

However, this position has been criticised because of the degree to which anthropophagy and cannibalism are relegated to two distinctly separate realms. In Jehlen's critique, Hulme has dealt with cannibalism in an overly metaphoric way, such that he "erases a particularly sure sign that the Caribbean might constitute a genuinely alternative culture" (cited in Sanborn 2001:196). Sanborn (2001) shares Jehlen's criticism to a point; for him Hulme treats the discourse on cannibalism as "a self-contained sphere with nothing outside of it" (2001:196), thereby reifying the concept of discourse itself. Yet Sanborn is not entirely in agreement with Jehlen's criticism of Hulme. He believes that her emphasis on an "authentically 'cultural' identity beneath the misrepresentations of western discourses" (2001:197) reifies the concept of culture. In this regard, Sanborn vindicates a performative function of the word cannibalism rather than a substantive one. Hence, dealings with this trope should be based on designations that establish a presence rather than descriptions that confirm a presence.

Cannibal economics

Other readings on the topic have highlighted the economic dimension of the colonial context of the emergence of the term. As Bartolovich (1998) has argued, the European encounter with America coincided with, and gave great impulse to, the incipient capitalism which was developing in the Old World at the time:

> Cannibals as such *emerge* at this historical juncture when Europeans encounter the "New World" and give this name to this group of (ostensibly) man-eating "savages" in the Caribbean. [...] There had, of course, been stories generated about man-eaters of various kinds earlier, but *cannibals* mark a very particular figuration of them, inscribed with colonialism and incipient capitalism. (1998:207)

This historical, geographical and terminological clash resulted in what Bartolovich considers an exacerbated preoccupation with cannibals, a "morbid symptom" (1998:234) of the capitalist appetite in crisis. Such worries focused mainly on faraway cannibals, but were also relevant in the domestic context of the establishment of capitalised relations in Europe. While "the first proto-capitalist workers were being disciplined to sell their labour power" (1998:235), emerging cannibals were "depicted as threats to production; they inhibit[ed] trade, the establishing of colonies, the proper occupation of men" (1998:235). In other words, the cannibals were portrayed as the lurking antagonists to the European colonial model of emerging capitalism.

Beyond this reading of the cannibalism trope, cannibalism has alternatively been considered a corollary of the colonial/capitalist exploitation of the New World. In Phillips's (1998) Marxist reading, he inverts the valorisation of the terms that constitute the primitive/civilised dichotomy and applies them to a political-economic analysis of European colonisation. For him, "'the primitivism' of progress refers [...] to the bloody, vampiric or cannibalistic character of capitalism" (1998:186). This is further elaborated in the idea that modernity "is, in fact, a species of barbarism" (1998:186) that reaches its maximum degree of expression in the colonies "where it goes naked like the typical savage of colonial lore" (1998:186). Moreover, Phillips highlights the Marxist concept of 'primitive accumulation' and applies it to the American colonial context. In his words, the 'primitive accumulation' practiced by emerging modern capitalist European societies in the Americas involved "the purely brutal extraction of surplus value from the colonial force" (1998:187) in order to "give life to the 'cannibal' elite that ruled at 'home', with the aid of respectable forms" (1998:186). For Phillips:

> colonial discourse was heavily invested in the spectacle of savage cannibalism because [...] once "Man" discovered "the beasts", primitive accumulation could proceed without shame – and indeed it did. We know that the white man's burden made of the subaltern a beast of burden, who laboured, from "sunup to sundown", on plantations, down mines. (1998: 193)

In this manner, the European habit of "devouring mere land and labour-power [...was] offered as desirable [...] in comparison [to absolute and unlimited literal cannibal consumption]" (Bartolovich 1998:213). The bottom line was that "in the colonial imaginary, the cannibal negatively symbolised a state of existence that had to be morally degraded, in order to deflect attention from the utter barbarity of primitive accumulation" (Phillips 1998:202).

While the trope of cannibalism functioned as a kind of smokescreen in an economic context, in the cultural arena it was part of what Greenblatt calls the "reproduction and circulation of mimetic capital" (1988:6). His use of this term corresponds to the emphasis he places on the intrinsic link between mimesis and capitalism given that "it is with capitalism that the proliferation and circulation of representations [...] achieved a spectacular and virtually inescapable global magnitude" (1988:6). Additionally, this concept highlights Greenblatt's argument that mimesis is actually a social relation of production:

> I take this to mean that any given representation is not only the reflection or product of social relations but that it is itself a social relation, linked to the group understandings, status hierarchies, resistances, and conflicts that exist in other spheres of the culture in which it circulates. This means that representations are

not only products but producers, capable of decisively altering the very forces that brought them into being. (1988:6)

So, for instance, Díaz del Castillo's condemnation of the Mexica was not based on a condemnation of their drunkenness, fornication, or sodomy, all transgressions equally present in European society. Rather, "the key to the exclusion or blockage is a native practice that is not part of the European repertory of moral disasters [...]: the Mayan and Aztec practice of human sacrifice and ritual cannibalism" (1988:131-132). For Hulme, "cannibalism is – as practice or accusation – quite simply the mark of greatest imaginable cultural difference and therefore the greatest challenge to our categories of understanding" (1998:20). For this reason, it has been central in the processes of othering that consolidated European social, economic, and cultural control over the Americas.

Antropofagia *and Caliban*

However, it is important to recall that the topic of cannibalism is also a form of *dialogue* established between Europe and its others. With authors like Hulme highlighting this process of discursive exchange (albeit on asymmetrical terms), the emphasis on "the agency of those described as cannibals" (1998:6) becomes central in relocating the term and its discursive power. As Hulme (1998) is quick to point out, cannibalism was not solely utilised by the European explorer in order to submit the native. Actually, Mason (1990) has highlighted Sued-Badillo's hypothesis that the American native used the phantasm of the ever-feared cannibal much like an anti-El Dorado: a marker to direct the Spanish conquistadors as far away as possible from their communities. Moreover, other authors have speculated that in the view of the Indian, the true cannibals were the Spanish 'gods' arrived from the East in order to consume the bodies sacrificed in their honour. This, in conjunction with accounts of European cannibalism in the Americas (see chapter seven), demonstrates that New World cannibalism was – and continues to be – a floating signifier. Hence, the seemingly clean boundaries dividing the 'cannibal' American from the 'temperate' European are much more porous than it would initially appear. In Guest's words:

the cannibal, long a figure associated with absolute alterity and used to enforce boundaries between a civilised "us" and savage "them", may in fact be more productively read as a symbol of the permeability, or instability, of such boundaries. (2001:2)

Hence, Guest champions a conceptualisation of the cannibal encounter as an example of "the way colonial enterprises are already haunted by the possibility of postcolonial subversion" (2001:8). Paraphrasing Kilgour (2001), just as the trope of cannibalism was used in the past to construct differences, it can now be used in order to deconstruct them.

The possibility of the postcolonial subversion of the trope of cannibalism has been heavily explored in the work of twentieth century Latin American cultural theorists and artists. Perhaps the most visible of these is de Andrade, the Brazilian poet and critic, author of the *Manifesto antropófago* (*Cannibal Manifesto*) of 1928. Through this manifesto de Andrade confronts head-on the European images of cannibalism that had been imposed upon Brazilian natives for centuries. Hence, he reclaims anthropophagy as a metaphor "for the cosmopolitan enterprise of absorbing both foreign and native cultures as the means to construe a hybrid and unique Brazilian cultural identity" (Prado Bellei 1998:91). By turning the figure of the cannibal into a "revered pedigree of fearless anti-imperialist violence" (Colás 2001:130), de Andrade argues against a Latin American culture of "slavish consumption and obedient regurgitation of European models in art and literature, [...] 'a cultural force feeding *ad nauseum*'" (Colás 2001:130). In this reversion, the symbolic act of human consumption is transformed into an "aggressive, wilful means of nourishment, strength and creativity" (Colás 2001:130) under the cannibal's own terms. Moreover, as Prado Bellei (1998) points out:

> Such a legitimisation of anthropophagy [...] would mark the originality of Brazilian *modernismo* because Andrade's evil anthropophagus, eater of whites and their cultural products, was radically different from the Romantics' good, submissive savage to be converted to civilisation by the European coloniser. [...] The primitive culture that, in his view, had been challenging the hegemony of European rationality since the Age of Discovery and that had been noted by Montaigne's and Rousseau's revaluation of the primitive, presented an alternative to a civilising process marked by religious warfare, inquisition, and patriarchal capitalist exploitation. (1998:93)

Hence, de Andrade articulates from "a position of cultural self-confidence" (Shohat & Stam 1998:39), a cultural-tactical opening for the postcolonial subject. In this alternative aesthetic revalorisation of what the West has consistently considered a negative, cannibalism becomes an anti-colonialist trope that "turns strategic weakness into tactical strength" (Shohat & Stam 1998:31).

Other scholars (Césaire 1969, Fernández Retamar 1989) have also appropriated the figure of the cannibal through their metaphoric use of the Shakespearean figure of Caliban. In Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Caliban is the sole

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brutish, language-less inhabitant of a faraway island discovered by Prospero, an usurped duke of Milan who becomes stranded on Caliban's island. Caliban is enslaved by Prospero and taught the language and religion of his master. Fernández Retamar (1989) has argued that Shakespeare's play can be interpreted as an allegory of the discovery and conquest of the New World and, as such, he has reclaimed the figure of the brutish Caliban (an anagram for cannibal) as a symbol of the aboriginal peoples of the Caribbean. In his alternative reading of the text, Caliban is championed as a figure that could eventually assume the role of a "symbol of revolutionary anti-imperialist culture" (Colás 2001:131), in a move that would vindicate Calibanism as a reaffirmation of Latin American cultural strength in opposition to Western hegemony in the region.

For Fernández Retamar (1989), Caliban functions as one pole of the Edenic innocent/cannibal savage dichotomy well-established in European colonial discourses. He argues that the two versions of the American native circulate throughout Europe, with each one following its own particular development. The Arawak Taino assumes the role of the paradisiacal inhabitant of utopic worlds:

> the utopic vision throws upon these lands projects for political reforms unrealised in the countries of origin. In this sense, its line of development is far from extinguished. Indeed, it meets with certain perpetuators [...] in the numerous advisers who unflaggingly propose to countries emerging from colonialism magic formulas from the metropolis to solve the grave problems colonialism has left us and which, of course, they have not yet resolved in their own countries. (1989:7)

The Carib cannibal, on the other hand, is the anthropophagus bestial man "situated on the margins of civilisation, who must be opposed to the very death" (1989:7). In Fernández Retamar's words, "Caliban/cannibal is a savage and deformed slave who cannot be degraded enough" (1989:8). Prospero has invaded his island, enslaved him and taught him his language. However, for Fernández Retamar it is precisely this language that Caliban can point towards his master in order to disarm him: "What else can Caliban do but use the same language – today he has no other – to curse [Prospero], to wish that the 'red plague' would fall on him" (1989:14). In short, for Fernández Retamar Caliban represents the rebellious *mestizo* masses of Latin America, who can turn the instruments of their oppression on their oppressors. As Colás (2001) has explained, cannibalism is a choice metaphor for this process (both in the case of the Brazililan Antropofagia movement and in Calibanism):

> precisely because (and not in spite of) its internal ambivalences and contradictions. For these last permitted the expression, in the midst of the most ringing black-and-white denunciations of imperialist culture and calls for anti-

> imperialist cultural resistance, of the ambivalence that necessarily accompanies the intellectual writing in the situation of Third-World revolution. (2001:136)

In this reappropriation, the cannibal has learned to speak and can also bite back.

2.3 Seeing cannibals

As explored in the previous sections, the trope of the American cannibal has been thoroughly explored and discussed in the context of New World travel literature and the critical theoretical work that addresses this collection of texts. However, in comparison to this body of work there seems to be a significant gap in the level of detail accorded to the figure of the cannibal in visual images. There are some exceptions, nonetheless. Honour's 1975 exhibition to commemorate the bicentenary of the independence of the United States is a crucial starting point for any study on the iconography of the Americas. The accompanying catalogue provides a wealth of images that have been classified according to the main themes that Honour has located throughout various sources. His approach to the early images of American natives is particularly interesting as he analyses the images in conjunction with their accompanying texts and surrounding historical contexts. Importantly, his discussion of the ways in which the humanity of the American Indian was portrayed in images is extremely fruitful for the present research, as will be explored throughout the analysis chapters of this dissertation. Moreover, his analysis of the allegorisation of the continent is also extremely useful when studying the links established between the New World cannibal and the symbolisation of the continent as a reduction to this attribute.

Another of the earliest and most important studies of New World iconography is Sturtevant's 'First visual images of Native America' (1976). In this extended essay, Sturtevant provides a detailed overview of the most significant images of the New World natives produced by European artists. For Sturtevant, the sources for images of the Americas can be preliminarily classified according to twelve points:

1. Artists may have drawn or painted directly form the source either in America or Europe; however, these field sketches have rarely survived.

2. Artists may have worked on their own or on other's field sketches to produce a finished illustration.

3. Artists may have made copies of finished works with inevitable variations, either intentional or accidental.

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4. Artists may have relied on their own visual memory, with the expected effects on the overall accuracy of the depictions.

5. Artists may have relied on the visual memory of others. An example of this would be artists who worked directly with travellers or writers who guided their illustrations.

6. Artists may have relied on written descriptions provided by others. In this case, they would have had to transform words into forms through visual preconceptions and the accuracy of the results is questionable.

7. Artists may have based their work on native-made depictions, although these are rare.

8. Artists who lacked appropriate models assumed all non-Europeans to resemble each other and transferred images from known cultures to the New World.

9. Artists used figures form ancient European iconography such as the wild men and monsters to depict New World natives.

10. Artists may have introduced details from their European culture when details on the New World were missing.

11. Images with high loads of information reduce the level of accuracy with regards to the New World referent.

12. European stylistic conventions inevitably affect New World scenes. (1976:417-419)

These points prove extremely helpful when addressing the actual corpus of images that Sturtevant presents to the reader in chronological order. Among these images there are several references to depictions of New World cannibalism, including the early Portuguese maps with scenes of cannibalism, the woodcuts accompanying the Vespucci *Lettera*, the Dürer engraving of a Tupinamba Indian, the Desceliers map, the Staden, Thévet and Léry engravings, and the de Bry corpus. Quite detailed in the scope of his research, Sturtevant provides an excellent starting point for establishing a fuller corpus of images of New World cannibalism. While it is clear that his objective is to provide a rich source of information for establishing a general iconography of New World images, the text remains descriptive in its overall tone and does not propose to link these images to any wider context.

Other texts that address the issue of cannibalism in the context of a more general iconography of New World images are Duviol's book *L'Amérique espagnole vue et rêvée. Les livres de voyage de Christophe Colomb à Bougainville* (1985) and the subsequent illustrated text *Le miroir du nouveau monde. Images primitives de l'Amérique* (2006) by the same author. In both these texts Duviols analyses the role

that the New World other played in the constitution of a sense of European identity in opposition to the encounter with New World difference. In *Le miroir* Duviols focuses specifically on the role of the image in the consolidation of European discourses of otherness, of which one of the central aspects is the reduction of the American native to the figure of the cannibal. Sebastián's *Iconografía del indio Americano* (1992) also approaches the topic of New World cannibalism in general terms through his iconographical analysis of the main themes in the corpus of images on the Americas. Following a chronological order in the presentation of these depictions, Sebastián concentrates more on the succession of images in the context of general overview of this corpus.

Shorter essays have directly broached the topic of New World cannibalism in some detail. Kügelgen Kropfinger (1990), for instance, explores the relationship between the images of New World cannibalism and their iconographical antecedents in medieval and early modern illustration. Through this analysis, she solidly establishes the precedents in pre-1492 European images of cannibalism and links these representations to the depictions of the New World native as an extension of a pictorial tradition well-established in Europe before the encounter with the Americas. Schreffler's *The pictorial rhetoric of cannibalism in early modern culture* (1995) focuses on the allegorical aspect of the trope of New World cannibalism. By analysing in detail images such as van der Straet's *Amerigo Vespucci discovers America* and other variants of the allegory of the American continent, Schreffler argues that the body of representations of the New World "trace the contours of the complex and conflictive relationships between colonial power and that which it sought to dominate" (2006:295). Moreover, he argues that the discourse of cannibalism emerged in the sixteenth century as a mechanism of differentiation, as a "counterpoint to ideas about the ideal and individuated Christian subject of early modern Europe" (2006:295). A similar approach is evident in Roque (1993). For him, the allegorisation of the continent through the trope of cannibalism served to establish a distinct separation from a Europe conceptualised as a continent of the arts versus an America characterised by its lack of cultural refinement. Roque emphasises that such representations helped to consolidate a self-image for the Europeans as a civilisation that was sufficiently morally invested to impose its culture on the rest of the world.

Zika's (1997) approach to the topic is an interesting analysis of the depiction of European internal others in comparison to the representations of American others. In order to achieve this, Zika looks at the cannibalism link between images of witches

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and images of New World cannibals in modern Europe. For him, the sudden surge in images of cannibal witches coincided with the European assimilation of American cannibals. Moreover, Zika argues that such an increase in these kinds of representations evidence "widespread fears about social and religious fragility [in Europe] at this time" (1997:79). Hence, the similarities in representations of both internal and external cannibals served to stabilise and overcome a crisis in identity brought on by the contact with the New World..

Perhaps the most fecund body of work on images of New World cannibals are the numerous texts that analyse de Bry's illustrated compendiums on the New World. Several authors (Bucher 1981, Duchet 1987, Duviols 2006) have addressed these images, many of them in great detail. Bucher (1981) appears to be the author which has dealt with these images most extensively. In her book *Icon and Conquest* (1981), Bucher performs a structuralist reading of the de Bry images, emphasising the mythical dimensions ascribed to the cannibal rituals from the point of view of a European worldview. Following Lévi-Strauss's work on myth, Bucher looks at the ways in which mythic thought was crucial in establishing the trope of New World cannibalism in a European context. Furthermore, Bucher analyses the continuity of iconographical motifs present in these images with the goal of establishing how such structures evolved over the period during which the de Bry family continued to produce these images (1590-1634). For her, these images are the proof of the existence of a coherent system that evidences the contradictions and rationalisations enacted by Protestant conquerors in order to comprehend and assimilate the Americas. Duchet (1987) further elaborates on the structural dimension of these images. He analyses the series of images in detail and focuses his attention on the relationship (or lack thereof) between the images and the accompanying texts. This focus on relationship between the written travel narratives and the images produced by de Bry to accompany them reveals a series of contradictions and reutilisations of the image, regardless of the narrative they are accompanying. In short, Duchet argues that the relationships between image and texts reveal the tensions inherent in any degree of representation.

The text that most clearly and directly deals with the matter of cannibalism in visual representations is *Kannibals et vahinés: Imagerie des mers du Sud*, a catalogue accompanying a 2001 French exhibition on the images of cannibalism in the South Pacific. Through this text Boulay (2001) explores the function that popular images of cannibalism played in the development of European images of overseas peoples.

However, it is important to clarify that this reference is beyond the scope of this dissertation because it addresses discourses of non-European cannibalism in the context of the South Pacific during the nineteenth-century colonisation of the region by the French Empire. Hence, it does not deal with images of Latin American cannibalism during the historical period selected for the present research. The reason this text is mentioned, nonetheless, is because its approach to the topic, the organisation of its corpus, and the selection of its sample has served as an important model for the development of this dissertation. Moreover, Boulay's catalogue has allowed me to gain awareness the permanence of such visual discourses and their degree of functionality in European colonial practices spanning over five centuries.

It is my hope that this chapter reflects the intensive search for sources and materials to inform the issues included in this dissertation. As it can be garnered from the large number and variety of the texts, the subject is one that has caused an ample scope of reaction and discussion. However, I have found it surprising that in such an extensive search of the literature, I have not found a single text dealing with a discursive reading of the evolution of the images of New World cannibalism on a more detailed and comprehensive scale spanning the whole colonial period. There seems to be a lack of iconographical studies solely dedicated to a discursive analysis of the images of cannibalism in the Americas' colonial context. Moreover, while some of the texts do address the discourses surrounding the images of cannibalism in the Americas, research linking the cannibal to European discourses on the body, cosmography and religion have not, in my view, been developed to the fullest extent possible. The following sections in this dissertation, particularly the analysis chapters (chapters five, six and seven), seek to address this absence.

Chapter Three. Theoretical Framework

The aim of this chapter is to establish the theoretical framework for the development of this thesis's research objectives. As such, it bases itself on Culler's premise that theory need not be solely "a prescription of methods of interpretation" (cited in Bryson *et al.* 1994:xv) but more so "the discourse that results when conceptions of the nature and meaning of texts and their relations to other discourses, social practices and human subjects become the object of general reflection" (cited in Bryson *et al.* 1994:xv). The first three parts of this chapter are centred on the ideas of French theorist Michel Foucault and the way these have been applied by several authors in the context of a visual culture. The first section addresses Foucault's basic precepts concerning discourse and its constitutive elements, as well as the importance of visuality in the development of the author's ideas. Furthermore, it looks at Deleuze's readings of Foucault's work, highlighting the presence of visual thinking in the development of a theory of discourse. The second section carries out a more in-depth analysis of visuality as a type of discourse, with a look at its role in the formation of objects, subjects and scopic regimes. The third part presents a more global analysis of art and art history as part of a discursive regime emerging from, and giving form to, Western modernity. The theoretical relevance of elements such as the author, institutions and disciplinarity plays a central role in this piece. The fourth section aims to be a rejoinder to many of Foucault's ideas and takes them into the territory of visual culture as approached by postcolonial theories of discourse. In this part, the relationship between representation, othering and Eurocentric cultural practices is analysed in the context of a colonial project and its links to power and discourse through the institutions of art.[8] At some points in this chapter, the boundaries between theory and methodology will be blurred. This is considered only natural, and frankly unavoidable, when dealing with many of Foucault's ideas and texts. It is fair to say that this will also be the case when addressing methods; many of the categories of analysis employed refer back to hefty theoretical underpinnings from which they cannot escape.

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[8] Some references will be made to forms of resistance and agency as theorised in a postcolonial context. However, many of these issues have been purposefully set aside given that the thesis's main focus is the production of dominant discourses of colonialism, more so than the ways of resisting or challenging such discourses.

3.1 Discourse

For Hall (1997), culture can be defined not as a collection of things or objects, but as a process, a series of practices that involve the production and exchange of meaning. Highlighting a social constructionist approach, Hall states that such practices are not "genetically programmed" (1997:3) or natural, but form part of a framework of interpretation in which cultural productions rarely have a single fixed or unchanging meaning. Consequently, meaning is produced and exchanged through personal and social interaction, resulting in the affirmation of individuals' identities, social cohesion and inter-group differentiation.

This interpretation of culture places the concept of meaning at its centre. For Hall, meanings regulate and organize conduct and practices, thereby setting the rules, norms and conventions by which "social life is ordered and governed" (1997:4). Thus, members of the same cultural framework share certain sets of concepts, images and ideas that determine their ways of interpreting and sharing their interpretations of the world. Paramount to this approach to culture is the importance of representational systems as signifying practices that participate in constitutive processes "as important as the economics of a material 'base' in shaping social subjects and historical events – [they are] not merely a reflection of the world after the event" (1997:6).

Given the importance of systems of representation and their capacity to shape social subjects and historical events, a discursive approach to culture provides a theoretical-analytical toolbox that concentrates on "the ways of talking about forms of knowledge and conduct associated with a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society" (1997:6). Such an approach is primarily interested in analysing the effects of representation and the ways in which a particular discourse "produces, connects with power, regulates conduct, makes up or constructs identities and subjectivities, and defines the way certain things are represented, thought about, practised and studied" (1997:6). Thus, a discursive approach to culture centres on the production of knowledge and the circulation of power, and is, therefore, substantially political.

In Hall's (1997) reading of Foucault, the analysis of discourse – as opposed to simply language – is based on the importance of the production of knowledge, more so than on the production and exchange of meaning. This change in focus from other traditionally semiotic approaches to language results in "a more open system, connected in more intimate ways with social practices and questions of power" (1997:42):

> Here I believe one's point of reference should not be to the great model of language (*langue*) and signs, but to that of war and battle. The history which bears and determines us has the form of a war rather than that of a language: relations of power not relations of meaning. (Foucault cited in Hall 1997:43)

Thus, discourse analysis opens up a series of new analytical categories or elements that permit a description of the relations of power that produce knowledge in the context of culture. The statement, the discursive field, the rules of emergence, authorities and institutions all become central in understanding the workings of discourse.

For Foucault, discourse is "a general domain of all statements" (1969:106). This seemingly simple definition is layered further because discourse is also "a group of statements that can be individualised, [and] a structured practice that accounts for a certain number of statements" (1969:106). In this sense, discourse functions on three levels: one of generality, one of specificity, and one of practice or action. Discourse, in its form of generality, does not allude to an 'ideality' or a certain 'timelessness', however. Rather, discourse is a fragment of history, "a unity and discontinuity in history itself" (1969:153). As far as its layer of specificity, discourse can be thought of as "a corpus of 'statements' whose organisation is regular and systematic" (Kendall & Wickham 1999:42). More specifically, discourse is "constituted by an ensemble of sequences of signs insofar as they are statements" (Foucault 1969:152). Additionally, discourse manifests itself as a practice that feeds on, and results in, the production of authorities, institutions, knowledges and subjectivities.

If discourse is the general domain of all statements, Foucault loosely defines the statement as the "atom of discourse" (1969:107). Far from being a tautology, this definition highlights the interplay between discourse and statement as crucial. To further understand this idea, Deleuze (1988) makes a clear distinction between the statement and propositions or phrases. While propositions depend on a vertical hierarchy that stacks one on top of the other, and phrases depend on a horizontality

that relates them to each other, the statement remains mobile, "skimming along a diagonal line" (1988:1) between the two. This gives the statement certain properties that are fundamental in understanding discourse as Foucault described it. Thus, given its diagonal trajectory the statement is simultaneously non-hidden and non-visible. By *non-hidden*, Foucault means that statements dodge interpretation, especially since they refer to the modality of the verbal performance "exactly as it was executed" (1969:144). In this sense, the analysis of the statement is historically grounded because it does not demand a hidden meaning from things said. The statement is *non-visible* because it does not present itself as a place of meaning or truth; on the contrary, its existence is limited and singular. Hence, by concentrating his analysis of discourse on the statement, Foucault puts forward two central principles. Firstly, Foucault suggests a purely descriptive discipline that would conscientiously avoid any form of interpretation. Secondly, discourse analysis sidesteps subject-centred analysis and becomes "non-anthropological" (Kendall & Wickham 1999:26). In this way, Foucault rejects all notions of "the progress of consciousness", "the teleology of reason" or "the evolution of human thought" (1969:16).

The importance of statements in discourse resides in their regularity within a discursive field. Hence, for Deleuze (1988) statements do not represent an 'average' in discourse, but something closer to the whole 'statistical curve' of a particular discourse. The shape of this curve is determined by the relations among statements and the rules governing the particular field in which they are distributed and reproduced. Consequently, the analysis of the statement is based on the position it occupies within the discursive field and the relations of coexistence, succession, mutual functioning, reciprocal determination and independent or correlative transformation it establishes with other such statements (Foucault 1969). In other words, a *discursive formation* is made up of a set of statements that are configured by a certain regularity or *system of dispersion* and that are submitted to certain *rules of formation* or, synonymously, certain conditions of existence, coexistence, maintenance, modification and disappearance as present in a *discursive practice*.

Yet the statement's function within a discursive formation is rarely stable. The same statement can hold different functions that vary from description to observation, calculation, institutionalisation and prescription and can use several systems or languages in the process (Deleuze 1988). Accordingly, a discursive formation or 'family of statements' is formed by rules of change or variation, making the formation "a medium for dispersion and heterogeneity, the very opposite of homogeneity"

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(1988:5). More importantly, an analysis of discursive formations (archaeological description) does not establish a hierarchy of value, preferring to concentrate on the regularity and dispersion of statements. Consequently, "the words, phrases and propositions examined by the text must be those which revolve round different focal points of power (and resistance) set in play by a particular problem" (1988:17).

The sayable and the visible

Given Foucault's use of terminology with respect to the (non-)visibility of statements, it seems pertinent to address the relationship between the sayable and the visible in a discursive context. The relationship between word and image has been tackled in several different ways, most of them concentrating on the translatability of things seen into words. For Cummins (cited in Phillips 2005), translation, or the telling of another's words, might be presented as a straightforward and unproblematic affair, and this same attitude tends to carry into the problem of the translation of the 'objective' pictorial image into text. However, the translatability of images into discourse is something that cannot be assumed as unproblematic and 'natural'. This issue is one of the main concerns that must be addressed in any study analysing pictures.

Ekphrasis refers to the Western tradition of achieving verbal representation from visual representations (Mitchell 1994). In other words, it is the (literary) practice of describing images through verbal or written texts. Historically, before the end of the sixteenth century word and image had been understood as a unity. As Jay (1986) states, this unity resulted in a culture based on semantic resemblances in which images were understood as decipherable hieroglyphs of meaning. As such, there was no distinction "between what is seen and what is read, between observation and relation, which result[s] in the constitution of a single, unbroken surface in which observation and language intersect to infinity" (Foucault cited in Jay 1986:187). The breakdown of this unity after the sixteenth century was symptomatic of a "growing awareness of the binary and representative nature of the sign" (Jay 1986:187). Thus, words became a way of *translating* the truth of images, but stopped being considered the ultimate mark of it.

The act of translation is, therefore, a mediated approximation to an original text. For Foucault:

> The relation of language to painting is an infinite relation. It is not that words are imperfect, or that, when confronted by the visible, they prove insuperably inadequate. Neither can be reduced to the other's terms: it is in vain that we say what we see; what we see never resides in what we say. And it is in vain that we attempt to show, by the use of images, metaphors or similes, what we are saying; the space where they achieve their splendour is not that deployed by our eyes but that defined by the sequential elements of syntax. (1970:9)

As such, this translation reflects a gap, a distance between original and copy, between self and other. For Mitchell (1994), visual representation is a type of 'otherness' from the standpoint of textuality (1994:157). It reflects a relation of political, disciplinary or cultural domination given that the 'self' is usually portrayed as the active, speaking and seeing subject (the creator of *ekphrasis*), while the 'other' is passive, seen and silent. In other words, "like the masses, the colonised, the powerless and voiceless everywhere, visual representation cannot represent itself; it must be represented by discourse" (1994:157). Moreover, in Mitchell's view the text/image relationship resembles the self/other one in the sense that even the most basic of epistemological and ethical encounters (knowledge of objects, acknowledgement of subjects) involves "optical/discursive figures of knowledge and power" (1994:162) which are present in essentialised categories such as 'the verbal' and 'the visual'. In fact, every *ekphrasis* is specific to a particular discursive regime or episteme (Shapiro 2003) and, consequently, produces and expresses that regime's power dynamic. Effectively, the relation between the verbal and the visual is a site determined by, and impregnated with, power.

This complex relation is further developed in Deleuze's (1988) reading of Foucault's work. For him, Foucault's approach to discourse is based on a dual investigation of articulable statements and fields of visibilities. Thus, Deleuze makes a clear distinction between what he calls 'a system of light' and 'a system of language'; these systems do not belong to the same discursive formation and, as a result, the form of the visible is opposed to that of the articulable. Yet certain care must be taken in what is to be understood by 'systems of light' or 'visibilities'. These visibilities do not refer to the forms of objects nor to elements that one can see or perceive; they are not direct windows onto reality. Rather, they are gleams of light, forms of luminosity that allow a thing or object to exist "as a flash, sparkle or shimmer" (1988:52). So, while both systems of language and systems of light have their own mode of being, they hold with each other a set of "complex and tangled relations" (Foucault cited in Shapiro 2003:209) in which neither the visible nor the articulable provide a point of stability. Thus, the task of discourse analysis would entail disclosing the specific

character of each system in varying contexts in order to be able "to describe their reciprocal functioning" (2003:209).

These two characterisations of the visible/articulable dichotomy, as impregnated by power and as different strata of discursive formations, point to two of the methodologies developed by Foucault in order to understand the importance of discourse: archaeology and genealogy (Kendall & Wickham 1999, Shapiro 2003).[9] In general terms, an archaeology of the sayable and the visible would entail a study of the way that the establishment of 'truth' is constituted at the level of discursive formations in a variety of contexts and cultures. A genealogy would, in turn, address the matters of power and resistance involved in such relations, emphasising an understanding of how formations of power function to produce various types of knowledge.

For Deleuze (1988), there is no question that the archaeology that Foucault theorised was inherently constituted by an audiovisual archive. Archaeological method, concerned with the disruptions and discontinuities that shape and transform different cultures, looks at the historical formations, positivities or empiricities that Deleuze calls 'discursive strata' (1988:47). For him, these strata are 'sedimentary beds' (1988:47) made from the intermingling of layers of words and things (the sayable and the visible) that result in bands of visibility and fields of readability. This has two consequences. Firstly, each stratum or historical formation implies a distribution of the sayable and visible which act upon each other. In other words, each stratum is a combination of saying (discursive practices) and seeing (forms of self-evidence). Secondly, there is variation in distribution from one stratum to the next because visibilities change in style, while statements change in system. Thus, for Shapiro (2003) an archaeology of the visible would address the changing practices that relate to the production, display and interpretation of visual objects while explaining how discursive practices and forms of knowledge are constituted.

Complementary to an archaeological methodology, a genealogy would focus on the ways in which knowledges are produced through the articulation and combination of the visible and the articulable. In fact, knowledge can be loosely defined as the relationship that oscillates from things to words, from the visible to the sayable; knowledge, in Deleuze's words, is "the linking of the visible and the articulable" (1988:39). Furthermore, the stratified elements found in different historical formations are not exactly the *product* of a knowledge in the process of

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[9] These methodologies will be addressed in more detail in Chapter Four: Methdological Framework.

emerging. More precisely, these elements participate in and directly constitute emerging knowledges, so that both the visible and the articulable are the direct objects of epistemology. Consequently, knowledge regimes, variable according to time and place, are defined by the combinations of the visible and the articulable particular to each historical formation. And the marks left on each stratum by the sayable and the visible are, in turn, "thresholds involving ethics, aesthetics and politics" (Deleuze 1988:51).

No genealogical analysis would be complete without addressing the matter of power and its impact in the constitution of regimes of knowledge: "there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (1988:39). Hence, knowledge and power form part of a mutually dependent relation in which one shapes the other and vice versa. For Deleuze (1988), there can be no model of truth that does not directly imply a kind of power, and there can be no knowledge that does not include power being put into play.

However, in this understanding of power/knowledge in the context of discourse, it is important to make clear that power is not to be understood as a 'property' won by a specific class (Deleuze 1988:25). For Foucault, the characterisation of power as solely repressive and based on domination is unhelpful:

> Power would be a fragile thing if its only function were to repress, if it worked only through the mode of censorship, exclusion, blockage and repression, in the manner of a great Superego, exercising itself only in a negative way. If, on the contrary, power is strong this is because, as we are beginning to realise, it produces effects at the level of desire –and also at the level of knowledge. (1980:59)

Actually, power "produces reality" (Deleuze 1988:28-29) before it represses; equally, it produces 'truth' before it ideologises. In this sense, power is less a property than a strategy; it can be exercised as the overall effect of a dominant class's potential strategic positions within discourse (Deleuze 1988). Hence, traditional views of power as persuasive or repressive – acting exclusively through ideology or violence – are reductive. Actually, power cannot be characterised as essential, but operational. It is, most fundamentally, a bond which passes through the possible relations between forces. Power's diffuse de-localized mobility can best be conceived of as "a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression" (Foucault 1980:119). In this sense, power is productive, generating discourse and running *through* things while at the same time revealing "innumerable points of confrontation, focuses of instability, risks

of conflict, struggles, at least temporary inversion of the power-relations" (Deleuze 1988:25). Under this scenario, power passes through dominated forces *as well as* dominating ones, facilitating relations of both domination and resistance.

Foucault le voyant

Given the readings of Foucault's texts as presented above, it is not surprising that several scholars have pondered on the application of the French author's work to the field of visuality. De Certeau (cited in Jay 1993), for instance, has commented on 'the optical style' of Foucault's work. In his view, Foucault's texts are abundant in tables, illustrations, scenes and figures, with "the entire discourse proceed[ing] in this fashion from vision to vision" (1993:384). Shapiro (2003) highlights the importance of structures of space and visibility as crucial to understanding the historical development of the asylum, the medical clinic and the Panopticon, and their relation to forms of power and discourse. Jay (1986) insists that the link established by Foucault between *voir, savoir* (*sa-voir*) and *pouvoir* (*pou-voir*) is revealing in itself: vision is an intrinsic component to knowledge and power. And, of course, for Deleuze Foucault "never stopped being a *voyant*" (1988:50) in his quest to fully analyse the relations between the sayable and the visible.

However, Jay (1986) suggests Foucault's stance on vision and visuality must be approached with more reservation. While the importance of sight is central to Foucault's texts, there is no innocence in his understanding of it. Rather, Foucault can be placed in the context of an important body of work on anti-ocular discourse. Traditionally privileged as 'the noblest of senses', sight has historically occupied a place as "the most discriminating and trustworthy of the sensual mediators between man and world" (1986:176). It was considered an intrinsic part of "the magical 'chain of being' that connected all knowledge to other knowledge" (Mirzoeff 1999:41). However, Jay (1986) is aware that in Foucault's work there is never the possibility of a fully visible, transparent, direct reality. For him, Foucault's work emphasises "the sinister implications of ocularcentrism" (1986:180), as exemplified through the alienating and objectifying power of the gaze in Foucault's work on the emergence of types of medical practices. Thus, the nature of Foucault's fascination with vision is, for Jay, uncertain at best.

Yet for other authors placing Foucault as part of an anti-ocular discourse risks simplifying his work. In Shapiro's (2003) view, Foucault provides alternatives to visual homogenisation and vision as surveillance. In his texts on Manet, Kandinsky, Klee, Magritte and Warhol, Foucault does not conceive of a denigrating type of vision. On the contrary, these artists and their work provide evidence of the conflicting practices that may take place in the same cultural space and result in specific structures and effects. Thus, generalisations about the visual should be treated with caution; an archaeologist of the visual would, more likely, be alert to the characteristics of different visual regimes and to "the disparate and possible conflicting visual practices of a single era" (2003:9).

3.2 Visuality as discourse

The nature of seeing is that it is not natural. Its apparent immediacy in connecting the outside to the inside is not a straightforward process that is given without several intervening factors. For Berger, "the way we see things is affected by what we know or what we believe" (1972:8). Effectively, vision is determined by visuality understood as the dominating visual formation of a given epoch; it is a form of language that gives shape to a world-view by ordering reality into meaningful units, therefore allowing a distinction between superior and inferior qualities to be made. To regard any language as 'neutral' and 'natural' would negate language as a "highly organized and encoded system" (Said 1995:21) that cannot deliver *presences* but only *re-presences* or representations. Accordingly, the gaze must be understood not as a perceptual given but as an interpretative principle: "who or what is presumed to be doing the looking is now viewed as a critically unsettling issue" (Holly cited in Cherry 2005:7).

Seeing, representing

Moreover, there can be no such thing as 'sight' as a perceptual act free from cultural factors. Rather, there are several *kinds of looking* delimited according to who is allowed to look, with what purpose and how this type of looking gets legitimated by academic and state discourses (Rogoff 1998). In essence, the matter of vision rests on political questions that can be summarized by focusing on "who is allowed to speak

about what" (1998:15). This simple question has several implications. By asking who is allowed to speak about what, visuality can be understood as a regime through which "what can be visually identified can be most readily controlled" (Brennan 1996:227). Thus, visual codes, much like codes of language, determine how some are allowed to look while others can only "hazard a peek" (Rogoff 1998:16). The epistemological effects of sight – the organisation of the view – link perception to an understanding of the world "as a system of objects whose very organization evoked some larger meaning or reality (Empire, Progress, the Spirit of a People)" (Preziosi 1998:451). In this context, looking and returning the gaze can be understood as acts of both political domination and political resistance.

This understanding of the gaze necessarily accepts the proposition that "all perception is the result of historical changes in representation" (Brennan & Jay 1996:5). According to different historical regimes, the properties of the gaze have been described in a variety of ways. In sixteenth century European thought, the gaze was thought of as a force emanating from the eye that had the capacity to send out rays that would come in contact with the objects seen (Brennan 1996); hence, the gaze was directly constructive of its objects. This notion of the active eye became displaced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with discursive shifts that now explained perception as the result of a passive eye that functions as a receiver of stimuli from the outside world. Therefore, the subject did not 'go' to the object seen; the visual object came to the subject. In this view, the eye "received nothing less than the virtual truth" (Brennan 1996:224). Concurrently, the gaze also participated in the discursive regimes of medicine and delinquency, where it functioned as an "apparatus of investigation, verification, surveillance and cognition" (Rogoff 1998:21).

The shifts in the ways vision has been understood throughout different discursive regimes is symptomatic of changing practices of representation. In this sense, representation is an "entire method of organisation" (Mitchell 1998:297) that *engenders* – rather than simply reflects – political, social and cultural meanings (Bryson *et al.* 1993). A historical look at the functions of visual representation in culture would complement an understanding of the role of vision in the engendering of these meanings. For example, visual representation, heavily based on the classical tradition of mimesis, was for a long time thought of as the imitative mirroring of nature, a specular duplication or reproduction of what was 'out there' (Jay 1993:3). However, iconic representations soon became examples of a changing understanding of pictures. In the Byzantine Church, for example, icons were one and the same with

the being they represented. Thus, icons were not envisioned as a copy but as identical with their object (Mirzoeff 1998). The Renaissance revived the classical tradition of visual representations based on mimesis or resemblance, yet epistemic shifts in the seventeenth century distanced theories of resemblance from emerging representational theories. For Descartes, techniques in perspective and compositional artifices belied the conventional nature of representation as a product of cultural factors. Following this turning point, images no longer necessarily seem real because they actually resemble what they represent; they are no longer seen to hold a "magical affinity to the real" (Mirzoeff 1999:37). More specifically, visual images function on the artifice of a 'reality effect'. According to this view, pictures have a capacity to offer verisimilitude insofar as they are "modes of representation that convince us that the picture is sufficiently life-like for us to suspend our disbelief" (Mirzoeff 1999:37).

More recently, a discursive approach to the nature of representation situates visual texts in the context of discursive formations and strategies. In a discursive context, Pollock (1994) considers representation as a social relation that is enacted and performed. Visual representation, in particular, appeals to vision, to the management of imaginary spaces and the offering up of bodies to a gaze. In other words, discourses can also be defined as assemblages of (visual) representations that contribute to the construction of a regime of truth. As such, a discursive approach to representation would emphasise the importance of discursive formations in the production of visual texts as well as the strategies of representation involved in such a production. These strategies of representation become delimited and determined by the conditions of visibility that function on a visual text: "how do certain people, places, things enter spaces of representation, which spaces, and why" (1994:13). In other words, who is looking at whom, and with what political effects, is crucial in a discursive analysis of images.

If, in Jay's words, "all human vision is an artefact, produced by other artefacts, namely pictures" (1993:5), then the verisimilitude of pictures resides in its relation to power and the production of knowledge(s). In a Foucauldian account, representation necessarily enters different fields of power whereby the process of representing is necessarily flawed, disrupted and subject to resistances. Pollock highlights that, while representation may be an attempt to manage social forces, it also "induces and then is shaped by resistance" (1994:15). In other words, representation is rarely stable and rarely natural. Given a Foucauldian description of power not as something to be possessed, but rather as a set of relations among forces, Mitchell (1994) argues that it

is necessary to understand the power of pictures in terms of their configurations, their internal relations of dominance and resistance, and their external relations with spectators and the world.

For Mitchell (1994), the importance of pictures with relation to power can be explored through two analytical frameworks. On the one hand, pictures' function of illusionism is based on their capacity to deceive, astonish, and seduce the viewer into suspending judgment. In other words, these images exercise an action that, in turn, addresses a subject that must be persuaded, entertained or deceived. The tacit legend for this form of relation would be "this is the way things *look*" (1994:325). On the other hand, the function of realism in pictures is associated with their capacity to tell the truth. More than involving a manipulation of the viewer through deceit, the realism function in images stands *in* for the viewer's eye, offering the artifice of a "transparent window onto reality, an embodiment of a socially authorised and credible "eyewitness" perspective" (1994:326). In this regime, the spectator is not even assumed as being under the power of representation, and s/he subscribes to the legend 'this is the way things *are*' (1994:326). Pictures, therefore, oscillate between their capacity to suspend disbelief in the subject, and their function to incite the believability of the object of representation.

Mitchell's analysis of the visual image and its functions points to a fundamental concern between two of the main elements of discourse: the subject and the object of discourse. In fact, the relationship between subject and object is crucial to the discourse of representation and to the power/knowledge effects of certain discursive regimes on specific cultures. More specifically, statements contain the functions of subject, object, and concept within themselves as derivatives of their own presence (Deleuze 1988). Thus, the positionality of statements characteristic of any signifying system "commences with the separation of subject and object" (Preziosi 1989:77).

The object in visual discourse

When addressing a discursive analysis of visuality, it is important to underline that the object of discourse is, inevitably, an object of representation. In traditional approaches to representation, pictures were portrayed as a copy of the object or thing 'out there'. Thus, a relation of resemblance between the two became naturalised. However,

Foucault (1983) insists that such schools of thought induce a distorting discursive affirmation into the study of representation by introducing the linguistic element. The sayable/visible dichotomy becomes expressed in the affirmation "this painted image *is* that thing" (Harkness cited in Foucault 1983:8). For example, Foucault states that drawing's ultimate function is a reflection of the sayable/visible indicative; drawing's mission is, in fact, to facilitate recognition of representations "without hesitation or equivocation" (1983:20). To put it simply, visual representations *point* to something in a clear manner that is mediated by a linguistic indicative. However, if visual texts are understood as mediated *re*-presentations that belong to a system of signs, the concept of resemblance or mimesis can be broken, thus "exhibiting the cultural values of the historical moment to which the artist belonged" (Bryson 1994:xviii).

In Foucault (1983), the issue of resemblance is central in understanding the workings of visual texts and their relation to discourse. Two of the basic principles on which Western painting has based itself centre on the concept of resemblance. The first principle expresses the unavoidable separation between the plastic representation and linguistic reference. This principle, based on the tension between the visible and the sayable, results from the existence of two different discursive systems (word/image) that require the (fleeting, unstable) subordination of one to the other. Hence, at one given moment in time the text can rule the picture or vice versa, but one must dominate over the other as no simultaneous reading of the two can be achieved. The second principle addresses the equivalence between resemblance and affirmation as part of the bond of representation. This means that any attempt at representation is necessarily an affirmation of something: "resemblance and affirmation cannot be dissociated" (1983:34). In effect, representation cannot *deny*; resemblance affirms and confirms the object of representation.

However, Foucault (1983) underlines that there is a marked difference between resemblance and similitude and that this distinction is fundamental for understanding the workings of visual representation. While resemblance is based on the premise of an original to be modelled upon, the similar develops in a series that has neither beginning nor end. This distinction has a number of consequences. If resemblance refers to an original object, it is always to that model that it must "return and reveal" (1983:44); thus it is this primary reference, this original, that prescribes and classifies, producing hierarchies. In contrast, the similar develops without beginning or end, belonging to a circulating repetition that disperses visual statements in an "indefinite and reversible relation of the similar to the similar" (1983:44). This

understanding of visual statements as pertaining to a system of similarity, not resemblance, serves to analyse the visual as the product of its "relative position to an unfolding historical or genealogical scheme of development" (Preziosi 1998:16). In this regard, the given object is a marker of difference, in a massive differential and relational system, from other objects.

Yet while the object of representation is subject to the impact of visibilities in discursive formations, it is also dependent on relations of presence and absence. For Foucault, it is not simply a question of the relation between the visible and the invisible, but of the way in which their movements are understood in the context of specific visual regimes. Thus, the tension between visibilities and invisibilities is a "comprehensive figure not only of a painterly style, but of an episteme, an entire system of knowledge/power relations" (Mitchell 1994:58). In describing the interplay of visibilities and invisibilities in *Las Meninas*, Foucault underlines that "the profound invisibility of what one sees is inseparable from the invisibility of the person seeing – despite all mirrors, reflections, imitations, and portraits" (1970:16). The object's place in discourse is inseparable from the subject to whom it is (in)visible.

The subject in visual discourse

If the object and the concept are both functions of the statement and its position within a discursive formation, so is the subject. Consequently, a discursive understanding of the subject rejects the theme of an originating subject. In contrast, the subject must be reconsidered and described with relation to its system of dependencies and, therefore, to its intervention in discourse. Paraphrasing Foucault (in Preziosi 1998), an archaeological account of the subject concentrates on the conditions and forms that allow an entity like the subject to appear in the order of discourse. Its interest would centre in describing the functions the subject exhibits, the rules that it follows, and the position it occupies. Accordingly, the subject is stripped of its creative role and analysed as a complex and variable function of discourse it is immersed in.

The seeing subject is set in a place of visibility, similar to the place of visibility adjudicated to the object of representation. For Deleuze (1988), the seeing subject is a function derived from visibility, much like the place occupied by the king in classical representation or the place of an observer in any prison system. Yet subjectivities can consist of the seeing subject, but also of the subject seen as object. This ambiguous

position as the object of knowledge and the subject that knows is characterised by Foucault as the condition of the subject as "enslaved sovereign and observed spectator" (cited in Jay 1986:189). Moreover, the formation of the human subject/object produces three conditions of knowledge: it divides the population into manageable groupings, it classifies scientifically and it subjectifies or produces a category of self. This level of analysis asks itself who's speaking, who invested that subject with the presumption of truth (authority) and what are the traits that define his function in society. In addition, Foucault (1969) argues that this domain refers to the institutional sites that legitimate the point of origin for the emergence of subjectivities and the points of application of specific objects and instruments of verification. In other words, the formation of the subject "produces positions both of subaltern and dominant subjects" (Pollock 1994:6) in accordance with Foucault's theorisation of power as a set of relations between forces.

The position of the subject in representation is a reflection of the position of the subject in discourse. From a historical viewpoint, Foucault (1970) suggests that to be the subject of representation was once a ritual of power reserved for the divine, the heroic, and for those in power. This subject's visibility confirmed the nexus between power and representation as a function of a particular discursive regime. Following the nineteenth century, there came a quantitative and qualitative shift in the subjects to be considered worthy of representation. According to Pollock (1994), instead of representing sovereigns or heroic characters, painting (and emerging photography) started addressing members of disempowered groups such as the farmer, the worker, and the criminal. However, for her this shift was not indicative of a democratisation of the image but more so an expansion of representation in order to better subject large sections of the population to surveillance. This would mark the passage from representation as a process of heroisation to a procedure of objectification and subjection.

In this vein, Foucault's (1970) analysis of *Las Meninas* is, perhaps, one of the paramount texts for addressing the function of the subject in visual representation. For Mitchell, this painting is an "encyclopaedic labyrinth of pictorial self-reference" (1994:58) that represents "the interplay between the beholder, the producer, and the object or model of representation as a complex cycle of exchanges and substitutions" (1994:58). In this picture the interplay of subjectivities is complex. Following the tracks created by the gazes amongst its characters, Foucault describes a triangle of visibilities and invisibilities that run from the painter's eyes which lead to the place

occupied by the model *outside* of the painting and close off the triangle with the figures sketched on the invisible surface of the canvas. Hence, the painter's gaze is directed at 'us' insofar as viewers, but only because 'we' are occupying the same space that was occupied by the models painted by Velázquez. Thus, the viewing subject and the subject as model-object are merged into one by the fact that they occupy the same space in front of the picture. This is a 'precise' and 'neutral' place in which the observer and observed take part in a "ceaseless exchange that belies the instability of the gaze" (1970:4); the subject-object, the spectator and the model "reverse their roles to infinity" (1970:5). This dynamic is characterised by the presence of a subject as a space that can be occupied by subject variants. In other words, it reflects the positions the subject can occupy with relation to groups of objects in a net of information.

For Foucault (1970) this painting is a representation of representation in the classical age. By concentrating on the way in which the painter *within* the representation looks out at the spectator, Foucault describes the way in which the painter's eyes seize hold of the viewer and force him to enter the picture, assigning him "a place at once privileged and inescapable" (1970:5). This matter directly addresses the issue of the relation between power and painting. What is at stake in the establishment of this relation is the gaze as produced from the perspective of the sovereign. In systems of representation there is usually a preconception of an ideal viewer and then the presence of the actual one. During the Renaissance, these two figures occupied the same space: that of the viewer as king, prince or figure of authority for whom the work was produced. For Mitchell (1994), the disciplining of the eye of the viewer and the control of visual representations was fundamental to the technology of sovereignty, including "those techniques of self-discipline adumbrated in the optical figure of the 'mirror for princes'" (1994:61). The stance of the viewer as a passive subject that waits for objects to come to him or her is, in fact, a shift in power that makes the subject the centre of the world, the sovereign of the representations addressed to him. Furthermore, Brennan (1996) argues that, if the seeing subject is the centre of the *represented* world, the subject him/herself becomes the world's centre. In this "strange empirico-transcendental doublet" (Jay 1986:189) the subject functions "both as an allegedly neutral metasubject of knowledge and as its proper object, viewed from afar" (1986:189).

In the discursive field the space delimited for the subject is determined by specific techniques and apparatuses that allow particular subject positions to emerge. One of these techniques is perspective insofar as it "inscribes an empty emplacement for the spectator-subject" (Metz cited in Mirzoeff 1999:50). An analysis of discursive formations that takes into account such techniques and apparatuses leads to what Foucault (1980) termed 'regimes of truth'. These regimes are determined by the types of discourse accepted as true, the mechanisms that allow the distinction between true and false statements, the techniques that aid in the determination of truth, the status of those who resolve what is true. As Tagg (1994) highlights, a study of the regimes of visual meaning would address the discursive formation and the practices of power in which visibilities are constituted.

If subject positions are created for the viewer through the implementation of visual apparatuses and technologies, it is important to address the issue of the positioning of the observer. This means rejecting the idea of a single correct perspectival way of apprehending visual texts (Shapiro 2003). Instead, other questions should be addressed:

> Is there, for this painting or in general, a single determinate position that is required of the viewer? Does the picture have a single fixed perspective? And even if it does, does this cancel out our impressions of the painting that may be at variance with it? (Shapiro 2003:253)

In other words, the question that must be asked is how power determines the subject's perception of images.

For Shapiro (2003), visual regimes must be explored in terms of what they allow to be seen by whom and under what circumstances. They must also address those things that are not seen, that are excluded, as well as those displayed. A visual regime can be described as:

> [...] an arrangement under which there are privileged, hegemonic ways in which spectacles or displays are organized according to a set of typically implicit standards so as to privilege some sights and perspectives over others, and eyes are habituated to expect these visions and not others. (2003:201)

Most central to this idea is the notion that visual regimes are culturally specific. 'Scopic regimes', as they have been termed by Jay (1988, 1993), are distinct historical manifestations of the visual experience in all its possible modes.

For Jay (1988), the genealogy of scopic regimes in the Western world can be broken down into several phases which correspond more or less to the epistemic

regimes of particular historical periods. However, it is important to highlight that these regimes are not restricted to these historical periods and can refer to diverse scopic regimes that continue to coexist and compete in current representational and epistemic systems. In other words, the scopic regime of modernity is "a contested terrain, rather than a harmoniously integrated complex of visual theories and practices" (1988:4). Bearing this in mind, Jay locates at least three visual models or competing ocular fields within this overall scopic regime of modernity: Cartesian pespectivalism, 'the art of describing', and the baroque regime.

The regime of Cartesian perspectivalism had as its antecedent Alberti's *De Pictura* (1435), a treaty on the techniques of painting during the Renaissance. For Alberti (1970 [1435]), painters should seek to represent the form of the things they see in a two dimensional plane as if this plane or canvas was a transparent window on the world. In this concept of dimension, the perspectival eye approaches the painting from a single, central point of view. Then from this singular point fixed in the centre of the painting there emerges the visual pyramid which, in turn, positions the viewer in the correct site with respect to the canvas:

> Perspective is a rational demonstration whereby experience confirms that all objects transmit their similitudes to the eye by a pyramid of lines. By a pyramid of lines, I understand those lines which start from the edges of the surface of bodies and, converging from a distance meet in a single point; and this point, in this case, I will show to be situated in the eye, which is the universal judge of all objects. (da Vinci cited in Mirzoeff 1999:39)

In effect, the discursive space of the 'Albertian ideal painting' reduced the body of the viewer to a "punctual site of reading" (Preziosi 1989:58) through which the subject and the object are "captured and fixed along a centric ray passing back and forth between point of view and vanishing point" (1989:58). Further developments in this dominant scopic regime became consolidated with the emergence of Descartes's treaties on perspective. For him, perspective was no longer part of a 'window onto the world' in the Albertian sense, but rather an artifice that consisted of the distortion of the object's real appearance (Mirzoeff 1998). In contrast to Alberti, Descartes understood perspective to be a representational *convention* consisting of two converging lines that convey depth in a flat picture surface, a practice which effectively distorts the objects' forms. As Jay (1988) explains, the scopic regime of Cartesian perspectivalism based itself on ideas of subjective rationality in philosophy and on the notion of a singular eye that emits a fixed gaze. This artifice of rationality did without the two eyes of normal binocular vision and produced visual texts suited for a "lone eye looking through a peephole at the scene in front of it" (1988:7) in a

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static, fixated, unblinking fashion. In this way, visual representation was "eternalised, reduced to one 'point of view' and disembodied" (Bryson cited in Jay 1988:7).

The scopic regime of 'the art of describing', which Jay (1988) takes from Alpers's (1983) work on Renaissance art in Northern Europe, is distinctly different from the regime of Cartesian perspectivalism. Doing away with the narrative dimension of perspectivalism, this regime favours description and visual surface over conventions for representing the three dimensional on a two-dimensional surface. In fact, 'the art of describing' assumes "the prior existence of a world of objects depicted on the flat canvas, a world indifferent to the beholder's position in front of it" (Jay 1988:12). By conceptualising picture frames as non-existant and arbitrary impositions on the world, this regime poses an alternative to the Albertian window-on-the-world. Hence, in this view (picture)frames do not serve the totalising function they serve in Southern European scopic regimes but, instead, the world of the picture is understood to extend beyond its frame. Moreover, 'the art of describing' regime rejects the mathematical impulse that characterises Cartesian perspectivalism in favour of "the fragmentary, detailed, and richly articulated surface of a world it is content to describe rather than explain" (1988:13). Fundamentally, this regime focuses on "the discrete particularity of the visual experience and resists the temptation to allegorise or typologise what it sees" (1988:13).

The third scopic regime theorised by Jay (1988) is the baroque regime linked to the Iberian-Catholic Counter-Reformation. The term, derived from the Portuguese word for an irregular, oddly shaped pearl, is described by Jay as "painterly, recessional, soft-focused, multiple and open" (1988:17). This 'madness of vision' (Buci-Glucksmann 1984 cited in Jay 1988:19), based on the heightening of the bizarre and peculiar, is in frank opposition to alternative regimes which championed the clarity and transparency of form. In fact, the baroque regime is "the most significant alternative to the hegemonic visual style called Cartesian perspectivalism [in its] fascination for the opacity, unreadability and indecipherability of the reality it depicts" (1988:17). Characterised by its variant of *horror vacui*, the baroque regime celebrates the contradictions between surface and depth, rejecting "any attempt to reduce the multiplicity of visual spaces into any one coherent essence" (1988:17). Hence, the baroque accumulates images, celebrates contradiction, and deals with the visual in its plural, multiple forms.

While not theorised directly as a scopic regime by Jay (1986, 1988, 1993), other potential scopic regimes might include the emergence of Panopticism as a visual

regime. Bentham's Panopticon, an example of the "objectifying power of the gaze [and the] unimpeded empire of the gaze" (Jay 1986:190), was a continuation of the older Enlightenment project linking reason to illumination. As its name suggests, the Panopticon is, literally, a place from which everything can be seen (Mirzoeff 1999). It consists of an architectural ordering of space: in an exterior ring of cells subjects can be constantly monitored by an individual standing in a central tower which has visual access to all the cells. Such a configuration echoes a desire to exclude all irrationality; in the effort to make everything seen, it is assumed that "no opacity can withstand logic" (Jay 1993:382). Thus, the Panopticon is the apparatus that generates the 'absolute look':

> The object of power is everywhere penetrated by the benevolently sadistic gaze of a diffuse and anonymous power, whose actual existence soon becomes superfluous to the process of discipline. (Jay 1986:191)

Consequently, in the scopic regime of the Panopticon, the vanishing point that fixated the viewer's position in an Albertian and Cartesian model is inverted in order to become a perspectival viewpoint that is "all-powerful" (Mirzoeff 1999:50). Such a system of visibility makes itself omnipresent through surveillance, "making all visible as long as it could itself remain invisible" (1999:50).

As such, the importance of perspective and its varying regimes does not lie in its geometrical precision, but in its "ability to convey visual power" (Mirzoeff 1999:41). Perspective as an artifice does not reflect reality faithfully, but more importantly it allows it to be ordered and controlled. Moreover, Jay (1988) feels it is important to clarify that making sweeping generalisations about hegemonic scopic regimes is not helpful as there is no one system that can be agreed upon. To do this would be to perpetuate a hierarchisation of regimes, whereas Jay argues that what should be acknowledged is a plurality of competing scopic regimes. In this context, scopic regimes must be theorised as a complex of representational strategies "ranging from popular entertainments to geometric displays and means of social organisation" (Mirzoeff 1999:38). These regimes of visuality are contested terrains and as such they can provide the field for resistances as well as hegemonic ways of seeing.

3.3 Art(history) as a discursive regime of modernity

When entering into the territory of the authorities and institutions that deal with images, it is important to place such elements within a historical setting. If the visual

image is not stable in its meaning and effects, the link between it, its exterior reality, and its discursive formation must be established. In this particular instance, the link between visual predominance and modernity cannot be overemphasised:

> A world picture [...] does not mean a picture of the world but the world conceived and grasped as a picture. [...] The world picture does not change from an earlier medieval one into a modern one, but rather the fact that the world becomes picture at all is what distinguishes the essence of the modern age. (Heidegger cited in Mirzoeff 1998:6)

Hence, in the context of a modernity based on the importance of the image, the development of new apparatuses and techniques depends on an effectivity that is enmeshed with their political strategies of representation (Tagg 1994). Accordingly, painting must be understood as a "discursive practice [...] not a pure vision that must be transcribed into the materiality of space. [...] It is shot through [...] with the positivity of a knowledge (*savoir*)" (Foucault cited in Jay 1993:407). As Pollock (1994) asserts, it is important to highlight that in the project of modernity, the political involves a composite of institutions, discourses and personnel that make their impact on the sphere of representation and discourse.

As far as institutional apparatuses of the visible are concerned, art history may be considered the discipline that incorporates such elements and provides them with their theoretical and discursive underpinnings. For Preziosi (1998), the main enterprise of art history has been to make the visible legible, consequently using the legibilities it generates as a "uniquely powerful medium for fabricating, sustaining and transforming the identity and history of individuals and nations. The principal product of art history has thus been modernity itself" (1998:18). Furthermore, the discursive machinery operated by art history is dependent on the manipulation of signs in a way that positions the subject with regards to the object, "simultaneously defining the nature of proper objects and constructing the proper distance between subject and object" (Preziosi 1989:55). This discursive machinery, then, is constituted by a series of elements of discourse such as the author/authority, institutions and disciplines.

Author and authority

For Foucault (1998), the matter of authorship is one that must be revised in order to better understand the role of the author within discourse. In this sense, the author should be looked at beyond his or her socio-historical conditions as an individual. A more fruitful analysis of authorship would include the description of "how the author

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was individualised in a culture such as ours, the status we have given the author" (1998:300) in terms of authenticity and attribution, how the figure of the author is inserted in systems of valorisation, and the conditions that "fostered the formulation of the fundamental critical category of 'the man and his work'" (1998:300). In a Foucauldian discourse analysis, "authorial originality pales before the constraints of epistemic or discursive determination" (Jay 1986:175) as the power of discursive formations effectively undermine the 'alleged sovereignty' of the creator.

Yet the *site* of the author exercises distinct functions in discourse. In Foucault's (1998) view, authorship is a function that oscillates between designation and description, linking a text to a subject(position). As such, it is not simply an element of speech but a presence that functions as a means of classification, providing order for the grouping of texts and facilitating their differentiation from other texts. Consequently, the figure of the author "establishes different forms of relationships among texts: homogeneity, filiation, reciprocal explanation, authentification, and common utilisation" (1998:305). Furthermore, the name of an author determines and delimits a particular manner of existence of discourse, providing a framework which determines the status and manner of reception a particular text might receive in the culture in which it circulates. Accordingly, the author-function characterises the existence, circulation and operation of discourses within society simultaneously facilitating the dispersal of certain texts at the exclusion of others.

Some appraisals of Foucault's work on the author are critical of his theorisation. Huyssen (1998), for instance, is of the opinion that the death of the subject/author position as described by Foucault is in reality "a mere reversal to the very ideology that glorifies the artist as genius" (1998:329). The absolute denial of the subject/author eschews the chance of challenging the ideology of the subject as white, middle-class and male because, in denying the existence of the subject, alternative notions of subjectivity will hardly be developed. Such a position "duplicates on the level of aesthetics and theory what capitalism as a system of exchange relations produces tendentially in everyday life: the denial of subjectivity in the very process of its construction" (1998:329).

As Shohat and Stam highlight (1998), the act of seeing is never pure. It is, more precisely, "imbricated in a whole series of apparatuses – the museum, the academy, the art world, the publishing industry, even the nation state – which govern the production, dissemination and legitimation of artistic productions" (1998:45). The function of these apparatuses and institutions is to determine who gets "privileged within the regime of specularity" (Rogoff 1998:15) as determined by the formation of disciplinary knowledge and representations. Thus, the academy's production of knowledge is, effectively, "the production of social power through which it claims authority over other social groups" (Bryson 1994:xxvii). Art and art history both respond to a series of ideological formations that historically co-construct social practices, produce subjects and objects correspondent with each other, and lay the grounds for "a decorum suitable for the orderly and predictable functioning of the emergent nation-states of Europe" (Preziosi 1998:517).

In Canclini's (1998) view, the function of the institutions of art history is actually one of organisation of the aesthetic field. This organisation, mediated by producers, museums, galleries, historians, critics and the public, contributes to the elaboration of shared imaginaries that, in turn, determine the interaction between diverse members of the cultural and economic field of art. In this way, institutions afford a place for placing the objects of study "within a discursive field, a rhetorical framework, an analytic stage" (Preziosi 1998:16). Moreover, the link between the art historical institution and the modern nation-state is further based on the consolidation of cultural institutions that cultivated the emergence of national mythologies as well as "the very myth of the nation-state as such" (1998:508). Thus, the imaginary entity which is the modern nation-state "depended for its existence and maintenance on an apparatus of powerful cultural fictions, principal amongst which were the *novel* and the *museum*" (1998:508).

The modern museum has been defined by Preziosi (1998) as a set of practices and techniques that coincided with the evolution of the modern nation-state. As one of the premier epistemological technologies of the Enlightenment, its historical emergence in an established imaginary space and time evidences it as "a disciplinary mode of knowledge-production in its own right" (1998:509). Its function is to determine the acceptable relations that can be established between subjects and objects, among subjects, and between subjects and their personal histories. In short,

for Preziosi museums are models for 'reading' objects as representations of individuals, groups, nations and races, and of their respective 'histories'. Its pedagogic function is to teach its users how to read what is seen; in essence, museums determine how social memories are activated. At the core of the museum are the instrumental ways of distributing objects and, consequently, organising the space of memory. As part of a political project, the Western museum actually produces a "certain kind of historicity commensurate with the (now universally exported) nationalist teleologies of European modernity" (1998:515). Hence, the museum is an institution of European modernity that functions simultaneously as metaphor and as a state apparatus for the maintenance of dominant discourses on abstract concepts such as culture, nation, progress and civilisation.

The archive of art(history)

If the institutions of art have the function of ordering their objects in a way that impacts the *epistemes* of given historical moments, the archive is the (ever-changing) configuration that results from the processes of this ordering. Following Foucault's definition of the archive as "all the systems that establish statements as singular events or things by defining their conditions and domains of appearance as well as their possibilities and fields of use" (1969:171), the archive of art can be considered a practice that accounts for the formation and transformation of visual statements. Similarly to the museum, the archive of art history is a product of the Enlightenment project intent on achieving a taxonomic ordering of the objects at hand. For Jay (1986), this project bases itself on a new faith in the power of improved, technologically-aided observation that permits the ordering of things in the visible space of the table. This taxonomy, imbued with power relations that result in a hierarchical scale of aesthetic progress, is held as the universal standard against which "the products of all times and places might be envisioned" (Preziosi 1998:513). Hence, each people and place can be categorised, placed with relation to its artistic productions, and occupy a rung on the "ladder of evolution leading towards the modernity and presentness of Europe" (1998:513). In the context of academic discourses of art, this teleological progression of a people and its arts responds to the idea of art as evidential; art is an object of documentary importance that allows Western knowledge to valorise the past's causal relations to the present. In this way,

the archive of art history becomes a 'willed fiction' whose goal is to constitute a "coherent 'representational' universe" (1998:521).

The archive of art history is regularly organised around two principles: the relations between objects in an archive can be based on similarity (metaphor) or contiguity (metonymy). These axes of organisation respond to the disciplinary archive or art history as a panoptic instrument that calibrates and accounts for variation in continuity and continuity in difference. Given the former, it is important that the art historical archive not be understood as a "passive storehouse or data bank" (Preziosi 1998:517). It is, in fact, a critical instrument that calibrates, grades, and accounts for variations in continuity. The impact of its forms of dispersion results in it becoming an epistemological technology that is:

> indispensable to the social and political formation of the nation and to its various legitimising paradigms of ethnic autochthony, cultural uniqueness, and social technological or ethical progress (or decline) relative to real or imagined Others. (1998:517)

A disciplinary art history

For Mitchell (1994), art history can be considered simply the elevation of *ekphrasis* into a disciplinary principle insofar as art history is, all things considered, a verbal representation of visual representation. This definition brings art history back full circle to the issue of the sayable and the visible. In Deleuze's reading of Foucault, history in general is "the determination of visible and articulable features unique to each age which goes beyond any behaviour, mentality or set of ideas, since it makes these things possible" (1988:49). This being the case, art history would be the ultimate form of history with respect to the interrelations established between the visible art object and the sayable discourse that anchors it in a discursive formation.

In this context, Foucault (1969) contrasts two substantially different approaches to history-as-discipline. The first, a *total history*, is regarded as the direct application of the history of ideas' themes to a historiographical method. This form of history is based on the presupposition of a unifying centre that condenses the "material or spiritual principle" of a society (1969:18). Such a history seeks to reconstitute the overall form of a civilisation, based on the assumption that all the phenomena of a given period share a common centre and can therefore be described in a cohesive fashion. Faced with a total and totalising history, Foucault champions a *general history* based on a space of dispersion. The latter, he suggests, is more

concerned with the types of relations that can be established, the vertical systems that can be formed, and the interplays of correlations and dominances present. Hence, a general history is based on specificities. Foucault's metaphor for this opposition between a total history and a general history is illustrated by his description of the passage from *document* to *monument* as research categories. While history can be considered a set of documents from the past and the traces they leave in our present, documents should not be treated as proof of historical validity (Horrocks & Jevtic 1997) or, in Foucault's words, "as a sign of something else conducive to 'truth' in its alleged transparency" (1969:182). Documents should be studied as monuments insofar as a mass of elements that are interrelated and constitute ensembles.

For Preziosi (1998), art history is "one of a network of interrelated institutions and professions whose overall function has been to fabricate a historical past that could be placed under systematic observation for use in the present" (1998:13). Hence, art history's approach to its objects of study is evidential in nature, as such objects are considered to be "reflective, emblematic, and representative of [their] original time, place and circumstances of production" (1998:13). This type of (total) art history treats its objects as historical documents insofar as they are presumed to provide "significant, unique and profoundly revealing evidence for the character of an age, nation, person or people" (1998:13). A (total) art history's principle aim is to make artworks-as-documents fully legible to the present. Similarly to Foucault's critique of a totalising history, Preziosi argues that traditional art history has adhered to the fundamental principle that changes in artistic form signal changes in a collective mentality.

This version of art history is essentially Eurocentric in nature given that it maintains the pretence of acting as a "universal, empirical science, systematically discovering, classifying, analysing and interpreting specimens of what is thereby instantiated as a universal human phenomenon" (Preziosi 1998:520). A more critical stance must be taken in the face of art history's "conventional procedures and claims of producing transhistorical truths, timeless works of art and unchanging critical criteria" (Bryson *et al.* 1993:xv). For various authors, this type of history is in need of a new direction that would take into account a visual culture that is formed by identity politics and social constructions (Elkins 2003). This move must include a demystification of art as the creation of aesthetic masterpieces, taking into consideration instead the cultural significance and the historical circumstances in which visual texts are produced (Bryson *et al.* 1993). To revert back to Foucault, what

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is needed is a general history of visual objects that will allow cultural practice to become "a realm where one engages with and elaborates a politics" (Mirzoeff 1999:24). In other words, the visual text must be taken into the political arena where, as Bryson (1994) emphasises, it is the very concept of representation that is at stake.

The principles to this new approach would be based on the study of its texts as objects that emerge from the points of intersection between visibility and social power (Mirzoeff 2002), and would take into consideration the importance of the operations that take place in various fields of knowledge. Furthermore, it would be engaged with a critical conception of knowledge as determined and compromised "by the attitudes and values of those engaged in its production" (Bryson 1994:xvii). Under this general history, the new categories of analysis would centre around the viewer and/or the authorising discourse rather than on the object of art; as a result, this study of the visual would be based on a "situated knowledge and self-reflexive discourse analysis" (Rogoff 1998:20). Perhaps most urgently of all, the concept of representation must be redefined in order to wrest it away from "the dominance of patriarchal, Eurocentric and heterosexist normativisation" (Rogoff 1998:16). If the disciplines that have spoken about visual representations have so far been "a discourse of the West about the West" (Mirzoeff 1998:10), the new challenge is to find ways of analysing modernity and its products as 'contingently European', thus projecting a move "away from the Euramerican progression of realism/modernism/postmodernism [towards] a polycentric, globalised field of study" (Mirzoeff 1998:11).

3.4 Seeing and colonial discourse

Visuality has played a determining role in culture as an 'apparatus of representation' (Mitchell 1998:294) in the production and consolidation of colonial discourse. "Not merely a decorative or 'superstructural'" element (Said 1995:25), Western cultural discourse in fact illustrates a "formidable structure of cultural domination" (1995:25). For Mirzoeff (1998), it plays a significant role in consolidating the three C's of the colonial agenda: commerce, Christianity and civilisation, thus playing an important function in defining the colonial order. Significantly, the procedures by which Europeans organise their representations of the world directly impact the role of the West in a global context. For these reasons, Hallam and Street (2000) highlight the importance of explicating the non-transparent nature of representation. For them, the "recognition of the partiality of cultural and historical truths necessarily raises

questions about the cultural effects of any given representation: how does it operate to exclude, silence, translate or exaggerate others?" (2000:2).

Given the former, a reworking of the definition of culture must be put in place. Paraphrasing Said (1993), the word culture holds two meanings. Firstly, it refers to the practices of description, communication and representation that hold a degree of autonomy from economic, social and political factors; such practices often take an aesthetic form and their principal aim is to afford pleasure. Secondly, in Said's recapitulation of Arnold's definition, culture is a concept that involves an elevating element and, as such, is a reservoir of the best that has been known and thought. However, Said is quick to contextualise this somewhat conservative definition of culture. For him, "culture and the aesthetic forms it contains derive from historical experience" (1993:xxiv) and, therefore, cannot be understood without taking into consideration their force or, "more precisely, their configurations of power" (Said 1995:5). Furthermore, culture can hardly be considered a neutral phenomenon. In fact, Said considers it a fundamental source of identity insomuch as it differentiates one social group from another by encouraging the veneration of 'one's own culture' while simultaneously presenting it as something otherworldly. As a result of Said's critique, culture cannot be understood as "a protective enclosure" (Said 1993:xiv) for which one checks their politics in at the door before entering. On the contrary, for Mignolo (2000) culture is one of the *key* concepts of colonial discourse given its role in classifying the planet according to a system of signs (language, food, dress, religion) and a system of ethnicity (skin colour, geographical location). Thus, a more complex study of culture must not only take into account the connection between works of art and the pleasure and profit that they afford, but also "with the imperial process of which they were manifestly and unconcealedly a part" (Said 1993:xv).

Accordingly, imperialism can be defined as a process that involves the practices, theories and attitudes of a dominant metropolis that rules a distant territory. Said quotes Doyle's definition of empire:

> Empire is a relationship, formal or informal, in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society. It can be achieved by force, by political collaboration, by economic, social, or cultural dependence. Imperialism is simply the process or policy of establishing or maintaining an empire. (cited in Said 1993:8)

Given this definition, Said highlights the practice of "*imperium* as a protracted, almost metaphysical obligation to rule subordinate, inferior, or less advanced peoples" (1993:10). Colonialism, regularly a consequence of empire, involves the implanting of

settlements on distant territory. The relationship between the two can be considered one of 'part from whole' (Said 1993). In Parry's words, colonialism is a "specific, and the most spectacular, mode of imperialism's many and mutable states" (cited in Spurr 1993:5). Additionally, for Balandier the colonial situation involves a foreign minority dominating a "materially weaker indigenous majority in the name of a racial (or ethnic) and cultural superiority" (cited in Spurr 1993:6). Under this scenario, ideology and representation are as fundamental in maintaining a precarious colonial order as is any military prowess or formal administration.

The importance of ideology and representation in the support of both colonialism and imperialism lies in their role as productive conceptual apparatuses. They secure the idea that certain peoples "*require* and beseech domination, as well as forms of knowledge affiliated with domination" (Said 1993:8). For Spurr (1993), this mentality bases itself on a threefold premise. Firstly, that imperial domination assures the wise use of resources in the occupied territories. Secondly, imperialism guarantees a universal betterment in the name of humanity. And thirdly, it improves the condition of the colonised, who become protected "from their own ignorance and violence" (Spurr 1993:34). These ideas, applicable to both imperialism and colonialism, point to the imbricated relations between the two that are hard to analyse separately. In fact, both processes operate and sustain themselves through what can be termed colonial discourse.

For Hulme, colonial discourse is:

the ensemble of linguistically based practices unified by their common deployment in the management of colonial relationships. Underlying the idea of colonial discourse [...] is the presumption that during the colonial period large parts of the non-European world were produced for Europe through a discourse that imbricated sets of questions and assumptions, methods of procedure and analysis, and kinds of writing and imagery. (cited in Mills 1997:107)

At the core of these practices is the capacity of colonial discourse to present itself as the "natural, true order of life" (McLeod 2000:22), demanding global submission to the idea of "a single 'universal' regime of truth and power" (Shohat & Stam 1994:16). Furthermore, this regime of truth and power sustains itself on the capacity of colonial discourse to convert "local knowledges (discourses) into European national and continental knowledges associated with European forms and relations of power" (Pratt 1992:202). In this manner, colonial discourse is a way of responding to reality by consistently preserving basic structures of power in its favour.

The process of producing knowledge and representations of the other is central to colonial discourse. In fact, there is an "important mutually supportive relationship

between the *material practices* of colonialism and the *representations* it fashions in order for it to work" (McLeod 2000:38). Thus, colonial rule is equally dependent on its physical and material presence as it is on the systems of representation of colonial discourse. These systems construct subject peoples, authorise colonial rule, install racial differences and produce "the colonised as entirely knowable" (Childs & Williams 1997:123). In Bhabha's words, the "objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonised as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction" (1994:70). In essence, colonial discourse is a system of representation that, by being structurally similar to realism, effectively presents itself as a regime of truth.

Postcolonial theory

Said's work (1993, 1995) was one of the first to address cultural texts as fundamental in the regimes of truth produced through colonial discourses. Focusing on the othering of the Orient in literary texts, Said highlights the construction of the East by the West as an intentional form of hegemonic cultural imposition in the context of an imperial project. For him, Orientalism is the cultural and academic tradition that reveals a Western style "for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (1995:3) and clearly exemplifies the productive nature of power. Hence, the West deals with the East by "making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it" (1995:3). In order for Orientalism to be effective, it must *produce* "supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles" (1995:2). In this view, based on Foucault's theorisation of power, colonial power is not solely repressive but productive as well.

Most importantly, this style of thinking is based on the production of artificial dichotomies that serve to increase Western strength and identity "by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self" (Said 1995:3). Consequently, Orient is conceptualised as the anti-West and forced into a mutually defining binary relationship. Nevertheless, such a relationship could scarcely be considered symmetrical. Said expands on this idea by affirming that the major component in European thought that has allowed it to become a dominant culture is Europe's intrinsic certainty that European identity is superior when compared to all

non-European peoples and cultures. In short, European culture's relationship to otherness will always entail a "flexible positional superiority" (1995:7) under which any balance of forces becomes impossible. In this context, the understanding of ideas, cultures and histories cannot be studied without analysing the configurations of power that brought them about. In sum, Orientalism is an exercise of cultural strength.

As a result of Said's work on cultural texts as hegemonic colonial productions, the field of postcolonial studies became consolidated. As such, the term postcolonialism became the focus of ample discussion. The word refers to a two-fold concept that includes both "the historical situation marked by the dismantling of traditional institutions of colonial power [and the] analytical concept of greater range and ambition as in postcolonial theory or the postcolonial condition" (Barker *et al* 1994:4). Postcolonialism addresses both the historical situation of colonial discourse, as well as the search for alternatives.

For Bhabha (1994), the scope of postcolonial theory is based on its aim to give a voice to those countries and communities that were formed "otherwise than modernity" (1994:6). Consequently, postcolonialism as theory involves the recognition of the complex processes of colonialism. Adam and Tiffin (in Barker *et al* 1994) have argued that, in order to achieve this, it bases itself on two related but coextensive archives. The first involves the textual aspects of colonial discourse and includes the writings grounded in societies whose subjectivities have been determined in part by European colonialism. The second archive addresses the postcolonial as a set of discursive practices that involve resistance to colonialist legacies. By taking into account both these archives as mutually dependent, postcolonial theory aims to explain the nature of colonial struggle. Furthermore, these archives enhance cultural readings by pointing to "a possible critique of the positive aesthetic and political values we ascribe to the unity or totality of cultures, especially those that have known long and tyrannical histories of domination and misrecognition" (Bhabha 1994:35).

However, in spite of these clear objectives, the term postcolonial is fraught with controversy. For some authors, definitions of postcolonialism, such as "all the cultures affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day" (cited in Childs & Williams 1997:3), seem too general and totalising. For McClintock (1994) postcolonialism confirms imperial ideas of linear time by supporting the idea of postcolonialism as a step in a series of stages that pass through the pre-colonial to the colonial to the postcolonial, thus confirming the grand ideas of 'Progress' and 'Perfectibility'. Additionally, while postcolonial theory aims to

challenge Western historicism and its volley of binaries, the term postcolonialism "nonetheless reorients the globe once more around a single binary opposition colonial/postcolonial" (McClintock 1994:255). Moreover, postcolonialism leaves open the question of whose postcolonialism? Is there a common experience of colonialism or does postcolonialism just replace colonialism as a metanarrative?

Postcolonialism or postoccidentalism?

In Mignolo's view (1998, 2000, 2002) postcolonial theory must not be limited to "the critical study of, respectively, those literary and non-literary writings which were produced within the period and context of British imperialism" (Mills 1997:105). This definition of postcolonial theory marks geographical and historical limits which exclude other experiences of colonialism, leaving aside "a crucial and constitutive moment of modernity/coloniality that was the sixteenth century" (2000:xi) and took place in Latin America. In fact, for Mignolo the early modern period was determinant in the emergence of modernity/coloniality, a world order whose principles continue to have a global impact. An understanding of modernity/coloniality takes the colonial experience beyond a linear narrative of historical progression and opens its spatial boundaries in order to include the entire planet.

Mignolo defines modernity/coloniality as the result of the emergence and expansion of the Atlantic commercial circuit that resulted from the voyages of 'discovery' funded by Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In his model, modernity did not happen in parallel to colonialism. On the contrary, "coloniality [is] the reverse and unavoidable side of 'modernity'" (2000:22). As such, coloniality made modernity possible; simultaneously, the discourse of modernity made and maintained coloniality "as its incidental though not its constitutive side" (2002:459). Moreover, power relations play an important role in the making and reproducing of the modern/colonial world. These relations are conceptualised by Mignolo as 'the coloniality of power' (2002:514). In essence, the coloniality of power refers to the way in which diverse epistemologies and technologies are organised and related. It is characterised by the classification and reclassification of peoples, a task in which culture proves fundamental. It also takes into consideration the institutional structures that articulate and manage these classifications as well as defining the spaces for them. And finally, the coloniality of power refers to the epistemological perspective from

which a new production of knowledge could be produced, resulting in a new matrix of power.

Central to this understanding is the concept of the Occident as an overall discursive frame. In a Latin American context, imperialism is understood not as the colonialism described in Anglocentric postcolonial theory, but more in terms of Occidentalisation. Mignolo defines Occidentalism as "the overarching imaginary of the modern/colonial world [as] articulated in the space of the colonial difference" (2000:x). It is the result of the global reconfiguration that resulted from Europe's ongoing encounters with the Americas during the sixteenth century which produced the overarching imaginary of modernity/coloniality. Its structures of power are based on the principles of 'pure blood' and 'unity of language' (Mignolo 1998:36). In this theorisation, Occidentalism is characterised by three historical moments. Firstly, it emerged as the discourse of the grand narratives of annexation and conversion of the native populations. Subsequently, it mutated from the conversion of 'savages' distant in space to the narrative of 'the primitive' who were distant in time. In this sense, it confirmed the paradigm of modernity that relates the temporal progression of humanity from the primitive to the civilised. Thirdly, Occidentalism supports the grand narrative of technology and modernisation, a postulate pertinent to the contemporary world situation. In contrast to Said's work, however, Occidentalism traces an ideological and geocultural trajectory based on the emergence of the concept *Indias Occidentales*.[10] Its fundamental difference to Orientalism is that, rather than being a discourse of irreducible opposition, Occidentalism is a discourse of annexation. So while the concept of postcolonialism works effectively for the analysis of the decolonisation of the Commonwealth, Mignolo offers the term postoccidentalism as a viable alternative to study the process of intellectual decolonisation from the standpoint of Latin-American thought.

The Monarch-of-All-I-Survey

One of the key elements that postcolonialism and postoccidentalism have in common is the realisation that suprapolitical knowledge and culture are chimera. For Said (1995), any distinction between pure and political knowledge would be wholly artificial. The "pretended suprapolitical objectivity" (1995:10) so highly valued in the

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[10] The first Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America were originally named under the umbrella term 'Indias Occidentales', or Western Indies.

humanist tradition forms part of "the general liberal consensus that 'true' knowledge is fundamentally non-political (and conversely, that overtly political knowledge is not 'true' knowledge)" (1995:10) which in turn obscures the highly political circumstances that determine how knowledge is produced. In effect, all knowledge and culture is constructed through relations of power as described previously.

This point of view is duly reflected in the arena of visual representation. Any pretension of direct or objective visual perception of the world is also enmeshed in forms of colonial discourse. In most cases, the seer is already immersed in a particular type of discourse which he or she in turn produces and reproduces. In this sense, the viewer is equivalent to the sovereign at the centre of a particular perspective, as theorised by Foucault in the previous sections. Given that vision is selective and mobile, it constantly filters the visible in search for signs that may have meaning for a Western audience "by entering a familiar web of signification" (Spurr 1993:21) of European discourse. In Spurr's (1993) words, the Western viewer is "literally on the lookout for scenes that carry an already established interest for a Western audience, thus investing perception itself with the mediating power of cultural difference" (1993:21). Also, it must be emphasised that the gaze acts as exclusion as well as privilege, in no small degree because it imposes a distance between the seer and the seen.

The colonial trope that best reflects this idea is what Pratt (1992) calls the Monarch-of-All-I-Survey trope. Part of a colonial rhetoric, this trope involves a meaning-making task in which the coloniser or explorer first sets his sight on the territory to be conquered, either literally or metaphorically. The subsequent verbal description of the scene has as its objective to present a narrative non-event as a momentously significant one. This process of adding meaning to the colonial scene is achieved through three steps. Firstly, the landscape is aestheticised. In this step, the scene is described verbally thereby producing the effect of describing a painting; in other words, this part of the process involves an implied *ekphrasis*. Consequently, language structures nature by providing a precise order of description mediated through representation. Furthermore, the capacity to extract aesthetic value from the scene before the viewer constitutes in and of itself the *value* and *significance* of the journey. Secondly, the trope is productive in terms of the density of meaning it generates. This is achieved by providing a text rich in material and semantic substance. Hence, large numbers of adjectives precede most of the nouns in this

ekphrasis, adding density by including additional objects or substances in the text.[11] Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the trope of the Monarch confirms a relation of mastery between the seer and the seen. Similar to the Cartesian point of perspective and to the Foucauldian sovereign, the scene is ordered with respect to the vantage point held by the explorer. The coloniser's gaze, therefore, holds a circumspective force which simultaneously suppresses the gaze of the potential other; it is, in fact, an echo of the power "inherent in the larger system of order" (Spurr 1993:17). Effectively, the initial ordering and aestheticising of the colonial scene through the commanding view of the Monarch serves as a preliminary to establishing colonial order.

This is at the core of what Preziosi calls a "massively devastating hegemonic act" (1998:519). The transformation of the world into a picture, which must be – moreover – witnessed from the central-point perspective of Europe, serves to naturalise and consolidate the 'modern' order of things. As Preziosi (1998) states, the making of Europe into the "brain of the earth's body", as well as a "vitrine for the collecting and containment of all the things and peoples of the world" (1998:519) can only be considered one of the most effective imperialist gestures imaginable. Eurocentric visual discourse "more than any of the myriad ethnocentrisms ubiquitous elsewhere [...] involves the co-option of all possible centres" (1998:519). For Bhabha (1994), the productivity of power in the construction of the colonial subject lies here. The surveillance of colonial power works in tandem with the regime of the scopic drive, which provides the pleasure in seeing by having the look as its object of desire.

Seeing others

Issues of identity and othering are central in this relationship between the Monarch and the world-as-picture. In fact, the dialectic between identity and otherness heavily determines the constructions that set these representations in motion in order to serve some imperial purpose (Mitchell 1998). The idea of Europe as a collective notion relies on the discursive capacity to pit Europeans against all other non-Europeans. Moreover, this production of a European identity bases itself on the 'evident'

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[11] In Pratt's reading of one particular travel narrative, the landscape is 'emerald green', there is a 'snowy foam' and everything is surrounded by a 'pearly mist' (1992:205). For Pratt, the density of meaning is further charged given that a foreign landscape is explicitly tied both to a material-economic referent and to the explorer's home culture through the semantic choices made.

superiority of European culture, in what Said calls a "major component [...] that made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe" (1995:7). The other encountered by the Monarch is construed in the negative: he is savage, "without history, writing, religion and morals" (Hallam & Street 2000:2). Consequently, the other becomes essentialised in European discourse. Yet this procedure does not simply remain at the level of representation in the abstract; the othering of non-Europeans is crucial as a catalyst in the military, explorative and administrative operations of European imperialism. As Said puts it, the rhetoric of othering goes somewhere along these lines: "'They' mainly understood force or violence best; 'they' were not like 'us' and for that reason deserved to be ruled" (1993:xii). Hence, an effective capacity to other provides the moral capital which set in motion very material practices. Furthermore, as Jordanova (2000) argues, the active exercise of placing a barrier between the self and the other evidences the effort involved in constructing others and indicates a strong resistance to identification. Othering is, therefore, a state of self-protection as well as an act of aggression.

The practice of othering bases itself on the opposing categories of familiar *versus* exotic (Karp & Kratz 2000). In fact, othering is the result of a Western mode of thinking that depends on binary categories in order to make sense of the world. Paraphrasing Todorov (1994), the constitution of any form of knowledge necessarily implies the selection of certain contents at the expense of others; this selection is usually made along an axis that opposes concepts, resulting in groups of opposites (past/present, reason/emotion, culture/nature) that characterise Western thought. This pattern of thought is also present in the major institutions of modern visuality. The museum, the production of art, and the history of art are all immersed in "entrenched oppositions between 'self/other', 'subject/object', 'us/them' [that] inevitably leave power in the hands of the defining institution" (Hallam 2000:260). In terms of Mignolo's coloniality of power (2000), the classification of the planet into binaries is the result of energies and machineries that transform *differences* into *values*.

One of the values central to colonial discourse is the privileging of sight. Visuality, knowledge and power become enmeshed and contribute in the setting up of the exotic other in the European imaginary. Consequently, as Bennet states (in Karp & Kratz 2000), the other is presented as a category of visual spectacle which the audience is invited to imagine itself in contrast with. Faced with the 'savage' other, Western viewers can confirm their predominantly white, homogenous European culture. However, both poles of this relationship are constructions. Mirroring the

representation of the exotic is the assertion of the Euramerican self "in which distinctions of class [and other heterogeneities] conveniently become irrelevant" (Karp & Kratz 2000:201). Thus, the non-European/European relationship becomes polarised in order to avow a convenient yet non-existent homogenous Western identity.

One of the most important discursive strategies employed in this polarisation is stereotyping. Partly the legacy of a "'naturalised' splitting of humanity along racial lines" (Fusco 1998:368), stereotyping is a tool that justifies domination by stressing difference and by using the anxieties generated by such differences in a productive-discursive context. For example, the classification of peoples into racial hierarchies based on supremacist worldviews "enforced a sense of radical unity as whites among Europeans and North Americans, who [had been previously] divided strictly by class and religion" (1998:367). This process has its equivalent in the coloniser-colonised relationship. In the case of colonialism, Spurr (1993) states that the purposeful demarcation of identity and difference was fundamental in establishing the authority of the members of the colonising class. By insisting on their radical difference from the peoples they were colonising, the colonisers legitimised their position in the colonial community. In this sense, stereotyping is a prime example of the nexus between the material practices of colonialism and the representations it creates in order to function.

For Bhabha (1994), it is very important to theorise stereotypes as a discursive strategy. As such, there must be an understanding of the processes of subjectification made possible through stereotypes. Stereotyping is a strategic function that creates "a space for a 'subject peoples' through the production of knowledges in terms of which surveillance is exercised and a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is incited" (1994:70). By creating an artificial link between colonised peoples and a simplified one-dimensional *type* of what they are thought to be, the stereotype offers a secure point of identification. However, the stereotype is not a simplification because it gives a distorted or false version of reality. It is a simplification because of its fixity as a form of representation which, as a result, denies the interplay of difference between self and other. Thus, stereotyping is, in some ways, a mental shortcut that depends on power/knowledge in order to be constituted.

However, Bhabha stresses the fact that the stereotyping objective is *never* fully accomplished in colonial discourses. This is the result of an intrinsic tension that pulls the colonised in two contrary directions at once. Firstly, the colonised is

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conceptualised as standing outside of Western culture and civilisation. However, for the colonial project to function, the colonised must be domesticated in order to "abolish their radical 'otherness'" (McLeod 2000:53); the colonised subject must also be placed inside Western culture and civilisation. Consequently, "the construction of 'otherness' is split by the contradictory positioning of the colonised simultaneously inside and outside Western knowledge" (2000:53). However, the discourse of colonial stereotypes must also insist on a common human identity between the coloniser and colonised "both as preparation for the domestication of the colonised and as a moral and philosophical precondition for the civilising mission" (Spurr 1993:7). This fundamental paradox results in "a rich profusion of rhetorical forms which often clash with on another" (1993:7). The colonial discourse of the stereotype is inherently ambiguous.

Bhabha calls this ambiguity the "productive ambivalence of the object of colonial discourse" (1994:67) in which the other is simultaneously an object of desire and derision. Thus, the stereotype depends on both fixity and ambivalence in order to be effective. The other must be a clear sign of cultural/historical/racial difference, henceforth sustaining an unchanging order. Yet the other is simultaneously an object of desire: the desire to be known and to be possessed. This degree of ambivalence is central to the tactic of stereotyping. For Bhabha, "the force of ambivalence gives the colonial stereotype its currency" (1994:67) by ensuring its repeatability in different historical and geographical contexts. Yet colonial discourse is at the mercy of its own contradictions: "in trying to do two things at once – construing the colonised as both similar to and the other of the colonisers – it ends up doing neither properly" (Bhabha cited in McLeod 2000:54). As a result, the colonised subject is in perpetual motion, "sliding ambivalently between similarity and difference" (McLeod 2000:53). Any attempt to stop this constant fluctuation in order to place the colonised as a fixed node in colonial discourse only results in the further displacement of the colonised subject. These attempts to permanently fix the other become repeated infinitely in a tactic that Bhabha denominates anxious repetition. In short, colonial discourse is characterised by the ambivalence of the sliding colonised subject and by anxious repetition as a tactic of rigid categorisation.

In stereotyping there remains the premise of a degree of humanity of the other. By contrast, another strategy of colonial discourse definitively denies the human element through objectification. For Fanon, the determination to objectify the colonised starts with language: "phrases such as 'I know them', 'that's the way they

are', show this maximum objectification successfully achieved" (cited in Bhabha 1994:83). Spurr's (1993) reading of Barthes further highlights the power of language. Nomination – the capacity to name – is the first procedure of distraction. Hence, colonial discourse relies on grammatical forms of appropriation because, in Spurr's words, "by naming things, we take possession of them" (1993:32). Through nomination the other becomes an object delivered to the curiosity of the observing (Western) subject.

In visuality, this objectification is resonant in the idea of the world-as-picture. The colonised form part of this canvas as "an object on display to be investigated and experience by the dominating European gaze" (Mitchell 1998:296). As such, the self/other dichotomy becomes necessarily mediated by the gaze. What Fabian (1983) calls the 'hegemony of the visual', however, is "not just a visual arrangement around a curious spectator" (Mitchell 1998:298). In Mitchell's (1998) view, it reduces the world to a system of objects carefully organised in order to evoke larger meanings, such as History, Empire and Progress. The other as an object-lesson becomes crucial in establishing a European positional superiority. In this sense, the other is deployed as "cogent 'evidence' [...] enabling us thereby to articulate certain kinds of desirable (and undesirable) relations between ourselves and others" (Preziosi 1998:518). Additionally, the objectification of the other permits a systematic placing of the colonised "as 'evidence' of racial superiorities and inferiorities" (Preziosi 1998:453). Hence, in this system of signification the other-come-object is the signifier of a much wider discursive and material colonial project.

An other way of seeing

There are some critical alternatives to the understanding of culture and visuality under a colonial discursive regime. For instance, it must be made clear that "'cultural difference' is no longer a stable, exotic 'otherness'; self-other relations are matters of power and rhetoric rather than of essence" (Clifford cited in Hallam & Street 2000:5). Furthermore, issues of epistemology must be seriously addressed by any researcher in this field. For Mignolo (2002), it does not suffice to recognise the 'other's paradigm'; one must accept that there must be no monopoly of knowledge at all. This means that in releasing the hold on epistemic control, one must volunteer a loss of epistemic power. One way of achieving this in an analysis of visual culture would be by

adopting what Shohat and Stam (1998) have called a polycentric aesthetics. This form of analysis would accentuate the "dialogical, relational analysis of visual cultures existing in relation to one another" (1998:46), thus taking away epistemological privileges from certain groups. In this regard, a polycentric study of visual culture would be in contrast with traditional paradigms of institutional art history. Such a point of view would interrogate the way that certain locations and groups have been privileged over others in order to construct a linear and progressive history of humanity. Furthermore, it would do away with a traditional commitment to aesthetics as a 'pure' philosophy untainted by historical and cultural circumstance. For Bryson (1994), the naturalised conception of aesthetic value must be questioned and, moreover, assumed as being non-intrinsic. This means entering a new territory in which visual texts are not conceived of as 'aesthetic masterpieces' but analysed in terms of their cultural significance.

Another important thing to remember is the active resistance that was and continues to be enacted by postcolonial groups. As Said has so lucidly stressed:

> Never was it the case that the imperial encounter pitted an active Western intruder against a supine or inert non-Western native; there was always some form of active resistance and, in the overwhelming majority of cases, the resistance finally won out. (1993:xii)

In this sense, Pratt's (1992) concept of contact zones proves very useful. For her, a contact zone is a social space where "disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (1992:4). Hence, Pratt visualises the contact zone as a space of colonial encounters where peoples previously separated come into contact, and establish certain types of relations with each other. This concept does away with more schematic notions of the colonial encounter that emphasise a sort of separateness or apartheid among these peoples. In fact, the interaction between groups tends to be intense, providing novel ways of adopting, questioning or rejecting each other's cultures. Visuality could play a huge role in aiding resistances enacted in these contact zones. In Jay's reading of Foucault, images hold a disruptive power, "especially against the claims of language to represent a perfectly self-contained and self-sufficient system" (1993:413). By advocating a "reversibility of perspectives" (Merleau-Ponty cited in Shohat & Stam 1998:46), those once looked upon can return a different type of gaze less schematic, less reifying, and less severe.

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Chapter Four. Methodological framework

The following chapter covering this dissertation's methodological framework will, firstly, present the choices through which the research topic was chosen and delimited, as well as the accompanying questions that this project will attempt to address. The second part of the chapter will focus on the methodological precepts for the dissertation. These will mostly be centred on Foucault's work in an attempt to develop archaeological and genealogical methodologies for visual texts. The third and final section in the chapter will describe the process of data collection and analysis of the research corpus. It will describe the data sources, the archives where images were collected, the general configuration of the corpus and the analytical categories chosen in order to process the visual texts. Additionally, it will take into consideration the potential limitations of the chosen methodologies.

4.1 Research problem

In order to merge the research interests of this dissertation, as well as maintain some degree of manageability in the scope of this project, it was necessary to find a site of discursive density that would involve issues of power, visual representation and Latin American colonisation. Prior knowledge of political propaganda involving images of cannibalism led me in the direction of this theme as a potential avenue for exploring power, image and othering. Firstly, these images of cannibalism permitted the conceptualisation and representation of *power-in-action* under the guise of a physical and symbolic domination of the other. Secondly, these representations served as a cumulative deposit of varying conceptualisations of power in which more recent ideas about power elaborated on previous ones. Thirdly, they allowed for an exploration of the limits and effects of particular types of exercises of colonial power as put into action through specific hegemonic representational practices.

With the trope of cannibalism as a point of departure, it became necessary to further refine the scope of this research project. Originally, I had a great deal of interest in analysing images of cannibalism in both dominant European and resistant Latin American discourses. This would have permitted a study of the way in which a discursive site can be used to confirm cultural hegemony as well as be a place where

hegemonic discourses are contested and reconfigured. However, in the interest of clarity and manageability, the choice was made to only analyse the images of supposed Latin American cannibalism that were produced within dominant European colonial discourses. In other words, this dissertation focuses on images of Latin American scenes of cannibalism as produced by different European artists, and its main goal is to analyse how these representations benefited a European colonial project. In a broader sense, this focus also permits a more in-depth analysis of the ways in which European colonial discourses on Latin America are simultaneously *produced* and *productive*, generating a myriad of both representations of otherness as well as everyday practices that continue to have palpable effects in Latin America today.

Research questions

Given the previous general approximations to the topic at hand, there are a series of questions that this research hopes to address. Firstly, it seeks to establish how frequent the aforementioned representations were. Can they be characterised as a significant theme in European representations of Latin America or were they relatively minor representational phenomena? This project also aims to determine what the contingencies that characterised the emergence of European discourses on cannibalism were. In other words, what were the conditions of production of these representations? What political, social and cultural conditions were in place in order for such discourses to emerge? Moreover, is there a uniform discourse regarding Latin American cannibal practices or are there any variations over time and space? If so, how can any continuities and/or changes in the representations of cannibalism be explained?

Additional issues regarding coloniality, modernity and otherness as explored in the previous chapter result in a further series of questions being deployed. Following Mignolo's (2000) characterisation of modernity/coloniality as a world order that continues to affect today's geopolitical configurations, did these representations play a significant role in consolidating the colonial enterprise? More specifically, what is the importance of visuality in relation to the production and productivity of colonial European discourses? What is the role of these visual representations of cannibalism in this context? In other words, do they function as a visual document of the prevailing

discourses of the period? Can they be considered central in the production of knowledges and subjectivities? Furthermore, what part did these images play in the othering of Latin American natives? Did this othering play a role in the development of European colonialism in the region?

Faced with these numerous questions, the main purpose of this research project is to understand if and how the representation of Latin American indigenous peoples as cannibals was fundamental in the deployment of European colonial discourses. Concurrently, it seeks to analyse the symbolic, material and practical effects these representations had on the consolidation of a European colonial project, keeping in mind the implications this may have in today's global scenario.

Research limits

The following research limits for this dissertation are based on the need for a series of 'controlled decisions' (Foucault 1972:29) that will keep this investigation focused on a research problem and not necessarily on a specific historical period or geographical area (Kendall & Wickham 1999). In this way, the limits become determined by the nature of the problem and not by an arbitrary and artificial disciplinary delimitation of an area of study.

Based on the research problem, the historical limits for this study are the following. Opening with the early sixteenth century, the topic addressed here highlights the colossal 'accident of history' (Kendall & Wickham 1999:5) that was the first registered encounter between Europe and America. This historical fluke had numerous consequences in all domains of human organisation; as far as this research is concerned, it also spawned one new word: cannibalism (Dibie 2001). The incorporation of the word-proper into several European languages during the early sixteenth century indicates a strong shift in the discursive formation that had surrounded the concept of anthropophagy up until that moment. Furthermore, this historical juncture was "a crucial and constitutive moment of modernity/coloniality" (Mignolo 2000:xi). It was during this period that the Atlantic commercial circuit supported a newly emerging European colonial project. As a result, a first phase of modernity appeared, inevitably dependent on coloniality for its sustenance. In other words, modernity made coloniality possible and vice versa. The role of the Americas proved fundamental in the historical development of Europe for the following three

centuries. Following these developments, it was during the early nineteenth century that most of the major countries of Latin America achieved their independence from Spain and other European nations. While it would be false to affirm that European visual representations of Latin Americans ceased after this period, it can be ventured that the nature of these representations changed significantly in parallel with the establishment of new relations between the former Spanish Crown and the emerging nation-states of Latin America. Additionally, European colonial interests in Africa, Asia and the Pacific at this time resulted in a waning of the importance of Latin America in European discourses. For these reasons, the historical scope of this research will focus on the Latin American colonial period, ranging from the early sixteenth century to the early nineteenth century.

In terms of the geographical limits, the main focus will be on colonial discourses produced in Europe. Given the aforementioned time period, Europe's role as a colonial power was indisputable. Spain and Portugal played a significant part in the colonisation and exploitation of the colonies established in America, but they were not the only countries to have vested interests in the area. French, Dutch and British interests also came into play during the late sixteenth century. This resulted in a good deal of variety of discourses about the Latin American colonies. For this reason, the research problem will itself aid in delimiting the particular countries that will be looked at, depending on the density of European regional discourses on Latin American cannibalism. It is also necessary to clarify that conceiving Europe as a full entity unto itself during this period would be falsifying the historical and regional specificities of the continent. For analytical purposes, Europe will be referred to as a general geographical space, but I am aware that this concept is abstract and mostly imaginary.

As far as the object of European discourses is concerned, I have chosen Latin America for purely coincidental and personal reasons. It is where I am from and it is where I have forged some sense of self. This fortuitous condition, along with a deep sense of gratitude, has encouraged me to want to understand why Latin America is the way it is. As with the idea of 'Europe', I am aware that Latin America is an imaginary entity that actually involves a gamut of particularities. As O'Gorman (1984) famously declared, America is an invention. In fact, the very term 'Latin America' is the result of colonial interests in the region. The term, coined under the Bonaparte regime in the early nineteenth century, refers to all the countries in the Americas that spoke languages derived from Latin. This naming, however, had colonial strings attached.

For the French regime, the common Latin heritage implied that all Latin countries in the region come under the sphere of influence of France (Hilton 2004).[12] Nevertheless, the term has been adopted by most Spanish, Portuguese and French speaking countries in America, in the search for some form of common identity based on certain historical and cultural similarities. In fact, the use of the term 'Latin America' has become remarkably critical since the subcontinent achieved independence, particularly in the wake of the United States' eventual hegemonic grasp on the hemisphere during the twentieth century. For these reasons, and being fully aware of the discursive implications of my choice, this project will address Latin America as an (imaginary) object about which many discourses were put into action.

A further limit that will be placed on this project refers to the characteristics of the visual texts that will be studied. I have chosen to analyse visual texts that were serially reproduced on two dimensional formats. In other words, I will be looking at woodcuts, copperplates and etchings in which Latin American natives were represented either as cannibals, as participating in cannibalistic scenes or as associated with cannibalism through certain accompanying attributes. This choice responds to two fundamental concerns. Firstly, the question of visuality is central to this dissertation. Many of the visual texts were illustrations for major travel narratives or early encyclopaedias on the New World. What, then, was the importance of providing visual confirmation of these verbal narratives? Were pictures of cannibals more credible proof than oral or written description? And does this respond to what Foucault describes as the "almost exclusive privilege of sight, that is the sense of evidence and of the extended" (1966:145)? The second issue at hand is one of reproducibility. I have chosen engravings as a. medium because, given the historical context of this project, it was one of the most ample forms of circulation of visual representations during the period. Following a boom in the printed book during the late fifteenth century, illustrated books and loose-leaf pamphlets became the major ways of visually distributing information. Consequently, I have chosen the medium that in all likelihood would have had more widespread social effects in the production of power and knowledge about the New World.

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[12] English-speaking American nations, as well as Spain, have a hard time using this term. In fact, the United States and Canada tend to refer to Spanish-speaking American countries as South America, in spite of this being a flagrant geographical error. As for the Spanish, they have recently shunned the term Latin America in favour of Iberoamerica, a way of re-asserting their presence in the region.

4.2 Methodology

At this point, some positioning with regards to methodology is in order. Although this chapter focuses on methodological considerations mainly, it is necessary to state that theory and methodology form part of a whole, insofar as "researchers must accept the basic philosophical premises in order to use discourse analysis as their method of empirical study" (Phillips & Jorgensen 2002:4). Accordingly, this research seeks to adopt three stances that support the development of a critical visual methodology as has been suggested by Rose (2001). Firstly, images must be carefully looked at. This implies taking into account their contexts of production and circulation, but also looking at how images produce effects and regimes of knowledge. Secondly, visual texts "do a job which has major social significance in the articulation of meanings about the world, in the negotiation of social conflicts, in the production of social subjects" (Pollock cited in Rose 2001:15). Consequently, images "both depend on and produce social inclusions and exclusions" (Rose 2001:16). Thirdly, any interpretation of visual texts is subject to the historical, geographical, social, and cultural specificities of the person analysing them. Thus, reflexivity becomes a key critical position to adopt when working with any sort of visual text.

The role of history in the development of this research project is unquestionable. In contrast to traditional history, which tends to affirm a historical-causal stance on the present, Foucault's histories prove useful because they reveal contingencies as the motors of history. In this sense, histories of the present help in removing the air of inevitability in most traditional histories' accounts of human development. By showing that "the past ordered things quite differently and that the processes leading to our present practices and institutions were by no means inevitable" (Gutting 2005:10), a Foucauldian historical approach reveals that the "social constructions, intelligible and apparently compelling in their own periods, [had] no privileged access to the truth" (2005:11). The importance of contingency, in explicit avoidance of history understood as teleology, results in an emphasis on chronological specificities, differences, continuities, transformations and the mapping of series of statements (Kendall & Wickham 1999), as well as the rejection of history as the search for the "principal – material or spiritual – of a society" (Foucault 1972:9). This leads us into the domain of archaeology as a historical method developed by Foucault.

Foucault argues that archaeology "describes discourses as practices specified in the element of the archive" (1972:131) insofar as the archive is defined as "the general system of the formation and transformation of statements" (1972:130). Archaeology is, then, the approach to discourse that describes the statement "in the exact specificity of its occurrence" (1972:28), paying special attention to the conditions of its existence, its limits, its correlations and the other forms of statements it excludes. In terms of method, this implies the following tactics of archaeological discourse analysis as described by Kendall and Wickham (1999) and Rose (2001). Firstly, archaeological analysis studies the organisation of discourse. It seeks to understand how discourse is structured and how it produces particular forms of knowledge and power (see discussion in section 3.1 of chapter three). It does this by concentrating on the relationship between the sayable and the visible and its mediation by power/knowledge. This relationship leads to another important stance: archaeology also describes the surfaces of emergence of discourses, which are sites where objects become designated and get acted upon. In other words, the surfaces of emergence are the (archaeological) sites where objects become visible and then are spoken about. Furthermore, archaeological method studies the rules for the repeatability of statements. What statements became more widely distributed, what other statements became silenced? How do statements relate to each other in a particular discursive formation? Archaeological analysis furthermore takes into consideration the position of subjects with respect to the statement. This means that individuals occupy specific subject positions generated by discourse itself, and this influences the way in which statements play into the configuration of a discursive field. Finally, the archaeological method focuses on the institutions and authorities that determine the limits of discourse. How is such authority conferred? How do classifications and categorisations become an exercise of power?

Many of these methodological guidelines can be applied to any form of discourse. However, is it possible to develop a visual archaeology that would apply the former principles to visual statements? For Rose (2001) this is feasible by adapting the above guidelines to visual texts. A visual archaeology would involve the researcher's immersion in the sources analysed and the identification of the key themes running through a corpus of visual texts. A visual archaeological method would also include an examination of the claims to truth propounded by certain text,

as well as pay attention to the complexities and contradictions within and without the text. Most importantly, this method would seek out the invisible as well as the visible within archives of visual texts. In other words, a visual archaeology would ask what images became silenced in order to promote others?

Panofsky's (1993) theoretical works on iconography provide a methodological option for the application of the aforementioned guidelines to visual media. While subject to controversy, as will be discussed further below, it is possible to find some areas of similarity between Foucault's archaeology and Panofsky's iconography. Panofsky defines iconography as the branch of art history which deals with the meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form. In Holly's view, archaeology and iconography share the methodical analysis of "the conscious and unconscious rules of formation that encircle a language and make possible its sudden emergence – both visual and linguistic – on the surface of human history" (cited in Preziosi 1989:113). Additionally, what Foucauldian discourse analysis and iconography have in common, besides an explicit concern for understanding how meaning is generated and legitimated, is an interest in intertextuality. Panofsky's iconographical method brings to the forefront "the historically specific intertextuality on which meaning depends" (Rose 2001:144). Thus, the interpretative power of this method depends on intertextual comparison and documentary research in order to sustain its analyses. It will be explained in more detail further below, but iconography is, like archaeology, mostly about looking for patterns in discourse.

More fully, iconography is the umbrella term used to describe the three-fold process of the iconographical method. It consists of three levels of analysis. The first is called pre-iconographical and it deals with the factual-expressional meanings of visual texts. It is based on practical experience in order to achieve the identification of pure forms as representations of natural objects. These representations are called *motifs* at this level of analysis.

The second level of analysis is iconography proper. It concentrates on the secondary or conventional meanings of images. By connecting visual motifs and their combinations with concepts, the iconographical level analyses pictorial *stories* and *allegories*. This level of analysis is purely descriptive and at times even exclusively quantitative. It can be considered a way of describing and classifying images in order to locate recurrent themes in particular visual archives. While it collects and classifies, iconographical description does not abound on the significance or genesis of visual texts, however. By establishing a familiarity with specific themes, and making a

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connection between visual texts and literary sources, this level functions as a history of 'types'. As in archaeological method, it describes the way different themes and concepts were expressed by motifs and events under varying historical conditions. In a way, the iconographical level of analysis is equivalent to the description of discursive formations, in the sense that the archaeological method seeks to understand the way in which meanings are connected together through the relationships established among their statements. If, as Green states, discourse is "a coherent pattern of statements across a range of archives and sites" (cited in Rose 2001:143), then iconography is a way of locating these patterns and themes in a visual archive.

The third level of analysis is iconology. This level concentrates on what Panofsky calls the intrinsic meaning or content of the image. It analyses the "unifying principle which underlies and explains both the visible event and its intelligible significance, and which determines even the form in which the visible event takes shape" (1993:64). This type of analysis is, in a way, 'a history of cultural symptoms' that seeks to reveal "the underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion – qualified by one personality and condensed into one work" (1993:64). At this level, what is of interest is the influence of philosophical, political, social and cultural variables on visual texts. In van Leeuwen's (2001) understanding, this would be another way of referring to the ideological dimension of the text, with iconological symbolism going beyond the level of accepted conventions into the terrain of "a more-than-visual meaning" (Panofsky cited in van Leeuwen 2001:101). It can be argued that by taking into account the contextual conditions of emergence of certain images, this method of interpretation concentrates on the strategic formation of discursive fields. It analyses the relationship between texts and groups of texts, how these "acquire mass, density and referential power among themselves and thereafter in the culture at large" (Said 1995:20).

However, there are a few potential critiques that can be aimed towards this attempt to piggyback the iconographical method onto a Foucauldian archaeological discourse analysis. Centrally, Panofsky's claim that iconology searches for the "spiritual principles of a society [and the] essential tendencies of the human mind" (1993:65) as materialised through visual themes, allegories and symbols is mismatched with Foucault's overall premise of a general history (see discussion in section 3.3 of chapter three). Foucault's concern with new, non-totalising ways of approaching discourse makes Panofsky's iconological method seem potentially

incompatible. However, Foucault has addressed Panofsky's work under the following terms:

> Panofsky eliminates the privilege of discourse. Not in order to assert the autonomy of the figurative universe, but to describe the complexity of their relations: chiasm, isomorphism, transformation, translation, in a word all of the festoon of the visible and the sayable that characterise a culture in a moment in its history. [...] Discourse and the figure each have their own mode of being, but they entertain complex and tangled relations. The task is to describe their reciprocal functioning. (cited in Shapiro 2003:209)

Given the former, it can be argued that both theorists' concerns with intertextuality, with the formation of statements through contextual and discursive influences, and with the cultural effects of representations on society may allow for the careful use of Panofsky's iconography in a non-totalising fashion within a Foucauldian theoretical and methodological framework.

A visual genealogy

Another aspect of Foucauldian methodology intrinsic to this project is genealogical analysis. Genealogy focuses on "the mutual relations between systems of truth and modalities of power, [and on] the way in which there is a 'political regime' in the production of truth" (Davidson 1986:224). Genealogy concentrates on the description of statements in terms of power and temporal processes. This leads to the relationship between power and knowledge. If the visible and the sayable are considered two poles of knowledge, then *power-as-strategy* is the connection between the two (Kendall & Wickham 1999). In short, genealogical analysis looks at discourses in terms of this relation, connecting knowledge to power.

While genealogy could be in many ways construed as a historical method, given its interest in discursive variability over time, it is important to remember that, as expressed by Carabine (2001), genealogy is a method for analysing history; it is *not* a traditional historical methodology. This means that genealogy is not concerned with finding the ultimate truth about a particular period in time or with filling the gaps in an imagined unity of historical successions. Citing Bell, genealogy does not "seek to record the progress and continuity of societies" (in Carabine 2001:276). It avoids the search for depth, concentrating instead on the surface of events and discourses, on the details; in other words, it is "opposed to the totalizing effects of 'superhistories' [...] that see one great plan unfolding as time progresses" (cited in Carabine

2001:276).This approach to discourse is intimately related to the idea of histories of the present in Foucault. By understanding statements and discourses as factors in ongoing processes of power/knowledge production, genealogy shifts the focus from a teleological perspective to an emphasis on the constructedness of contemporary historical narratives. In Kendall and Wickham's view, genealogy is, quite simply, a "strategic use of archaeology to answer problems about the present" (1999:34).

Genealogy's focus on the "processual aspects of the web of discourse" (Kendall & Wickham 1999:31) means it takes into account the ways in which discourses have varied throughout different historical moments as well as different social and cultural contexts. For Carabine (2001), it is a useful method for establishing the different ways in which discourses have been constructed by analysing how certain themes emerge and reappear in different forms at different times. However, in contrast to archaeology, genealogy concentrates on the ways in which discourse becomes determined by power/knowledge networks. In other words, genealogy studies the ways in which discourses go through processes and changes throughout different historical contexts, always keeping in mind the influences that particular knowledges and forces have upon them. Citing Carabine:

> Genealogy is about tracing the history of the development of knowledges and their power effects so as to reveal something about the nature of power/knowledge in modern society. It does this through the examination of discourses and by mapping the strategies, relations and practices of power in which knowledges were embedded and connected. (2001:277)

Consequently, genealogical methods emphasise the importance of practices, apparatuses and institutions in the production of discourses. The main question then becomes how power/knowledge is produced and reproduced through these strategies.

A central concern is to describe the manner in which discourses lay a claim to truth. In Foucauldian theory, there is no such thing as 'truth', but only effects of truth. This being the case, what strategies are deployed in order to produce these effects? Citing Gill, "all discourse is organized to make itself persuasive" (in Rose 2001:140). Consequently, discourses and their archives are not neutral, "they embody the power inherent in accumulation, collection and hoarding as well as that power inherent in the command of the lexicon and rules of a language" (Sekula cited in Rose 2001:165). Furthermore, discourses are the result of exercises of authority by which certain statements become 'truths' while others become silenced, forgotten or misconstrued.

By concentrating on authority as a mechanism for perpetuating claims on truth, this focus takes a particular interest in the role of institutions in the formation of

discourses. These spaces are fundamental because they provide "a social site from which particular statements are made and [...] position the speaker of a statement in terms of their social authority" (Foucault, 1972:50-2). In a sense, institutions are the houses of authority, the sites where discourses are subjected to regimes of power/knowledge and become produced as truths. Further to this, Foucault has suggested that institutions depend on two main mechanisms in order to function: institutional apparatuses and institutional technologies. The first refers to the forms of power/knowledge which constitute institutions (Hall 1997). In the case of visual texts, their institutional apparatuses would be the discursive principles by which museums, galleries, collections and libraries are managed and administered. For Rose:

> The powerful had the resources to make their discourses substantial through books and pictures, and these were the materials then put into libraries and archives. Thus the social location of a discourse's production is important to consider in relation to its effects. (2001:159)

The second is related to the practical techniques put into place in order to exercise that power/knowledge. For Foucault, technologies are "diffuse, rarely formulated in continuous, systematic discourse [...], often made up of bits and pieces [...], a disparate set of tools and methods" (cited in Rose 2001:138). In a visual context, these technologies involve the multiform tools and methods put into place in order to produce, collect, distribute and consume images. This combination of institutional mechanisms results, in any case, in visual images and visualities which are "articulations of institutional power" (Rose 2001:168).

There are several methodological guidelines for adopting a genealogical analysis. Carabine (2001) suggests some steps that help in approaching a study of this sort. Firstly she suggests that one establish a good familiarity with the object of study in order to fully be aware of the data surrounding the topic. Once such familiarity is established, it is important to identify the themes, categories and objects of discourse. This implies looking for regularities, absences and contradictions in the discourses studied, as well as evidence of the interrelations between different discourses. Once these patterns are located, one can identify the discursive strategies and techniques used in order to make truth claims. These strategies and techniques can be found, in many cases, by referring back to the institutional apparatuses and technologies involved in the production of different discourses. Additionally, it is important to look for resistances and counter-discourses. In many cases, their presence is an indicator of sites of struggle over meaning. One should also identify the effects of discourse. What tangible, material results did particular discourses have? What practices were put into

place under specific discursive formations? How did particular discourses produce truth effects? What social subjectivities were produced? Finally, genealogical analysis must take into consideration the contextual situation of the discourses analysed. What were the key factors that preceded the emergence of a particular discourse? And how were the power/knowledge networks of the period configured?

4.3 Data collection and analysis

The aforementioned methodological premises have informed this research project in several aspects. The analysis of a discursive field determined by archaeological and genealogical stances has implied that the material this dissertation addresses is ample in the scope of its temporal limits. I believe this is justified in order to effectively locate the variations over time and space in discourses on Latin American cannibalism in visual texts. Archaeological analysis has allowed me to find the relations between visual texts pertaining to the same discursive field; genealogical analysis has been useful for understanding the power/knowledge relations involved in the production of these texts over time. Given the importance of these premises, as well as their theoretical underpinnings, the procedures of data collection and analysis are as follows.

Data sources

The data for this research project was collected at two different stages. During the first stage, initial research into the topic resulted in the collection of visual texts of Latin American cannibal scenes from secondary sources. This means that many of the initial images sourced came from exhibition catalogues, edited books, journal articles and internet searches, most of which can be consulted in chapter two. This is important to mention because, in many cases, these images have been previously selected and included in particular texts with the aim of illustrating specific points by other authors. This initial collection of approximately 50 images – subject to other researchers' choices – implied a degree of selectivity that entailed the exclusion of many other potential texts. So while this initial stage provided a good overview of the images available, a second phase of research was considered necessary.

For this second stage a list of all the potential visual texts referring to this topic was made. This list was based on, firstly, the primary sources mentioned in the catalogues, edited books and journal articles originally consulted; secondly, it took into consideration the potential authors, texts, loose-leaf publications, and artists that may have included or produced images on the topic. In order to determine what these potential texts were, I did an extensive search of the major colonial European works on the Americas, concentrating on the texts that were most widely published and referenced by other authors. I intentionally focused on the most frequently referenced and reprinted sources because a wider distribution of a text tends to indicate its hegemonic presence in the discursive field; thus, in exploring what the dominant discourses on the Americas were, I selected the texts that might have played a more determining role in shaping this discourse. Furthermore, priority was given to the major sources that might contain illustrations. This revised list included texts from European travel narratives, New World compendiums, atlases, loose-leaf pamphlets, and independent engravings.

Archives

The lists of potential sources for visual texts on cannibalism became a starting point for the second phase of data collection. Archive research proved necessary to further complete access to potential sources. Firstly, archive research was needed in order to acquire images from the known list of potential sources mentioned above. Secondly, archive research became necessary to find previously unknown or scarcely circulated images of cannibalism. Thirdly, by doing archive research it was possible to get a better feel for the general configuration of images of Latin America, regardless of them involving cannibalism or not. In other words, access to collections of these images allowed me to establish the proportion and frequency with which the theme of cannibalism was present in established discursive formations about America. Importantly, this overview permitted me to examine the relations between different types of discourses on Latin America, and how these discourses may overlap, contradict or confirm each other.

Three main archives were chosen on the basis of an understanding of the archive as a discursive layout that becomes configured over time according to dominant trends in practices of power/knowledge. Given the former, I chose the

national libraries of three key formerly colonial or imperial European nations that sustained deep historical ties to Latin America during the colonial period. I also chose these particular national libraries because, beyond the historical scope of their relation to Latin America, they currently function as hegemonic deposits of many of the world's knowledges. This double level of accumulation of power/knowledge is fundamental as it provides a two-fold filter of discursive selectivity. On the first level, it allowed me to access colonial texts in their countries of origin. On the second level, it let me focus on those texts which have withstood the test of time and have become accumulated in the current centres of global cultural power.

In Paris, France, I accessed the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) or, more specifically, its department of engravings and photography, the Département des Estampes et de la photographie. Here I conducted a two-fold research of the archive. I used the list of potential texts as a point of reference for locating single engravings and collections of engravings, as well as the written texts that they illustrated. I also had the kind assistance of the archive researchers, who facilitated the department's catalogue of engravings for the relevant time period. From this catalogue I looked at most of the images that had been classified as related to Latin America. I also included images from a few iconographic treaties, paying particular attention to the allegorisation of America by different artists. Overall, from this archive I collected approximately 105 separate images relevant to this project. However, not all of these images included scenes of cannibalism. In many cases, images were collected in order to compare and contrast images of cannibalism with other forms of representing Latin American natives. This will be discussed in further detail in the *Corpus* section.

In the United Kingdom, I worked in two different archives. The British Library (BL) in London provided me with many new secondary sources and images of cannibalism. One fundamental source was *Engraved America* by Lynn Glaser (1970), a critical catalogue of most of the printed and illustrated books on America. The BL's Rare Books section was also a source of direct access to many sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century books about America. However, in many cases these books' conditions made them impossible to photocopy and, unfortunately, BL policy forbade me from taking photographs for personal research use. In as many cases as possible, I gave preference to facsimilar versions of rare books in order to be able to record the visual texts. These limitations, however, affected to a good degree the rate of work and the amount of data I could collect from this archive. Approximately 70 images were obtained. The second archive referenced was the British Museum's (BM) online

collection. This database includes the digitalisation of hundreds of engravings which were formally part of the BL collection. It allowed for easy access to vast numbers of images through online searches of their catalogue. By searching for key words such as America or cannibalism, or by searching for specific artists and texts, I managed to collect 34 new images, some of which included allegories of America, indigenous practices in the Americas, and representations of Latin Americans as children of Saturn.

Finally, in Spain I conducted research at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) in Madrid. This research was conducted in two stages. Firstly, I looked at primary and secondary sources on the topic, many of which were not available to me in Britain. The secondary texts allowed me to locate different ways that Latin American cannibalism is dealt with in contemporary Spanish scholarship. I also made a particular effort to look at as many colonial Spanish texts on Latin America as possible, in order to determine what the predominant visual discourse on the topic was. However, contrary to my initial assumptions, the vast majority of the primary Spanish texts on America were not illustrated or did not have illustrations of cannibalism. The images of cannibalism I *did* find were usually from Flemish, German or French authors or artists. The second stage of research was at the BNE's Sala Goya, the department dedicated to the arts and geography. The atlas section allowed me to collect many illustrated maps relevant to this research. This department also holds a collection of engravings from Spanish, Flemish and German artists. Classified under "América, usos y costumbres" or "América, trajes tradicionales", the department's collection of engravings about Latin America have a bias towards the ethnographical. However, these images were also taken into consideration as points of contrast and comparison. Approximately 65 images were collected at this archive.

Corpus

I estimate that I have seen an important proportion of colonial European sources on Latin America (see Appendix 1). In total, I have consulted around 65 written texts, 5 pamphlets, 6 atlases, 15 maps, and 15 loose engravings from primary and secondary sources (290 separate images). A total 45 of these sources included engraved illustrations of various themes relevant to the Latin American colonies. Of these printed supports, a vast majority were printed in Germany, the Netherlands and

Flanders. A smaller fraction of illustrated books or engravings on America were produced in Spain, Portugal, Italy or Britain. Moreover, of these illustrated sources, approximately one third contained explicit references to Latin American cannibal practices (110 separate images). These images were then processed onto information cards that contained their accompanying data, such as title, artist, year, technique, book, author, archive, collection, source, keyword(s), theme and a priority scale (see Appendix 2).

The images selected for the corpus proper were based on several criteria. I assembled images produced in Europe between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries that represented Latin American indigenous peoples in association with cannibalism. This link could be represented in three ways. The natives could be represented in explicit acts of eating human flesh; they could also be represented in ceremonies or religious rituals that involved the consumption of human flesh; indigenous subjects or allegories of America could also be accompanied by attributes or objects that symbolised cannibalistic practices. I included all these potential degrees of explicitness in my selection. As mentioned above, of the total 290 images accumulated more or less a third of them are considered representations of cannibalism scenes according to the above criteria. The initial process of selection was, in this sense, quite straightforward.

The remaining images are of a diverse nature. I have selected many of them because I considered them interesting points of contrast to the cannibalism theme. In many of them, Latin American natives are not presented in cannibalism scenes. They may be represented in more ethnographical ways or in portraiture. Others are evidence of influences or regularities linking the cannibalism theme to European discourses about Europe. For example, some of them show cannibalism scenes of a "domestic" nature, i.e. famine scenes, witchcraft, Saturnalia and political cartoon in Europe. In sum, the aim of including these images in a supporting corpus is to examine the links between the central visual discourses on American cannibalism and other alternative representations of cannibalism.

Analysis

Once a corpus of selected images of Latin American cannibalism was established, I proceeded to the organisation of these images into patterns and themes. This task was

based on the identification of recurring types of images within the corpus in order to explore the:

> relations between statements (even if the author is unaware of them; even if the statements do not have the same author; even if the authors were unaware of each other's existence); relations between groups of statements thus established (even if these groups do not concern the same, or even adjacent fields; even if they do not possess the same formal level; even if they are not the locus of assignable exchanges); relations between statements and groups of statements and events of a quite different kind (technical, economic, political, social). (Foucault 1972: 29)

In the first stage of analysis, I organised the images of cannibalism into chronological order and, where possible, according to authors or artists. During the second stage, I grouped images into the themes that were repeated most frequently. These groupings were the product of an interpretative process that took into consideration formal and generic similarities between different images, the influences among artists, the repetition of particular scenes, potential omissions, and a previous knowledge of the textual and historical contexts in which they were produced. This resulted in three central thematic nuclei. The first refers to the representation of the cannibal body; the second addresses the relationship between Latin American cannibalism and European conceptions of space and time; the third looks at the discursive relationship between cannibalism and European ideas of religion. By looking at these three axes, I could also surmise the interdependency between the discourse of Latin American cannibalism and other key European institutional discourses such as medicine, cosmology, and theology. During a third stage of analysis, I selected the images I considered to be most representative of these thematic groupings in order to reduce the number of images analysed even further. Their level of representativity was determined according to their degree of variety (many similar images with minor variants in detail), their historical weight (the relation between the image and its historical narrative), the repetition of originals (images copied faithfully by different artists throughout different time periods), and their originality (a break in conventional ways of representing the scenes). These thematic groupings will be further contextualised, analysed and discussed in three chapters in the second part of this dissertation.

One clear limitation to this project is the breadth of its scope. While attempting to access as ample a number of sources as possible, it is likely that a good number of texts were not looked at. Nevertheless, an utmost effort was made to consult as many of the core sources as possible; ultimately, it became necessary to accept that not everything could be accessed. Additionally, it is important to remember that these sources have become filtered through power relations and "are likely to be partial, reflecting particular interests" (Carabine 2001:305). However, it is precisely this filtering through power relations that interests me. Through it, I can examine the discourses on Latin American cannibalism that have persisted and continue to affect the present. Furthermore, I consider this wide-ranging scope to be necessary given that one of the central issues of this dissertation is how discourses on Latin American cannibalism have changed over time. These changes took place over centuries and throughout many volumes of written texts and images. Following Said, I was wary of a "danger of distortion if either too general or too specific a level of description [was] maintained systematically" (1995:8). A "too positivistic localised focus" (1995:8) would have resulted, in my opinion, in a schematic or truncated account of the variations that took place.

Another major issue is selectivity. Any form of research implies choosing some data over another. This selection will necessarily favour certain aspects and leave out a lot of information. Following Carabine's (2001) observation, it is important not just to collect information that supports pre-established arguments, but also to look for data that might contest certain assumptions. One must search for discontinuities that challenge particular claims. With regards to this, I have purposefully included images that contradict the canon of the Latin American cannibal scene. An important number of images collected present alternative forms of portraying the indigenous of the subcontinent. I have done this in order to make explicit that there were various ways of representing others in colonial discourse, and that the theme of cannibalism is one among many. Furthermore, it is central to recall that selection, analysis and interpretation necessarily result in the construction of a narrative. What is important in this case is to be as explicit as possible with regards to how and why this narrative was constructed. Even more crucial, following a Foucauldian theoretical and methodological framework one must be aware that research is, in itself, a form of discourse and that its claims to truth are exercises of

power/knowledge. In sum, the following section of this dissertation would be most useful if understood as another discourse about Latin American cannibalism.

Pl. 5.1. Münster, S. Le premier voyage sur mer d'Americ Vespuce, in *Cosmographia*, 1552

Pl. 5.2. Léry, J. Guerriers Indiens du Brésil, in *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil*, 1580 (2nd edition)

Pl. 5.3. Fries, L. Canibali, in *Uslegung der Mercarthen oder Cartha Marina*, 1525

Pl. 5.4. Jacquard, A. *Les divers Pourtraicts et figures faictes sus les meurs des habitans du Nouveau Monde*, 1615

Chapter Five. Body

This chapter addresses the discourses that resulted from the intersection of European representations of the Latin American native and European conceptualisations of the body. More specifically, it looks at the way in which the cannibal body became "the object of examination, commentary, and valorisation" to the extent that it was "the body, rather than speech, law, or history [that became] the essential defining characteristic of [indigenous] peoples" (Spurr 1993:22). In order to achieve this, the chapter will follow an itinerary akin to the European logic of the penetrating gaze that travels from surfaces and wholes, through to body parts, finally arriving at the bodily interior. The chapter purposefully sets out to reproduce this discursive form as a play on the "hierarchy of outer inner, core and shell, depth and superficiality [which are] the paradigms which shape the [Western] epistemological model" (Bohde 2003:19). As a result, the first section will address European ideas of the cannibal body as a whole, impenetrable surface, following the canon of a classical aesthetic. The second section will look at the body as surface, but one violently fragmented. This section will deal with the bodily fragment as a liminal stage, ambiguous and unstable, between the body-exterior and the body-interior. The third section will analyse the discursive move to the body-interior, in both its facets as body grotesque and body classical.

5.1 The (cur)voracious body

A woman stands naked before a fully dressed European explorer. She bows her coiffed head discreetly, while covering her pudenda with a draped veil. Her body forms a sinuous curve making her hips the centrifugal point where the forces of the pointing explorer, her modest veil and an archery bow converge. This woodcut (pl. 5.1) from Münster's *Cosmographia* (1552) illustrates Vespucci's narration of his first voyage to the newly discovered Americas. In it, Renaissance conventions and representational technologies for representing the body are put at the service of narrative in order to provide the reader with a visual referent of the overseas inhabitants.

The woman's flowing classical posture is the New World version of the Praxitelean curve,[13] a pictorial convention that was closely related to Renaissance theories of proportion, movement and perspective. The specific way in which this woman's body is pictorically constructed responds to a series of representational technologies that had become conventionalised in Europe during this period. Taking into account Panofsky's assertion that "a history of a theory of proportions is the reflection of the history of style" (1993:83), European portrayals of the human body were based on "the system of establishing the mathematical relations between the various members [of a human body] in so far as these beings are thought of as subjects of an artistic representation" (Panofsky 1993:83). The establishment of such theories was based on a desire for beauty, an interest in the 'norm' or a need for the homogenisation of diverse pictorial techniques.

Significantly, early modern theories of proportion (Bruneleschi, Alberti, Leonardo, Piero della Francesca and Dürer, among others; see *Oxford companion to art*, 1970 and *Encyclopedia of world art*, 1959-68) were developed in order to raise the theory to the level of an empirical science. The application of the compass and ruler to the human body reflected the "ideal of a purely scientific anthropometry by ascertaining [dimensions] with great exactitude" (Panofsky 1993:124). In a context within which artists were attempting to incorporate "the entire scientific culture of their epoch" (Panofsky 1993:119), the accurate portrayal of human proportions was a reflection of the view that the human body was analogous to the perfection of nature. In this sense, the Renaissance theory of human proportions was a type of discourse related to the modern conceptualisation of a "pre-established harmony between microcosm and macrocosm" (Panofsky 1993:119).

However, theories of proportion were subject to variations. Proportions could be minutely and 'scientifically' prescribed for representations of standing, static figures, but real bodies in motion within three-dimensional planes had to be adjusted accordingly. "The influence of organic movement, the influence of perspective foreshortening and the regard for the visual impression of the beholder" (Panofsky 1993:128) shared one key thing: they became expressions of the artistic recognition of subjectivity. These three forms of subjectivity, with their corresponding physiological

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[13] The Praxitelean curve, or *contraposto* (counterpoise), is a stylistic norm adopted from Greek and Roman statuary and used frequently during the Renaissance. In it, the human figure is presented standing with most of its weight on one foot, in such a way that its shoulders and arms twist off the vertical axis, resulting in an S shaped curvature of the body. See Stewart, A. (2003). "Praxiteles", *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

theory of movement and mathematical theory of perspective, confirmed an idea of representation which made a clear distinction between the subject-observing and the object-observed as two independent and equal positions, ultimately resulting in the distancing of the subject and the object of representation. In Spurr's view (1993), the body was thus subjected to an aesthetic judgment that confirmed its role as object to be viewed.

At the crux of these theories were the classical and medieval philosophical traditions that conceptualised body and soul as two distinct yet interdependent entities. In modern philosophy, the two existed under a struggle for predominance. "The body's gross physicality could ensure the endless enslavement of the soul to corporeal existence, defined, in the soul's terms, as punishment" (Sawday 1995:16), while the movements of the soul involved the potential "destruction of its temporary and temporal residence" (1995:16). Thus, the body was understood as "one half of bifurcated whole" and, therefore, could never be considered a completely "discrete entity" (1995:16). In short, the body's function was to give material expression to the movements of the soul. In *De pictura* (1970 [1435]), Alberti affirms that in pictorial representation "each person's bodily movements, in keeping with dignity, should be related to the emotions you wish to express" (cited in Didi-Huberman 2003:280). Renaissance theories of proportion, movement and perspective were, ultimately, visual techniques for representing this perceived relationship between body and soul.

The pathos *of flowing hair and dangling breasts*

One of the illustrations accompanying a 1509 German edition of Amerigo Vespucci's *Voyages* (fig. 5.1) presents an idyllic scene. In the foreground three nude figures sit forming a triangle, echoing the convention of da Vinci's pyramidal composition scheme.[14] At the bottom right of the pyramid sits a man with long hair holding a bow and gesturing towards a pile of arrows at his side. At the cusp of the pyramid sits a melancholic Indian, holding his hand to his face in a gesture typified in medieval iconography to signify reverie. Finally, on the left angle sits an indigenous woman holding a naked baby, her long curls flowing in the wind. This last figure, a stylistic

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[14] Da Vinci developed several innovative compositional schemes, including his pyramidal arrangement of figures in a scene. This structure is based on the placement of the figures in the three apexes of a virtual triangle, thereby linking the three figures compositionally. See *Encyclopedia of world art*, Vol. IX (1959-68), pp. 214-215.

and symbolic hybrid of Venus and Madonna in the distinct style of Botticelli, further highlights the dreamy quality of the scene. In stark contrast, in the background two male figures chop limbs on a block using an axe. This secondary scene provides both a material and conceptual counterpoint to the figures in the forefront, as well as a contextual background for the scene: these idyllic, well-formed Indians with their hair blowing in the wind are – in spite of all their ethereal qualities – palpable, fleshy cannibals. This early way of representing New World peoples through European pictorial conventions was further developed in another woodcut accompanying the same edition of Vespucci's *Voyages* (fig. 5.2). In this illustration, a clothed explorer stands before three cannibal graces, like a mythic Paris judging the beauty of these Edenic nudes, oblivious to the fact that he is about to be bludgeoned to death by a figure behind him.

Figs. 5.1 and 5.2. Grüninger, J., *Vespucci's Voyages*, Strasbourg edition, 1509

In both these images, as well as others, hair flows in abundance both as the trace signifier of an invisible mystical breeze as well as an indicator of a pounding violent action. In this context, the iconographical trope of flowing hair is a frank reference to the stylistic canon championed by Alberti and established by Botticelli around this period. This style had been highly praised by Alberti in his *De pictura*:

> The most graceful movements and the most lively are those which move upwards into the air. [...] I am delighted to see some movement in hair, locks of hair, branches, fronds and robes. The [...] movements are especially pleasing in hair where part of it turns in spirals as if wishing to knot itself, waves in the air like flames, twines around itself like a serpent, while part rises here, part there. (1970 [1435])

The importance accorded to movement in hair was not to be taken lightly. On the contrary, it fitted into a theory of movement whereby all forms of bodily movement were considered expressions of the metaphysics of the soul. As a stylistic expression of pictorial discursive norms, the trope of flowing hair became a formal means that mobilised air as a tool for conveying *pathos*. Furthermore, in this conception air is not simply air; it is *aria*, "a supernatural substance stirred by the effect of some extraordinary event" (Didi-Huberman 2003:278). In the Vespucci engravings, this extraordinary event is the encounter with the unknown, and it must be poetically expressed through the delicate flow of a cannibal mane in the breeze.

Furthermore, the concept of *aria* was so tightly enmeshed with the bodily movements of figures that it was considered "the subtle symptom of the movements of the *anima*" (Didi-Huberman 2003:280). But two different kinds of wind blow through these New World illustrations. One elevates the beauty of the nude females to a metaphysical realm. The other accompanies a bludgeoning and the ensuing cannibalisation of the European body. In this discourse, the *anima* of these Indians is duplicitous: their flowing tresses confirm their ambiguous natures, simultaneously Edenic innocents and violent savages.[15]

Woven within are Renaissance conceptions of beauty. In his letters, Columbus states that one of the islands is "populated by a people who are held on all the islands to be very fierce, who eat human flesh. [...] They are no uglier than the rest, except that they have the habit of wearing their hair long like women" (1982:145). So, while the presumed cannibals were not particularly deformed as expected, their flowing hair became metonymically associated to their cannibalism. Yet in frank contradiction to this initial impression, on a different occasion Columbus encounters another Indian, this time:

> more ugly in appearance than any whom he had seen. [...] He wore all his hair very long and drawn back and tied behind, and then gathered in meshes of parrots' feathers, and he was as naked as the others [and thus] the admiral judged that he must be one of the Caribs who eat men. (1982:141)

In a more explicit fragment, Columbus recounts "I came across other people who ate men: the ugliness of their features shows it" (1982:326). If the body was a vessel for the expression of the soul, Columbus expected that decadent souls should be housed in ugly bodies. Further, ugly bodies were the substantiation of a cannibal *anima*,

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[15] When Columbus first paraded the Amerindians through the streets of Barcelona, "the Spanish were quite astonished to see that their hair was not kinky" (Bucher 1981:32).

Columbus's stubborn conclusions serving as the exemplification of tautological doublet whereby 'ugly' cannibals could be seen everywhere.

This idea of the malevolent soul housed within a deformed body applied to women as well. In de Bry's 1592 engraving of a cannibal feast (fig. 5.3) three particularly old women lick their fingers and hold up barbecued body parts.[16] Their saggy breasts place them within the iconographical tradition, prevalent during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, of "maleficent women, vampires, witches, demons, the incarnation of Envy and Lust, and the depiction of Death" (Bucher 1981:38).[17] Specifically, Protestant representations of lust presented female figures with dog-like ears and long breasts (Wiseman in Grantley & Taunton 2000).[18]

This iconographic motif was further connected to a medieval legacy of representations of deformed monstrous peoples believed to live on the edges of the known world, as seen in Deserps's *Le ciclope* (fig. 5.4). In these New World figures, the iconography of marginal beings merged with that of the capital sins, and a link between lust and gluttony was established because lust, like gluttony, "leads to the incontinency of the eyes and ears which require unwholesome food" (Tanquerey cited in Bucher 1981:50). Hence, these deformed women lust after human meat. As Thévet narrated, "the blood from the victim and what flowed from the head were scarcely on the ground before an old woman scooped it up into an old gourd, and as soon as she had collected it, she drank it raw" (cited in Bucher 1981:49). For Bucher (1981), this scene then became the "image of nature uncorrected by culture and degenerated into wholly fallen nature" as embodied by the "old women, who lick their fingers dripping with juices of human flesh" (1981:115). In these figures, "the connection between inner nature and outer appearance" (Mason 2003:161) becomes cemented in a colonial discourse that "superimposes iconic and mythic categories on the body" (Grantley & Taunton 2000:10) in order to produce the effect of Renaissance *pathos* in its European viewers.

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[16] This representation was in contradiction with written texts, however: "The women, as I have said, go about naked and seductively, but their bodies are attractive and clean enough. [...] We were surprised to see that none of them had sagging breasts and that those who had given birth did not differ at all from virgins with respect to the shape and size of their bellies" (Vespucci cited in Mason 1990:171).

[17] Bucher lists several European engravings depicting women with sagging breasts: Musi's 1518 engraving entitled "The Skeleton", Ripa's "Heresy" in his *Iconologie*, and Salomon's "Famine" in Ovid's 1553 *Metamorphoses*.

[18] For an in-depth analysis of other iconographical tropes referring to New World women and their breasts, particularly Amazon monomasty, see Schwarz, K. (1997). Missing the Breast. In *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, Hillman, D. and Mazzio, C. eds, New York: Routledge.

Figs. 5.3 and 5.4. De Bry, T. Boucan et barbarorum culina (detail), in *Americae tertia pars*, 1592; Deserps, F. Le ciclope, in *A Collection of the Various Styles of Clothing...*, 1562

The politics and economics of nudity

Münster's illustration of Vespucci's first voyage mentioned further above (pl. 5.1) is a choreography of nudity and dress. In it, the dressed male explorers are paired up with their nude counterparts from the New World. A young man places his hands on his hips as he observes a naked female whose back is turned to the viewer. Another man in profile touches a semi-clad native's shoulder in a gesture of curiosity. And at the centre of the image, a coiffed nude woman is being pointed at by another explorer wearing a helmet. This image highlights the contrast between dress and undress, and illustrates the importance of nudity in European discourse on the other. What made the native fundamentally different was his or her naked condition. The Tupi were "naked as they were born from their mother's womb" (Vespucci 1497): they expressed the *ultimate* degree of nakedness.

An iconographical precedent for this representation can be found in the theme of the European wild man. According to Bartra (1994), the *homo sylvestris* is a stereotype well-rooted in twelfth-century European art and literature. Late medieval versions of the theme consolidated the association between the *homo sylvestris* and mythemes of lasciviousness, cannibalism, ingestion of raw meat, animal-like behaviour and bestial traits. The visual signifiers for the former were, most

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commonly, a naked or semi-naked body that was extremely hairy, a contextualising element from nature (foliage covering genitalia, a woodsy landscape setting) and a defining attribute, such as a club or tree trunks carried by the wild man. However, while some images of New World natives confirm Bartra's assertions, many of the visual representations were not an exact replica of the *homo sylvestris* theme. Compendiums such as Deserps's (1562) and Aldrovandi's (1642) make a clear distinction between the wild man and the New World inhabitants by portraying them separately and in visibly different ways.[19] What is clear is that both were marginal figures of exclusion. The wild man lived beyond the bounds of society and had thus become animalesque. The Latin American native lived beyond the bounds of European civilisation and had thus become savage.

Figs. 5.5 and 5.6. Léry, J. Famille d'Indiens du Brésil, in *Histoire d'un voyage...*, 1580 (2nd edition); anon. *Brasiliensium uel hominum*, 16th century

Representations of the New World cannibal are as likely to derive from the Renaissance the figure of the Edenic innocent. For Delgado-Gómez, shameless native nakedness was "linked to customs in the biblical paradise" (1993:5). The Arawak, Carib and Tupi became the modern Adams and Eves of European discourse, for their

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[19] While both appear naked, the *homo sylvestris* dons a hairy body and a beard, while the native is hairless and beardless. The wild man's club is replaced by a bow and arrows or by a Tupi *tacape* (a ceremonial club used in sacrificial ceremonies), and other attributes, such as a feather headdress and skirt, are used as clear signifiers of Americana.

nakedness proved, "according to the medieval spirit, [that] these men have not been expelled from paradise" (Reding Blase 1992:30). The cannibal 'family' was a frequent way of re-enacting the theme of paradise maintained. In spite of several textual references to indigenous polygamy, numerous illustrations portray the naked cannibal as part of a nuclear family as defined by the inclusion of a male, a female and a child (figs. 5.1, 5.5 and 5.6), echoing the iconographical traditions of the Sacred Family and Adam and Eve. This contradiction between written text and visual image indicates that symbolic importance was ultimately placed on the portrayal of the natives through European iconographical conventions (the theme of Adam and Eve) and societal filters ('family'), rather than through an adherence to the factual (polygamy).

In this context, the importance of nudity was paramount. In Reding Blase's view (1992), it was the first visible quality assigned to the American native and, furthermore, it turned into a quality of otherness as it became an excuse for the Western world to "transfer this nudity into the physical, spiritual and cultural order" (1992:30). Thus, the native was physically *and* culturally nude; s/he lacked "customs, rites, religion and, importantly, an entrepreneurial spirit that conduces to material gain" (Reding Blase 1992:30). Moreover, as Taunton and Grantly (2000) have explained, the body was at the very centre of European discourses of Renaissance humanism:

> whether in respect of the human form in art, or the body as material for self-fashioning, as a source of metaphor, as a commodity of exchange, as a powerful dimension of gender conflict, as a site of contention over sexuality, as a source of political or magical power, or as a signifier of otherness, to name but a few facets of this potent focus of cultural discourse. (2000:5)

Hence, the body became constructed as a site for competing discourses of the body as "identifications of forms of knowledge unique to the early modern period" (Grantley & Taunton 2000:2). In colonial discourses, the body of the other was a site for valorisation, be it of its material value in terms of labour supply, its aesthetic value as an object of representation, its ethical value as a mark of innocence or degradation, or its erotic value as an object of desire (Spurr 1993).

The emphasis on nudity discursively reaffirmed European superiority by legitimating its authoritative gaze over the other. The New World cannibals were there to be seen in their – naked – entirety. In the same way that verbal appropriation of the New World took place through the proclamation of decrees,[20] the drawing of the

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[20] For more on this, see Seed, P. (1993) Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing the Authority of Overseas Empires. In *Early Images of the Americas: Transfer and Invention*. Williams, L. and Lewis, R. E. eds., University of Arizona Press, Tucson, pp. 111-147; Greenblatt, S. (1991)

Indian was a ceremony of possession that naturalised the Europeans' 'right' to observe and record the likeness of others. Paraphrasing Spurr (1993), the European gaze was a privileged one; it based itself on the premise of its authority to inspect, examine, order, arrange and construct. Hence, the ideology of the gaze was based on the convention of the commanding view, which offered aesthetic pleasure, but also information and authority. In this sense, Münster's woodcut (pl. 5.1) is a double play on the authoritative gaze. Firstly, it presents the explorers looking, pointing, touching; their gaze has come into contact with the native body. On a second level, we – the viewers – are watching them looking at the other. Hence, the viewer becomes a complicit gazer, siding with the European male conqueror, looking at the spectacle of looking, ceding authority to the image's 'truthfulness'.

Through the authoritative European gaze, two opposing interpretations of American nakedness developed. On the one hand, indigenous nudity was a signifier of innocence and beauty: "the king and the others walked about naked as the day their mothers birthed them, and also the women with no shame whatsoever, and they were the most beautiful men and women that they had found until then" (Columbus 1982:83). In this view, their nakedness also made them easy targets for colonisation:

> They have no ingenuity in weapons and go about naked and are very cowardly [...] and so are good for being ordered about and made to work [...] and to be taught to use dress and our customs. (Columbus 1982:84).

Other discourses on New World natives were more severe, as exemplified by Tomás de Ortíz, bishop of Darién, in 1524:

> The men from the *terra firma* of the Indies eat human meat and are sodomites more than any other. There is no justice among them, they go about naked, have no love nor shame, they are like asses, dim-witted, crazed, unreasonable; they are beastly in their vices. (cited in Reding Blase 1992:12)

Hence, representations of nakedness constructed the indigenous Americans as either beautiful Edenic pushovers or hideous cannibal sodomites. Reding Blase (1992) sees little difference between the two views, as they equally contributed to the undervaluing of the cultural other in order to legitimate material and spiritual colonisation.

As the colonial enterprise progressed, a third argument arose, one that synthesised the two extremes. The nude cannibal body *was* accepted as beautiful; in fact, it was consistently represented following the canon of classical nudes and statuary, a model considered at the time the highest expression of beauty in the

Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World. Oxford: Clarendon Press; and Todorov, T. (1984) *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other.* New York: Harper & Row.

Western world. As Ortega y Medina (1987) argues, in many cases the American Indian was represented following the stylistic optics of the Italian Renaissance. The heroisised natives became deified and assumed stereotyped classical proportions. One argument put forward to explain this is Bercovitch's claim that engravers such as de Bry used classical conventions in their depictions in order to fulfil market expectations of the period. Bercovitch affirms that this was "the image European book buyers would expect" (cited in Brown 1997) and that, therefore, the incorporation of these bodily canons would make his compendiums more saleable. Furthermore, the language of the classical motifs was also tightly enmeshed with allegorical forms of representation. This emphasis on a beautiful cannibal body implied the belief that these savages could – and should – be redeemed to Christianity. However, in stripping the Amerindians from their distinguishing ethnic and cultural attributes in order to represent them in the classical style, these images subjected the natives to "a mythical model of universal humanity" that emphasised their "*potential* humanity by negating their *actual* humanity" (Brown 1997).

A complex set of discourses was further deployed around this issue. Following an Aristotelian viewpoint prevalent during the Renaissance, the cannibal's body became a locus of discussion surrounding the nature of slavery. In his *Politics* Aristotle stated the following:

> Without a doubt, Nature wishes to establish a difference between the bodies of the freeman and of the slave, making the latter stronger for servile labour and the former useless for such activities, but useful for political life. [...] And doubtless if men differed from one another in the mere forms of their bodies as much as the statues of the Gods do from men, all would acknowledge that the inferior class should be slaves of the superior. [...] It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right. (350 B.C., I:5)

In other words, "heartiness [became] a stigma of predisposition for slavery and a weak constitution an indication of natural freedom" (Gerbi 1960:63).[21] The visibility and muscularity of the cannibal body were the easiest ways of recognising its superiority for hard labour, but its inferiority for political rule.

The link between the cannibal body and slavery had been originally forwarded by Columbus. In one of his missives, he suggested an economic use of the cannibal:

> Your Highnesses could grant a license and permit a sufficient number of caravels to come here every year, bringing the said cattle and other things necessary to

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[21] In an interesting reversal, Las Casas used this Aristotelian argument in favour of the New World Indians, by arguing that their constitutions were weak, thin, incapable of any bodily effort, "lacking the physical requirements to be slaves" (Gerbi 1960:63). In this discursive turn, Las Casas vindicated the natives' delicate bodies and graceful gestures as the marks of natural freemen. Las Casas's ideas will be further explored in chapter seven.

populate the land and cultivate the soil, and all this at reasonable cost, a cost which could be covered by [shipping back to Spain] cannibal slaves, a people so fierce, healthy, well-proportioned, and intelligent that, once rid of that inhumanity, they would make better slaves than any others. (1982:154).

After some initial reticence, Queen Isabella later enacted a law that would institutionalise Columbus's idea. The 1503 edict stated:

[...] since [the cannibals] are hardened in their evil intentions, eating the said Indians and worshipping idols, [should they] resist and not wish to receive and welcome in their lands the captains and peoples who by my command go and make the said voyages, and if [the cannibals] do not wish to listen to them in order to be indoctrinated in the things of our Holy Catholic Faith, then [they] can [be] capture[d...] paying to us the share of them that belongs to us, in order that [the cannibals] might be sold and a profit be made without [the seller] incurring any penalty whatsoever. (cited in Palencia-Roth 1993:24)

Hence, the slavery of Amerindians was generally penalised, *except* in the case of proven or suspected cannibalism. And as it has been explored above, the cannibal body was the ultimate physical proof of their slave nature.

In a further discursive twist, for some European explorers slavery was directly linked to cannibalism as a ploy to liberate eventual sacrificial victims. Léry (1990) used the European enslavement of Tupi prisoners to save them from their eventual cannibalisation at the hands of their enemies: "A few days later, [...] our interpreters entreated [the Tupinamba] to sell some [of their prisoners] to Villegagnon, and thus a number were rescued by us out of their hands" (1990:121). In the European view, slavery was a much more acceptable fate than being cannibalised. Be that as it may, the physical appropriation of the cannibal body became legitimated as a benevolent, redemptive institution of European colonisation; this 'liberating enslavement' was a testament to the belief in "the uncanny power of enslavement to humanise" (Greenblatt 1991:72).

The cannibal was thus redeemed and made to wear European clothes (fig. 5.7). The covering of the native body in European dress became the visible proof of colonialism's positive impact. By hiding the body, a propagandistic effort was mobilised in order to "cancel difference and bear witness to the metamorphic power of clothing, [...] that [the native's] savagery is an effect produced by appearances that can be altered" (Greenblatt 1991:112). In essence, the dressed cannibal was the ultimate "token of assimilable otherness" (Greenblatt 1991:112). The savage became literally immersed in the culture of his coloniser, his bows and arrows taken away and replaced by lace, lilies and feathered hats.

Fig. 5.7. Anon., François Carypyra/Louis Henri, in *Voyage de Claude d'Abbeville*, 1632

Cannibal and Hobbes

In dress or undress, the New World cannibal eventually turned political. In one version of the discourse, the cannibal became equated with the European concept of the noble savage. He embodied a notion of liberty characterised by a "brotherly environment devoid of authority, [knowing] no rulers" (Delgado-Gómez 1993:4). In the text accompanying an early engraving on America, it was stated that the cannibals "all live without a king and without a government, and everyone is his own master" (Vespucci 1497). Other forms of discourse challenged these original claims by championing the Indians as manifestly rational because:

> there is a certain method in their affairs, for they have polities which are orderly
> and arranged and they have definite marriage and magistrates, overlords, laws
> and workshops, and a system of exchange, all of which call for the use of reason.
> (Vitoria cited in Greenblatt 1991:66)

Given these contradictory points of view, how exactly were Amerindian political structures perceived in the European mind? What kind of sovereign was the cannibal king? And how did this reflect European structures of power?

While initial accounts of the Arawak and Carib tribes highlighted the absence of a hierarchical political organisation favouring instead a discourse of the happy savage, it soon became clear to the European travellers that some degree of

organisation existed among the tribes. Columbus marvelled at the pomp and ceremony with which an Arawak *cacique* was promenaded around the island on a litter, adding that it "would have seemed well to Your Highness, even though everyone went about naked" (cited in Delgado-Gómez 1993:7). As colonisation advanced, the conquistadors established pacts and alliances with indigenous leaders and became well acquainted with the rivalries and conflicts between different tribes. This was reflected in the portraits of two different Brazilian tribal leaders that illustrated Thévet's *Singularitez de la France Antarctique* (1557)(fig. 5.8 and 5.9). In these portraits, the 'King' Quoniambec with who the French had established an alliance is portrayed quite positively, compared to the leader of another cannibal tribe who had unforgivably favoured the Portuguese. In "The Portrait of a Cannibal King", the indigenous leader is presented enacting a forceful gesture that involves the parting of the lips and the raising and squeezing of the hand. Coupled with the prominent facial adornments, this image contrasts with "King" Quoniambec, who is presented in a much more demure manner. In this sense, these portraits are the reflection of what Lestringant (1997) calls the careful distinction between 'anthropophagi' and 'cannibals'. While both were alleged man-eaters, the first was whitewashed through the discourse of "the Americans, our friends" and the latter was chastised for sharing a "perverse and bestial taste for human flesh" (1997:48). Hence, accusations of cannibalism exercised a distinctly propagandistic function according to the budding alliances and rivalries in the New World.

Figs. 5.8 and 5.9. Thévet, A. Portrait of a Cannibal King, Portrait of King Quoniambec, in *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique…*, 1575

The cannibal with a hand at his hip was another motif that characterised European representations of the American leaders (figs. 5.7, 5.10 and pl. 5.2) by further highlighting European associations between sovereignty and monarchic rule. In medieval and early modern semiotics, this gesture indicated the authority of a figure and was, in most instances, used to connote the power and dignity of princely figures. In order to establish the trope of the cannibal leader, illustrators resorted to the gestural typifications that early modern European audiences would have understood. By building on an existing European pictorial language, the use of this convention reveals the discursive site of an emerging New World subject in European colonial discourses: that of the princely naked philosopher.

BRASILIANI EX AMERICA
armati habitus.

Fig. 5.10. Anon. *Brasiliani ex America*, 16th century

The naked philosopher was a variant of the figure of the noble savage that was used by European philosophers well into the eighteenth century as a literary resource to critique the decadent system of rule in the Old World. In this narrative, the Golden Age innocent comes into contact with European civilisation and philosophically questions its principals and values. Perhaps Montaigne's "Des cannibales", first published in 1580, is the best example of the cannibal philosopher addressing a decadent society:

> The king himself talked to them a good while, and they were made to see our fashions, our pomp, and the form of a great city. After which, some one asked their opinion, and would know of them, what of all the things they had seen, they found most to be admired? [...] They said, that in the first place they thought it very strange, that so many tall men wearing beards, strong, and well armed, who were about the king ('tis like they meant the Swiss of his guard) should submit to obey a child, and that they did not rather choose out one among themselves to

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command. Secondly (they have a way of speaking in their language, to call men the half of one another), that they had observed, that there were among us men full and crammed with all manner of commodities, while, in the meantime, their halves were begging at their doors, lean, and half-starved with hunger and poverty; and they thought it strange that these necessitous halves were able to suffer so great an inequality and injustice, and that they did not take the others by the throats, or set fire to their houses. (1965:263)

This narrative highlights the "artificiality and corruption of European civilization, essentially a metamorphosis of the myth of the Golden Age in the context of Platonic utopias" (Scaglione 1976:64). In Montaigne's discourse the cannibals are themselves equated with "the naked truth, with a natural state of humanity stripped of the false adornments of a corrupt civilisation" (Greenblatt 1988:148). Hence, the figure of the cannibal philosopher is not based on a disinterested European curiosity about the political affairs of the other, but more so on what Reding Blase (1994) calls the 'dialectics of alterity'. Through it, Europe realises and negotiates the New World's paradoxical qualities. It is external to Europe but simultaneously reflects it in "the golden image of the good savage as well as in that of the irrational violent cannibal" (1994:131). In this instance, Montaigne uses the cannibal as a mirror into which European society looks in order to be self-critical and re-establish an order determined by natural law rather than corrupt civilisation. Consequently, the cannibal's teeth are filed down and his image becomes one of the noble savage: a *sign* demonstrating the way towards a return to the Golden Age. The talkative, philosophical cannibal, hand on his hip, was imagined by Europeans for Europeans to talk about themselves.

However, discourses surrounding the cannibal body were not restricted to literal nude physicality as a signifier of moral authority. In an early modern context, the body was also a symbol of order and harmony between the human and the divine (Walters 1978:13) and, consequently, a recurrent metaphor for social and political organisation as expressed by the concept of the body politic. In this perception, one colossal symbolic body was "taken to stand for a group of diverse bodies" (Gatens 1993:79). The body politic thus functioned as a symbolic in-*corp*-oration of the individual into social life through monarchical political authority.

In this conceptualisation of political organisation, each body part exercises a specific function that contributes to societal cohesion and functioning:

For by art is created that great LEVIATHAN called a COMMONWEALTH, or STATE (in Latin, CIVITAS), which is but an artificial man, though of greater stature and strength than the natural, for whose protection and defence it was intended; and in which the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body. (Hobbes 1651)

In this view, the soul's reign over the physical body was analogous to the king's sovereignty within the state and to God's power within the universe in a "triple bond of authority" (Sawday 1995:29). Hence, the body in Hobbesian terms established a discursive link between the "body material" and the "best constitution of monarchical government" (Collins cited in Sawday 1995:31).

How did European views of the cannibal body fit into this context? For Hobbes, the existence of the Leviathan was legitimated by its will to protect the natural man. Consequently, man in a state of nature "is in 'continual fear' and in 'danger of violent death' and the quality of his life is summed up with the words 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short'" (Gatens 1993:80). Only his incorporation into the Leviathan (society) could save him from this brutish state. The body politic based itself on a metonymical rhetoric that was as inclusive as it was exclusive. As Gatens (1993) affirms, those who cannot provide the appropriate political forfeit to become integrated into this body are excluded because they are "defined by mere nature, mere corporeality and they have no place in the semi-divine political body except to serve it at its most basic and material level" (1993:82). Therefore, the disorder caused in Leviathan by the potential incorporation of the cannibal body became expressed as a physical disorder in the body material and politic.

This disorder is perhaps best expressed in an illustration accompanying Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil* originally published in 1578 (pl. 5.2). While this image predates Hobbes's *Leviathan*, it is an image that effectively echoes many of the Platonic and Paulian discourses surrounding the body politic antedating Hobbes's text (Sawday 1995). The illustration presents a Brazilian male nude in a full frontal pose. His body is muscular and marked by lines along the pectorals, arms and legs; the lines on his body are the depiction of a ceremonial act performed by the Tupinamba:

> [They] have incisions made [after a ceremonial kill...] on their chests, thighs, the thick part of the legs, and other parts of the body. And so that they may be visible all their lives, they rub these slits with [...] a black powder that cannot ever be effaced. The more slashes they carry, the more renowned they will be for having killed many prisoners. (Léry 1990:128)

This passage and its accompanying illustration exemplify how "Europeans focused their often formidably intense attention on scars, ornaments, skin colour, hair, clothing and other expressive details of physical existence" (Greenblatt 1997:229), in an attempt to understand the Tupi body as "a site of a recalcitrant practical otherness" (Greenblatt 1997:229). The cannibal's muscularity underlines his condition of 'mere

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corporeality' as a signifier of man in a natural state, while the detailed portrayal of the ceremonial incisions points towards European anxieties with physical and metaphorical bodily disintegration. The importance allocated to the rupturing of the skin surface resulting in permanent markings, especially when these marks were ritually associated to cannibal ceremonies, may signal a preoccupation with the metaphysical disintegration of the body politic.
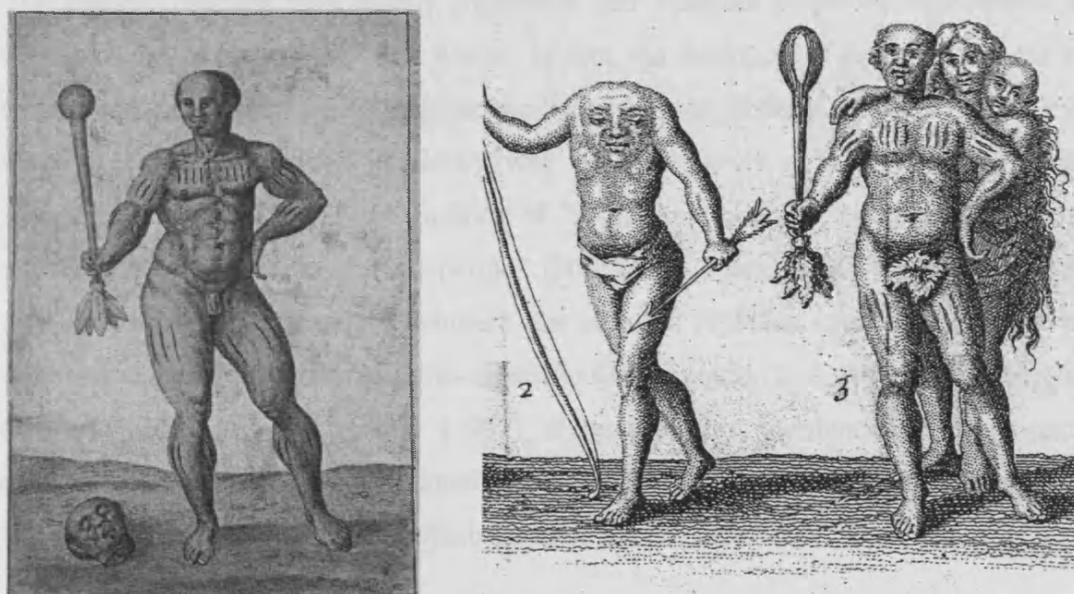
Figs. 5.11 and 5.12. Anon. (after J. de Léry), [Cannibal], c. 1583; Lafitau, J. F. [Amériquains, detail], in *Moeurs des sauvages Ameriquains*, 1724

Furthermore, the illustration portrays a decapitated head at the feet of the cannibal. This scene was frequently reproduced in subsequent copies of the image, some emphasising the decapitated head (fig. 5.11), others removing it altogether (fig. 5.12).[22] In European iconography, the head in the context of the body politic was understood as the metaphorical site of sovereign power. If the king was "the fleshly embodiment of the State" (Nochlin 1994:11), then decapitations became a metaphor for a "primal scene of political transgression" (Nochlin 1994:11) in what may be considered a symbol of the body "fragmented and weakened by successive invasions from the excluded" (Gatens 1993:83). In this reading, the cannibal is quite possibly, like Foucault's (1995) condemned man, the symmetrical, inverted figure of the king, for in a European view his very presence challenged the structures of power that

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[22] While figure 5.11 definitively emphasises the goriness of the decapitated head by detailing the interior muscles and spine, as well as the *rictus* of death visible on the head's mouth, figure 5.12 eliminates the head completely. However, in figure 5.12 the scarified cannibal is standing next to a Blemmyae who is, quite non-coincidentally, a *headless* mythological figure dating from Plinian geography.

defined the body politic. The importance of this feature is central: it would become one of the main attributes for America as allegory (as will be further explored in chapter six).

5.2 Cannibal cuisine: the body in pieces

The graphic concern with bodily fragments and cannibal practices was central in European discourses on the New World. In fact, the depiction of body pieces was so closely associated with the cannibal scene that it appears in the significant majority of visual texts. However, this tendency was not exclusively applied to New World images. There was a European tradition of "social and symbolic practices of piecing out the body in the early modern period" (Hillman & Mazzio 1997:xi) that included dismemberment as corporal punishment, the pictorial representation of body parts in religious iconography, and the proto-scientific categorisation and early anatomising of the body. Hillman and Mazzio (1997) argue that this insistence on body parts responded to a logic of fragmentation that reflected, in a Foucauldian sense, an "episteme of ruptured social and symbolic fields" (1997:xi).

Figs. 5.13 and 5.14. de Bry, T. Frontispiece (detail), in *Americae tertia pars*, 1592; van den Hoeye, F. *America* (detail), early 17th century.

The emphasis on the fragmentary body can be clearly seen in de Bry's frontispiece for *Americae tertia pars* (1592) and in van den Hoeye's *Allegory of America* (early 17th century) (figs. 5.13 and 5.14). In both these engravings, the

allegorised American holds a human leg to his mouth which he chews on while making grimacing expressions. Notably, the leg is held by the cannibal's bare hands, as if holding a joint of mutton. This lack of cutlery might well have been a remnant of European culinary practices during the Middle Age and well into the fifteenth century. During this period, very few table utensils were used and the solids, especially meats, were held by hand (Elias 1978). However, some basic rules of manners (*civilitate*) were recommended by Erasmus and other writers of the period. The meat, eaten by hand "should be picked up with three fingers, not the whole hand"; Erasmus further advised the diner "not to fall upon the meal like a glutton" (cited in Elias 1978:70), and not to place a gnawed bone back in the communal dish.

This unrefined manner of eating linked a lack of etiquette to animality: "Some people put their hands in the dishes the moment they have sat down. Wolves do that...", or "[they are] like swine with their snouts in the soup, not once lifting their heads..." (cited in Elias 1978:89-90). Later texts on good manners vindicated the importance of cutlery. In *The Habits of a Good Society* (1859), the author expounds: "forks were undoubtedly a later invention than fingers, but as we are not cannibals I am inclined to think they were a good one" (cited in Elias 1978:99). So, the cannibal must eat human meat in an *uncivilised* way, in the manner of animals. This juxtaposition of human-animal also applies to the human leg held by the animalised cannibal; the leg is reduced to an animal-like piece of meat which is still vaguely recognisable as human. This visual paradox further highlights the tension between the eater and the eaten inherent to the cannibal act. By representing this visually, the engravings purposefully blur the border between human and animal, emphasising the savagery of the cannibal act.

Dog-headed butchers

Other engravings exploited the human-animal tension in far more literal ways. Fries's 1525 woodcut (pl. 5.3) presents the Latin American cannibal as a hybrid, half man, half dog. The narration accompanying the image describes the natives of the New World under the following terms:

> The cannibals are a ferocious and loathsome people, dog-headed so that one shudders looking at them. And they inhabit an island which Christoffel Dauber of Jamia [sic] discovered some years ago. [...] The cannibals go about naked, except that they adorn themselves with parrot feathers of many colours. [...] This people

likes nothing better to eat than human flesh, and therefore they go to the surrounding islands frequently during the year to catch people. (cited in Mason 1990:103)

These dog-headed cannibals have their iconographical precedent in the Plinian Cynocephalus depicted in Mandeville and Marco Polo's travels. These volumes, among Columbus's main books of reference for the American enterprise, told of dog-headed peoples (the Cynochephali) living in certain regions of Asia and Africa. Columbus, in his 'conversations' with the natives of the Antilles "understood that, far from there, there were men with a single eye and others with dogs' heads that ate men" (1982:51). In this narrative, the monster – in this case the hybrid man-dog – was the ultimate proof of authority. It was the "evidence" that gave a hint of authenticity to the voyage.[23] Columbus, particularly, presented this tenuous reference as proof that he had effectively reached 'India'.

However, the importance of the dog-headed cannibal ultimately resided in his hybrid nature. A variant of what Bakhtin (1984) has termed the body grotesque, the cannibal mix of human and animal highlights the ambivalent and contradictory. The dog-headed cannibal's monstrosity contrasts against the beauty of the 'classic cannibals' analysed above, who were represented according to Renaissance aesthetics that valued, above all, the complete finished body. In the classic aesthetic, the borderlines separating the body from the world were sharply defined. The body was perceived as all surface, a "closed individuality" (1984:320) that did not merge with other bodies. In contrast, the body grotesque was ambiguous, hideous and formless, all open cavities that merged it into the outside world.

These different modes of representing the cannibal reflect two different types of European discourses on bodilyness. For Stallybrass and White, Bakhtin's "classical body denotes the inherent form of the high official culture [while the] grotesque [...] designates the marginal, the low and the outside from the perspective of a classical body situated as high, inside and central by virtue of its very exclusions" (cited in Sawday 1995:19). Thus, the body grotesque functions on a basic principle of degradation. In this sense, the cannibal hybrid enacted a "lowering of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, abstract" (Bakhtin 1984:19) by transferring the bodily substance back

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[23] Similar images appeared later in the Desceliers map of 1550. They were not geographically located in the Americas but in places such as the Adaman Islands. Dog-headed cannibals also appear in Münster's *Cosmographia* (1552), this time illustrating the passage on India. It would seem that the figure of the dog-headed cannibal was used indiscriminately as a signifier for faraway places, territories left unexplored by Europeans, as will be further explored in chapter six.

to a purely material level. In this context, Fries's engraving can be considered a European popular representation of the American cannibal, in the sense that it lowers the cannibal from a 'humanised' classical ideal and chooses instead to emphasise the cannibal's excessive materiality and liminous nature.

More specifically, the image can be considered a remnant of medieval popular culture. The dog-headed cannibals are placed in an open setting, contextualised by a European-looking landscape and European-like buildings. These signifiers indicate the visual construction of a public space populated by barking cannibals (see figure on the left of the image, particularly). These loud cannibals are a cunning play on the function of medieval marketplace barkers, individuals who shouted out oral advertisements at public plazas (Bakhtin 1984). In fact, Fries's image is clearly a European market scene depicted in the visual metaphoric language of popular imagery. Arms and legs hang from a pillar in the middle of the scene, a human body dangles from an odd-looking quadruped in the manner of a sheep, and pieces of human meat are chopped on a butcher's block. While Fries's cannibals incorporate references to Plinian mythological monsters and associate them to the New World, on another level the engraving presents, quite simply, a popular fantasy image of the cannibal marketplace.

The cannibal marketplace and carnival

The cannibal marketplace was represented as a site of spectacle. The importance of graphically displaying body parts can be seen in Münster's 1554 engraving portraying two nudes chopping a human body on a butcher's block (fig. 5.15). In this scene, the energetic tension of the butcher's chopping motion contrasts with the "lifeless, gruesome fragments, deployed on a tabletop like meat on a butcher's counter" (Nochlin 1994:22). Hence, the "infinitesimal destruction of the body is linked here with spectacle: each piece is placed on display" (Foucault 1995:51). This visual contrast between active and passive in the engraving exponentially highlights the difference between man-eater and man-eaten.

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Fig. 5.15. Münster, S. [Cannibals], in *Cosmographia*, 1554

The references to the cannibal as energetic butcher are frequent. Léry narrates:

> He who is there ready to perform this slaughter lifts his wooden club with both hands and brings down the rounded end of it with such force onto the head of the poor prisoner that – just as our butchers slay oxen over here – I have seen some who fell stone-dead on the first blow. (1990:125)

Then, "[the one who owns the prisoner] will take this poor body, cleave it and immediately cut it into pieces; no butcher in this country could more quickly dismember a sheep" (1990:126). These spectacular images also abound in images of European anthropophagy. The body being chopped on a butcher's block can be found in late several fifteenth century illustrations as well as in a 1573 scene of cannibalism in Reuss and Littau, among many others (Zika 1997).

One symbolic figure of European cannibalism was the Fool Eater (fig. 5.16). Holding a fool's leg to his mouth much in the same way that the de Bry and the van den Hoeye figures do (figs. 5.13 and 5.14), the Fool Eater was associated to the popular tradition of the feast of the fools. In this festivity, meals were shared in a communal practice that celebrated renovation. This feast was associated to the bodily excesses of carnival (Zika 1997:93), and played a prominent role in the festivities related to time understood as a natural cosmic cycle. These feasts, however, were also related to moments of crisis, "breaking points in the cycle of nature or in the life of society and man" (Bakhtin 1984:9). De Bry's 1592 illustration (fig. 5.17) is a play on this European celebration transplanted to an American context. By highlighting the communal sharing of the prisoner's entrails, de Bry contrasts the capacity for renewal with the macabre deathliness of the human body fragments placed on platters. Hence, this feast is, simultaneously, renewal and crisis.

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Fig. 5.16. Schön, E. *The Fool-Eater*, 1530

Fig. 5.17. De Bry, T. [Feast] in *Americae tertia pars*, 1592

The spectacle of the fool's feast and the carnival, and its importance in renewing the cycle of social life, was closely related to the Roman Saturnalias. This was a festivity celebrated yearly during which a "true and full, though temporary, return of Saturn's golden age upon earth" (Bakhtin 1984:8) was perceived to take place.[24] The renewal took place in the form of a "temporary liberation from [...] the established order" (1984:10), such that hierarchical rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions were turned on their heads. Incorporating the New World discoveries to this festivity, the carnival also became the "celebration of the inversion of the antipodes" (Vignolo 2005:164). The peoples living on the other side of the world, with their feet where their heads should be (*anti*-podes), entered "European folklore as the king of the Other World" (2005:164), their tattoos, feathers and unusual hairstyles

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[24] Saturn's Golden Age was conceived by the Romans as a time of abundance, natural goodwill among men and no hierarchical rule. This concept will be fully explored in relation to European conceptions of time in chapter six.

adopted into festive iconography in what Vignolo calls "the cannibal carnivalised" (2005:164). The American cannibal joined in the celebration of a temporary liberation from the established order.

Fig. 5.18. De Bry, [Feast] in *Americae tertia pars*, 1592

Moreover, in this discursive exchange New World cannibal feasts were represented in the visual imagery of the European carnival. In a hyperbolic display of body parts, de Bry constructed a carnivalesque feel in his engraving of a Tupinamba ritual cannibalism ceremony (fig. 5.18). Arm and leg parts are held high by the Tupi women, as if they were spectacular carnival banners prominently displayed (fig. 5.19). The inverted logic of the "inside out" (Bakhtin 1984:11) becomes visually expressed by the opened bodies laying on the ground and the entrails being poured into the boucan. Additionally, the reversal of inside-out is revealed in the act of eating. Through eating, "the body transgresses its own limits; [it] swallows, devours, rends the world apart, is enriched and grows at the world's expense" (Bakhtin 1984:281). As the Tupinamba women demonstrate, "man's encounter with the world in the act of eating is joyful, triumphant" (1984:281). For Bakhtin, this triumph consists of the feat of devouring without being devoured. Yet in the cannibal scene, this triumph is doubly sweet, for the Tupi have succeeded in devouring *inspite* of the imminent risk of being devoured themselves.

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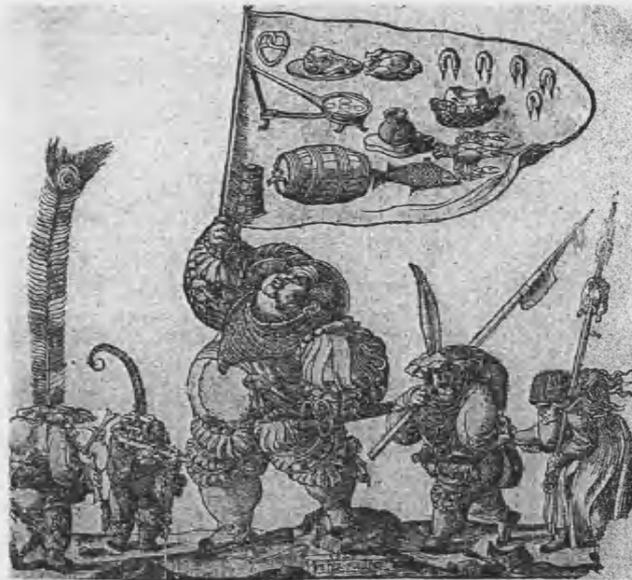
Fig. 5.19. Flötner, P. *The Procession of Gluttony*, 1540

Hence, triumphant cannibalism goes hand in hand with intemperance. For Hulme (1998), European discourses mobilised New World cannibalism "as an active cultural sign of tyranny, brutality and excess" (1998:33). Much like a medieval book on manners recommended its European readers – "do not stuff too much into yourself, or you will be obliged to commit a breach of good manners" (cited in Elias 1978:89) – Sepúlveda rendered hyperbolic accounts of the Amerindians' culinary excesses:

> Men that give themselves over to all types of intemperance and unrestrained lust, many of which feed themselves with human flesh [...] that venerate the stomach and the most embarrassing parts of the body as a God, consider the pleasures of the flesh as religion and virtue and, like swines, hold their eyes to the ground as if they had never looks at the heavens. (cited in Vignolo 2005:163)

The image of the cannibal was one of excess, analogous to the carnivalesque European figure of gluttony. However, New World cannibals were never represented in bodies of excessive proportions as were the gluttonous European (fig. 5.19). In fact, particular emphasis was given to their well-proportioned muscular bodies; other discourses linked their vigour to their moderation in food, an image that "was offered as an example to the gluttonous English" (Bucher 1981:37). Perhaps the provenance of their food was sufficient sign of their excessive appetites, for the body and soul were thought to be linked through digestion. Food, therefore, affected "not just mood and mental capacity, but even the ineffable realms of the soul" (Schoenfeldt 1997:253). If this applied to the glutton ("Now for the soules faculties, how is it possible, but that the smoaky vapours which breathe from a fat and full paunch, should not interpose a dampish mist of dulnes betwixt the body and the bodies light?"

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(Vaughan cited in Schoenfeldt 1997:253)), then in a European view, most surely, a soul fed on human meat would be corrupt and fetid.

Smoked, roasted or barbecued?

The European experience of the cannibal scene was one of horror. Doctor Chanca, accompanying Columbus on his second expedition to the Antilles, was in all likelihood the original source for much of the imagery that would later be used in visual texts:

> As soon as [the natives] saw [our men] they took to flight, and [the captain] entered the houses and found the things that they had, [...] especially he brought away four or five bones of the arms and legs of men. When we saw this, we suspected that the islands were those of islands of Caribe, which are inhabited by people who eat human flesh.[25] (cited in Hulme 1998:16)

Other fragments of Chanca's letter state "there we found a great quantity of men's bones and skulls hung up about the houses like vessels to hold things" (cited in Jane 1988:30), while further evidence consisted of gnawed bones and the neck of a man cooking in a pot. The account was embellished by subsequent authors. Peter Martyr, for instance, "pluralised the location, gave the houses kitchens, added pieces of human flesh broached on a spit ready for roasting and, for good measure, threw in the head of a young boy hanging from a beam and still soaked in blood" (Hulme 1998:18).[26] In this sense, the cannibal banquet became "a macabre version of the feast of abundance" (Vignolo 2005:166).

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[25] Hulme himself questions the relevance of Chanca's supposed evidence. On the one hand, Chanca's status as a medical doctor provided him with the authority to make such claims. But on the other, he was not a member of the landing party for this expedition. In fact, he was reporting second-hand what was told to him (see Hulme 1998:17).

[26] This discourse persisted in more recent accounts. An 1892 volume described the cannibal scene under the following fanciful terms:

> It was in this village of Guadaloupe that they first discovered the ravages and wrecks of cannibalism. Human bones were plentifully scattered about the houses. In the kitchens were found skulls in use as bowls and vases. In some of the houses the evidences of man-eating were still more vividly and horribly present. The Spaniards entered apartments which were veritable human butcher-shops. Heads and limbs of men and women were hung up on the walls or suspended from the rafters, in some instances dripping with blood, and, as if to add, if that were possible, to the horror of the scene, dead parrots, geese, dogs and iguanas were hung up without discrimination or preference with the fragments of human bodies. In a pot some pieces of a human limb were boiling, so that with these several evidences it was manifest that cannibalism was not an incidental fact, but a common usage, well established and approved in the life of the islanders. (cited in Hulme 1998:18-19)

The importance of cannibal culinary skills also became a frequent point of discussion. European explorers repeatedly emphasised the culinary methods through which the cannibals prepared their dishes. The invention of cannibal kitchens, utensils and cooking techniques imagined by Martyr signals an interest in the materiality of the cannibal cooking processes. But more importantly, it evidences a discursive need to assimilate the new through the familiar. Hence, the relation between indigenous war-making and culinary techniques mirrors what Bakhtin has called the relation between "a [European] fighting temperament (war, battles) and the kitchen" (1984:193). In battle, the knight was seen as a systematic "anatomiser" that dismembered and transformed human bodies into "minced meat" (1984:194). So what exactly were these cannibal culinary practices as depicted by European visual discourses?

Figs. 5.20 and 5.21. Doesborch, J. van. *Family of Cannibals*, 1509; anon. *Caribes*, 1504

Smoked human limbs hanging from rafters above a fire appear repeatedly in the earlier images of the New World cannibal (figs. 5.20 and 5.21). Hanging body parts, in general, became a trope for cannibalism and, in some images, its main emblem (fig. 5.22). Accompanying descriptions emphasised the graphic effect of the human body part hanging like a ham: "I saw in the houses human flesh salted and hanging from the beams, as we do with bacon and pork. I will say more: they are astonished that we do not kill our enemies and do not use their flesh, which they say is delicious, in foods" (Vespucci cited in Reding Blase 1994:53). This attribution of typically European culinary practices with the added special ingredient of human meat points to what Lestringant has described as "the legendary" reduced "to a scandalous familiarity" (1997:24). The domestic setting in which these scenes take place further

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accentuates this idea. The figures eating these human pieces are represented as part of a family nucleus where the conviviality between mother, father and child adds an extra dimension of meaning to the hanging limbs in the background.
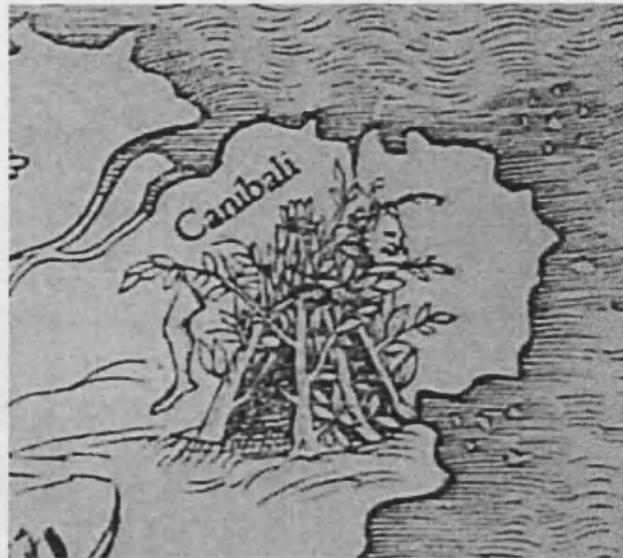

Fig. 5.22. Münster, S. Canibali, in *Cosmographia*, 1552

Moreover, these European depictions of New World customs were quite intent on presenting human *limbs* and *heads* hanging from beams as opposed to, say, a human *torso*. This may be due to the immediate recognisability of these body parts. It is much easier for the eye to recognise a hanging arm or leg than a hanging torso, given the body part as a "rhetorical trope of synecdoche" in which the part is taken as the whole (Hillman & Mazzio 1997:xiii). It is precisely this recognisability through synecdoche that highlights the visual paradox of the simultaneously human and animal, alive and dead.

Yet the tendency to present arms, legs and heads over other body parts also responds to a much more recognisable iconographical trope, that of the devotional figures and relics so common in medieval forms of Christianity. As Sawday explains (1995), the practice of dispersed burials by the nobility and the veneration of the body parts of saints were quite common before the sixteenth century and corresponded to a belief system in which the division of corpses was legitimate when done for religious ends. Thus, the veneration of saints and their body parts through relics demonstrates the major role the body played "as a signifier, commodity, object of worship and source of magical power" (Grantley & Taunton 2000:5). This further confirmed the Pauline view of the Christian body: "as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ" (cited

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in Hillman & Mazzio 1997:xiii). The cannibal body fragment, when depicted within this frame of reference, becomes doubly scandalous. It functions on the assumption of familiarity with a well-established religious iconographical trope yet, in doing so, it further stresses the godlessness of these savage peoples.

Figs. 5.23 and 5.24. Anon., *Canibales*, 16th century; Collaert, J., Americus Vespuccius, in *Americae retectio*, 1585

The human fragment skewered on a spit became an even more spectacular way of representing cannibal practices. The piercing of human flesh further reduced the body part to helplessness, a visual trope that was used repeatedly in illustrations throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (figs. 5.23, 5.24, and 5.25). In fact, according to some European accounts, indigenous Americans did not really prepare the ritual cannibal meats in this fashion:

> I shall here refute the error of those who, in their maps of the world, have represented and painted the Brazilian savages roasting human flesh on a spit, as we cook mutton legs and other meat; furthermore, they have also falsely shown them cutting it with great iron knives on benches, and hanging up the meat for display, as our beef butchers do over here. (Léry 1990:126)[27]

However, such was the richness of meaning of this trope that, in spite of it being ethnographically inaccurate, it became one of the distinguishing cannibal attributes of America in Collaert's *Americae retectio* (fig. 5.24).

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[27] Actually, in Léry's account the Amerindians found the idea of roasting on a spit hilarious: "They were so ignorant of our way of roasting meat that one day [...] when some of my companions and I were cooking a guinea hen with some other poultry on a spit, they laughed at us, and, seeing the meat continually turn, refused to believe that it would cook" (1990:127).

Fig. 5.25. van der Aa, P., Tamoyes ou mangeurs d'hommes en Amérique, in *La galerie agréable du monde*, 1729

This trope probably persisted throughout several hundred years because it expressed the defencelessness of the cannibalised body in a very graphic visual manner that merged discourses of familiarity (European modes of cooking) with the horror of bodily disintegration (the body pierced and roasted). Following Nochlin (1994), the impact of this image resided in a very simple yet "utterly original formal means: consigning the human elements to the realm of the horizontal" (1994:20). However, this horizontal realm was not the realm of the butcher's counter, as analysed above. Actually, while the skewer running through the human body part emphasised the horizontal passivity of the lifeless body, the real dramatic impact of the body on a spit derives from the physicality of the *piercing* of the body by the skewer. Beyond its probable associations with the iconography of war and battle, the crucial combination of the elements of horizontality and piercing suggest the importance of materiality and physicality in European representations of cannibalism. For McClintock, "the dismembered leg roasting on a spit evokes a disordering of the body so catastrophic as to be fatal" (1995:26). This fatality, material and symbolic, became the obsession of many European illustrators, perhaps achieving its highest degree of hyperbole in van der Aa's 1729 *Tamoyes* (fig. 5.25). In this image, one skewer is not enough to express the savagery of the voracious cannibal. Two, three skewers must be put to the flame in order to satisfy the appetite of the gluttonous Tamoye.

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Fig. 5.26. Staden, H. [Vignette], in *True History of His Captivity...*, 1557

A more accurate way of depicting cannibal culinary practices was used alongside the image of the spit. The trope of the barbecue, a means of cooking originally invented by the Caribs, was another highly effective way of displaying bodily pieces. This device, a series of branches constructed in a grid over a fire, was consistently used to accentuate the visuality and, consequently, the spectacularity of the cannibal scene (figs. 5.26 and 5.27). In most of these representations, the viewer's eyesight is slightly raised above the horizontal line of the barbecue, resulting in an artificial point of view that is inaccurate in terms of perspective but creates a spectacular effect of display of human fragments as "slices of helpless meat, ripped out of context" (Williams cited in Sawday 1995:11). This artificial point of view stresses the grotesqueness of the scene, whereby the picture of dismemberment allows the body parts to become symbolically enlarged and isolated from the rest of the scene. Interestingly enough, an alternative version of the barbecue scene varies significantly from this. In van der Aa's version (fig. 5.28), the visibility of the body pieces is altered through a change in perspective. The eye is placed at the level of the crawling, therefore animalesque, women in the foreground. These figures are avidly stealing morsels of meat from the cooking joints on the barbecue, in all likelihood licking up the fat that drips off them. In this shift in discourse, van der Aa has chosen to emphasise the melodrama of the ritual. Instead of concentrating on the fragmented-ness of the body part, he focuses on excess: the huge billows of smoke from the fire, the copious body pieces strewn on the floor in the foreground, the plentiful figures in the background returning from battle and at war. In this engraving, the cannibal barbecue ceased to be the site of display of fragmented bodies and became, instead, a lugubrious smoke-filled scene straight out of Dante's *Inferno*.

Fig. 5.27. de Bry, T., Anthropophagie rituelle des Tupinambas, in *Americae tertia pars*, 1592

Fig. 5.28. van der Aa, P., Ennemis pris en guerre, rotis et mangez dans le Brésil, in *La galerie agréable du monde*, 1729

5.3 Body of knowledge: the cannibal comes undone

Early modern images of the body were, in fact, very hard to separate from theological discourses. The human body was in many instances considered an earthly imitation of the Christological body. In Christian discourses, God's flesh was in itself textual, "a text written upon with universal characters, inscribed with a language that all men could understand since it was a language in and of the body itself, independent of any

particular forms of speech" (Greenblatt 1997:223). Hence, in the search for this inscribed text, early modern iconography made particular emphasis on the bodily interior. As described by Hillman, "Christ's wounds, blood, heart, bowels became a near-obsessive topic, [as were] numerous late medieval and early modern stories of the incorruptible innards of saints and the images literally inscribed on their hearts" (1997:85).

In time, the interior of the human body was at the centre of a discursive change that shifted from the conceptualisation of the interior as the "ontological site of belief" (Hillman 1997:86) to an emerging understanding of it as an "epistemological site of growing medical and anatomical knowledge" (1997:86). These two modes of knowledge conflicted within the body's interior, for one implied the negation of the other. The American cannibal was caught up in the middle of this shift. Formerly built up through aesthetic idealisation, hyperbole and fragmentation, the cannibal was now removed from the butcher's block and placed on the anatomy table in order to become the subject of a new body of knowledge.

Skin and entrails

In the first frame of the engraving, a nude cannibal holds a head up to his face and drinks the blood that drips from it. The next scene depicts the cannibal holding up a human arm and shoulder in triumph. In the third vignette, the cannibal walks, a flayed man with skinned draped over his shoulder in the manner of a cape. Lastly, the cannibal, devoid of all musculature promenades himself as a skeleton. This 1615 engraving by Jacquard (pl. 5.4) depicts, frame by frame, all the steps of the dancing cannibal's striptease of his fleshy condition. Echoing the Léry engraving which showed a scarified Tupi cannibal (pl. 5.2), the importance of skin resounds in this engraving. The skin delimits, places a barrier between the interior of the body and the outside world. Its rupture, or its complete removal, implies a break with the notion of the classical body as a body of pure surfaces. In the search for the interior, the flaying and evisceration of the body classical represented a move towards the body interior via Bakhtin's body grotesque.

A change in the representational regimes of the period resulted, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, in a "pictorial art [that] featured more and more representations of flayed bodies" (Bohde 2003:10). In all likelihood a development

from early modern practices of dismembering and evisceration in religious contexts, the recurring depictions of bodily interiors during this period are evidence of a turn in the episteme. It was no longer sufficient to consider the body exterior and its movements as the only way of accessing the soul. A newfound medical curiosity impelled the scholars of the time to search for further truths *within* the body. Hence, the first frontier to be crossed was that of the skin.

The trope of the *écorché*, the flayed body, was frequent in anatomical illustrations of the period. In these depictions, the human subject has been dissected, his skin removed, but he is animated, he gives "the impression of still being alive" (Bohde 2003:11). This signalled the conceptualisation of the skin as "a protective but removable covering" (2003:25). However, that did not mean that the skin was considered useless. In fact, the human subject, "skinned and faceless" became an anonymous body, his identity once carried in the skin now destroyed, making him "a nameless *écorché*" (2003:25).

These typifications responded to a well established hierarchy of the outer and the inner, of the limits between the core and the shell. "Depth and superficiality [became] the paradigm which [shaped] the epistemological model not just in the Renaissance but also of modern science" (Bohde 2003:19). Hence, truth was understood as something lying within the body, "in the interior, hidden by a surface sheath, which one [had] to penetrate" (2003:19). Consequently, the body entered the "domain of the careful gaze", through which empirical vigilance was "receptive only to the evidence of visible contents" (Foucault 1973:xiii). Hence, the function of the gaze was to render the body "transparent for the exercise of the mind" (Foucault 1973:xiii). In this context, the skin became a veil or, in the case of the cannibal, a cape. It was a covering of the body that responded to the inner movements of the soul with all the poetic implications explored in the first section of this chapter. The penetrating gaze was as dependent on a conception of the body as layers of veils, reminiscent of Alberti's pathos of movement in Renaissance aesthetics, as it was on the proto-scientific gaze.

Yet there were other much less subtle ways of representing the search for the interior. In the *corpus* of visual representations of American cannibalism, eviscerations reign galore (figs. 5.29 and 5.30). The slaughterhouse image of the tripe being collected in order to be cooked was a reduction of the human body to its animalesque state by highlighting the rhetorical negation of the importance of the interior as the seat of the soul. For Bakhtin, "the tripe, stomach, intestines are the

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bowels, the belly, the very life of man" (1984:163). Simultaneously, the tripe was "linked to death, slaughter, murder, since to disembowel is to kill" (1984:163). Hence, evisceration was a trope that functioned on the conception of the tripe as the paradoxical site of both animality and humanity.

Figs. 5.29 and 5.30. Cousin, J./Thévet, A. Comme les sauvages rotissent leurs ennemies, in *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique*, 1558; Heemskerk, M. von, *Antehac Humanis vescente carnibus...*, 1556

Furthermore, this paradoxical duality was part of the belief that virtue and sin literally inhabited bodily viscera in a quasi textual sense: the virtues and sins of an individual would become inscribed in his interior organs (Hillman 1997). Thus, this "drive to access the interior of the body of the other" was motivated by the belief that the "entrails [were] where the other's innermost truth [was] imagined to be located", making the body interior "a decisive place [for] the comprehension of subjectivity" (Hillman 1997:82).

In many cases, representations of evisceration had more practical and immediate uses that built on these discourses of subjectivity. Evisceration as a propagandistic trope for depicting the pinnacle of torture can be seen in several engravings of Christian martyrdom. Testa's etching of the martyrdom of Saint Erasmus (fig. 5.31) is a good example of a European obsession with viscera. The ultimate violation that could be enacted upon the human body was the piercing of the skin and the subsequent extraction of the innards (in Saint Erasmus's case, the torture is extra-gory as his intestines were then rolled onto a spindle). In any case, this trope was then transplanted to the American context. In van der Aa's *L'offrande* (fig. 5.32), the victims of human sacrifice are presented with pierced bellies, their viscera peeping

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out from the inside. This equalling of the saint's martyrdom to the sacrificial victims of a 'pagan' religion demonstrates that the discursive workings at play allowed for the same visual trope to be applied in two completely different scenarios in order to exploit the effectiveness of this image.

Fig. 5.31. Testa, P. *The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus*, 1630

Fig. 5.32. van der Aa, P., L'offrande ci-devant des Hommes vivans aux Idoles sur l'Ile "Sacrificios", in *La galerie agréable du monde*, 1729

If the skin covering the cannibal can be understood as a layer that veils the movements of the interior, Jacquard's cannibal dance (pl. 5.4) simultaneously represents the triumph and conquest of the cannibal body. In this series, the American cannibal exhibits his body in several stages of undress. In the first two vignettes of strip 6, the cannibal body is depicted through the classical canon, with particular emphasis on his proportions and musculature. Initially, he is effectively all surface, statuesque in his corporeality. Yet as the images progress, he becomes literally and metaphorically stripped of his veils, reduced to a deathly figure reminiscent of Holbein the Younger's *Dances of Death* (c. 1538). Strips 7 and 9 elaborate on this visual narrative. A Praxitelean skeleton blows a horn and carries a scythe, an attribute associated to Saturn and Death. Next to him, a flayed man holds a bow and arrow, the use of which is then dramatically enacted. by another skeleton and *écorché*, respectively. Strip 9 "re-dresses" the cannibal with flesh and skin and, for good measure, presents him interacting vigorously with several body fragments.

This engraving, profuse in symbols and allusions, makes reference to the genre of the Battle of the Nudes (fig. 5.33). Linked to Renaissance developments in dissection practices, this genre was related to new types of visual discourses that had promoted the artist's familiarisation with the human skeleton and *écorché*. In Pollaiuolo's engraving, for example, the expression of the muscles is so exaggeratedly emphasised that he likely "depicted the muscles that he knew existed rather than those that he could actually see" (Laneyrie-Dagen 2004:156). Furthermore, this genre was consistently used to exemplify the artist's skills in representing human movement, which is why Jacquard's cannibal stretches and contorts himself so. For Sawday (1995), this way of representing the body was the result of Baroque delight in strain and contortion, such that one could perceive the human body "in movement [...in] a transitory state" (1995:119). Jacquard's representation of the American cannibal through this genre was, thus, an exercise in both faithfully depicting the body-*material* while simultaneously achieving a depiction of the cannibal *anima* in movement.
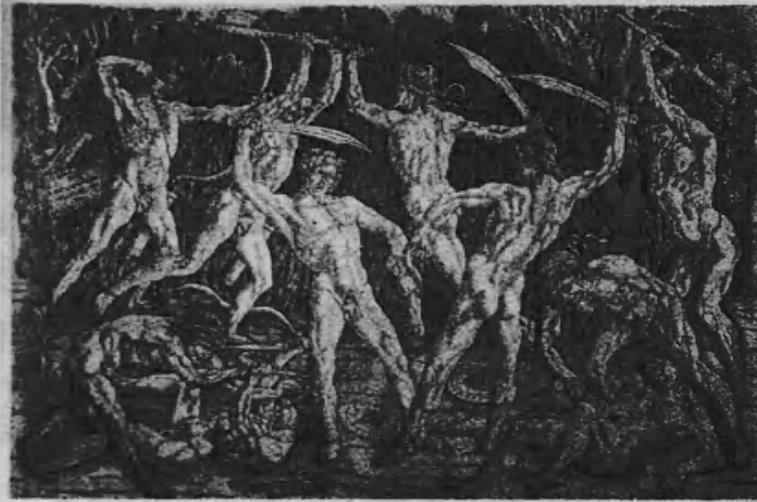
Fig. 5.33. Pollaiuolo, A. *Battle of the Nudes*, 1470

This display of the artist's skills was not a merely formal demonstration of prowess. For Bohde (2003), the correct knowledge of the inner body served to enhance the metaphysical status of the artist's work. A penetration to the depths of the body was practiced "in order to obtain new knowledge of the nature of the human" (2003:20). Hence, artists were "no longer compelled to illustrate the body from outside, but now comprehended the inner principles of the body's construction" (2003:21). An artist's capacity to reproduce the visible interior design of the body also aspired to imitate metaphysical *disegno*, in the context of an episteme that equalled the artist to God in both their capacities for metaphysical creation. In this sense, the capacity to achieve pictorial representations of reality imitated "God's original moment of creation in all its detail" (Sawday 1995:96).

However, other understandings of the body-interior revealed a much more conflictive relationship between the inside and the outside. If the body-interior was understood as a Bakhtian grotesque and the seat of sin, then the direct encounter with this interior "revealed a vista of an alternative (and dangerous) mode of existence in which the marginal, the low, the antirationalistic, reigns supreme. This, then, was the new battlefield in which the body-soul struggle was now to take place" (Sawday 1995:19-20). To go inside the body meant to "undertake a journey into a corrupt world of mortality and decay; it became a voyage into the very heart of the principle of spiritual dissolution" (Sawday 1995:21). Consequently, "the malfunction of the body" (1995:21) was a spiritual problem more than a physiological one that had to be resolved through the aid of reason. Citing Alibert:

> when philosophy brought its torch into the midst of civilised peoples, it was at
> last permitted to cast one's searching gaze upon the inanimate remains of the

human body, and these fragments, once the vile prey of worms, became the fruitful source of the most useful truths. (cited in Foucault 1973:125).

While Jacquard's series predates the Enlightenment, it prefigures many of the ideas that would be set in motion in a European culture of reason. Rationality, and its corresponding production of a body of knowledge, gave rise to practices through which "the opening of the human body was considered a central act in the obtainment of knowledge" (Hillman 1997:83). Hence, the body's secrets and its grotesque nature became "the objects of a reifying science, one that turned corporeal insides into a visible spectacle" (1997:83). For Foucault, this *penetrating* gaze moved from the vertical, the symptomatic surface, to the depths of the body, "plunging from the manifest to the hidden" (1973:135). As such, anatomical knowledge became a practice of transformation from opaqueness to transparency. In Foucault's words, "knowledge *develops* in accordance with a whole interplay of *envelopes*; the hidden element takes on the form and rhythm of the hidden content, which means that, like a *veil*, it is *transparent*" (1973:166). As in the Renaissance aesthetic, the veil on the surface of the body became the body in veils, its transparency bringing the observer closer to the unveiling of the soul.

Accordingly, this produced a particular type of subject of knowledge. The individual was no longer a subject in a solely historic or aesthetic order, but subordinated to "the task of the language of things to authorise a knowledge of the individual" (Foucault 1973:xiv). In other words, the "concrete individual" was opened up "to the language of rationality" (1973:xiv). In Sawday's view (1995), the best example of this in visual discourses was the genre of anatomical paintings popular during the seventeenth century. These, he claims, had as their primary objective, "to proclaim the absolutely unambiguous subjection of the mortal body to scientific and political power" (1995:4). In this context, it is important to stress the provenance of the anatomical corpse. In most cases, the corpses that were dissected in anatomical theatres were the bodies of criminal or social pariahs that were brought in fresh from their places of execution. Hence, the anatomical corpse was "enmeshed in meaningful religious and juridical ritual" (Bohde 2003:29). Anatomical dissection, and its corresponding portrayal through visual texts, was a potent reminder that "the remnant of a deviant 'will', a potential threat to the social fabric [could be] mastered by rational power" (Sawday 1995:152). Hence, the body-anatomised is the body of the marginal, its site occupied by the criminal from the scaffold and the cannibal from overseas. In a sense, it was obvious for Jacquard to dissect the cannibal, for the threat

he presented to "the moral fabric of the social order" had to be subjected to "the most extreme and rational violence" (Sawday 1995:153). For anatomical dissection was not "a delicate separation of constituent structures" (Sawday 1995:1); it epitomised "the violent and extreme side of curiosity: discovery by destruction" (Egmond & Zwinnenberg 2003:5). Following Reding Blase's argument that "the praxis of domination used by Cortés in his conquest of Mexico [was] to know in order to destroy" (1992:81), Jacquard's cannibal is the epitome of the inverse: to destroy in order to know.

Territory

The flaying of the cannibal in order to subject his body to European knowledge was an act of possession. Just as the naming of things indicates the possession of them, the visual representation of the American body became a proof of possession through knowledge. Discursively, this conquest of the marginal body was analogous to the conquest of unknown territory, in a regime of knowledge that conceptualised the body as geography.

In early Christian cosmology, the Christian hemisphere of the *orbis terrarum* was understood as a representation of the body of Christ: "the head is in heaven, upward, to the orient, as in Arab and medieval cartography. The arms point to the north and south, showing the ecumenical dimension. The feet indicate the unknown occident, the inferior and, of course, hell" (Reding Blase 1992:10). This tripartite visualisation of the world came into question after the voyages of discovery. As "there was no space left for America", it became "relegated to [the symbolic territories of] hell" (Reding Blase 1992:10):

> Saint Hilario and Maluenda say that in the word Hell he meant to signify our antipods and Americans, which were as if hidden or buried under the lowest of such chasms of seas and lands that, relative to ours, with all propriety can be called hellish. (Solórzano Pereira cited in Reding Blase 1992:10)

Subsequently, the body-interior revealed by anatomical dissection assimilated this Christological understanding of the body as geography. The body was conceptualised as "a geographical entity" (Sawday 1995:23) that could be explored like an "undiscovered country, a location which demanded from its explorers skills which seemed analogous to those displayed by the heroic voyagers across the terrestrial globe" (1995:23). As Sawday (1995) argues, colonialism and the discovery

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of the body complemented each other given that both were "informed by the vocabulary of discovery and appropriation" (1995:26). Discourses on America were appropriated by discourses on the body, in such a way that "America became synonymous with the triumph of the human imagination as it strove to unravel passages which seemed to become ever more tortuous" (1995:28). Hence, the body became America and America-as-body became subject to European discourses of space and time.
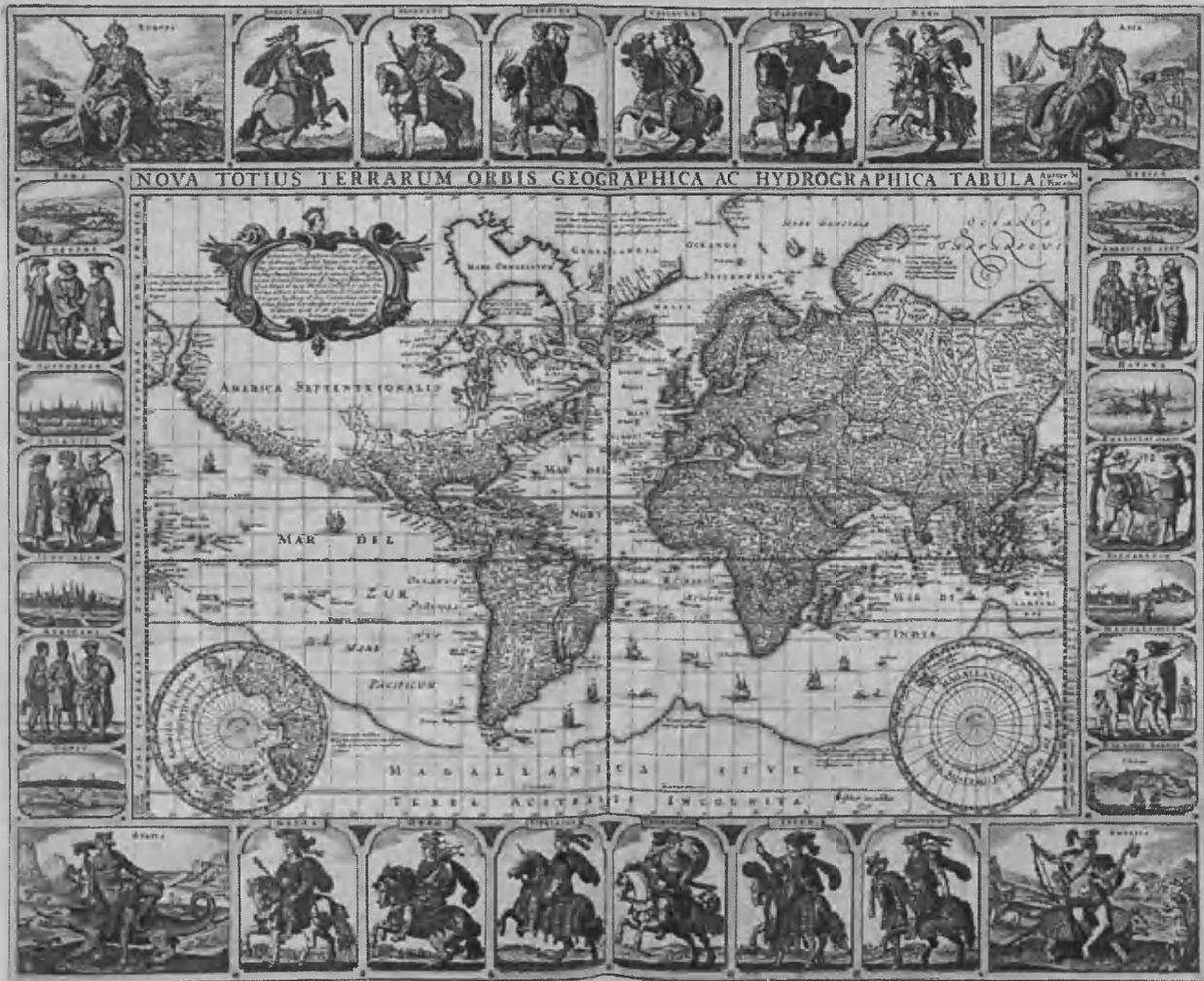
Pl. 6.1. Visscher, N. *Nova totius terrarum orbis*, 1652

Pl. 6.2. Philiponus, H. Flotte des vaisseaux espagnoles et papaux attaquée par des
Indiens d'Amérique anthropophages, in *Nova Typis* transacta, 1621

Pl. 6.3. Passe, C. de., *Saturnus*, 1600

Pl. 6.4. Geyn, G. de., *L'Amérique/America; L'Europe/Europe*, ca. 1608

Chapter Six. Space/Time

In the following chapter, the discursive links between European views of the cosmos and European representations of cannibalism in the New World are explored. In these representations, American cannibals were frequently depicted in particular spatial and temporal settings that reinforced their discursive othering. Following the two conceptual axes of space and time, this chapter will explore how these settings served to further the distancing between the European 'self' and the cannibal 'other'. Moreover, it will emphasise the role that these two axes played in the development of different forms of colonial practices and discourses on the Americas. The first section of the chapter will look at the way that the world was viewed purely in terms of the spatial discourses prevailing throughout the early modern and modern periods. It will particularly emphasise the development of cartography and analyse the two different representational scales (cosmographical and chorographical) used to produce maps of the world. It will also describe and analyse the hierarchical placing of elements within the format of maps and how the use of these hierarchies as compositional devices served to reinforce colonial discourses. The second section will address the conjunction of space and time in the representations of American cannibalism. While discourses on space were fundamental in developing colonial practices, rarely were they completely isolated from temporal or narrative inflexions. This section will explore the ways of depicting the cannibal territory through time and narrative. The third section will look at the relationship between representations of cannibalism and European conceptualisations of time. In particular, it will analyse the relationship established between the Latin American cannibal and the mythological figure of Saturn, the Roman god of time. Furthermore, it will explore the distancing of the cannibal in terms of time, with a special focus on the denial of cotemporaneity as a form of strategic othering. Finally, the fourth section will explore the representational discourses that attempted to go *beyond* the axes of time and space through the use of allegory as a rhetorical trope of spatial-temporal abstraction.

6.1 Space

As sketched out at the end of the previous chapter, the correlation between the body and the world was a close one in European discourses. This was the result of the

belief, common among medieval and early modern European thinkers, that there is an intrinsic relationship between the microcosm and the macrocosm. In this view, the human form was conceived as a "little world" and, respectively, the world took the shape of a "great man" (Mignolo 1995:228). This way of representing the world anthropocentrically is especially palpable in Christian depictions of the world. Taking the human body – in the symbolic form of the body of Christ – as a unit for establishing coordinates, the four main directions necessary for mapping out space were the head and feet pointing to the east and west respectively, and the extended arms indicating the north and south of the world. This correspondence between body and world was understood as a consequence of the movement of the sun from east to west, given that "Christian cosmology located the east (sunrise) next to Christ's head, where Paradise was also placed" (Mignolo 1995:228). Importantly, Jerusalem and Christ's navel coincided, justifying "the metaphor 'the navel of the world' given to a place that is at the same time the centre of the human body and the centre of the cosmos" (Mignolo 1995:228). As Bakhtin (1984) explains, the transfer of the world from the vertical between the underworld and the heavens to the horizontal of the human dimension was achieved through the placement of the human body at the relative centre of the cosmos. Hence, the cosmos no longer moved along a bottom to top axis, but also along a horizontal line of time from past to future.

This ordering of the world according to Christian valorisations of space is most clearly exemplified by the medieval T/O maps. Called T/O because of their name (*orbis terrae*) and their shape, which resembles a T juxtaposed on an O (fig. 6.1 and 6.1a), this kind of map was a synthetic representation of European conceptualisations of the world at that period. It functioned as a diagram which represented the world as a disc divided into one half (Asia) and two quarters (Europe and Africa), a symbolic depiction of what Ovid had termed *triplex mundus* (Honour 1975; Mason 1990). In terms of Christian cosmology, this tripartite division of the world was related to the biblical narrative of the Earth as peopled after the Deluge by the three sons of Noah: Shem (Asia), Japheth (Europe) and Ham (Africa) (Mason 1990; Whitfield 1994). Christ's 'navel', the city of Jerusalem, was located at the meeting point of the crossbar and stem of the T in the map. This configuration of the world, crucial to medieval and early modern European understandings of the world, was a consistently stable symbol that permitted an intertwining of spatial knowledges and Christian narratives. It served to explain the world in terms of territory through a Eurocentric conception of spatiality and to provide a sense of narrative-historical continuity that positioned

Europe at the centre of world events. However, the forthcoming 'discovery' of the as-yet-to-be-named Americas would disrupt the existing tripartite division of the world. As Mason explains, the "closed stable cosmology of antiquity and the Middle Ages gave way to the challenge of discovering what was beyond the limits of the known world" (1990:18).

Figs. 6.1 and 6.1a. From Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, 12th century; a modern reconstruction of a T/O map

For Mignolo (1995), it was not until the mid-sixteenth century that the world map began to take on the spatial configuration that has persisted until our day. This change in paradigm, brought on by the encounter with the Americas, was not exclusively the result of a quest to find more accurate ways of representing the shape of the earth. In fact, it was "also related to controlling territories and colonising the imagination of people on both sides of the Atlantic" (1995:281). In other words, it was "economic expansion, technology, and power, rather than truth [that] characterised European cartography early on" (1995:281).[28] Actually, the development of a European image of the world was the result of a patchwork of knowledges that incorporated many disparate bits of information and attempted to meld them into a coherent whole. Thus, "misunderstanding went together with colonisation [and] once something was declared new and the printing press consolidated [it]" (1995:259), more potentially accurate depictions of the Americas tended to be set aside.

In this sense, America was the focus of two different yet complementary discourses on spatiality. At this period, an epistemic shift was taking place, one that

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[28] However, this process was anything but straightforward. The way in which the cosmographer's *atelier* functioned contributed to this. As Greenblatt (1994) explains, the production of cosmographies and *mappae mundi* was the result of collaborative performances that took place in the context of collective workshops. Furthermore, issues of competition between European countries meant that often the information for world atlases was obtained clandestinely by printers as authorities were typically not willing to release privileged information about the Americas (Crone 1969).

would come to privilege issues of distance over the fundamental directions of space (east, west, north and south). The latter, privileged by the medieval T/O maps, slowly became incorporated into a different way of conceiving space in terms of distance; hence, scale became the operative concept between these two complementary paradigms (Lestringant 1994). Concepts of spatiality oscillated between *place* understood as chorography and *space* understood as geography or cosmography (Mignolo 1995). More specifically, this means that there were two different representational systems put into play, one for depicting towns or regions and one for portraying larger territories or the world. Using a metaphor, Ptolemy explained these shifts in scale by suggesting that depicting on a geographical scale was akin to depicting a head, for example, while the chorographical scale was equivalent to the depiction of one of its parts, be it the eyes, the ears, the nose, or the like. Apianus, in his *Cosmographia* (1539), illustrates this by presenting a large scale map next to a human head and then comparing it with the map of a town next to the design of a human ear (fig. 6.2).
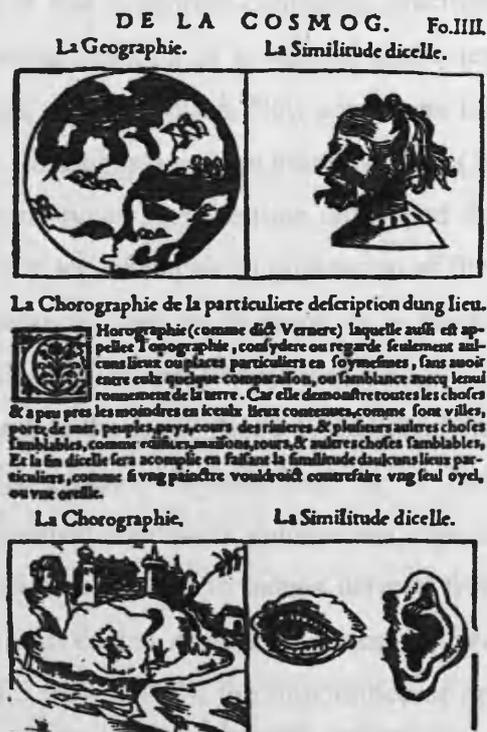

Fig. 6.2. From Apianus's *Cosmographia*, 1539

The chorographical scale, therefore, based itself on the depiction of regional detail; this permitted the semantic inclusion of past events, local legends and traditions into the mapping of a region. In Lestringant's words, this system of representation

served as a "genuine 'art of memory'" (1994:3) given that the regional map it produced was a "fragmented receptacle of local legends and traditions that were rooted in vagaries of relief, hidden in folds of terrain, and readable in toponymy and folklore" (1994:4). Cosmography, on the other hand, was based on a representational system that did away with relief, detail and the particular features of the land in order to better represent magnitudes of distance. Consequently, the simplified representation of territories through cosmography "pointed in the direction of an immediate intellection, an instantaneous possession" (1994:21). Rather than consisting of a direct interaction between mapmaker and territory, cosmography implied "the mediation of a theoretical model and a recognised scientific tradition" (1994.:26) and was, consequently, at the very centre of the epistemic regimes of European colonialism.


Signs of possession

Europe's encounter with the Americas was accompanied by a series of representational strategies that supported colonising practices and actions. One such strategy was the continuous marking of newfound territories in the context of what can be termed a semiotics of colonisation. New areas were instantly 'baptised', as can be surmised throughout Columbus's voyage journals. Seed (1993) has studied the way in which different colonial powers of the time developed different types of signs in order to take symbolic (on top of physical) possession of the new lands. Columbus's naming fervour, for instance, was an example of a particularly Spanish form of establishing imperial authority. Hence, this symbolic act is a form of ritual speech that "undertakes the remaking of the land" (Seed 1993:122). While the physical territory remains the same, "its essence is redefined by a new name" (1993:122).[29] Characteristically for Spanish modes of colonialism, the naming of topographical features in the New World responded to names derived from a Christian (Catholic) framework (Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles, Sacramento, Vera Cruz, San Salvador) (Seed 1993). In Mason's view (1990), the importance of naming further lies in the function of names to interlock with other systems of knowledge, such as chronological

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[29] In other cases, the Spanish 'naming' of territories was subject to amusing cultural misunderstandings. When a Spanish expedition landed on the coasts of modern day Yucatán in 1588, they asked the inhabitants of the region what the region was called. They responded "uic athan", which in their language meant "what do you speak" or "we do not understand you". From this expression, the Spaniards derived the phonetical equivalent and named the region Yuc-atán. In Greenblatt's words, "the Maya expression of incomprehension becomes the colonial name of the land that is wrested from them" (1991:104).

or topographical epistemes, "which all contribute to the establishment of the 'reality' of a particular imaginary world" (1990:17). Hence, the semiotics of colonialism contributes to the 'reality effects' of that particular system of representation.

Representational strategies for taking possession of the land varied across the different nations taking possession. The French would raise a cross with a shield bearing the fleur-de-lis and Portuguese explorers would erect stone pillars bearing the royal arms (Seed 1993). However, it was clear that these strategies were aimed not at the native inhabitants of the newfound lands, but as clear and comprehensible signs directed at competing European imperial powers. In 1501, Queen Isabella of Spain ordered that landmarks be placed "with the coat of arms of their Highnesses, or with other known signs [...] in order to obstruct the English from discovery" (cited in Seed 1993:118). This way of 'branding' the American lands was fully illustrated in the portulan maps of the period. The Homen (1519) and Vaulx (1613) maps (figs. 6.3 and 6.4), for example, typify the function of emblems in the repartition of the New World. Acting as markers, much like the stone pillars raised in the actual territories, the coats of arms of Portugal and Spain are juxtaposed over the newly conquered lands in a claim of possession fully supported by a colonial cultural framework that was based on the display of *signs* of dominance. In much the same way that coats of arms functioned as emblematic signifiers of possession to be understood in a European context, the cannibal figure became a marker of unknown, exotic, and dangerous spaces in the New World.
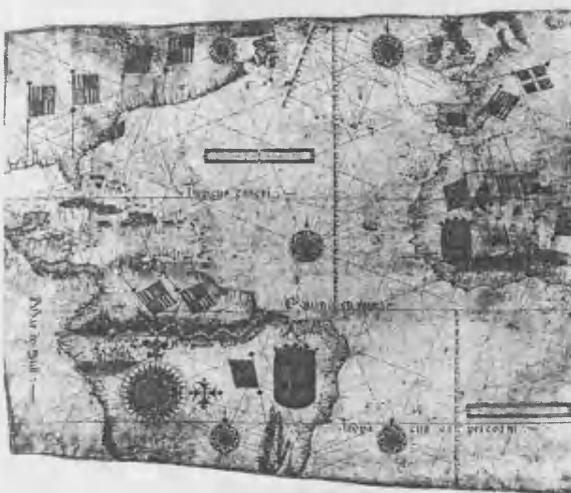
Figs. 6.3 and 6.4. Homen, L. [*Mappa mundi*], 1519; Vaulx, P. de, *Map of South America*, 1613

At the time of the first expeditions to colonise America, European discourses of spatiality fluctuated between the chorographical and the cosmographical scale, as mentioned above. In fact, the very organisation of the atlases and cosmographies of the period reflected this. For example, Münster's *Cosmographia* (1552 edition) opens with detailed descriptions of European regions, presenting a great number of European towns depicted on a chorographical scale (fig. 6.5). These initial images are full of detail and constantly make use of emblems and symbols in order to incorporate all the available spatial and temporal knowledges about the region into the map. As Münster moves away from well-known regions, the level of detail and topographical information becomes more limited.[30] As can be expected, given the lack of information about America at this point in time, the section on the New World is based on pieces of information incorporated into the text as it arrived from overseas. A great example of European knowledges oscillating between the chorographical and the cosmographical, Münster's compilation is a combination of the specific (Europe portrayed in utmost detail) and emblematic (the use of abstract symbols to represent kingdoms, woods, ports) with the general, unknown and, therefore, fantastic. The further Münster moves away from Europe's centre, the more generalisations and fanciful illustrations are present.

Fig. 6.5. Münster, S., Warzburg, in *Cosmographia*, 1552

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[30] The first continent, other than Europe, that is presented in the book is Asia, which is represented in more detail the closer it is to Europe, and in less detail the further removed the territories are. After Asia, Africa is presented, again with a clearer focus on the Maghreb and other areas adjoining Europe. Finally, a small section is reserved for "the New World" at the end of the book.

This kind of movement between the particular and the general responds to an inherent tension between centre and margin in conceptualisations of space. The privileging of the centre is, as Mignolo (1995) explains, the outcome of a system of meaning that is based on cultures thinking of themselves at the centre of the world. Termed the 'Omphalos syndrome', it refers to the belief held by certain peoples that they have been divinely appointed. Hence, the Omphalos syndrome incorporates the importance of the body as a primary site for defining concepts of space given that it is based on "the body as the model of the cosmos and the *axis mundi* is related to a sacred place as the centre of the world" (Mignolo 1995:227). In sum, the privileging of the centre was prominent in European conceptualisations of space and had been handed down from a medieval legacy that placed Jerusalem at the centre of the world. This was supported by European conceptualisations of the *oikoumene*,[31] which confined the human race to known lands, while imagining in unknown territories "benighted races waiting to receive the Gospel and that it was the duty of Christians to carry the Word to them" (Crone 1969:4). Therefore, the ways of understanding space in an early modern European context were the result of a conceptual baggage inherited from the Middle Ages that consistently related Europe to a colonising mission justified by an assumed religious appointment to spread Christianity.

These understandings of space were reflected in the representational conventions used to design the world maps or *mappae mundi* of the period. The compositional arrangement of the map was based on the relations between top and bottom, and left and right. These directions, in turn, corresponded to different meanings in terms of European cosmology:

> "Upward" and "downward" have here an absolute and strictly topographical meaning. "Downward" is earth, "upward" is heaven. Earth is an element that devours, swallows up (the grave, the womb) and at the same time [it is] an element of birth. (Bakhtin 1984:21)

Additionally, these maps were the product of a culture based on alphabetic writing, where conventions "established that reading proceed from left to right and from top to bottom, a hierarchy for a meaningful distribution of objects on the space of a page" (Mignolo 1995:279). In Bakhtin's words, "all degrees of value correspond strictly to the position in space, from the lowest to the highest. The higher the element on the

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[31] The *oikoumene* was a European cosmological concept prevalent during the Middle Ages. It referred to the lands known to Europe and was related to the T/O maps described above. The *oikoumene* included parts of Eurasia and North Africa, with these territories surrounded by all sides by an ocean (Crone 1969).

cosmic scale [...], the more nearly perfect was this element's quality" (1984:363). Thus, the privileged areas in European *mappae mundi* were the centre and, following the hierarchy described above, the top left-hand corner. Typically, then, in European-made maps Europe is presented at the centre of the format, while the allegorical figure of the European continent tends to be located in the top left-hand corner.

Additionally, the positioning of the observer also implied a constructed point of view that involved issues of power. Anthropocentric in its conception, the elevated point of view from which the *mappae mundi* is looked at allows the viewer to 'take in' the whole world at once. As Lestringant explains, "at that imaginary point, the eye of the cosmographer ideally coincided with that of the Creator" (1994:5). Effectively, "Creation [was] miniaturised into a map" (Lestringant 1994:6), and mapmaking was, literally, the recreation of the world on paper. It reflected a "desire to see an image of the entire world focused before us, clear, self-contained, comprehensible, and masterable" (Whitfield 1994:2). This positioning of the European viewer before a map meant that the world could be understood as "an empire without limits; a concrete programme of military action" (Lestringant 1994:23). Essentially, the composition of maps was not neutral and, quite clearly, had discursive and practical implications in the deployment of European colonial power.

The margins of maps also had particular meanings assigned to them. They were a space that went beyond the merely decorative and signified the limits of the known world. Based on the common medieval practice of decorating the blank parchment of a manuscript with humorous, scatological or subversive illustrations, margins frequently had a negative connotation associated (Roberts 1998). Typically, they were the abode of the monstrous races depicted in late medieval maps. Based on the symbolic function of the monster as an emblem of distance, faraway lands were consistently marked by human-like beings with ears so large that they could use them to fly, men that lived upside down at the Earth's antipodes, one-eyed Cyclops and dog-headed anthropophagi. By the time Europe encountered America, the "placing of the undesirable in the borders, at the edges, and as far as possible from the centre" (Roberts 1998:547) was a well-established practice. Unknown peoples were "exiled to the edges of humanity and geographically marginalised" in a practice that Palencia-Roth considers "foreshadows similar legal and moral practices in the sixteenth century" (1993:29).

The margins were also a metaphorical expression of the limits of Western knowledge. Gaps in knowledge, empty spaces on the map, were masked with

cartouches or images of fabulous creatures. As Le Testu, one of the mapmakers of the period, remarked, "what I have noted and depicted [monstrous figures in the austral region] is only by imagination [...] for there is no man who as yet has made a certain discovery of it" (cited in Lestringant 1994:114).With the discovery of the New World, the stable T/O Christian configuration of the world had lost its "symbolic coherence and geographical closure" (Lestringant 1994:114). Consequently, marginal monsters exercised a double function for the viewers of the period. On the one hand, these beings could be taken literally – and they frequently were – as hybrid creatures living in exotic lands. But they were also signs, the 'evidence' that gave a sense of authenticity to voyages and conferred authority on the traveller (Kappler 1980). Hence, the monstrous races established "provisional boundaries for a knowledge in a perpetual state of progress" (Lestringant 1994:4), where progress was understood as an "enlargement of a space that was pushing out on all sides and stitching together, as voyages allowed, the remaining gaps in it, rather than the linear and continuous development of a rectilinear history of knowledge" (1994:4).

Waldseemüller (1516) and Münster's (1552 edition) maps of the New World (figs. 6.6 and 6.7) are key examples of the use of cannibals as markers of exoticism, distance and the limits of knowledge on a cosmographical scale. In both these maps, cannibal scenes function as clear geographical coordinates that serve to orientate the European explorer in the foreign lands. In other words, the presence of the cannibal *characterises* these territories; these man-eating figures are signs that, rather than signifying in themselves, give reference of a territory as imagined by European representational systems. The cannibal scene was further linked to the legacy of the medieval tradition of the monstrous races and, in many cases, was a way of catering to the reading public's tastes. Although Münster, for example, did not personally believe in the existence of monstrous beings, he still included illustrations of them in his *Cosmography* in order to satisfy his audience (Kügelgen Kropfinger 1990). In this sense, the whole landmass of the Americas was reduced – the features of the land effaced, abolished, using Lestringant's words – to an emblem of monstrous savagery that must be corrected through the European colonial mission. This reduction of the continent of America to the cannibal-as-emblem was a discursive strategy that served to "define the exotic outer world in contrast to the familiar inner world of Europe" (Mason 1990:97), thus serving to consolidate a sense of European cohesion in opposition to the perceived savagery of the new lands being explored.
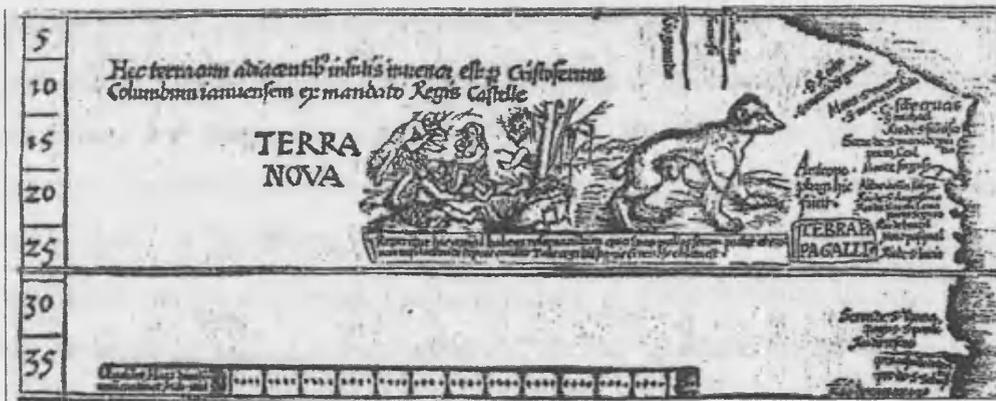
Fig. 6.6. Waldseemüller, M. and Fries, L., Terra Canibalorum in *Carta marina*, 1516

Fig. 6.7. Münster, S., La table des Isles neufues…, in *Cosmographia*, 1552

On a chorographical scale, in contrast to the detailed topographical scenes used for the depiction of European towns and regions, American territories were typically marked by fantastical, narratively charged images of cannibal practices. In the Le Testu map of 1556 (fig. 6.8), a figure chops the legs off a man, while in the Gutiérrez map (1562) (fig. 6.9) a similar scene takes place, accompanied by the roasting of a human form on a spit. The placement of these scenes as geographical markers instead of other potential topographical features of the region confirms Mignolo's assertion that:

> [The] *terra nova* [had] not only been geographically placed on the map, but also culturally and conceptually integrated into the imagination of our hypothetical [European] observer: wild animals and naked people living in the wilderness were shown as distinctive features of the *terra nova*. (1995:266)

In this sense, what could not be provided by direct knowledge of the region became interpreted through a narrative framework based on hyperbole and exoticisation. This phenomenon was indicative of how "America [had lost] its geographical and ethnological specificity in order to become immersed in the problematics of alterity" (Mason cited in Kügelgen Kropfinger 1990:470). Hence, the chorographical particularities of the Americas were secondary to their function in establishing a border between the known and the unknown, the European and the savage.
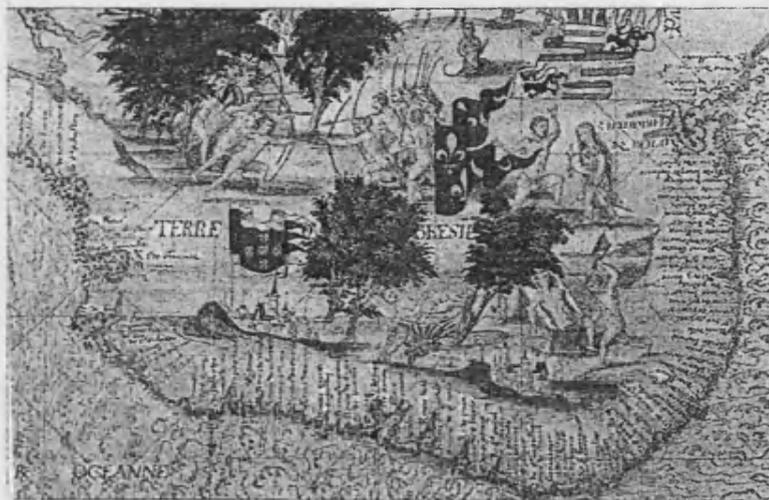
Fig. 6.8. Desceliers, *Amerique*, 1550

Fig. 6.9. Gutiérrez, D. *Regio de Brasil*, 1562

As spatial discourses on the New World changed over time, however, the marginality of non-European peoples was gradually depicted in different ways. As further explorations of the New World were carried out, monstrous emblems "were relocated to other, still unexplored regions" (Whitfield 1994:62), resulting in what

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some authors have called the migration of the cannibal (Mason 1990). Eventually, the narrative scenes of cannibalism were displaced from occupying a topographical place on the actual map and instead started to occupy the physical edges of the *mappae mundi*. Münster and Holbein's innovation for the *Typus Cosmographicus Universalis* (figs. 6.10 and 6.10a) was key in establishing this shift in discourse. The cannibal scene, typically placed near the Brazilian coast in other maps, was placed in the lower left hand corner of the edge of the map. Hence, ethnographical scenes were located beyond the bounds of "real" physical space in the maps and this, consequently, heightened their narrative function. No longer emblematic signs indicating coordinates in space, they became referential depictions of allegorical import.
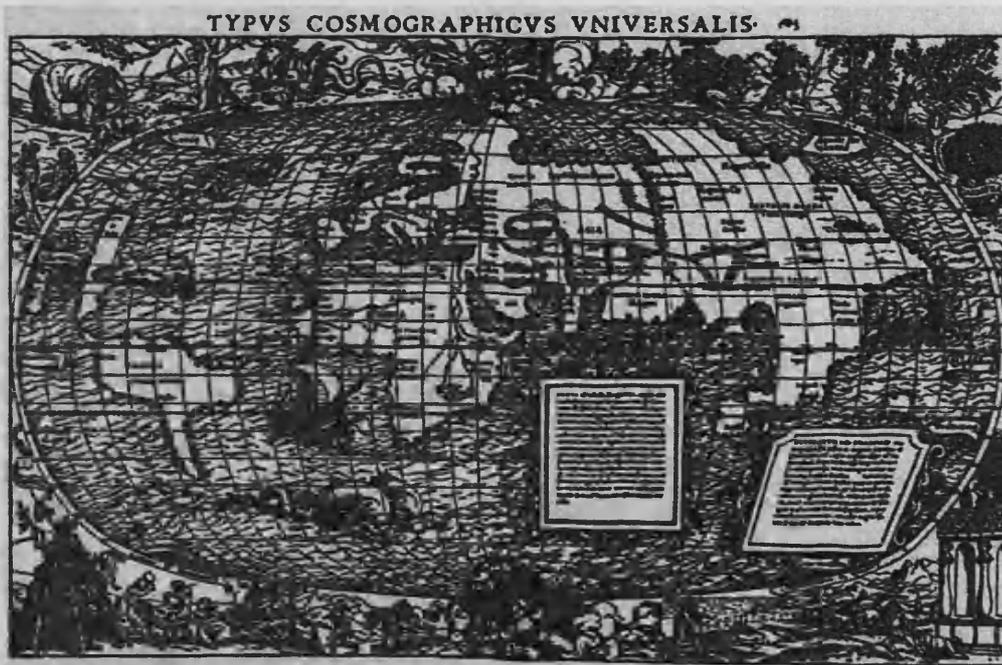
Fig. 6.10. Münster, S. *Typus cosmographicus Universalis*, 1532

Fig. 6.10a. Münster, S. *Typus cosmographicus Universalis*, 1532, detail.

This representational convention went through further changes, the most notable of which taking place in the mid-seventeenth century. During this time, shifts in discourses on the Americas had brought forward a more "ethnographical" approach to the inhabitants of that continent. As Mignolo states:

> Once the outermost unknown parts of the earth were explored, there was no longer reason to believe that outlandish creates inhabited them. By that time our hypothetical European observer had a more concrete idea of the habitants of the Americas and was also able to represent them more "realistically". (1995:272)

Figs. 6.11 and 6.11a. Speed, J. *America*, 1627; detail

Figs. 6.12 and 6.12a. Blaeu, J. *Americae nova Tabula*, 1630; detail

This involved using the map's margins to portray the different kinds of American peoples, taking into account some sort of regional specificity. Speed and Blaeu's maps of America (figs. 6.11 and 6.12) based these images on previous illustrations and travelogue narratives (Mignolo 1995), as can be gathered from the details of the maps

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(figs. 6.11a and 6.12a). The figure of the cannibal continues to be present, albeit as an understated presence: in both Speed and Blaeu's maps, the Peruvian and Brasilian figures from the right-hand strips were, in all likelihood, taken from de Bry's *America* and Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage* and incorporate elements associated with Tupi cannibalism such as the sacrificial club and the hanging smoked meats.

Perhaps the map that most clearly illustrates the hierarchical positioning of the world's peoples in European spatial discourses is Visscher's *Nova totius terrarium orbis* (1652)(pl. 6.1). In this world map the function of the edges is quite significant; the margins of the map illustrate and contextualise the geographically accurate representation of the continents at its centre, adding a second layer of meaning to the whole. At the top left-hand corner of the format is the allegory of Europe, followed by a strip of figures riding horses. Hierarchically placed in the privileged area of the format, these figures reign literally *over* the world: they are "well-identified heroes in the history of the West" (Mignolo 1995:278), most of them taken from Roman imperial history (Julius Cesar, Tiberius, Nero). Hence, a parallel is discursively established, with Visscher having drawn on figures from the Roman Empire in order to legitimate and authorise the imperial practices that European countries were involved in at the time. Furthermore, the map's composition points to other issues of hierarchy. While the European figures are historical (specifically located in time and space), the depictions of foreign peoples are vague and anonymous. Hence, in the right-hand strip of the map one can see illustrations of the different peoples of the Americas, which has been roughly divided into North America, South America and the Magallanica for this purpose. The presence of the cannibal on the fringes of the world remains; the Tupi Indian, with his sacrificial staff and his smoked meat hanging over a fire has been relegated to one of the least privileged areas of the map, thus emphasising his degree of marginalisation. Concurrently, the allegory of America has been demoted to the lower right-hand corner, the lowest space in a composition rife with the meaningful – hierarchical – placement of images. This contrast in the placement of figures, while illustrating European conceptualisations of space and empire, also reveals the representational task of "putting the Americas on the map and constructing the image of the other by defining the self-same" (Mignolo 1995:278).

However, this depiction and organisation of the varieties of the human form indicates a further shift that links this map to prevailing discourses of human classification. The encounter with the Americas posed a problem for conventional European genealogies that derived the races of the world from the three sons of Noah

(Mason 1990; Whitfield 1994). A new system of knowledge was put into action in an attempt "to create a permanent table of stable differences and delimited identities" (Foucault 1966:163-70). While mythical monstrous cannibals continued to appear in maps at this stage, the advent of Enlightenment conceptualisations of space depreciated "the symbolic value of these fabulous creatures, replacing them with the cynical ironies of the concept of the 'Noble Savage' and the taxonomies of natural historians" (Helms cited in Mason 1990:35). Consequently, the emphasis on geographical distance and othering went hand in hand, in a movement to place the New World "as an exotic antithesis to European culture" (Mason 1990:35), be it through the depiction of monstrous cannibals or of the more sophisticated 'Noble Savages' inhabiting the edges of the known world.

6.2 Space/Time

While space and distance were fundamental for achieving the discursive othering of indigenous peoples, European concepts of time were just as crucial. Time was not fixed within these maps, given that the past was always present in the form of Roman names, scenes from the Old Testament and events from the spiritual history of humanity (the Fall, Incarnation, Judgement) (Whitfield 1994). Additionally, on a chorographical level maps could function at a qualitative scale that registered accidental and temporal details; at this representational level, they were locally inscribed by the passage of the present (Lestringant 1994). On a cosmographical level, the *mappa mundi* "lent itself ideally, in a future-oriented vain, to audacious strategic anticipations" (Lestringant 1994:3), thereby providing a space for the articulation of future possibilities. In this sense, European maps were not static documents that faithfully registered "the state of the world at a given moment, but a mosaic of data whose chronology might extend over several centuries" (Lestringant 1994:113). In other words, the configuration of maps was temporally determined; the relationship between space and time in European colonial discourses was sturdily enmeshed.

De Certeau (1986), particularly, has addressed the importance of time in the representation of space and distance by analysing the function of narrative in travel accounts to the New World. De Certeau affirms that the written text plays an important role in the composing and distributing of places and, therefore, possesses the capacity to function as a narrative of space. For him, most travel accounts to the

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Americas can be stripped to a core narrative based on three stages. The first stage is that of the outbound journey. In this leg of the narrative voyage, there is a pre-established search for the strange, an "*a priori* of difference" (1986:69) that is the main postulate of the voyage, heightening the rhetoric of distance in travel accounts. In this phase, many surprises and intervals (monsters, storms, lapses in time) are encountered by the traveller. These serve to "substantiate the alterity of the savage and empower the text to speak from elsewhere and command belief" (1986:69). The second stage of the trip involves the depiction of the savage society encountered overseas. This portrayal is established beyond words or systems of discourse and is based, instead, on the body of the savage, as addressed in the previous chapter of this thesis. The savage body is, then, at the centre of the voyage, a timeless image framed by the two histories of departure and return that hold the status of meta-discourses. These two histories frame the foreign body and "assure the strangeness of the picture" (1986:69). The third part of the voyage is the return trip that includes the home-coming of the traveller-narrator, laden with truths brought from afar and granted legitimacy by the distance he has travelled in order to provide them.

The process of travelling to the New World to bring back the cannibal native before a European audience was at times enacted quite literally. In 1550, when King Henri II of France visited Rouen, a spectacular scene greeted him. Tupinamba Indians from Brazil had been brought in and made to re-enact their customs before the king. This kind of spectacle was common enough at the time, Columbus and Cortés having both taken natives from the Americas to be displayed before the sovereigns of their countries. What made the Rouen spectacle unique was that a full replica of a Brazilian jungle village was reproduced on the banks of the Seine (Honour 1975, Sturtevant 1976). Exotic-looking trees and wooden huts formed part of the scenery. The Brazilian natives were seen dancing, shooting at birds with bows and arrows, and paddling canoes. While ceremonial practices of cannibalism most surely did not take place, the Tupi did enact tribal wars and it seems that, for dramatic impact, at one point they set fire to some huts that were part of the scenery. This spectacle was recorded through a written description and an engraving (fig. 6.13), both included in a book published to commemorate the visit. The engraving records the imagined American scene, complete with lush greenery and many dramatic events unfolding simultaneously. Moreover, it provides a double reconstruction of the imagined cannibal landscape. On the one hand, this landscape was produced literally on the

banks of the Seine. On the other, the engraving is a reconstruction of that reconstruction, a montage of a montage.

Figure des Brifilians.

Fig. 6.13. Anon., *Figure des Brisilians*, 1551

Cannibal territory

The first impression that European explorers had of the New World scene was that of biblical paradise. The inhabitants' nudity, their apparent lack of law, vices and greed: all these elements were understood as signs of a people living in harmony with Nature (Duviols 1986). Typically, the Garden of Eden was believed to be located in the extreme East and was represented as a small circular island with a nude Adam and Eve, a serpent and a tree at its centre (Cohn 1969). Columbus was the first to attempt to geographically locate the isles of the Caribbean at the gates of the Garden of Eden. By his third voyage, Columbus insisted that the Orinoco was surely one of the four rivers flowing from the Garden of Eden (Honour 1975). In addition, he concluded that the earth was not completely spherical but pear-shaped: "the earthly paradise was positioned on the stem, whose rise no individual could ascend without express permission from God" (Williams & Lewis 1993:xxvi). Columbus was convinced he had arrived in paradise when he reached the New World.

Early illustrations of the American landscape indulged in this representation of the newfound lands as paradise. The frontispiece to Hernán Cortés's letters (fig. 6.14) shows an indigenous couple in a lush wooded setting. Nature is foregrounded and

given pride of place, echoing European discourses that affirmed that the regions surrounding Eden enjoyed "a delightful, temperate climate" (Cohn 1969:6). The parrot's presence confirmed the European belief that birds of fanciful colours also announced the proximity to Earthly Paradise (Ramírez de Alvarado 2007). In fact, for Honour these kind of images produce a faint sense of *déjà vu*, with the Bahamas and Cuba "being not unlike the background to Boticcelli's *Primavera* or Jan van Eyck's vision of a Mediterranean paradise in which the palm, the pine, and the fragrant orange flourish side by side while the ground is eternally bright with spring flowers" (1975:6). The abundance of nature, the saturation of the visual space with plants, trees and animals, reflected a visual parable symbolising the "innocence and peace of unspoilt nature" (Honour 1975:24), unhindered by civilisation. But this portrayal of American paradise also produced a sense of estrangement: "to what extent did the sheer otherness of tropicality – its climate, vegetation, and landforms, as much as its human geographies – place it in a world apart?" (Driver & Martins 2005:11).
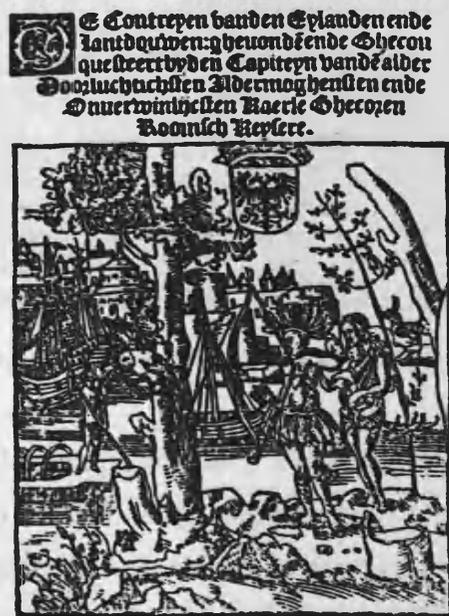
Fig. 6.14. Anon., Frontispiece in *Cartas* by Hernán Cortés, 1523

The cannibal territory was depicted accordingly. In many of the engravings showing indigenous practices of cannibalism, there is an abundance of exotic flora and fauna functioning as the background landscape for the narrative of the encounter between European and New World peoples. In Philiponus's 1621 engraving (pl. 6.2), breezy palm trees bear witness to the imagined first encounter between European explorers and insular cannibals. The scene is densely populated and everything is shown in abundance: palm trees, human figures, approaching caravels and human

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fragments proliferate. A myriad of figures in movement embody the cannibals rushing to attack the approaching European caravels. A gruesome scene of cannibalism takes place in the foreground, where a woman prepares pots with human feet and hands, while a male figure chops an anonymous human torso on a table. Human limbs are displayed on the ground and at least five heads have been placed on spikes. It is a scene of natural abundance and violent excess.

Lettera di Amerigo vespucci delle ifole nuouamente tronare in quattro fuoi viaggi.

Fig. 6.15. Anon., Frontispiece in *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci...*, 1504

Importantly, the landscape acts as a literal and narrative border between the two peoples coming into contact. Following the same conceptual format used in the 1493 frontispiece to Vespucci's *Lettera* (fig. 6.15), the cannibal and the European are separated by a strip of sea. This strip, fundamental in the development of the narrative of encounter, is a physical and symbolic space that represents the distance between the two peoples. In the 1493 engraving, this separation is quite distinct: a large sea separates King Ferdinand of Spain from his new subjects. The caravels act as mediators of the encounter, the go-betweens that link these two distinctly separate spaces, much in the way de Certeau (1986) describes the narrative of distance. In the Philiponus engraving (pl. 6.2), however, this border has been compromised, and the distinct separation of spaces has been broken by the cannibal figures boarding their canoes in order to confront the arriving caravels. This space becomes, therefore, a liminal area or, in Pratt's (1992) words, a contact zone where "disparate cultures meet,

clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (1992:4). This engraving is, quite literally, the illustration of such a clash as it took place in the European imagination.

Fig. 6.16. Anon., s.n., 1628

This trope for representing the first encounter between Europeans and cannibals was used frequently. In a 1628 copperplate engraving (fig. 6.16), the same visual resources used in Philiponus are present. A coast and the sea symbolically delimit the border between the two peoples. However, in this image the border has been conquered and Spanish figures have already set foot on land. While a colossal battle rages in the background, in the foreground some cannibal women have approached a Spaniard and prepare to slaughter him with a club (a scene that probably took its inspiration from the Vespucci engraving discussed in chapter five). Behind this scene, towards the left-hand margin of the engraving, the narrative sequence of events is completed: another Spaniard has been undressed and is being chopped in order to be cooked on the barbecue. Both engravings (pl. 6.2 and fig. 6.16) illustrate the precise moment of the interruption of the everyday by the arrival of 'civilisation'. Hence, in the Philiponus version, the quotidian practice of cannibalism, depicted as a domestic scene of everyday life, is temporally and spatially disrupted by the arrival of the Europeans. In both engravings, this takes place as an act of aggression that becomes the representation of a sensational historical instant: that of the encounter of

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two alien cultures. It is the discourse of a narrative climax that finds its resolution in the foregone assumption of the triumph of the European civilising mission.

A marvellous land

America was a place of extremes. The abundance of nature served as a point of contrast "between the productivity of tropical nature and the supposed absence of enterprise among its original inhabitants" (Driver & Martins 2005:14). European explorers frequently remarked at the disparity between the beautiful landscapes and the savagery of the peoples inhabiting them. Nature, in the New World, had been allowed to run wild. The extremely fertile land produced a variety of fruits of exotic flavours, and seeds germinated without any major effort on the part of the inhabitants (Viesca Treviño 1988). Chanca, the doctor accompanying Columbus on his second trip, exclaimed: "there was such density of tree groves that it was a wonder, and such a variety of unknown trees that was frightening, some with fruits, some with flower, such that everything was green" (cited in Viesca Treviño 1988:31). For Chanca and others, the beauty of the land was the result of the vitality, the fertility, and the good weather of the newly discovered lands (Viesca Treviño 1988).

These early descriptions responded to what Greenblatt (1991) has termed the function of the marvellous. Following a rhetorical trope of enchantment and wonder, a mode of discourse was "enacted and deployed in the explanation of difference" (Schreffler 2005:302). Dreamlike and in a state of perpetual marvel, the European explorer would attempt to render the unfamiliar more legible by drawing parallels between his own material and cultural context and applying them to the newness encountered, "thus preserving [the] essential difference [of the unfamiliar] from the world of the describing subject" (2005:302). At times, Greenblatt (1991) argues, it was the inability of the European observer that impeded him from going beyond his familiar frame of reference in assimilating these novelties. The core of this dilemma was conceptual in nature: there is an intrinsic inability "to perceive likeness and difference simultaneously" (Mason 1990:21). The European explorer had difficulty in making sense of the marvellous land displayed at his feet.

In a seventeenth century engraving (fig. 6.17), the bay of Conception is seen from above, the topographical details of the land explained through a letter key at the

bottom of the engraving.[32] In the right-hand margin, two figures dressed as Tupinamba point towards the land, offering it up to the European viewer of the scene. This engraving illustrates what Driver and Martins (2005) have theorised as the difference between view and vision. A view, in colonial discourses, refers to the topographical (therefore chorographical) aspects of the territory. While there is an aesthetic investment of these landscapes depicted at a distance, what characterises them is that "their surface features [are] translated into a recognisable visual code" (2005:6); they form part of a visual and topographical culture in which "the world is apprehended from afar" (2005:6). It is in this context that the engraving of Conception can be understood, for there is an active distancing between the viewer and the scene.

Fig. 6.17. Anon., s.n., 17th century

Vision is a different discursive trope, however. In a 'vision', the spectator goes through a transformative process and becomes immersed in the landscape. The viewer engages his imagination and "is turned into an active participant of the scene" (Driver & Martins 2005:6). This process is linked to what Pratt (1992) and Spurr (1993) have termed one of the key principles of modern European colonial discourses: the use of

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[32] "A. Is the form of the Bay, at the location of 36 degrees, 40 minutes.
B. Is the Isle of Quiriquina, where there are some houses made of hay on fire.
C. Is the township of Conception, where there were many Spaniards.
D. Is our float, resting in a depth of 26 *toifes* of water.
E. There are some wild horses that can be seen here in great number.
F. Is the manner of in which the inhabitants dress themselves."

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perspective to confirm a position of superiority over the territory to be conquered. In this visual rhetorical trope, the viewer places himself on a 'noble coign of vantage' and surveys the scene below in order to "combine spatial arrangement with strategic, aesthetic, or economic valorisation of the landscape" (Spurr 1993:17). In Spurr's words, the Western viewer is "literally on the lookout for scenes that carry an already established interest for a Western audience, thus investing perception itself with the mediating power of cultural difference" (1993:21). Called the trope of the Monarch-of-All-I-Survey (Pratt 1992), the positioning of the explorer in the place of a commanding view "is an originating gesture of colonisation itself, making possible the exploration and mapping of territory which serves as the preliminary to a colonial order" (Spurr 1993:16).

Fig. 6.18. Manesson Mallet, A. Bresiliens, in *Description de l'Univers*, 1683

Such a 'vision' of cannibalism accompanies Manesson Mallet's *Description de l'Univers* of 1683 (fig. 6.18). Located in a high viewpoint, the observer can see the cannibalism scene develop below. Several male figures are clubbing and pointing their arrows at a fallen male at the centre. There are two heads on spikes next to this ring,

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while in the background a figure reclines in a hammock. Further back, a human body is being prepared and roasted on a barbecue. But perhaps the most interesting aspect of this engraving is the portrayal of nature in the scene. The foliage of the trees is dense, highly contrasted and warped, drawing a visual parallel between nature in America and the savage peoples it engenders. In a land of cannibals, nature is as untamed and as cruel as its inhabitants.
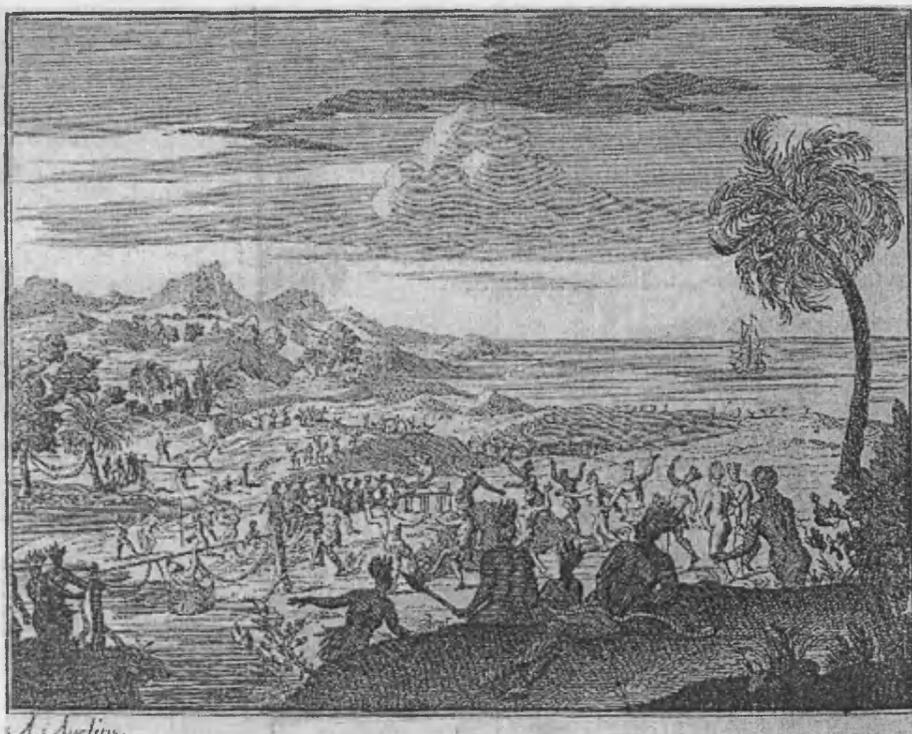
Fig. 6.19. Aveline, P. s.n., in *Nouvelle rélation contenant...*, 1720

Aveline's 1720 engraving is an interesting point of contrast (fig. 6.19). The assumed European viewer of the scene has fallen upon a congregation of happy cannibals prancing about in a lush landscape. There is an abundance of nature, a vast landscape and a profusion of Tupi Indians lounging on the hilltop and dancing around a table where a human figure is being chopped. Following Pratt's (1992) theorisation of the Monarch trope, the initial moment of this process takes place when the explorer first sets his sight on the territory to be conquered. In the Aveline engraving, this takes place literally; the scene is an imagined version of the first-time arrival of an anonymous explorer in cannibal territory. The next step is the presentation of a narrative non-event as a momentously significant one, hence the proliferation of figures and the hyperbolic representation of the landscape in Aveline. Additionally, the caravel in the background confirms the momentous occasion: the bucolic – and

anthopophagic – romping of the Tupi will soon be interrupted by the incoming French. In this manner, the landscape becomes aestheticised through a Western canon of beauty. This step is crucial, given that the capacity to extract aesthetic value from the scene before the viewer constitutes the *value* and *significance* of the journey. As Pratt explains, "depicting the civilising mission as an aesthetic project is a strategy the west has often used for defining others as available for and in need of its benign and beautifying intervention" (1992:205). In the Aveline engraving, mannerist codes of representation (fig. 6.20) are imposed on the happy Tupi so that rather than being depicted as more accurate versions of themselves, they are romanticised and their 'cannibal instinct' becomes a barely visible reference in the background. Aveline has tamed the Tupi by subjecting them to the canons of Western beauty.

Fig. 6.20. Mostaert, G. *Landscape with Two Nude Men*, c. 1580

There were other ways of taming the cannibal, of course. The sole appropriation of the cannibal's image in order to produce an illustration under a Western canon of representation implied asymmetrical relations of power. Moreover, it was taken for granted that such an appropriation was a European's natural right:

> The Scriptures taught man that the world belonged to him in its totality, without exceptions of creature or territory. To recapture for man's gaze this universal homeland of the earth was the sacred task. (Lestringant 1994:29)

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Fig. 6.21. van der Aa, P. Les Brésiliens, in *La galerie agréable du monde*, 1729

Hence, the world was understood as "a terrain waiting to be appropriated" (Mason 1990:26), a discursive shift that may explain the rise in landscape painting from the sixteenth century onwards. In his *La galerie agréable du monde* (1729), the engraver van der Aa recycled many of the illustrations on America that had been printed until that time. The image presented here (fig. 6.21) is a quite crude copy of one of de Bry's illustrations for Staden's *Story*. However, two fundamental alterations to the image have been made: a caption has been added ("The Brazilians eat the heads of men. They avoid their innards.") and, crucially, a frame has been placed around the scene. The caption, beyond being inaccurate and sensationalistic, was added in order to anchor the meaning of the image without the viewer having to read the actual Staden story, hence fully decontextualising the scene. The frame, on the other hand, eschews the verbal and highlights, instead, the 'pictoricity' of the picture. For what van der Aa was implying by including this frame was that it was no longer sufficient for the images of cannibalism to remain mere illustrations; the cannibalism scene must become a picture *within* a picture. Hence, this picture within a picture confirmed the notion of the world-as-picture, made available to man as promised in the Scriptures. Following the Albertian scopic regime of art as a transparent window on the world (Preziosi 1989), the van der Aa engraving attempts to confirm this two-fold. Not only is the image a copy of a copy of Staden's engravings, an image thrice removed from its referent; it is an illustration posing as a painting in a 'picturesque gallery of the world'.

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6.3 Time

The integration of the Americas into "a European consciousness" (Mignolo 1995:256) did not imply a reconfiguration solely of the discourses on space that had prevailed until that point. As Mignolo explains:

> [The] colonisation of space (of language, of memory) was signalled by the belief that differences could be measured in values and values measured in a chronological evolution. Alphabetic writing, Western historiography, and cartography became part and parcel of a larger frame of mind in which the regional could be universalized and taken as a yardstick to evaluate the degree of development of the rest of the human race. (1995:256)

The European discovery of the classical world had led to the comparison between the ancient and the modern, resulting in early modern conceptualisations of 'progress' as a yardstick for measuring European and foreign peoples. Hence, the emergence of this idea of time based on 'progress' was central to the European Renaissance and played an important role in the representational systems of the period.

As Fabian (1983) and Jordanova (2000) have explained, time is a more complex concept than space when dealing with the othering of non-Western peoples. As Jordanova argues, time is harder to analyse with regards to otherness as it is a more abstract concept. Yet in spite of its abstract nature – or maybe because of it –, time plays a central role in the organisation of Western thought into binaries. Fabian argues that the oppositions 'civilised/savage', 'present/past', and 'subject/object' are directly constructed on the basis of assumptions of spatio-temporal distance. This tactic of distancing through time – or allochronism – implies the denial of co-temporaneity in order to construct the other as a scientific object of study. Moreover, distancing in time also holds deep ties with Todorov's concept of exoticism and its links to primitivism: "In fact, almost immediate identification was made between the mores of the 'savages' observed in America and those of western Europeans' own ancestors; exoticism thus converged with a primitivism that was also chronological" (Todorov 1994:267). What is more, othering through time can result in two different ideas of the other. A more positive representation produces the other as a living example of a lost past understood as utopia. Hence, "utopian projects are regularly associated with exotic imagery. [...] The noble savage is not only our past but also our future" (1994:268). A more negative representation corresponds to Said's (1993, 1995) work on Orientalism. Distancing in time produces representations of the other as backward, primitive and unsophisticated. This conception of otherness in time further supports

the idea of a linear-progressive development of Western civilisation and its accompanying history.

Aetas aurea

Saturn flies over the land in a chariot pulled by two dragons. He holds a scythe that cuts through the air. Beneath the clouds that mark his path, a group of witches flies about, surrounding a smoking cauldron. Boats arrive on an unknown land full of piercing mountains. Near a tent, some men pay tribute to a monarch wearing a feathered headpiece. In a cave some figures are mining (for gold?), while next to them a man chops human body parts on a table. Some women, accompanied by their children, roast these body parts on a barbecue that billows more smoke over the scene. Engraver Crispijn de Passe's *Saturnus* (1600) (pl. 6.3) groups, in one fantastical scene, witches, savages, miners, and cannibals all under the sign of Saturn.

The figure of Saturn was frequently used in the representational systems of the period and held an important place in European understandings of the cosmos. Saturn was derived from the Greek god of time and chaos, Cronus, who had been told in a prophecy that it was his destiny that one of his children would supplant him. Upon such knowledge, Cronus repeatedly ate his children alive for fear that they might one day overtake his eternal reign. Tricked by his wife Rhea, who had replaced the latest newborn – Zeus – with a stone wrapped in swaddling, this anthropophagus god swallowed the dummy instead (Hesiod 1914a). Once grown, Zeus would return to kill his father and set free all his brothers consumed before him.

In Greek mythology, Cronus was a dual god; he was the god of time who could either destroy or create. On the one hand, he was a benevolent god, the inventor of agriculture. On the other hand, he was a gloomy, dethroned and solitary god, exiled to the "uttermost end of land and sea" (cited in Klibansky 1964:134). Cronus's Roman equivalent, Saturn, preserved the basic narrative of the Greek tale; however, Saturn acquired additional positive meanings to those ascribed by the Greek. He became the sovereign ruler of the Golden Age, a mythical epoch during which men lived like gods, with no worries, grief or distress (Grimal 1986). Saturn, furthermore, was responsible for continuing the task of civilising men by teaching them how to cultivate the land, suppressing "their savage mode of life" (Smith 1880:726) and providing them with the rule of law. Throughout the Middle Ages and during the early modern age, representations of Saturn became frequent both in mythological and astrological

texts (Panofsky 1972). Iconographically, this anthropophagus god was represented with the attribute of the sickle, which related him to the agricultural cycle and death.[33] The mythical tale of him devouring his children came to mean that "Time [...] devours whatever he has created" (Panofsky 1972:74). Additionally, as Zika (1997) and Panofsky (1972) have documented in detail, throughout the Renaissance there was an increase in representations of Saturn while actually devouring a child.

Portrayed as the children of Saturn, the figures shown in the bottom left-hand corner of the de Passe engraving are clearly copies of other illustrators' images of cannibalism in the Americas; the references to Münster and de Bry are clear. In this framework, this engraving is interesting because it directly links supposed Amerindian cannibalism to European discourses on inner and outer others. Thus, a taste for anthropophagy is shared by Saturn, baby-eating witches, and the savage New World cannibal. But this link goes beyond the obvious shared anthropophagy. The witches flying about in de Passe's engraving, as well as the cannibals, embody Europe's tortuous relationship with alterity. Accused of making pacts with the devil and holding bacchanal orgies and an anti-mass "celebrated with spoiled wine and the sacrifices of unbaptised babies" (Roberts 1998:952; also see Zika 1997 and Kors & Peters 2001), witches were frequently portrayed as "lamiae, night-flying and cannibalistic harpies" (Zika 1997:84).[34] In fact, much like the gluttonous Tupi cannibal women discussed in chapter five, the witch was consistently portrayed as "the post-menopausal, evil mother with her sagging and dried up breasts, who denies nourishment and care and gives way to murderous infanticide" (1997:99). In fact, Zika (1997) argues that the link between the Amerindian cannibal and the witch was a close one in European discourses on otherness. For him, graphic images of witches as anthropophagi did not fully emerge until the sixteenth century, when images of cannibalism in the New World were starting to become common in Europe:

> This new visual discourse of "the cannibal within", the identification of the anti-human savagery of the cannibal within European culture as well as on its American periphery, suggests widespread fears about social and religious fragility at this time. (1997:79)

Hence, in this dialectic, not only did European witches receive similar discursive treatment as the savage peoples of the New World (fig. 6.22), but also "Europe's inner Indians came to be replaced by its outer Indians" (Mason 1990:97) in the ever-

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[33] See pl. 5.4, where the dancing cannibal from Jacquard's engraving holds a sickle in his hand.
[34] Aided by the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the first of a series of illustrated manuals on the persecution of witches, the iconography of witchcraft became consolidated during the late Middle Ages (Roberts 1998:949; Kors & Peters 2001).

expanding of Europe's internal and external borders. Cannibalism, as a trope, was the single great European metaphor for otherness, a marker for the non-civilised (Zika 1997).

Fig. 6.22. Léry, J. de, s.n. in *Histoire mémorable de la ville de Sancerre*, ca. 1573

Furthermore, de Passe's image reaffirms the European placing of Amerindian cannibals under Saturn's reign in the mythical Golden Age, consequently distancing the cannibal not only in space but also in time. Following Hesiod's *Works and Days* (1914b), it was believed that humankind had passed through five ages. The first age, the Golden Age, had existed under the rule of Cronos or Saturn, and it had been inhabited by a race of mortal men who lived like gods and "were free from toil and grief" (Hesiod 1914b: lines 109-120) (fig. 6.23).[35] The landscape of the Americas and the nudity of its inhabitants conceptually linked the New World natives to this mythical era:

> This fecund land also provided the background to life in the happy springtime of the human race, the Golden Age, when [...] men had no need of iron to fight or to plough, when the untilled land yielded corn, the unpruned vine and fig tree were always in fruit, and honey flowed form the hollow oak. That the inhabitants of the newly found lands had "no iron or steel or arms, nor are they capable of using them" would have greatly surprised educated Europeans. (Honour 1975:5)

The trope of the happy cannibal living in a Golden Age persisted and became amplified in European discourses, of which Montaigne is one of the key examples:

[35] Following a succession of increasingly unsuccessful ages (Silver, Bronze and Heroic), mankind had finally arrived at the fifth age, or Iron Age, which was Hesiod's. In it, "men never rest from labour and sorrow by day and from perishing by night; and the gods shall lay sore trouble upon them" (Hesiod: lines 170-201).

> What we now see in those nations, does not only surpass all the pictures with
> which the poets have adorned the golden age, and all their inventions in feigning
> a happy state of man, but, moreover, the fancy and even the wish and desire of
> philosophy itself; so native and so pure a simplicity, as we by experience see to
> be in them, could never enter into their imagination, nor could they ever believe
> that human society could have been maintained with so little artifice and human
> patchwork. (1965:255)

Hence, not only were the Caribes and Tupi part of a long-lost era of humanity; in
Montaigne's opinion, they surpassed the images of the Golden Age and represented a
pure simplicity conducive to happiness free of artifice.

Fig. 6.23. Galle, P., *Aetas Aurea*, 1607

But there was also a degree of material interest underscoring this association
between the New World and a mythical *aetas aurea*. The mine next to the cannibal
scene in de Passe's engraving may represent Saturn's role as the guardian of wealth,
of the system of counting by weights and measures, and the inventor of coin minting
(Klibansky 1964), but it also points to the golden riches imagined in abundance in the
New World. In Münster's *Cosmographie* the author provides the following
description of the New World inhabitants: "They carry gold with them, which they
give in exchange for glass beads and clay pots, by which they show what little regard
they have for gold, in exchanging it for things of such small value" (1552:1358). As
Viesca Treviño (1988) argues, in the European *imaginaire* lands as fertile as the
Americas must provide vast amounts of gold. Hence, the discovery of gold nuggets
and the bartering established with the natives provoked in the European explorers a

search for a 'Golden Age' that was not especially mythical in interest but material in aim.

The classical cannibal

As the colonial enterprise in the New World progressed, new more ethnographically accurate information about the inhabitants made its way to Europe. Yet despite this, European views clung to the original narratives about the Amerindians made popular by Vespucci and Peter Martyr (Honour 1975). Europeans persisted in imagining the Americas in classical terms as the land of the Golden Age and deployed this premise in order to construct critiques about the decadent state of European civilisation. As Pierre de Ronsard wrote to Villegagnon, one of the French settlers of Brazil, colonisers were making a great mistake by attempting to change these peoples who:

> wander innocently, completely savage and completely naked, as free from clothes
> as from malice, who know not the words "virtue" and "vice", "senate" and
> "king", who live according to their pleasure, satisfying their appetites, and who
> have in their hearts none of that terror of the law which makes us live in fear.
> (cited in Honour 1975:65)

Whether the inhabitants of the Americas were imagined as happy natives or as vicious cannibals, their distancing in time was central in European debates surrounding the nature of progress and civilisation.

Through the tropes of the New World as a long-lost Golden Age or an Edenic paradise, the primitive nature of the Amerindians was made patent. The discovery of the Americas had launched a series of comparisons and questions with regard to the lineage of European tradition. Was it possible that "the ancestors of modern Europeans [had] been like the inhabitants of America?" (Honour 1975:78). Las Casas, in his defence of the souls of the Amerindians, had written that they were "still in that first rude state which all other nations were in, before there was anyone to teach them. [...] We ought to consider what we, and all the other nations of the world, were like, before Jesus Christ came to visit us" (cited in Honour 1975:78).

One answer to this question was the parallel drawn between the American natives and Greek-Roman civilisation. As European stylistic canons left behind mannerist and baroque models of representation, such as those in the de Passe engraving, the ways of representing cannibalism in the Americas shifted as well. The advent of the neoclassical style meant that new modes of representation were used to depict the cannibal scene. This implied a re-reading of the Greek and Roman classical

influence on European culture and linked the civilising mission to new representational regimes. In Picart's 1723 engraving *Captif sacrifié par les Antis* (fig. 6.24), the viewer is presented with a scene of cannibalism taking place in the Americas, as confirmed by the Tupi club in the foreground and the feathered headdresses worn by the figures. A man is tied to a pole and pieces of flesh are cut off him while he is still alive. In the shadows, one male figure eats a piece of flesh voraciously. Stylistically, this image highlights the nostalgic rendering of an imagined Roman aesthetic canon. The manner in which the artefacts are depicted, especially the shield in the foreground and the postures and gestures of the figures, places this scene in a classical Roman setting. In fact, this stylistic canon corresponds to prevailing discourses around colonialism at that period. The Roman Empire had become a model for colonisation and was constantly referenced as a historic source of legitimacy (Seed 1995). In terms of iconography, this resulted in the communication of such political ideas by the use of visual signifiers, such that "elements of Roman art became increasingly incorporated into sixteenth-century French royal accession ceremonies – Apollo, Hercules, the Golden Fleece, Roman triumphal arches, even Latin inscriptions began to appear" as markers in New World territories (Seed 1995:181). Effectively, the European concept of the Roman Empire was used as part of a discourse to justify the colonising mission, with "Portugal, England, France and Spain all [proclaiming] Roman expansion as the central political metaphor" (1995:180).

Fig. 6.24. Picart, B., *Captif sacrifié par les Antis*, 1723

Beyond responding to a classical stylistic canon, this way of portraying the American cannibal had further discursive implications. In the Picart illustration, the Nantis are suspended in time, belonging to a period in an idealised past and frozen in their savage state. By the time this illustration was printed, over two hundred years had passed since the first encounter with the Americas. Yet the natives continue to be represented in terms of the practices first described by Vespucci as early as 1504. As Mason argues, the eagerness to put the Amerindians "on a par with the members of the ancient civilisations of Europe" (1990:183) implied an operation of distancing that conceived the other on a scale of spatial distance but also of distancing through time.

As Fabian (1983) and Mignolo (1995) have theorised, the production of otherness as the distancing of the other in space was complemented by discourses distancing the other in time. While this delimitation was mostly constructed in terms of space from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, by the eighteenth century the distancing between European civilisation and the savage other had taken on an openly chronological dimension. At this point, articulations of cultural difference also took place in a system of chronological hierarchies. Hence, colonisation implied that those who did not adopt the hegemonic values of colonial discourses were marginalised and that, consequently, those who were spatially marginal were constructed as 'behind' in time (Mignolo 1995). As Fabian (1983) argues, this placement of alterity along a chronological scale resulted in the denial of co-temporaneity or, to use Fabian's term, the denial of coevalness. The denial of coevalness in European discourses meant that foreign peoples were refused equal placing along the timeline of 'progress' that European civilisation represented. Consequently, the denial of coevalness "emerged as one of the main conceptual consequences of the growing privilege of time over space in the organisation and ranking of cultures and societies in the early modern colonial period" (Mignolo 1995:xii). Furthermore, this denial of co-temporaneity resulted in the constitution of the other as object of inspection and possession for Western knowledge. Through this colonial understanding of the world, the identification of the margins with the past became consolidated and has persisted well into the twenty-first century.[36]

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[36] In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, dominant economic discourses have sustained there is a temporal divide between First and Third World countries, and that this gap will be bridged as Third World countries develop and "reach" the level of "progress" attained by the First World countries. This discourse has been contested through the dependency model or 'systems theory' developed by Latin American economists (see Raúl Prebisch and Andre Gunder Frank; see also Immanuel Wallerstein's "World Systems" model). In this alternative model, Third World countries are not behind in their

6.4 Beyond space and time

The Americas and their cannibals had been pushed to the margins of both space and time in European colonial discourses. These two dimensions were central in the othering function upon which colonial discourses were based. However, a third form of distancing was also frequently put into play. This involved the placement of American otherness *beyond* the bounds of space and time through the allegorisation of the continent. In this discursive deployment, America became so thoroughly abstracted so as to lose any of the particularities that characterised the continent and its peoples. The allegory of America became instead the depository for the bulk of European imaginings about the continent, abstracted and synthesised into a single symbolical image.

Allegory is a mode of discourse that implies the symbolic representation in a person (a 'personification') of abstract ideas (Clifford 1974, Fletcher 1964, Ramírez de Alvarado 2007). As Sebastián (1992) explains, allegories are ways of "speaking differently"; hence, the allegory is a rhetorical trope that functions on the basis of metaphors made up of a series of real elements that substitute another series of abstract elements. These real elements or objects, called attributes, hold symbolic functions and serve to identify the overall abstract concept being represented by the allegorical form. Allegories function in "a system of mental equivalencies that give the text or the image a double meaning: one literal, clear and explicit, one allegorical, hidden and profound" (Sebastián 1992:16). In short, allegories are illustrated metaphors (Gombrich 1972) based on two levels of meaning, one literal and one abstract. It is precisely at the level of abstract meaning that allegory strives to place the object of representation beyond the constraints of time and space. Hence, allegories only refer to situated referents in order to abstract them and eliminate any literal references to spatial and temporal contexts.

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process of development, but maintained at their level of underdevelopment in order for First World countries to benefit economically from cheap sources of natural resources and labour. Hence, the 'systems theory' conceives the First and Third Worlds as "coeval, interlinked and living within the *same* historical moment (but under diverse modalities of subordination or domination)" (Shohat & Stam 1998:28).
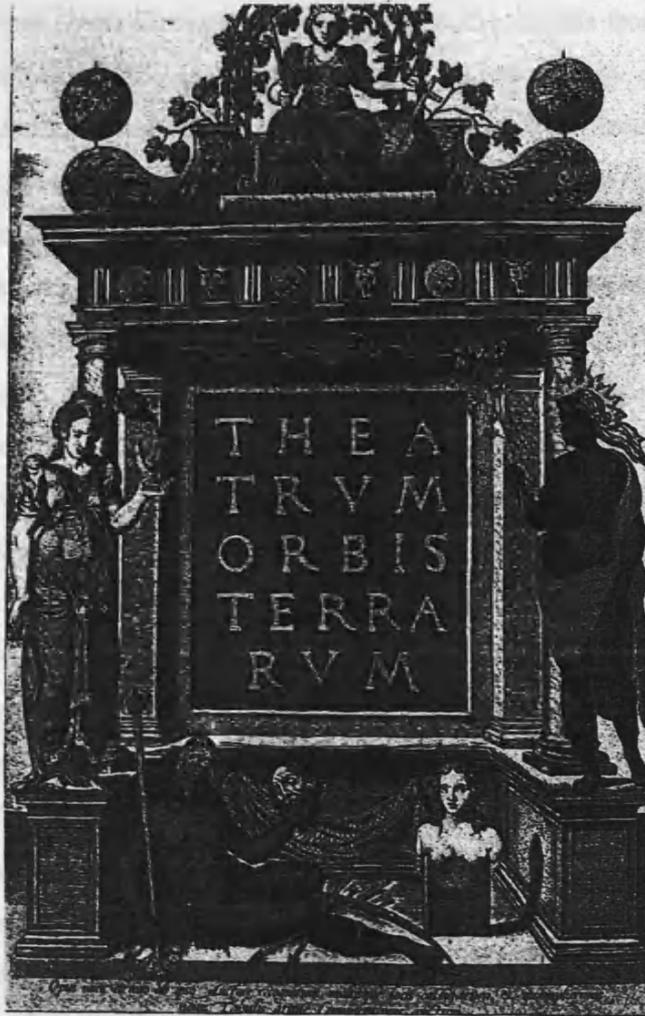
Fig. 6.25. Ortelius, Frontispiece, in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1570

Allegorical representations of the four continents emerged in Europe during the mid to late sixteenth century, with the majority of them being produced in the city of Antwerp in Flanders by artists such as Stradanus, Marten de Vos and Philippe Galle (Ramírez de Alvarado 2007). Previous to this period, other personifications had taken on the characteristics of the known world, such as the Three Magi of the Epiphany who had "for a long time [been] associated with the descendants of the sons of Noah, who peopled the three parts of the world, and from the early fifteenth century they were often depicted as a European, an Asian and an African" (Honour 1975:84). However, these figures did not carry out an allegorical function as such. It was with the invention of new copperplate technologies that engravers could craft more detailed images, rendering the engravings "comparable to a *peinture de chevalet*" (Duviols 2006:288). This technological innovation permitted engravers to imagine America in new ways. The first text to produce a fully allegorical image of America was

Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1570 (fig. 6.25). In this frontispiece, America appears at the bottom of the architectural setting and is already presented with the majority of the attributes that would come to characterise her. America is represented as a reclining nude woman wearing a feathered cap, holding what appears to be a Tupi sacrificial club in one hand and a severed human head in the other, with a bow and arrows at her feet. As Ramírez de Alvarado (2007) explains, these attributes came to be the main symbols for the continent. The bow and arrows were frequently described in the chronicles as the weapons used by the American aborigines. The headgear typically consisted of a *penacho* or feathered tiara on the head of the personification, and sometimes a feathered skirt was added. Finally, the human head referred to the supposed practices of cannibalism in the region. At times this allusion is made quite directly and one can see frank scenes of cannibalism in the allegorical representations of America. In other instances, cannibalism is symbolised more subtly through the presence of a severed head held up or a pierced head at America's feet.[37]

The composition in the Ortelius frontispiece also points to the importance of the placement of objects within a format. Much like the directions in the composition of maps mentioned above; 'up', 'down', 'left' and 'right' play a role in the hierarchies of space in the image. For example, in the engraving the personification of Europe is placed at the very top of the format. She sits on a throne wearing a crown, holding a sword in one hand and pointing to a T/O globe peaked with a cross with the other hand. She rules, from the top – from her *vantage point* –, over the other continents. In this layout, America is at the very bottom, nude, reclining and dark-skinned. These images are, in short, the enactment of "a scale of values in which America occupies the lowest rung with her nudity and 'savagery'" (Duviols 2006:296). Through allegory, the Americas and their inhabitants were placed, quite literally, "in positions of difference and/or similarity to the cultures of early modern Europe" (Schreffler 2005:295). America was clearly inferior.

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[37] The allusions to European myths incorporated to the allegory of America are many. Ramírez de Alvarado mentions just a few: America took on the shape of the Amazons from classical myth, with their long wavy hair and nude bodies carrying weapons as attributes. The myth of Andromeda and Perseus can also be surmised, particularly through the attribute of the severed head of the Medusa held up in triumph. The figure of Artemisa or Diana is also present as the attributes of the female huntress and warrior are integrated into the allegory of the Americas. (2007:222-3)

Figs. 6.26 and 6.27. Galle, P. *America*; *Europe*, 1581-1600

Galle's allegory of America (fig. 6.26) follows the conventions established by the Ortelius frontispiece. A nude female wearing feathered headgear carries a Tupi ceremonial club in one hand and a male head in another. At her feet are a bow and arrows, a parrot and a human arm. In the Galle allegory of Europe (fig. 6.27), the personification of the continent is dressed, crowned and pointing a sceptre upwards. As Honour explains, the discovery of the 'new' continent had given impulse to the idea of European superiority over the other three: "as an Italian Giovanni Botero put it most succinctly in 1591, Europe, though the smallest of the continents, 'was born to rule over Africa, Asia and America'" (1975:92). Hence, the development of the discursive trope of the allegories of the continents, inexistent before the discovery of the Americas, reveals a Europe "taking consciousness of its originality and constructing its own identity by opposition to the other continents and, in particular, to America" (Roque 1993:1018). The de Geyn series of 1608 (pl. 6.4) further confirms this discursive shift. In the American tableau, two semi-clad Indians promenade through a wild landscape populated by arrow-launching figures and women roasting human limbs on a barbecue.[38] In contrast, the European scene personifies the

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[38] The text at the foot of the allegory of America is as follows:

"I am that hidden World, to th- world unknowne. This pretious metal which contemned lay
Yet in so sweete and mylde a climate place't; Lock't up in my wombe as quite forsaken
That in my simple nakednesse I owne The greedie European beares away
The golden Age. And in my gold am grace't. And while he thinkes to take, alas! He's taken."

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continent as a land of refinement, the patron of the arts and civilisation: as "the Queene and Mistresse of this Universe" and "the Sourse of Witts and Nourisher of Artes".[39] Operating through the oppositions between dressed and nude, refinement and savagery, culture and nature, an image of America was produced, one that would "remain adhered to the skin of Americans for a long time" (Roque 1993:1020). America remains a land of abundant natural resources that "the greedie European beares away", while the continent looks on in its "simple nakednesse".

Fig. 6.28. Passe the Elder, C. de. *America*, early 17th century

Evidently, in the construction of these allegorical images of America there is little ethnographical accuracy or geographical specificity. The good allegorist would try to achieve a composite image of America, "combining as many characteristic American items as possible – naked figures, cannibals, gold seekers, exotic flora and fauna" (Honour 1975:87). In many of the New World compendiums of the period, the Americas tended to be treated as a single whole, with the blatant confusion between "the sacrificial rites of the Aztecs, who tore the hearts from living victims and flung them, raw and quivering, upon the alter, [and] the vengeance cannibalism of the Tupinambas" (Lestringant 1997:118), as exemplified in the de Passe allegory (fig.

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[39] The full text for the allegory of Europe is the following:
"As Queene and Mistresse of this Universe,   Yet as noble France is the bravest best
As Sourse of Witts, and Nourisher of Artes,   Of nations which unto my sceptre bowe
I force respect, as well in peace as warres   So doth her kinge in glorie passe the rest
My name and glories spread throughout all partes.   With giftes so rare the Heavens doe him
                                        [endowe."

6.28). This phenomenon, dubbed the 'tupinambisation' of the whole continent (Sturtevant 1976:418), implied the synechdochical extension, "widespread in sixteenth-century geographical literature [and allegorical engravings] of the ethnic and cultural traits of the Tupinamba Indians to all the peoples of the New World" (Lestringant 1997:118). Hence, the practice of cannibalism became discursively linked to *all* the inhabitants of the Americas (Schreffler 2005).

Fig. 6.29. Stafford, J. *The Four Continents: America*, 1625-1635

A pierced head at her feet

At times, the visual association between the personification of the Americas and cannibalism was quite explicit. In the Stafford engraving (fig. 6.29), not only is the oft repeated chopping and barbecuing scene taking place in the background, but America herself holds a hefty piece of human leg.[40] In the de Passe allegory (fig. 6.28), as well, several human heads are displayed before the viewer and, in case there was any doubt,

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[40] "Though to my sisters long unknowne I lay,
I am as rich, and greater farr then they
My barbarous rudeness doth at full exprese,
What Nature is, till wee have Graces drese,
But where the gloomy Shades of Death yet bee
The Sunnshine of Godds love I hope to see."

a cauldron full of body parts is simmering over a fire. This portrayal of America, "in contrast to the social and cultural integrity and totality emphasized in the emblem of Europe" (Schreffler 2005:305), highlights dismemberment and fragmentation through the symbols of the body parts. In Schreffler's words, Europe is "characterized by an ensemble of objects and attributes that constitute the body politic, [while] America is presented instead as an ensemble of anatomical units that constitute the flesh – and blood – body" (2005:305).

Figs. 6.30 and 6.31. Ripa, C. *America*, ca. 1603; Picart, B. *L'Amérique*, 1708-1733

In other cases, American cannibalism was symbolised, quite simply, by the depiction of a pierced head at the feet of the personification (figs. 6.30 and 6.31), much like the Léry engraving analysed in chapter five (pl. 5.2). Following Ripa's *Iconologia* (ca. 1603), the iconographical handbook which most baroque artists consulted in order to represent abstract ideas (Honour 1975), America was to be depicted with a human head at her feet that "plainly shows that it is the custom of many of these barbarous people to eat human flesh" (Ripa 1976). For Schreffler, this 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" (2005:299). Operating through synecdoche, the head at her feet emphasises the representation of America "in terms of parts and fragmentation", while

Europe is represented "in terms of totality and wholeness" (2005:305). Hence, Europe is the model for "social and political integrity, cohesion and organization" while America is a reality determined by "social and political chaos" (2005:305). Europe, "Mistresse of the Universe" is, in her allegorical form, the symbol of the monarch as a 'body politic' while America remains 'a flesh-and-blood mortal body'.

In Delafosse's 1768 allegory of Europe and America, this representation of Europe as the beacon of civilisation and America as a savage continent achieves its maximum allegorical abstraction (fig. 6.32). In the engraving, the attributes of Europe (a helmet, books, musical instruments, scientific apparatuses) are placed in the shape of a neoclassical reinterpretation of Greek and Roman pedimental triangles. They hold a privileged position in the composition and are hierarchically placed over the attributes symbolising the Americas. As the accompanying text explains, America is represented by:

> An urn on which one can see the bleeding head of a man pierced by a dart, which denotes the cruel character of the majority of the peoples from these parts, who were anthropophages. The serpents that form the handles of the Urn designate the vindictive, low and rampant character of the naturals of the land. (Delafosse 1768)

At the base of the urn, the continent has, moreover, the alligator as its emblem.
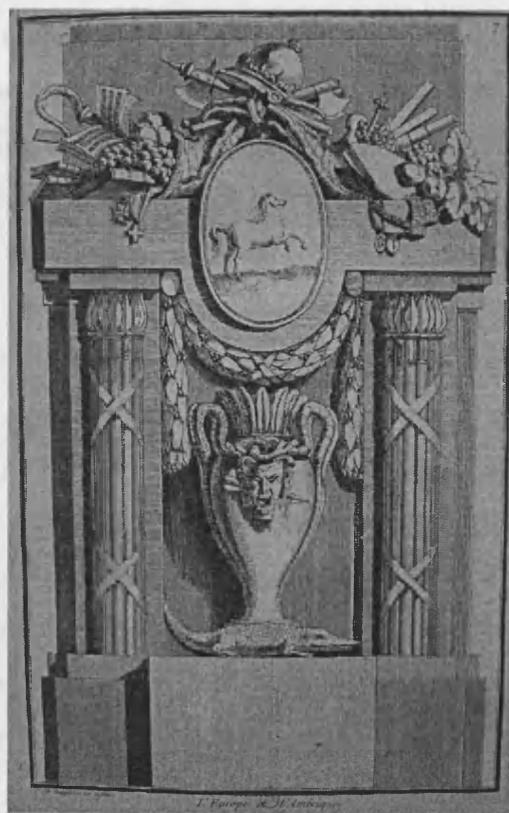
Fig. 6.32. Delafosse, Ch. *L'Europe et l'Amérique*, 1768

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Over time, this emphasis on the American continent as flesh-and-blood mortal body in pieces was slowly modified. Explicit references to cannibalism became rarer, perhaps as a tendency signifying of the triumph of the European colonial mission over barbarism, perhaps as a propagandistic ploy to encourage new settlers. Hence, "allusions to cannibalism were played down, if not omitted entirely" (Honour 1975:109) and the pierced head was displayed less prominently behind America's feet, accompanied by an alligator (figs. 6.30 and 6.31).

This animal became the emblematic companion of the continent. Ripa, in his *Iconologia* (ca. 1603) explained: "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" (1976). In fact, the alligator played an important function in discourses on cannibalism in the Americas. In Léry's description of the Tupi sacrificial ceremony, he associates the alligator and cannibalism symbolically:

> For as one says of the crocodile, that having killed a man, he then weeps just before eating him, so too after the woman [the Tupi 'wife' of the prisoner to be cannibalised] has made some or another lamentation, and shed a few feigned tears over her dead husband, she will, if she can, be the first to eat of him. (1990:125-6)

Yet beyond this clear association, the alligator at America's feet also emphasised the continent's place in the scale of world evolution. The attribute of a watery continent (Honour 1975), the alligator was part of the discourse of climatic determinism that characterised the sixteenth century. In this view, it was believed that the continents had emerged from the world's seas at different times, America being the newest of all continents, the last to emerge and, consequently, the wettest. Moreover, in European colonial discourses the influence of the environment on its inhabitants was central in determining the nature of the other. Paraphrasing Las Casas (1967), for men to possess the natural ability of good understanding, the influence of the sky, the disposition and quality of the region and of the earth and the clemency and bounty of the weather were determining factors. However, while Las Casas used this argument to prove the capacity for reason of the Amerindians, other texts drew on these theories to prove the degeneracy of the Americans. Hence, a system of classification based on the physical and social differences between peoples became based on the influence of the environment upon such factors. A people inhabiting a newly emerged, degenerate continent were necessarily inferior, both physically and intellectually and must

"submit to other peoples more advanced and better equipped by nature" (Lavallé 1990:327). Thus, climatic reasons were consistently presented as evidence for the natural slavery of the Amerindians, as "natural servitude was the consequence of the bad effects of American nature" (Lavallé 1990:328). This European debate over the influence of geography and temporality in the assumed 'natural slavery' of the Americans was to become a central node in the Catholic and Protestant dispute for the cannibal's soul.

Pl. 7.1. van der Aa, P. Pretres mendians et Sacrifians aux Divinitez des Mexiquains, in *Le miroir de la cruell et horrible tyrannie...*, ca. 1720

Pl. 7.2. van der Aa, P., Tyrannie des Espagnols dans les Indes Occidentales, in *Le miroir de la cruell et horrible tyrannie...*, ca. 1720

Pl. 7.3. de Bry, T. Crudelitates Hispanorum, in *Crudelitates Hispanorum in India…*, ca. 1596

Chapter Seven. Soul

This chapter follows the thematic development of European religious discourses and their intersection with American cannibalism and the battle over the soul of the New World cannibal in the context of evangelical colonial discourses. Particularly, it analyses the ways in which the cannibalistic rites said to have been practiced by the American natives were used as proof of their savagery, lack of reason and association with the devil. The first section of the chapter looks at the ways these associations between Indian cannibalism and the devil were established by looking at the prevalent religious iconography in Europe at the time of the colonisation of the Americas. Particular attention is paid to the ways in which the European iconographical tradition was directly exported to the Americas, regardless of the ethnographical accuracy it might have held. In fact, in this section it is argued that the representations of American religious rituals were based more on fantasy than on direct observation. The second section analyses the three main controversies surrounding the Latin American native: the debate over the soul of the Indian through proofs of his reason, the Spanish Black Legend, and the Eucharist debate between Catholics and Protestants.

In Delafosse's 1768 allegory of the American continent (fig. 7.1), a collection of diverse artefacts is assembled with an accompanying text that explains the meanings attached to each object. The crown of heliotrope flowers, for instance, symbolises the virgins that were associated to the cult of the sun in the Peruvian region. The mask represents the frightening masks worn by the Incas during their religious ceremonies. The idol depicted on the shield refers to the god of the winds, reverenced as a principal deity by the Virginians of North America. For Delafosse (1768), the prominent characteristic of the continent is the idolatry that ran rampant throughout these lands: "The ancient Americans were in part Idolaters, or others were without religion, the former offering human Victims to their Divinities". However, Delafosse is quick to champion the corrective influence of European rule over the region given that "presently, these peoples follow, in part, the Religion of the Princes to whom they are submitted". This allegory, produced at least two hundred years after the main push for conquest and colonisation of the Americas had taken place, is paradigmatic of the crucial role that religion continued to play in the development of the European colonial mission.

Fig. 7.1. Delafosse, J.Ch., *L'Amérique*, 1768

In fact, the history of the conquest and colonisation of the Americas is inseparable from the theological discourses that were produced in Europe throughout the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. The first conquistadors frequently identified themselves with the Christian heroes of the crusades and the Reconquest of the Spanish peninsula from the Moors (Pagden 1993).[41] In their view, the submission and colonisation of American indigenous peoples was a continuation of the Christian wars that had been recently fought on European territory. Importantly, the conquest of the Americas was a struggle that operated under the premise of a Christian conception of time which, according to Todorov, was "not an incessant return but an infinite progression toward the final victory of the Christian spirit" (1984:87). In other words, the conquest of the Americas was understood as a prolongation of an age-old struggle

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[41] The very term 'conquest' is associated to the historical 're-conquering' of the Spanish territories that had been overtaken by the Moors over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In Las Casas's view, the use of this term in the American context was "tyrannical, Mahommedan, abusive, improper, and infernal". A conquest, he argued, can be conducted only against "Moors from Africa, Turks, and heretics who seize our lands, persecute Christians, and work for the destruction of our faith" (Las Casas cited in Pagden 1993:94).

that would eventually lead Christian Europe to triumph over all the infidels of the world.

Following the self-assuredness of the predestined triumph of Christianity over paganism, the first European views of the Amerindians fluctuated between two poles based on the opposition between the 'good' Taino and the 'bad' Caribe initially established by Columbus during his first voyages of exploration. For the missionaries sent to the New World, a generally positive image of the native populations was maintained. As Elliot explains, many missionaries, "buoyed up by their faith in the natural innocence" (1970:33) of the Amerindians, considered them *tablas rasas* "on which the true faith could easily be inscribed" (1970:33). Hence, the Indies were imagined as "a vestige of Eden lost" (Lestringant 1990:8), a place where the corruption and decadence of the Old World could be set right through the inscription of 'the Faith' on these innocent souls. However, at the other end of the spectrum, Amerindians were regarded as idolatrous cannibals living in the "antechamber to Hell where the most unnameable vices resided, where even cannibalism was sanctified by religion" (Lestringant 1990:8). For European missionaries and colonisers, the American native was at the very centre of a moral battle between good and evil, between God and the Devil.

Yet this struggle was not confined to the abstract battleground of morality. The debate over the soul of the Indian was directly linked to institutional practices that helped to consolidate the colonial enterprise. The legal institution of the Encomienda (Pagden 2004), for example, was based on the premise of a trade-off whereby the land and the labour of the natives became the possessions of the Spanish Crown, while the Indians received in exchange "the protection of the Castilian Crown, instruction in the Christian faith and a small wage" (Pagden 2004:xx). The spiritual value of receiving Christian instruction was thus presented as tantamount to the economic value of unlimited labour and unlimited land. While the fairness of this exchange may be subject to scrutiny, other legal proclamations were more manifestly belligerent. The Requerimiento was a document produced by the kings of Spain that was to be read to the American natives upon contact. This document, written and read out-loud in Castilian and therefore impossible for the Indians to understand, was a summons for the natives to become subjects of the Spanish Crown. If they should "wickedly and intentionally" (cited in Todorov 1984:147) refuse such a summons, then in the kings' name the conquistador would:

certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall forcibly enter into your country and shall make war against you in all ways and manner that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and we shall do all the harm and damage that we can as to vassals who do not obey and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him. (cited in Todorov 1984:147)

In fact, the 'suspect' moral character of the Indians was consistently used in order to legitimate the waging of war against them. For Sepúlveda, a Spanish philosopher and theologian, the war against the Indians was justified in order "to banish the portentous crime of eating human flesh, which is a special offence to nature, and to stop the worship of demons instead of God, which above all else provokes His wrath, together with the monstrous rite of sacrificing men" (cited in Todorov 1984:154), thereby establishing a direct link between New World cannibalism and European religious discourses. Furthermore, it was the Spanish Crown's duty to "save from grave perils the numerous innocent mortals who these barbarians immolated every year placating their gods with human hearts" (cited in Todorov 1984:154). And crucially, a war on the natives was justified because "it opens the way to the propagation of Christian religion and eases the task of the missionaries" (cited in Todorov 1984:154). The discourse of Christianity as a universally inclusive religion, legitimated by a moral imperative to 'save souls' from the torments of hell, was used – in practice – to justify wars and turn the natives into *de facto* slaves of the Spanish colonisers.

Based on similar theological underpinnings, other less widespread discourses vindicated a nascent anti-colonialist position (Lestringant 1993). Fernández de Oviedo, for instance, argued that, since the Indians were unconvertible to the Faith and therefore excluded from redemption, there was no justification for the Spanish occupation of the Americas under the pretext of evangelisation. Léry, on the other hand, considered that the failure to convert the Indians to the Christian religion was the consequence of their genealogical origins. He believed that the natives were descended from Shem, the cursed patriarch of one of the four postdiluvian tribes described in the Bible. As his descendents, the Indians were predestined to forego salvation and, consequently, any attempts to evangelise them were futile. These views, while not particularly flattering to the Amerindians, did open up a potential space where through their exclusion from the Christian faith they could be "protected in their physical and cultural integrity" (Lestringant 1993:130).

7.1 Devils

However, these early anti-colonialist views were not the mainstay of European colonial discourses. The evangelical paradigm persisted, and the American Indian became the object of continuous attempts to adequately integrate and classify him in a Christian theological framework. The first European impressions of the Caribbean natives were that, just as they were physically naked, the Indians were also "deprived of all cultural property: they are characterised, in a sense, by the absence of customs, rites, religion" (Todorov 1984:35). In fact, as Todorov (1984) points out, this nudity extended to the spiritual domain. Columbus explained this 'spiritual nudity' under the following terms: "it seemed to me that all these people were very poor in everything; [...] It seemed to me that they belonged to no religion" (1982:32). It was precisely this perceived 'spiritual nudity' that made it difficult for Spanish jurists and theologians to place the Indian within the religious epistemic classifications of the period. The Amerindian was clearly not a Christian, but he could not be considered an infidel or a heretic either:

> Was he an innocent child of nature with a human mind and soul, amenable to life
> in a Christian community? Or did his idols and human sacrifice show him to be
> inherently bestial and non-rational, a creature of Satan, an Aristotelian "natural
> slave"? (Morse cited in Hanke 1976:365)

In the end, the American native was placed on the border between "those that had chosen God and good, and those who had chosen the Prince of darkness and evil" (Coello de la Rosa 2002:149); his ambivalent nature thus became easier to fit into Western cognitive structures based on binary categories of classification.

On the one hand, the American natives were portrayed as the innocent victims of demons that tormented them. In de Bry's engraving (fig. 7.2), these demons take on the forms from European demonological iconography. The horrid Satyr beating the Indian over the head; the dog-headed, goat-legged monster; the floating harpy with saggy breasts and dragon wings: this collection of horrors is contrasted with the two demon-free European figures in the foreground who preach the Gospel to the sceptical Indian. In fact, as Hurbon (1993) is quick to point out, these images of demons belong to a European iconographical tradition that had grouped together figures from the classical world, medieval bestiaries, sorcerers and witches. This iconographical legacy was then mobilised to populate the New World with its demons. In Hurbon's words,

"the process of the barbarisation of the Indian is inaugurated by the export of medieval demonology to the New World" (1993:31).

Fig. 7.2. de Bry, T. Brésiliens persécutés par le démon Aygnan, in *America tertia pars*, 1592

The role of monsters during the late Middle Ages was central to many theological discourses and philosophical considerations. Following Augustinian tradition, monsters were understood as signs that "show by signifying something, [they] point out to us, [they] portend, foretell [that] God is to do what he prophesied that he would do with the bodies of the dead" (Saint Augustine cited in Bartra 1994:89). A central point of contrast to the glories and perfection of God's heavenly reign, monsters exercised an important religious function. While it was understood that God had made the world and everything in it, the presence of monstrous abnormalities was harder to justify. Medieval thinkers explained these presences by suggesting that:

> [in order] to avoid the world's inhabitants from getting tired of too many of these [beautiful and notable things created by God], God used those beings [monsters] more like ornaments than as the everyday material of creation, placing them in what Europeans conceived as the margins of the world. (Park 2000:81)

As Eco explains, from a theologic-metaphysical viewpoint the totality of the universe is beautiful because "it is a divine work and thanks to this total beauty even ugliness and evil are in some way redeemed" (2007:43). Importantly, this "monstrifying tendency [...] can best be described as the marriage of religion and horror" (Kappler

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1999:239), resulting in a symbolic experiencing of otherness which is "awe-ful" (Kearney 2003:121): simultaneously awful and full of awe for God's creation.

While monsters were considered to be an integral part of God's creation, they were also an important point of symbolical contrast for visually distinguishing between good and evil. The visual representations of human sin, for instance, consistently took on the shape of hybrid monsters that were crosses between anthropomorphic figures and animals (fig. 7.3). Valverde (2000) argues that the representation of human sins through zoomorphic hybridisation would have been immediately recognisable to the Europeans of the period given the shared cultural archive that established a clear relationship between the abstract concepts and the visual metaphors used to depict them. Importantly, this would imply that the images of monsters could transcend their marginal, ornamental function as a point of contrast to God's creation and become instead an important marker for the forbidden. This change in the role of monsters has been pinpointed by Kappler, who has argued that the end of the Middle Ages brought forward "a progressive slide from the monstrous to the diabolical" (1999:245) as a strategy for dealing with difference.

Fig. 7.3. Anon., *Typus Peccatoris*, n/d

For Kappler (1999), the devil is a kind of monster. Actually, the monstrous function of demonstration is central to the symbolic role of the devil as "a monstrous-diabolical omnipresent that imposes itself as a sort of evidence" (1999:245). The

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material-symbolical incarnation of pure evil, the devil is represented "in a crescendo of ugliness, [as] he gradually invades patristic and medieval literature" (Eco 2007:92). However, as Eco clarifies, it is important to remember that in the Old and New Testaments, the devil is never described with the "'somatic' features" (2007:73) that characterise him in medieval images. In fact, "no lively or evident image [of the devil] was ever offered" (2007:73) in the Bible.

Fig. 7.4. Anon., [Mosaic of the Devil] at the Chapel of St. Lorenzo, Florence, fifteenth century

It was Dante's *Inferno* (1851 [ca. 1308]) that would come to consolidate the iconography of the devil for the early modern period. In the Augustinian tradition, Satan was considered "the Great Devourer" (Saint Augustine cited in Kors & Peters 2001:9). On this basis, Dante penned one of the most vivid images of Satan's wicked appetite:

> Upon his head three faces that were joined;
> The one in front, and that of crimson hue;
> The others, which upon the first confined
> Above the mist of either back were twain
> [...] At every mouth he mumbled with his teeth
> A traitor, in the manner of a mill,
> And made of three [Judas, Cassius and Brutus]
>   their miserable sheath. (Dante 1851:241)

The image of a three headed devil eating the three traitors abounds in late medieval and early modern frescos, many of them depictions of the Last Judgment or

Apocalypse (Zika 1997)(figs. 7.4 and 7.5). In fact, the associations between Satan, hell and orality were abundantly present in European religious images.

Fig. 7.5. Bettini, A. [Hell], in *Monte Sancto di Dio*, 1491

Hell's Mouth

Not only was Satan portrayed as an insatiable man-eater, but the entryway to hell itself was also represented as an enormous all-consuming mouth (figs. 7.6 and 7.6a). The iconographical trope of Hell's Mouth typified medieval concern with being consumed by the flames of hell and by Satan himself. Such concerns were characteristically illustrated by the depiction of hell's entrance as the jaws of a wild beast: "They are said to be the jaws of hell, because none of the elect, but the wicked only are sent into them. […] Hell is supposed to be in the heart of the earth, so that the wicked may not see the light of heaven" (Sheingorn 1992:2). The realm of demons, the ultimate margin of medieval society, was simultaneously a fantastical Other-World as well as "an inner frontier that genuinely or imaginarily menaced the Christian faith" (Bartra 1994:85).

Figs. 7.6 and 7.6a. Collaert, H. and Galle, T. *Ero Inferne*, c 1580-1587; detail

The imagery of hell and the demonic was frequently associated to eating and the belly. As Warner explains, in many images hell is frequently imagined as a "profane banquet" (1998:163), at times crude with literally *raw* men being eaten by the devil, at other times extremely culinary. In many representations, hell is depicted as a kitchen with "sinners on barbecues, cauldrons, kettles, griddles, [and] spits" (1998:163)(fig. 7.7). In fact, it was believed that hell had been created by God and that:

> in order to further torment the damned, [He] made Himself a distiller and inside those stills of hell He enclosed the pangs of the most ravenous hungers, the most burning thirsts, the most freezing cold, the firiest passions. [...] And distilling all these ingredients, He made such a brew, each drop of which contains the refined quintessence of all pains, in such a way that each flame, each ember, better yet

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each spark of that flame contains within itself the distillation of all torments within a single torment. (Marchelli cited in Eco 2007:88)

Fig. 7.7. Fra Angelico, Hell from *The Last Judgement*, ca. 1431

Furthermore, not only was God a sort of omnipotent alchemist-cum-chef, hell itself was an otherworldly stomach where the damned became consumed and digested. Bakhtin explains the metaphorical associations created between death and feeding: "the word 'to die' had among its various connotations the meaning of 'being swallowed' or being 'eaten up'" (1984:301).[42] Hell was, then, the enclosed chaotic space where the bodies of the damned "are interwoven and begin to be fused in one grotesque image of a devoured and devouring world. One dense bodily atmosphere is created, the atmosphere of the great belly" (1984:221). It is precisely this iconography of hell that would also be exported to the New World and applied to the Indian's pagan deities.

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[42] In Mexican slang, these kinds of associations persist to this day. For example, a colloquial way of saying someone has died is "Se lo chupó el diablo" ("He was sucked up by the devil").

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Figs. 7.8 and 7.8a. Galle, C. and Galle, P. s.n., ca. 1570; detail

What Bakhtin (1984) has defined as the body-grotesque (explained in detail in chapter five) certainly also applied to religious imagery of the devil. De Galle's devil (figs. 7.8, 7.8a and 7.9, 7.9a), for instance, is the epitome of European fixation with the open, unstable, gashed body. As Mason suggests:

> It is interesting to note that in fourteenth-century French conceptions of hell, the bodily orifices are not seen as openings but as rifts and ruptures, the result of violent action carried out on the body, which is carried to excess in the infernal regions; paradise, by contrast, is connoted by the hermetically closed form of the sphere and by closed, rounded surfaces in general. (1990:148)

In the de Galle engraving, the devil has two jaws, one that is part of his dog-like head, and one that is wide open across his belly. In the second engraving, particularly, the process of demonic digestion is illustrated in such a way that the futility of the devil's voracity is made explicit through the expulsion of what appears to be two infants from his belly-jaws. This manner of imagining the devil with gaping jaws on his body was consistently employed throughout religious illustrations in books ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, when de Galle's engravings were produced. In fact, in the illustrations to Book XXI of the City of God by Guillebert de Mets, the devil is depicted with several mouths on the elbows, knees and belly (Mason 1990). The devil is, in essence, the figure of ultimate voracious hunger for whom one mouth does not suffice to consume the damned.

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Figs. 7.9 and 7.9a. Galle, C. and Galle, P. [Negligentia], ca. 1570; detail

Given this discursive context, it is not surprising that the same trope of devilish appetite was later juxtaposed over the 'cannibal' deities of the Americas (figs. 7.10 and 7.11). Huitzilopochtli, the Mexica god of the sun and of war, in particular, was almost always represented in European images as a hybrid anthropomorphic monster part-satyr and part-dragon. Interestingly, this deity was depicted in at least four different engravings spanning from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries with a sinister grinning face at the centre of his body much like the de Galle devil. The image, in all likelihood quite popular with European audiences given the frequency with which it is repeatedly illustrated in the same fashion, was a way of representing in a European pictorial language the human sacrifices practiced by Mesoamerican peoples before their gods. In fact, this image was a direct echo of Sepúlveda's disgusted reaction at Mexica rituals. Recalling Sepúlveda's quote from chapter five, the Mexica were a people that, giving themselves "over to all types of intemperance and unrestrained lust" (cited in Vignolo 2005:163), frequently fed themselves with human flesh. Equally disturbingly, they "[venerated] the stomach and the most embarrassing parts of the body as a God, considering the pleasures of the flesh as religion and virtue" (cited in Vignolo 2005:163). Hence, as far as some European theologians were concerned, Mesoamericans were moral reprobates on two counts. Firstly, their religion was one of the devil, as their monstrous idols and rituals clearly proved. Secondly, their passions and appetites ruled over their soul to an excessive degree, to the extent that this degeneracy had become officially sanctioned as religious cult. The American Indian was no longer represented as an innocent victim subject to

the torment of demons. Instead, the Indian was more and more frequently portrayed as the devil's willing worshipper.

Fig. 7.10. Manesson Mallet, A. Uiztlipuztli, in *Description de l'Univers*, 1683
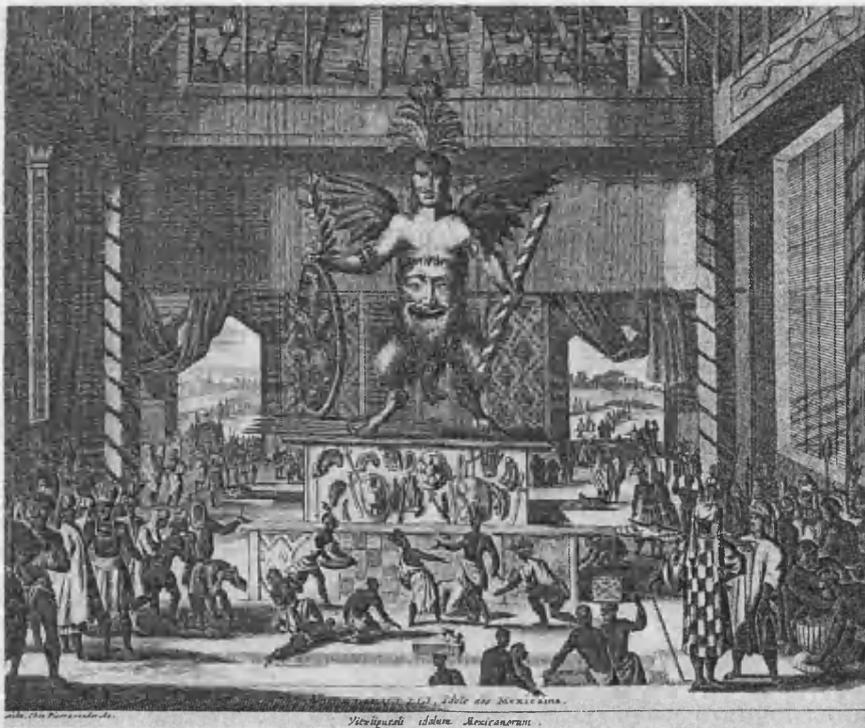

Fig. 7.11. van der Aa, P. Vitzliputzli, Idole des Mexicains, in *La galerie agréable du monde*, 1729

Graphic images of torture and pain were not uncommon in Christian iconography. As Hendrix (2003) explains, sixteenth and seventeenth century religious images tended to be particularly distressing. For example, illustrations of the capital punishments and of Christian martyrdom were very explicit images "conceived in order to produce in the audience – readers and spectators alike – an emotional discomfort that would bring about feelings of pity and outrage [...], of fear (the iconography of executions) or devotion (the martyr scenes)" (2003:77-9). This appeal to emotion was also present in the European images of the American cannibal. The theme of the bestiality of the Indian ran through the representational regimes of the West (Elliot 1970), and the terms under which the natives were portrayed appealed to reactions of disgust or morbid fascination on the part of the European viewer. This manner of representing the cannibal responded, in some ways, to the use of "the element of horror is part of a moralistic and didactic strategy which uses emotional distress to encourage civic attitudes and religious beliefs amongst the public" (Hendrix 2003:77-99). Fundamentally, this graphic portrayal of the other provided Europe with a series of theological justifications for taking over the Americas.

In the European epistemic framework of the period, the light of religion was considered the only way of eradicating the savagery from non-Western peoples. Evangelical work was understood to be, at its very core, "a cosmic battle between God and the Devil" (Jáuregui 2003:200). Missionaries and European explorers, proper Christians as they were, held the exclusive privilege of "commanding the demons and chasing them away" (Kappler 1999:67). Thévet, a Franciscan priest and cosmographer, summarises this view quite clearly:

> We know very well that sodomy, idolatry, and other enormous impieties were the fashion in those regions before the Spaniards set foot there. Today, by the grace of God and their ministry, the light of Christianity has penetrated there and chased away those pernicious corruptions, which were enough to engulf those poor barbarians in the deepest recesses of hell. (cited in Keen 1990:112)

Cannibalism was, perhaps, the most visible marker of the 'enormous impieties' that were practiced by the Indians. A fresco by Farinati (fig. 7.12) is a clear illustration of this position. At the centre of the format, the figure of an American Indian sits holding a bow. The man has turned away from a human limb roasting on a spit and, instead, looks devotedly at the crucifix in his hand. This allegory of evangelisation sends a clear message: once the light of Christian religion shines upon the pagan, he will

reject his savage customs and devote himself to the faith. This interesting piece of 'spiritual' propaganda[43] was part of a discursive formation which imbricated theological discourses with military practices. As Coello de la Rosa argues, "cannibalism, like the rest of the vices and pagan rites, provided the conquistadors with an empirical justification to declare war on the Amerindians" (2002:155). Extreme views even championed a 'final solution' of sorts to the Indian problem:

> God is going to destroy them soon. [...] Satan has now been expelled from the island [Hispaniola]; his influence has disappeared now that most of the Indians are dead. [...] Who can deny that the use of gunpowder against pagans is the burning of incense to Our Lord. (Fernández de Oviedo cited in Todorov 1984:151)

Fig. 7.12. Farinati, P. *Allegory of Evangelisation*, 1595

The legitimacy of this spiritual mission gained further authority through the imposition of Eurocentric representational techniques upon non-Western peoples. In *Newe zeittung* (fig. 7.13), for example, the sacrificial rituals of the Yucatan peninsula are represented in a Gothic pictorial style that has little to do with ethnographical accuracy. At the centre of the engraving the interior of a pagan temple is represented in the style of a medieval tower. On the altar, two infants are being cut into pieces by a couple of figures that resemble European priests, while another character prays to an idol in the background. A third infant is being rolled down the stairs of the 'temple' to

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[43] It is important to recall that the term 'propaganda' originally refered to the systematic propagation of Catholic beliefs, values or practices in the context of the religion wars in Europe. As Clark (1997) has explained, the term was coined in the seventeenth century, when Pope Gregory XV formed the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith), a missionary organisation through which the Vatican aimed to counteract the rival ideas of the protestant Reformation.

join a pile of corpses at the bottom. In the upper right-hand portion of the engraving, a woman in full medieval dress is surrounded by other figures, the most visible of which is a devil with hawk's legs and a bird-like face. Beneath this scene, a ship carrying European explorers is arriving to bear witness to the demonic rituals of this savage people. The engraving is a clear example of Barabas's (2000) assertion that in European representational regimes, "alterity was constructed more on the basis of fiction than on a realistic knowledge" (2000:11). In this engraving in particular, it is possible that the image was constructed through the re-use of other engravings originally made to represent European settings. What is significant about this kind of representational recycling, in Mason's view, is that:

> the readers of this text were expected to have had no difficulty in supposing that
> the inhabitants to the newly discovered continent of America bore a resemblance
> to the sinners who were now located in a place which closely resembles the
> European view of that purgatory was like. (1990:51)

Fig. 7.13. Anon., *Newe zeittung...*, ca. 1522

The fact that Mesoamerican rituals may have looked *different* to anything ever seen in Europe is never considered in the *Newe zeittung* engraving. For Todorov (1984), this way of approaching alterity implies the denial of the possibility of a human substance

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truly other, the denial of "something capable of being not merely an imperfect state of oneself" (1984:43). In a sense, this engraving is a perfect example of the need to impose upon the other one's self-same representational languages in order to eradicate their absolute degree of difference.

Mesoamerican deities were also represented under these terms. American gods were consistently portrayed under the guise of the Christian iconographical traits used for devils. In the Cieza de León engraving (fig. 7.14), for instance, Peruvian natives are depicted performing sacrificial ceremonies before an idol resembling a mythological beast. At the idol's feet, two Sphinx-like creatures observe the ceremony. These kinds of monsters were the representational cousins of the "winged demons with pointy ears and with horns" (Ramírez de Alvarado 2007: 212) prevalent in medieval European iconography. Thus, the American gods "would end up resembling Satan and his infernal minions" (2007:212). The European "triple register of humanity, animality and divinity" (Hubron 1993:30) was, in this manner, "applied systematically to the Indians" (1993:30), consequently establishing "a connexion between the indigenous religious practices" (Coello de la Rosa 2002:150) and European images of devils, witches and monsters. This tendency continued well into the eighteenth century, with the production of engravings such as Picart and van der Aa's (figs. 7.15 and 7.16). Picart's engraving of the idols of Campeche and Yucatán supersedes any attempt at verisimilitude and is, instead, a flight of fancy representing the American deities under the guise of Roman gods and monsters. Something similar occurs in the van der Aa engraving. However, in the latter the inclusion of images of Roman-esque gods and animals has not been deemed sufficient to capture the intemperance of Mesoamerican rituals. Van der Aa has added the burning fires of hell, falling sacrificial bodies, and a multitude of indigenous figures celebrating these pagan rituals.

Fig. 7.14. Cieza de León, P. Grabado cuarto, in *Crónica del Perú*, 1564
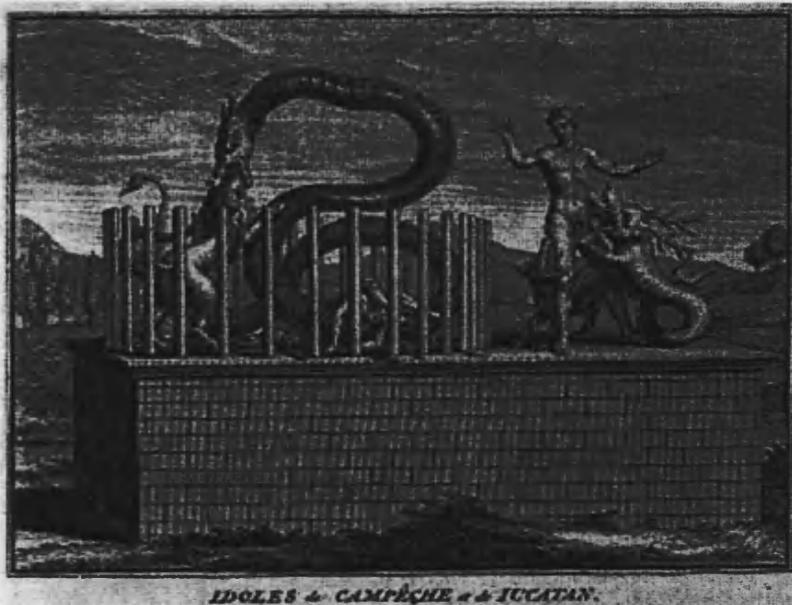
Fig. 7.15. Picart, B. Idoles de Campeche et de Yucatán, in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, 1723

Fig. 7.16. van der Aa, P. Echafaut guarré de marbre a Campechium en Amérique, in *La galerie agréable du monde*, 1729

Moreover, cannibalism was used as crucial proof of the demonic cults practiced by the Amerindians. In the background of the Philoponus engraving of 1621 (fig. 7.17), two American natives feed offerings into the open jaws of an idol that resembles a lion. In the foreground, several figures of Indians chop, bleed and roast human sacrificial victims, in a spectacle of excess and violence. These kinds of representations were key for highlighting the infernalisation of the Americas. As Bucher (1981) suggests, the Tupinamba rituals for eating their prisoners of war were

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exponentially heightened in European illustrations, particularly through the depiction of the human body parts being roasted over a large bonfire. According to her, this was not the way the Tupi cooked these meats because in reality they used a slow fire, "but this ethnographical distortion fitted in with a view of cannibal cooking as hellfire" (Bucher, 1981:194 n. 6). At the centre of these representations of cannibalism was the belief that the idolaters did not realise that "while their idols speak to them, it is the Devil that is talking" (Kappler 1999:67). Díaz del Castillo, one of Cortés's men on the conquest expedition in Mexico, described the Mexican temples in the following way: "[there was] a small tower, the house of idols, a pure hell. [...] Devils and serpents surrounded it. [...] It was there that they cooked the meat from the sacrificed Indians. The 'popes' ate them. I always called this damned house hell" (cited in Duverger 1979:201). As Mason (1990) explains, although Spaniard observers admitted to the high level of complexity of the Mexican religion, they considered it "a ruse of Satan by which the ceremonies of the ancient religion were usurped and put to fiendish ends" (1990:53). The appeal to the emotions of horror and morbid fascination on the part of the European viewer resulted in the production of images that had little or nothing to do with the ethnographical realities of the Americas. However, it is clear that this was not meant to be their main objective. In relegating American religious practices to the realm of fantasy and excess, these images served as propaganda for the justification of the European evangelisation of the continent.

Fig. 7.17. Philoponus, H. Anthropophagus American Indians, in *Nova Typis...*, 1621

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> The physician cannot accurately prescribe remedies to his patient if he does not first know the humours and the causes from which the sickness proceeds. [...] The preachers and the confessors are the physicians of the soul, and in order to cure certain spiritual sicknesses, they must know these remedies and these sicknesses. The sins of idolatry, its rites, its superstitions and omens, its abuses and ceremonies have not altogether disappeared. In order to preach against these things, and in order to know if they still exist, it is necessary to learn how such people employed them in the era of their idolatry. (1969:27)

Hence, the exaggerated and fantastical depiction of Mexica rites, for instance, contributed to the erroneous understanding of these religious practices, there allowing them to go undetected in the Indians' everyday customs. Once the conqu had triumphed, idolatry still persisted hidden in the Christian feasts and ritu practiced by the Amerindians (Jáuregui 2003). Dominican friar Durán was quick lament the persistence of these rituals, insisting that there was no hope of abolish idolatry among the Indians unless:

> we are informed about all the kinds of religion which they practiced. [...] And therefore a great mistake was made by those who, with much zeal but little prudence, burnt and destroyed in the beginning all their pictures [codices]. This left us so much in the dark that they can practise idolatry before our very eyes. (cited in Elliot 1970:33)
> [...] and we understand nothing of what goes on in their dances, in their marketplaces, in their bath-houses, in the songs they chant (when they lament their ancient gods and lords), in their repasts and banquets; these things mean nothing to us. (cited in Todorov 1984:203)

In the fervour to subjugate the Indian to European rule, the European conqueror been blinded to the cultural subterfuges that had been put into practice by the Indi for them to preserve some remaining vestiges of their culture.

To properly eradicate the "superstitions [...] and idolatrous ceremonies, [and free the Mexicans from the hands of the Devil" (Sahagún 1969: 27), it proposed that a detailed description of the ancient rites and beliefs of the Mexicans systematically recorded and ordered, as Sahagún did in his *Florentine Codex* (15 1585) with the help of Mexica scholars and historians. Acosta, a Jesuit missiona argued that "it is not only useful but essential [...] that Christians [...] should kn

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the errors and superstitions of former times" (cited in Elliot 1079:34). These early efforts at classification were often tentative and problematic. For example, Mason (1990) explains that European attempts to understand native religion(s) frequently left the observers at a loss as to how to classify these rites. The Tupinamba in Brazil, for instance, had religious practices that were relatively low-key compared to the highly visible human sacrifices of the Mesoamericans. It seemed as if they had no specific deities (worshipping spirit beings instead) and, therefore, no clearly delimited religion. The Mexicas, on the other hand, could be assimilated to pre-Christian peoples such as the Greeks or Egyptians; their gods could be counted, described and classified (fig. 7.18). Hence, there was a search for a universal system of classification that could take into account all the variants in the American continent. However, the European system of classification – as it had been developed up until that point – was insufficient for including the different forms of religious cult in the Americas.

Fig. 7.18. Picart, B. Vitzliputsli, Tlaloch ou Tescalipuca, Tescalipuca representé d'une autre facon, Pretres mexicains, in *Céremonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, 1723

While these initial attempts may have been somewhat lacking, they were impelled by the same sense of the pre-destined triumph of Christianity mentioned

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Amerindian religious practices was clearly and almost exclusively linked to prac[t]

of dominance and cultural incorporation. In other words, the in-depth conversio[n]

the Indian required a full knowledge of his customs and rites in order to b[e]

eradicate these practices. In Todorov's reading of Durán, "to impose the Chris[tian]

religion, all trace of the pagan one must be uprooted; to eliminate paga[n]

successfully, it must first of all be known thoroughly" (1984:202). In this con[text]

perhaps the most pressing concern was how to classify the native's (cannibal) soul

7.2 Cannibal controversy

In van der Aa's engraving *Prêtres mendians* (pl. 7.1) all the pagan rituals of the [non-]

European world are represented in the same setting. Part voyeurism, [part]

classification, the engraving assembles the most bizarre and the extreme in relig[ious]

practices from around the world. In the foreground one can observe, aided by [a]

number key at the top of the engraving, Japanese mendicants (1), the Horihonse[s]

an eater of droppings (4), and religious figures that kill and burn themselves (5). [The]

baths of the Faquirs and Brahmins (6) and the Turkish religious Dervis (10) [are]

represented in the middle ground. Importantly, the sacrificial ceremonies practice[d by]

the Mexica and their god 'Vitziaputsli' (sic) are represented in the background [(see]

detail, fig. 7.19). As in previous generic images of the Amerindians, the Mexic[a are]

represented with the emblematic feathered headdress, while their priests (who [are]

suspiciously similar to Hebrew priests) extract the heart from a figure lying o[n an]

altar. This picturesque tableau, a window onto the world of pagan ritual for Euro[pean]

audiences, attempts to pictorially reunite and organise some of the [most]

sensationalistic pagan religions the Europeans had come into contact with. [The]

engraving is an attempt to visually classify and 'contextualise' the role playe[d by]

religion in the European colonisation of the Americas and the world. As Europe c[ame]

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to establish points of contact and dominance over different places around the world, the question of diverse peoples' pagan souls (or assumed lack thereof) began to take centre stage.

Fig. 7.19. vander Aa, P. Pretres mendians et Sacrifians aux Divinitez des Mexiquains, detail, in *Le miroir de la cruelle et horrible tyrannie...*, ca. 1720

The cannibal's soul

Latin American indigenous peoples' souls were the topic of grave concern and intense theological discussion. Again demonstrating a pressing concern with how to classify the native, the Las Casas-Sepúlveda debate over whether the Amerindian had a soul – and was, therefore, human – was central to establishing the modes of colonial practices that would come to characterise Spanish presence in the Americas. The preoccupation with classification is perhaps best exemplified by the series of binary oppositions that Todorov (1984) has located in Sepúlveda's arguments against the presence of a soul in the Amerindian. For Sepúlveda, the Indian was, to begin with, clearly in opposition to the Spaniards in terms of cultural advancement, civilisation, and religiosity. Yet this initial opposition implied further derivations:

Spaniards	Indians
adults	children
men	women
gentle	savage
soul	body
reason	appetite

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indicative of the degree to which the European colonial mission depended on othering of the peoples it set out to colonise. At the centre of this debate was matter of the inclusion or exclusion of the Indian into the so-called 'human fam (Gerbi 1973, Pagden 1993, Todorov 1984). To accept that the Indian *did* have a s and capacity for reason meant that he could become a subject of the Spanish Cro and, therefore, enjoy its protection and Christian teachings. If, on the other hand, Indian was found *not* to have a soul and no capacity for reasoning, then their slaug could be justified as the necessary eradication of those miserable 'man-like' beasts.

Sepúlveda characterised the American Indian as "*homunculi* [little men who hardly a vestige of humanity remains" (cited in Pagden 2004:xxviii). In his e their brutish behaviour, the absence of any recognisable culture, their cannibalism paganism, "all clearly indicated that God had intended them to be slaves to th whose 'magnanimity, temperance, humanity and religion' made them their nat masters" (Pagden 2004:xxviii-xxix). Thus, Sepúlveda presented "the gravity of sins which the Indians had committed, especially their idolatries and their sins aga nature" (cited in White 1976:126), cannibalism and incest, as proof of their degene human state. In fact, the absence of proofs of soul or reason in the natives quali them as 'natural slaves' to the Spaniards, in "accordance with the doctrine Aristotle's *Politics* that those who need to be ruled and governed by others may called their slaves" (Anonymous 1600 official, cited in Elliot 1970:44). In Aristotelian tradition, the body was considered to the subjected to the soul, childre parents, women to men and slaves to masters (Todorov 1984, see full discussio chapter five). Sepúlveda used these arguments to affirm that:

> in wisdom, skill, virtue and humanity, these people are as inferior to the
> Spaniards as children are to adults and women to men; there is as great a
> difference between them as there is between savagery and forbearance, between
> violence and moderation, almost – I am inclined to say – as between monkeys
> and men. (cited in Todorov 1984:153)

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Casas's project involved an "extraordinarily ambitious and erudite attempt to em[...]

the peoples of the New World within a global survey of human civilisa[...]

(1970:48). Las Casas had produced a *History of the Indies*, a book "writte[...]

demonstrate that there was no people on earth, no matter how seemingly 'barbar[...]

their condition, that could be denied membership of the 'Christian family'" (Pa[...]

2004:xvii). In order to prove his argument that the American natives were rati[...]

and, therefore, human, he attacked opposing arguments on four fronts (Jáuregui 2[...]

Firstly, he mobilised arguments of cultural comparativism to neutralise the perce[...]

that the religious and cultural rites and ceremonies of the Mesoamericans [...]

uniquely savage and bestial. By comparing these cultures to the ancient Greeks[...]

Romans, the forefathers of Christian Europe, Las Casas excused human sacrifices[...]

other such rituals, arguing that sacrificial practices were common to other peopl[...]

the world. Secondly, Las Casas formulated a rhetorical-biblical dimension to[...]

indigenous resistance in the Caribbean to Spanish rule. Thirdly, Las Casas recogr[...]

a theological dimension to some of the cannibalistic rituals practices by[...]

Mesoamericans. And finally, Las Casas shifted the focus away from the cannibal[...]

rites of the Indians by constructing a new kind of cannibal in the figures of[...]

conquistador and the encomendero. These three latter arguments will be discusse[...]

detail further ahead.

Foremost in Las Casas's apologetics of the Indians was the accumulatio[...]

proofs of instances of their rationality. Vitoria, another champion of the rationali[...]

the Amerindians, argued:

> There is a certain method in their affairs, for they have polities which are orderly
> arranged and they have a definite marriage and magistrates and overlords, lays,
> and workshops, and a system of exchange, all of which call for the use of reason;
> they also have a kind of religion. (cited in Elliot 1970:45)

In fact, this 'kind of religion' was used by Las Casas as undeniable proof of [...]

rational capacities. While the Indian's human sacrifices *were* gory, they showe[...]

most lofty concept of the Deity to whom the people who practice them sacr[...]

(Gerbi 1973:577).

In his apologetics of the Mesoamerican Indian, Las Casas could not av[oid]
addressing the topic of the cannibalism associated to the sacrificial rites practiced [by]
the Mexica. While Las Casas had tended to approach other rites and rituals wit[h a]
"sympathetic understanding of the native civilisation" (Elliot 1970:34), cannibali[sm]
was a practice very hard to excuse in a Christian-European worldview. Washb[urn]
(1976) argues that, in fact, Las Casas's position regarding Mexica cannibalism wa[s a]
daring one: "while wrong, [it] was an expression of the highest religious feeling, si[nce]
those who offered the most precious sacrifices to God (whether a true or false g[od])
could be regarded as the most religious of all" (1976:340). While Las Casas [did]
consider anthropophagy to be prevalent and horrific, he did not believe it was [the]
result of innate wickedness. In Gerbi's reading (1973), Las Casas conside[red]
cannibalism to be more like a disease or an excessive hunger. Vico, an Ital[ian]
philosopher and historian, also justified these cannibalistic practices; while they w[ere]
probably due to a "fanaticism of superstition" and were most certainly a "monstr[ous]
custom" (cited in Gerbi 1973:577), these rites must not be considered a "sign of m[ere]
evil or savagery" (Gerbi 1973:557). Instead, they were a universal phenomenon [and]
stage in the progress of all peoples, specific to "a certain phase in the development [of]
all civilizations" (1973:557). In this sense, the presence of cannibalism [in]
Mesoamerica confirmed the distancing in time of the Mexica people and served a[s a]
measure of the progress of European civilisation.

In 1537, Pope Paul III proclaimed the *Sublimis Deus* bull, in which he decla[red]
Indians to be 'true men' and, therefore, capable of receiving the faith:

> [some] have not hesitated to publish abroad that the Indians of the West and the
> South, and other people of whom We have recent knowledge should be treated as
> dumb brutes created for our service, pretending that they are incapable of
> receiving the Catholic faith. [...] Hence Christ, who is the Truth itself, that has
> never failed and can never fail, said to the preachers of the faith whom He chose
> for that office "Go ye and teach all nations". He said all, without exception, for
> all are capable of receiving the doctrines of the faith. (cited in Hanke 1976:368)

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assimilation and acceptance of the Other that was a consequence of the ideolog[

struggle with the exponents of the Spanish colonialist discourse" (Arias 1993:1

The stance of slavery and extermination was confronted with that of assimilation

indoctrination. In the end, the capacity for conversion of the Indians to the Chris

faith prevailed and, consequently, the Indian was proclaimed a 'true man'. This

very important practical and institutional consequences. In accepting the Indian

fellow human being, Spaniard colonists were called upon to consider the native

potential brothers and participate in their Christianisation. Hence, "the Spaniards

enjoyed tribute and labour from Indians were expressly charged to aid in t

conversion" (Hanke 1976:367), for above all things, the Spanish crown deployed

indoctrination of the Indian as the utmost banner of the 'justness' of Spanish rule.

They fell like ravening wolves upon the fold

A Spaniard pulls an Indian by the hair. In the background, some explorers

chopping down a tree with Indian dwellings in them; some Indians fall from

heights. A Spaniard hits an Indian across the face with the butt of his shotgun, whil

a pit in the ground Indian bodies have been impaled on sharpened sticks. Dogs cl

on some discarded bodies. Among billowing clouds of smoke, a market of hu

meat takes place, with several body parts roasting on a series of spits. In

background, a volcano erupts and spews lava over this dramatic scene. Van der A

illustration (pl. 7.2) for a French-Flemish translation of Las Casas's *Brief Histor*

the Destruction of the Indies (1620) is not a subtle piece. An illustration of

instances of Spanish tyranny in the New World, van der Aa's interpretation of

Casas's pamphlet contrasts the literal cannibalism of the natives with the symt

cannibalism of the violent Spaniards.

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describe them (Arias 1993):

> The Spanish fell like ravening wolves upon the fold, or like tigers and savage lions who have not eaten meat for days. The pattern established at the outset has remained unchanged to this day, and the Spaniards still do nothing save tear the natives to shreds, murder them and inflict upon them untold misery, suffering and distress, tormenting, harrying and persecuting them mercilessly. (Las Casas 2004:11)

The Indian, on the other hand, "is described in biblical terms such as sheep or lan (Arias 1993:173), as the innocent victim of Spanish voracity:

> They are innocent and pure in mind and have a lively intelligence, all of which makes them particularly receptive to learning and understanding the truths of our Catholic faith and to being instructed in virtue; indeed God has invested them with fewer impediments in this regard than any other people on earth. Once they begin to learn of the Christian faith, they become so keen to know more, to receive the Sacraments, and to worship God that the missionaries who instruct them do truly have to be men of exceptional patience and forbearance. (Las Casas 2004:10)

Exploiting the rhetorical motif of *homo homini lupus*, "the man against man i beast" (2004:10), Las Casas inverts the discourse of the American native as sava and relocates the true savage in the ambitious and violent conquistador.

While excessive and crude, the literal cannibalism practiced by Mesoamericans was excused away by Las Casas. The accumulation of evidence Spanish cruelty served his intent to rhetorically transform the Christian Spaniard i an abusive "devourer of the innocent and true cannibal" (Jáuregui 2003:210). Merrim argues (1993), as much as the *Brief History* "demythifies the Spaniards, equal measure and to the same polemical ends does it mythify or idealise the Inc and the Indians, representing both in utopian terms" (1993:155). For Arias (1993), exercise was based on the philosophical Augustinian tradition which used oppositic rhetoric in order to contrast good and evil. In this sense, Las Casas uses the same lc of binary oppositions to make his point. The conquistadors, "the supposed bearer the Word" (Merrim 1993:151), instead of fulfilling their role to shine the light of Gospel upon the natives, turned "the paradisiacal Indies into an Inferno" (ibid);

opposition constructed by Las Casas that would give rise to the so-called Bl
Legend of Spanish cruelty in the New World. The Black Legend would play a cru
role in the religion wars that were taking place in Europe during the same period.

The relativisation of American cannibalism was sometimes achieved thro
their juxtaposition with images of European greed. Benzoni and de Bry's engravi
(figs. 7.20 and 7.21) are key examples of the direct association between Europ
greed and American cannibalism. The Benzoni engraving (which de Bry would us
a basis for his own engraving) shows a prostrate figure in the foreground, with anot
figure pouring a liquid down his mouth. Another man is carrying a ladle with mor
this liquid, as two more characters blow into a fire with some reeds. In
background, a man has chopped the limbs of another prostrate figure, while a fig
eats a limb that has been roasted by a fire. Benzoni's account of the image is
follows:

> In most places on the coast they had the custom of eating human flesh, and when
> they ate that of the Spaniards, there were some that refused to swallow it, even
> fearing that it would produce some sort of harm in the body. When they were
> captured alive, and especially the captains, their hands and feet were tied, they
> were laid on the ground and molten gold was poured down their throats while
> they screamed: "Eat, eat gold, Christian!". (cited in Ramírez de Alvarado
> 2007:200)

The de Bry engraving is much more graphic and detailed than the Benzoni one. In i
Spaniard in full dress lies on the ground, being held down by a nude Indian that lo
at the spectator. Another Indian pours gold down the Spaniard's throat while a th
figure gesticulates at the scene. In the background, a second Spaniard has b
undressed and lies inert while another trio of Indians remove his limbs. Further in
background, three more characteristically 'de Bryan' Indians roast and display
human limbs prominently, while one eats an arm voraciously.

Fig. 7.20. Benzoni, G. Come gl'Indiani colavano l'oro in bocca a gli Spagnuoli, in *La historia del mondo nuovo*, 1572

Fig. 7.21. de Bry, T. Indi hispanis aurum sitientibus aurum liquefactum infundunt, in *Americae pars quarta*, 1594

For Las Casas, the Spanish 'cannibalisation' of the Indian was due to one simple cause:

> The reason the Christians have murdered on such a vast scale and killed anyone and everyone in their way is purely and simply greed. They have set out to line their pockets with gold and to amass private fortunes as quickly as possible so that they can then assume a status quite at odds with that into which they were born. (Las Casas 2004:13)

For the Indians, the Spanish obsession with gold was quite incomprehensible. In his *Relación de Michoacán* of 1540, Franciscan friar Jesús de la Coruña voiced the

hunger pangs of the cannibal are nothing compared to the symbolic voraciousnes
the Spaniards for gold. Cannibalism was a floating signifier that could be mobilise
accuse *either* the native or the Spaniard of savagery.

At times, the 'cannibalism' of the Spaniards ceased to be represented u
strictly symbolical terms and was, instead, portrayed quite literally. In de B
engraving for *Americae pars septima* (fig. 7.22), the story of a group of Spani
who ate the flesh of fellow soldiers is illustrated. The story associated to this in
had been recorded by Fernández de Oviedo:

> [Diego Gómez and Joan de Ampudia] and others that went no less thin and
> famished, arrived with the former to other cabins, where there was nothing to eat
> and they were perishing from hunger. And the two who had previously dined on
> the Indian, killed a Christian named Hernand Dianes, natural of Sevilla, that in
> their company was agonising, and these two evil men ate from him and were
> helped to do so by a young Catalan man [...] and others and they swore never to
> speak of it. (cited in Coello de la Rosa 2002:155)

However, de Bry chose to represent this story in a less than sympathetic way. Or
left-hand side of the engraving, a wooden structure from which two Spanish fig
are hanging can be seen. Another man has climbed a ladder and is portrayed in the
of chopping off one of the figure's legs. In the centre of the engraving, and
Spaniard carries two human legs over his shoulders, taking them into the tents w
one can catch a glimpse of a cauldron where the body pieces are being cooked.
cannibal Spaniards, in contrast to the Indians, prepare and eat their human quarry
hidden away from the intrusive eye. In a symbolic struggle over moral legitimacy
image of the cannibal was thus transposed onto the morally degenerate European.
it possible that the cannibalism of the Americas was contagious and had infected
lowly conquistador? Or was this moral degeneracy the result of a metamorph
brought on by the combination of greed and Spanish plebeian origins?

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Fig. 7.22. de Bry, T. Petrus Manchossa tribus furibus justiciam administrat, in *Americae pars septima*, 1594

Actually, this image was part of a propaganda war being fought between Catholics and Protestants. In their missionary zeal fed in part by the religion wars of the sixteenth century, Catholic friars saw in the Americas the opportunity to "re-establish in the New World the foundations of Christendom which had been so severely shaken in Europe by the Protestant revolt" (Hanke 1976:367). From a Protestant point of view, the depiction of the (Catholic) Spaniard as a savage cannibal was key in revealing Spanish hypocrisy in the evangelical mission that it used as a banner to legitimise the conquest of the Americas. The Protestants repeatedly used images of the 'poor' Indian being oppressed by the 'cruel' Spaniard in order to highlight the miserable situation that many Protestant countries were going through in Europe at the time. As Lestringant points out, the "nude, tortured and martyrised Indian body [was] the ideal support for political protestation" (1990:244). The immediateness of this association can be illustrated by an anonymous sixteenth century Protestant engraving (fig. 7.23). This image, entitled *Catholiques dépeçant des protestants* (*Catholics Hacking Protestants*), portrays a chopping scene much like the ones attributed to the Latin American cannibals in the early images of the discovery. Two Spanish men stand behind a butchering block, energetically chopping

two human figures. The human fragments of the Protestant victims litter the scene. This equation of the Indians to the people of the Low Countries was based on the premise that both were "free citizens, seized and accused before the king. The Indians because they were called idolaters and invokers of devils, the Netherlanders because [they were] impugned as heretics and Lutherans [...], all to give a semblance of a just war" (Winius and Hoogeveen 1990:56). Hence, Protestant scholars and explorers recognised in the American cannibal "a brother in suffering and a virtual ally" (Lestringant 1990:14). In this process of identification, the "imaginary Hell of the Brazilians soon [became] the tangible figure of the atrocities committed by the Spanish conquistadors in the territories under their submission in Mexico, Peru, yet also in the nearby Netherlands" (Lestringant 1990:14).

Fig. 7.23. Anon. *Catholiques dépeçant des protestants*, sixteenth century

Images of these atrocities were repeatedly produced and reprinted, particularly by de Bry and his family-run print workshop. In de Bry's *Crudelitates Hispanorum* (pl. 7.3), a cannibal marketplace – much like Fries's *Canibali* (pl. 5.3) – is at full swing. A Spaniard forces a naked Indian to carry a heavy anchor, babies are being roasted on a grill, and bodies are being eviscerated on a butchering table. Perhaps the most scandalous section of the engraving shows two female Indians bartering at a dingy shack turned market-stall where human limbs are prominently displayed for sale. These women offer the same beads the Spaniards would exchange for gold in order to buy one of these joints of flesh. More controversially still, the sellers of this

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The rhetoric of the Spaniards as butchers can also be found in Martyr of Anghie

account of Spanish warfare: "The Spaniards cut off the arm of one, the leg or hi

another, and from some their heads at one stroke, like butchers cutting up beef

mutton for market. Six hundred, including the cacique, were thus slain like b

beasts" (cited in Todorov 1984:141). Once again, the rhetoric of warfare and

culinary prowess became enmeshed as two variants of the same discourse.

Protestant positions on Amerindian cannibalism were more forgiving to

the least. Born of a selective cultural relativism, figures such as Léry observed "t

days one no longer feels the same abhorrence for the cruelties of the savage canni

[...] for we see the same and even worse and more detestable things in our own mi

(cited in Lestringant 1990:15). Montaigne held a similar position in arguing that v

the American cannibals might consume their enemies for revenge, "Europeans de

a man alive with [...] tortures, [they] roast him and feed him to the dogs and sv

and what is worse, under pretext of piety and religion" (1965:258). As Duv

pertinently argues (1988), this use of the cannibal as a symbolic go-between of

Catholics and Protestants reveals that the New World was never conceived

anything more than an appendix of Europe, where old feuds and rivalries bec

prolonged. While the cannibals appear in Protestant texts under a more sympath

light as figures worthy of compassion, the interest bestowed upon them is brief

not particularly detailed. In other words, the Latin American cannibal was a paw

the power struggle that was dividing Europe.

wine as Jesus's blood, became a sinister ceremony in pagan descriptions of Christian rituals:

> A child, covered in dough to deceive the unwary, is set before the would-be novice. The novice stabs the child to death with invisible blows... Then –it's horrible!- they hungrily drink the child's blood, and compete with one another as they divide his limbs. Through this victim they are bound together; and the fact that they all share the knowledge of the crime pledges them all to silence. (cited in Cohn 1975:1)

Thus, accusations of anthropophagy frequently resulted in the persecution of Christian communities. One early Christian, as he was being roasted alive on an iron chair, exclaimed "What you are doing is indeed to eat men, but we do not eat men, nor do we do anything else wicked" (cited in Cohn 1975:4). Hence, for societies that did not practice cannibalism, it became "the incarnation of the anti-human" (Cohn 1975:12), thus serving as a mechanism for the construction of societal self-definition through the delimitation and expulsion of threatening communities. It is ironic that the very religious group accused of anthropophagy in its early stages would use this same argument against other peoples.

In terms of the colonial practices in the Americas, the Catholic-Protestant divide took precedence over the incipient colonisation of the continent. As Hanke explains (1976), while the American experience received almost no attention at the Council of Trent that took place between 1545 and 1563, the theological attack on the Protestants took centre stage. This divide was also patent in the early explorer's plans for the New World. Columbus was adamant:

> And I say that Your Highnesses must not permit any foreigner to conduct business with this country or to set foot in it if he is not a Catholic Christian, for the end and the beginning of this enterprise was the propagation and the glory of Christian religion, and not to admit into these regions any man who may not be a good Christian. (1982:68)

Hence, European internal rivalries defined along the lines of religion were transferred to the New World and were battled on that terrain. Symbolic religious practices such

Supper, Jesus had fed his disciples with his own flesh and blood in the form of bre[...] and wine (Hillman 1997, Jáuregui 2003). This belief, called 'the dogma [...] transubstantiation', was based on the idea that Jesus's body and blood were liter[...] present in the ritual Host and wine, and that they were consumed and incorpor[...] into the faithful's bodies through the ritual Communion. This dogma was fir[...] advocated at the Council of Trent, where it was stated that there was no trop[...] figurative dimension to this ritual. The Church argued that there was a "total and [...] *conversion substantialis* of the Eucharistic forms" (Jáuregui 2003:201):

> This holy council declares again that in the consecration of the bread and the wine, the substance of the bread becomes the substance of the body of our lord Jesus Christ, and all the substance of the wine in the substance of his blood.
> (Council of Trent cited in Jáuregui 2003:201)

The Protestants, on the other hand, argued that when Jesus presented the bread and [...] wine and said "this is my body, this is my blood" (Lestringant 1997:71), he was re[...] speaking of them as symbols, saying something more like "this *signifies* my body, [...] blood" (1997:71). In this view, there was no substantial metamorphosis. For Protes[...] figures such as Léry, the Eucharist had to be understood figuratively, and th[...] Catholic 'God-eaters' were "the victims of sensual illusion and [were] guilty [...] idolatry" (1997:71). As Lestringant highlights (1990), it was ironic that the r[...] religious controversy in Europe took place with literal American cannibalism [...] backdrop. From a Protestant point of view, "the ferocious appetite of the authe[...] Cannibal becomes innocent" (1990:32) while the belief in a literal metamorphos[...] Jesus's body and blood becomes an untenable precept of a religion that [...] supposedly "been purified from all sacrificial violence" (1990:32).

Fig. 7.24. van der Aa, P. *Les Mexicains nourrissent, adorent et tuent les destinés au sacrifice*, in *La galerie agréable du monde*, 1729

The perceived similarities between the Catholic Eucharist and many of the ritual sacrifices the Mexica offered their gods were immediately visible to the Spanish explorers in Mesoamerica (fig. 7.24). If one can define the "ritual centre of Catholicism [...] as a theophagic act [or], more specifically, as a anthropo-theophagic sacrifice in which God, incarnated as man (Christ) is at once host and guest" (Jáuregui 2003:202), then the human sacrifices practiced by the Amerindians were full of resemblances to Catholic liturgy. Motolinía described one Mexica ceremony under the following terms: "And they said that those breads became the flesh of Tezcatlipoca, that was a god or demon that they had for major [...] and they ate those breads, as a form of communion or flesh of that demon" (cited in Jáuregui 2003:204). This similitude brought forward two main theories as to the reasons behind it (Jáuregui 2003, Todorov 1984). One argument was that the Mexica has rites so similar to the Christians because they had received, in the remote past, Christian teachings. However, the degenerate state of their religious practices was due to the fact that the Christian doctrine had become "mixed with their idolatry, bloody and abominable and it tarnished the good. I simply mention these things because I believe there actually was an evangelist in this land who left the natives this information" (Durán cited in Todorov 1984:209). Las Casas was also party to this argument (Jaúregui 2003), insisting that the anthropo-theophagic ritual sacrifices practiced by the Mexica held a theological dimension that involved Christian prefigurations in the pagan rites. The

theophagic cannibalism [was] a satanic version of the Eucharistic sacrame(Jáuregui 2003:205). This mimicry was, surely, "a thing of the devil" (2003:2Protestants, on the other hand, used this similarity to confirm their position onEucharist being a symbolic more that literal ritual. They argued that the canniwere the clearest example of "the mortal danger that derives from confirming thatreal and substantial Presence of Christ is in the bread and wine of the Last Sup(Lestringant 1990:17). In this view, the Catholics were worse than the Americannibals because they believe that they eat the body and drink the blood of the liincarnated God. Hence, cannibalism in the Americas was "an indirect and allegorway of attacking the infamy of religious intolerance and all its black-robed mini(Lestringant 1997:152).

Crucially, the similarity between the religious practices of the symbanthropophagi and the literal ones indicates what Greenblatt has termed the 'collaof difference' (1991:45). The acknowledgement of a "Eucharistic piety that ardecelebrated the eating of the sacred flesh and the drinking of the sacred blo(1991:45) implied a level of recognition of the self in the other. However, recognition would take place under the European's terms and according to European's categories. Las Casas, fervent about rescuing the Indian's soul fromflames of hell, would suggest, quite simply, that American anthropophagy be replaby the Eucharist (Jáuregui 2003). This was how the hunger of the cannibal becamepiety of the converted Indian.

Little by little, the New World cannibal began his journey from 'savagtowards 'civilisation'. The cannibal-turned-pious-Indian became proof of the succof Spain's colonising mission in the Americas and, as such, images of Latin Americannibalism became scarcer over the colonial period of the eighteenth and enineteenth centuries. Initially, the taming of the cannibal was realised throughinclusion in European epistemic and representational frameworks that enjoyed sanction both of classical antiquity and of Christian doctrine" (Elliot 1970:30).

Medina 1987:52), thereby remaining a brother and fellow man to the Europ

through their common origin in the Adamic human tree. This view was, in a se

"the culmination and climax of any story of man's ascent from a barbarian s

[where] civility itself [was] the outcome of Christianity" (Elliot 1970:51).

However, the inclusion of the American native into European episte

frameworks was anything but straightforward. The question of the origin of

American Indians was a matter of dispute as there was no clear theological proo

the matter because it had not been discussed in the scriptures, and "the problem

too recent to have allowed the amassing of any corpus of convincing author

(1970:30). Nevertheless, the *Sublimis Deus* papal bull had established that the na

peoples satisfied the criteria of receptivity to divine grace through proofs of rea

the savage could potentially be redeemed through his 'god-given' capacity

rationality. The converted cannibal was, thus, the ultimate symbol in the propaga

of evangelisation. And because the savage had been 'tamed' through colonialisn

was no longer as politically useful to highlight his cannibalism as a central trait.

ultimate solution to his cannibal appetite was his inclusion into the family

Christianity.

As Europe shifted from a theological episteme towards the epistemic regim

the Enlightenment, the figure of the cannibal would eventually take on other role

European discourses. The New World trope of the Edenic or Golden Age native

revived in order to reaffirm European utopian myths, resulting in an "image of

innocent Indian [that] was most easily maintained by those Europeans who had n

actually seen one" (1970:42). Additionally, as Lestringant (1990) has argued,

figure of the cannibal gradually became idealised, taking on more and n

allegorical functions:

> At the apex of the classical age, even when the rival imperialisms of England and
> France are starting to supplant Spanish hegemony, the good and handsome
> Indian, free from all oppression endorses the divorce reigning between politics
> and the imaginary. (1990:18)

During this new stage, these two allegorical types – the Edenic innocent and the voracious cannibal – became merged into the figure of the good savage of the classical age. This revised figure of the cannibal was taken up by the philosophy of the Enlightenment where he was "reinvested in the service of a triumphant Reason that overthrew superstition and fanaticism" (Lestringant 1993:128). In this context, the American cannibal metamorphosed into "the idealised figure of the Noble Savage, the pious image of an anti-Christian religion" (1993:128). Skilled with words, "his naïve eloquence, a copy of the best patterns of oratory art [...], clearly announces the imprescribable rights of Nature" (Lestringant 1990:244). As such, the New World cannibal became symbolically invested with a moral upper hand over what some perceived as a corrupt and degenerate Old World. Hence, the images of the American natives reflected "not so much an 'objective' or 'scientific' vision of the Indian" (Keen 1990:102), but more "the lofty aspirations of others who saw in the Indian ideal plastic material for the creation of a new and superior human type" (Keen 1990:102). The cannibal's teeth were filed down and, instead of biting, he began to philosophise.

European discourses on cannibalism; in other words, it has looked at how
production of this group of images responded to, and incorporated, other preva
discourses. Another research goal has involved locating the continuities and variat
in the discourses on Latin American cannibalism, focusing specifically on the rea
that may account for such permanencies and changes. The issues above wil
addressed in the first section of this chapter, concentrating specifically on
configuration of the corpus of images that this dissertation is based on.
recapitulating the analyses of the images realised in chapters five, six and seven,
section will confirm the main tendencies located in this study and the implication
these tendencies insofar as colonial discourses and practices are concerned.
dissertation has also had as one of its central goals to understand the importanc
visuality in the consolidation of such discourses. The second section of this cha
will address this matter, focusing specifically on the role that visual representat
played in the consolidation of images of the New World in the European imagir
Finally, the last section will explore the relevance of othering as a crucial discu
strategy that consistently informed the production of the majority of t
representations.

The corpus: a body of images

The corpus of images analysed throughout this dissertation evidences the role that
figure of the cannibal played in the development of European discourses of other
that were deployed during the conquest and colonial periods in Hispanic
Portuguese America. Ranging from marvellous hybrid monsters to the Noble Sav
of the Enlightenment, these images document the array of functions that the trop
the American cannibal played in Europe's struggle for predominance over the l
World. Throughout this analysis, Mason's (1990) assertion that "representations

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archaeological and genealogical framework. By concentrating on the main tenden or themes present in the images, it was possible to establish what the domin discourses on the indigenous peoples of the Americas were, how the main discur formations around the trope were shaped, and how these formations changec configuration over space and time. The repetitions throughout the corpus were also object of analysis, particularly because their presence indicates the ways in wl certain discourses became reiterated and thusly imbued with authority. Furtherm in analysing the overall patterns in the corpus, a great deal of emphasis was placed the potential silences, contradictions or exceptions within the visual representation cannibalism. This was considered important given that such silences or contradicti typically point to the sites where the struggle over representation takes place becomes contested, negotiated or reaffirmed.

There are several tendencies that were located in the corpus of images. dominant themes that characterised this group of pictures have been explored in previous chapters, and they refer to the interdiscursive links established between images of the cannibal and embodiment, cosmographical and theological discou Through this, it has been possible to explore the discursive formations config through the points of intersection between these discourses and the vi representation of the American other. In chapter five, the relationship between cannibal as a subject constituted by an excessive bodily state and prevailing Europ discourses on embodiment was explored. Importantly, this chapter analysed the tr of the whole and the fragmented body, looking at the implications these themes ha terms of the construction of a particular type of body politic. This chapter also stu the ultimate colonisation of the cannibal body through the early anatomical pract that further disintegrated the cannibal through dissection and the search for the de of the body. Chapter six focused on the role that the figure of the cannibal playe relation to prevailing European discourses on time and space. Specifically, the L American cannibal was located on the fringes of civilisation in the Europ

consistently applied to the American native. Once more, the tendency in Europ[
depictions of difference was rarely based on the incorporation and assimilation of 1
representational strategies, but on the confirmation and imposition of well-establis
visual codes upon the subject of representation. Importantly, the localisation of tl
themes has confirmed the aim of this dissertation to prove that for the Europeai
incorporate new knowledge about previously unknown peoples, it was consiste
necessary to look back to the familiar points of reference that had characterised
prevailing European epistemic regimes of the period. In other words, the 'newness
the Americas was described under the terms of pre-existing visual representatic
strategies and discursive nuclei, resulting in interesting constructions of meaning
say more about the culture producing the images than about the peoples describe
them. In sum, these three chapters have demonstrated that European colo
discourses on the New World cannibal were frequent, relatively consistent,
imbricated in other prevailing colonial and non-colonial discourses that characteri
Europe's entry into modernity. Hence, the cannibal was by no means a seconc
representational phenomenon but, instead, played a crucial role for Europe to estab
the limits and objectives of its colonial mission.

Beyond the thematic configuration of the corpus, representational patterns
dealing with the cannibal have also been located as shifts over time and space. '
earliest images of the American natives were rough woodcuts depicting the people
the Caribbean isles encountered by Columbus and those on the coasts of Brazil 1
Vespucci lived with for some time. Produced mainly in the format of loose-
pamphlets reproducing Columbus's letter to the Spanish monarchs or Vespuc
description of Brazilian tribes, these images were very widely distributed on sl
notice. Two main regions, the Italian and German speaking areas, produced the n
imprints and dissemination of information on the New World at this time (Pellar
1988). Many of the early images were originally produced in Italian printing pre:
in Latin, some accompanied by illustrations. As the demand for news on the Amer:

degree of fantasy or deformation of the American native. In fact, it would seem

the characteristics described by Columbus and Vespucci that most impacted

European imagination were the nudity of the inhabitants and their 'normal', 'v

proportioned' bodies. It can be surmised that this emphasis on the 'normalcy' of

American native was the result of previously generated expectations derived i

medieval epistemic regimes. If the peoples living on the fringes of the world had l

traditionally imagined to be deformed, living on their heads, and part animals, then

reality of the encounter with American peoples must have been shocking in

disproval of such theories.

In fact, it would seem that this initial impression of the 'normalcy' of

cannibal body became immediately 'corrected' in a second representational st

Reverting to medieval conceptions of foreign peoples through the trope of the Pli

races, the maps of the early and mid-sixteenth century emphasised the abso

estrangement of the American native. While there were several images of indiger

peoples as cannibals in the early images of the Americas, it was during this sec

period that the American native began to be consistently represented as a hy

cannibal, part man part animal. A similar phenomenon took place in the genr

world compendiums, a type of proto-encyclopaedias that aimed to collect all

available information on the peoples of the world. Both of these genres were hi;

illustrated and, therefore, crucial in establishing the image of the American nativ

essentially cannibalistic, savage and primitive. In terms of the centres of productio

such maps and compendiums, most of them were produced in Germanic and Fler

regions that had an established printing tradition, with the possible exception of

highly sophisticated Portulan maps created in seafaring Portugal. Perhaps it is

regional specificity that can account for the regression to medieval representati

devices in order to depict the New World cannibal. It is important to recall that v

Renaissance pictorial conventions were becoming consolidated in Southern Eur

exclusively literal or narrative level. Rather than functioning as a kind of snap[...]
brought back from overseas, it is possible that at this time the image of the can[...]
was also used as a type of geographical symbol to represent the boundaries bet[...]
the known and the unknown lands. As explored in chapter six, at this level[...]
cannibal was not necessarily meant to be taken as a literal inhabitant of the Ame[...]
but as a cartouche for marking the limits of knowledge in European cosmography.[...]
role of the dog-headed cannibal was to mark the limits of a growing bod[...]
knowledge on the world being collected in Europe at that time. Hence, the h[...]
cannibal could hold a dual function: to mark the limits of Western knowledge ar[...]
confirm the strangeness conferred upon the distant other.

However, in many cases the use of the cannibal figure as cosmographical m[...]
was riddled with contradiction. In Münster's *Cosmographia* (1552), for instance[...]
same images used to illustrate the peoples of the New World (fig. 5.15) have [...]
previously used to depict cannibal practices in Tartary under the explanatory text '[...]
foods, drinks and dress of the Tartars":

> If they capture any of their enemies, they sometimes have them roasted to
> demonstrate their horrible cruelty and the desire they have for vengeance: and
> after that they gather together in a large group and eat and devour this body like
> famished wolves; and beforehand they collect the blood and put it inside cups or
> goblets and they drink it. (1552:1308)

Similar examples can be found in the Desceliers map of 1550. The same image[...]
human body on a chopping block that was consistently used to mark the can[...]
region in Brazil can be found in the isle of Gyave (modern-day Borneo). Fr[...]
'Canibale' in the *Carta Marina* (1525) is further example (pl. 5.3). Beyond[...]
geographically inaccurate Alsacian setting where the dog-headed cannibals of[...]
New World are depicted, it appears that this very image had been used previousl[...]
the same printshop in 1522 in order to illustrate an edition of Ptolemy's *Geogr*[...]
(Kügelgen Kropfinger 1990). However, in the Ptolemy edition, the engraving[...]
used to accompany the section on the peoples of Asia. Hence, the images of a hu[...]

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other and became non-specific emblems of difference. In this sense, these maps cosmographies were kind of:

> empty canvas to inscribe on it the delineation of newly "invented" or discovered lands; a form at once closed and open, full and lacunary, that represented the ideal construction in which to house, with their approximative and disparate localisations, the "bits" of space that navigators brought back from their distant voyages. (Lestringant 1994:7)

By the mid to late-sixteenth century, another important shift in the representa of the New World cannibal took place. Broadly based on Mandeville and M: Polo's travels to Asia, a new genre of New World travel literature was startin; emerge and, with it, new ways of visualising the cannibal. Other factors playec important role in this new way of depicting the cannibal. As Northern Euro; regions started consolidating vested interests in the Americas through their settlin new colonies on the Brazilian coast, there was a boom in illustrated travel narrat being printed in Europe. Hans Staden's *Captivity* (1945 [1557]) pioneered this ge with a novel mix of proto-ethnographical observations and a high number engravings illustrating the narrative. While many of these illustrations were relati rough in execution, they accomplished their function of providing European audie: with very detailed visual descriptions of the Brazilian Tupinamba's customs artefacts. This text opened a watershed of other similar publications, most of wl were written by Protestant explorers, in many cases demonstrating the grov tensions between two models of colonialism: one championed by the Catholic Spa and Portuguese, the other advocated by newly emerging Protestant or semi-Protes countries such as France, the Netherlands and Germany. In many cases, the figur the New World cannibal was used as a point of contrast in the ongoing propaga war between these two models. As Lestringant (1997) has argued, texts like Sta Léry and Montaigne's used the cannibal as a rhetorical figure with which to ques European society and Catholic models of colonisation of the Americas. Hence,

travel narratives on the Americas that had been produced until that point. Cruci

the collection was highly visual, giving pride of place to incredibly deta

illustrations of explorers' and colonisers' experiences in the New World. By focus

on the narrative dimension of the illustrations and by exercising free interpreta

criteria for depicting the New World natives, de Bry's engravings were a key turn

point in the construction of the Americas in the European imaginary.[44]

Importantly, the production of these images by figures like Staden, Benz

Thévet, Léry, Collaert and de Bry took place in a very short span of time, indicati

significant degree of discursive density in the corpus on the New World canni

These texts were published between 1557 and 1596, four short decades during wl

the production of numerous images on the Americas superseded the relatively si

number of engravings that had been made in the previous seventy years. There is

a high degree of repetition taking place in this discursive formation. For instance

Bry compilated and revamped many of the Staden and Benzoni illustrati

reproducing them in his particular style. In turn, the impact of de Bry's illustrat

was so far-reaching that almost identical copies were printed for van der Aa's 172!

gallerie agréable du monde and subsequent editions of *America* continue to be prii

today.[45] In fact, the matter of repetition was so crucial to the production of tl

engravings that in an edition of *America* de Bry added this word of caution:

> Finally, if someone dared copy, by engraving them, these artworks of mine, being
> that one lives in a time when many heartless men are desirous of taking
> advantage of the efforts and labours of mine, I beg of you, benevolent reader, do
> not lend belief to such pictures. As there are hidden in my pictures several secret
> marks that, if not properly registered, will cause great confusion. (1995:16)

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[44] For a more detailed structural analysis of the de Bry's series, see B. Bucher's *Icon and Con*
(1981).

[45] De Bry's engravings have proven so popular that in current publications on the New Worl
illustrations have graced texts that range from Andrade's *Revista de Antropofagia* (1928), Buc
Icon and Conquest (1981), Greenblatt's *New World Encounters* (1993), and Lestringant's *Cann*
(1997), among many others.

countries which had stronger colonial interests in the region are sorely lacking. \
for instance, weren't more images of the American native produced in Spain
Portugal? Moreover, of the engravings produced in Spain and Portugal, why don't
of them depict the American Indian as a cannibal? While French and En,
expeditionaries were sending artists to the colonies in North America in ord
collect images directly, no equivalent can be found for South and Mesoamerica at
time. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo was one of the few Spanish author
complement his text on the New World with images taken directly from the m
yet none of these engravings illustrate the purported cannibal rituals of Mesoame
This silence in the corpus can be explained through several factors. Firstly,
printing press was undeniably more developed in the Northern European regions
in the Iberian Peninsula. This can account for the high number of images b
produced in the region versus the almost inexistent illustrations in Spanish
Portuguese texts. Furthermore, the production and distribution of knowledge or
colonies varied according to different models of colonisation. As argued in cha
one, while the Protestant colonial model was based on private funding and, there
benefited from the public distribution of information on the Americas, the Ibe
model was funded by the monarchy and was quite secretive in releasing informa
to the general public for fear that competing powers would usurp their hold or
region. Moreover, the production of these images took place in the context of
religion wars that were affecting Europe at the time. A Protestant corpus of im
served the function of propaganda against Catholic models of colonialism, with
figure of the New World cannibal serving an important propagandistic function
explored in chapter seven, the transubstantiation debate over the Eucharist was a n
point in the tension between Catholicism and Protestantism, and the discussio
anthropophagy (whether it was the cannibal Tupi or the devout Catholic) was pl
at the forefront of European discourses.

following the selection of a few attributes specific to the Americas. By represer

the Americas through a handful of assumed traits, many of which were base

mistakes or generalisations, the allegorisation of the continent was a way of de

with the incommensurability of the New World and, in a process of syml

reduction, making it commensurable. In this context, cannibalism was produced a

central trait of the continent. This reduction played a crucial role in the essentialis

of the continent as a land of savagery.

This process continued well into the seventeenth century. The numbe

images of New World cannibals is lower than in the preceding century, but the r

of variations on the trope has increased, indicating a significant continuation

evolution in the discourse. A sample of this variation includes Crispijn de Pa

Saturnus (1600) (pl. 6.3), Antoine Jacquard's *Pourtraicts* (1615-1620) (pl.

Honorius Philoponus's *Nova typis* (1621) (pl. 6.2 and fig. 7.17), and Visscl

America (1650-1660), among others. What all these images have in common is

persistence of the cannibal as a constant presence in the New World. Attributes

as the barbecue grill, the fragmented body and the construction of the continer

terms of the marvellous first became associated to the Americas in the prece

century, but it is during the seventeenth century that these representations bec

fully explored. This collection of images, ranging from the fantastical to

anatomical depiction of the cannibal, point to the different strategies enacted in o

to achieve a symbolic possession of the American native. Going well beyond

ethnographic details that initially fed into many of the images produced during

sixteenth century, at this stage the marvellous, the sensationalistic and the anec

superseded other ways of depicting the American colonies. Perhaps the culminatic

this disregard for the accuracy of the representations was Montanus's 1671 engra

"Scene of offering and ritual" in *De Nieuwe en ondekende* (fig. 7.11), where

representation of an oral-voracious Aztec deity holds little resemblance to the a

from a real space, and the images respond more to an imagining of the region than direct contact with it.

During the early and mid-eighteenth century further changes in representation of the American Indian took place. With the advent of Enlightenment and the revalorisation of reason that came with it, new representat strategies were put into place for illustrating the Americas. Large collection compilations of world customs and world religions were published, among then influential *Cérémonies et coutumes religiueses* (1723) by Picart and *Gallerie agr du monde* (1729) by van der Aa. These compilations excel in their accumulatic knowledge about world peoples and also in the vast amount of engravings that produced in order to supplement the texts. Importantly, these two publications ar nuclei of accumulation and repetition of preceding discourses on the cannibal. Bo them are based on previously designed and executed engravings; in many case authors of these texts have commissioned only minor modifications on copi Thévet, de Bry, and Montanus's engravings. In a sense, this group of engravings i utmost summary of the body of images on Latin American cannibals. By collec repeating and systematising previous works, these authors have imposed the agenda of reason on the corpus of New World images. In other words, these b make the world accessible, classifiable and understandable. By presenting the v as a gallery of pictures, the European spectator can collect the world and fully po it through these images.

Through the analysis of the continuities, changes, repetitions, modifica and absences in the corpus accumulated for this research, it has been possib localise the persistence of the trope of the American cannibal. As Pellarano (1988 argued, a systematic collection and examination of the images of the Latin Ame

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[46] It is quite telling that the Montanus illustration proved so popular that it was subsequently repro by Manesson Mallet in 1683, Aveline in 1720, and van der Aa in 1729 in almost identical ver Clearly this fantastical depiction of the Aztec god proved very popular, perhaps because sensationalistic value, perhaps because it resonated on the previous medieval discourse representing the devil as a hideous monster.

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The cannibal seen

It has been established that the images of cannibalism in the Americas playe continuing role in European colonial discourses. However, there is one cer question that must be explored. Why were *images* produced in the first place? Wer the tales and descriptions of the inhabitants sufficient to convey the 'newness' of v was being encountered overseas? What function did these images cover that t could not? As Elliot (1970) has argued, one of the most difficult challenges in European encounter with the uniqueness of America was the process of convey "this fact of difference [...] to those who had not seen it" (1970:21); for him, problem of description "reduced writers and chroniclers to despair" (1970:21). Elliot, the process of observation was the first of four processes enacted in orde achieve a realistic depiction of the unknown:

> The second process was description – depicting the unfamiliar in such a way that it could be grasped by those who had not seen it. The third was dissemination – the diffusion of new information, new images and new ideas, so that they became part of the accepted stock of mental furniture. And the fourth was comprehension – the ability to come to terms with the unexpected and the unfamiliar, to see them as phenomena existing in their own right, and (hardest of all) to shift the accepted boundaries of thought in order to include them. (1970:18)

When the description of the 'newness' of the Americas was impossible to achi through verbal or written narration, pictures were constantly used. As Bestard Contreras (1987) explain, in many of the chronicles there is an insistence that phenomena of the New World is impossible to believe if one does not see it. It this urgent need that may have directly resulted in the production of the first image the Americas. Perhaps these images are the expression of what Foucault has descri

continent, the visual dimension gained further import. As Mason (1990) under

cosmographer Mercator called history the *Oculus Mundi* (the Eye of the World

Ortelius described geography as the 'Eye of History'. When Staden include

numerous woodcuts into his narrative of captivity among the Tupi, what was at

was the credibility of his tale. Hence, by providing visual 'evidence' of the cus

and artefacts of the cannibals, he was able to confer authority upon his story. (

writers used these images in the same way, with the likes of Benzoni, Fernánd

Oviedo, Thévet, Léry, and Humboldt all fully illustrating their first-hand experie

in the Americas. At this point, there was a tendency to send exploratory expedi

accompanied by painters or draftsmen because it was deemed necessary to in

engravings in order to provide a fuller account of the exoticness encountered i

continent (Bestard & Contreras 1987). In this sense, sight was used as testimon

Mason's (1990) words, "truth and alterity are combined in the assertion of first-

observation (*autopsy*). The strangeness of the other is confirmed as true because i

been witnessed by the speaker" (1990:176). The privileging of sight is, then, o

the core values in colonial discourse. In the production of these images, visu

knowledge and power became enmeshed and directly contributed to the setting

the exotic other in the European imaginary.

In most cases, the engravings of the New World cannibal were the result n

direct observation, but of illustration based on textual description. As Pellarano (1

has explained, in particular genres on the Americas the artist did not work from n

but illustrated according to the descriptions in the texts at hand. This dialectic bet

the written and the visual representation was to prove fundamental in establishin

figure of the Latin American as savage cannibal in the European imaginary

Foucault (1983) argues, the dialectic between written text and accompar

illustration is frequently obviated but plays an important role in the proces

representation:

and that these distortions respond, primarily, to the perpetuation of v

representational traditions. By using written texts almost exclusively as the sourc

the production of these illustrations, European artists and engravers gave preferen

the evocative function of written description(s) over more challenging issues, suc

the assimilation of new forms, colours and objects into European visual traditi

Hence, instead of producing illustrations which were relatively accurate to the a

models present in the Americas, the artists crafted these images through Euroce

visual codes, giving priority to their decipherability by European audiences.

representational conundrum – whether to base the illustration of newness on the a

model or on written description – further reveals an intrinsic conflict in comin

grips with difference. These images are, in essence, an example of a typically Wes

representational strategy that seeks to place newness either in the realm of the abs

(written description) or the concrete (material images). However, in both wr

description and material images, the strategies for dealing with difference are seve

limited. On the one hand, many European explorers would despair at the inabili

their pens to fully describe the New World, calling instead on a Leonardo

Michaelangelo to properly depict the 'wonders' of the Americas. On the other h

illustrations of the New World were never fully free from textual description

literary narrative. Many of these images would depend on the anchoring functio

captions or on the sequentiality of successive narrative frames. Hence, in these

the relationship between the written description and the visual image is a relation

that is never fully resolved but that, instead, oscillates between the poles of te>

abstraction and material concretion.

Furthermore, these images of the cannibal responded to a dual role assigne

the image as producer of evidence but also as materialisation of fantasy. However,

apparent contradiction had not been problematic in medieval representational regi

As White (1987) explains, fiction and fantasy in medieval narrative "would

given to traditional representational schemes over a direct observation of reality. this context, it was as important that the New World native be represented accordi to the classical and medieval tradition of the Plinian races than as a non-deform whole man. It was this referencing of past pictorial traditions that allowed the messa of the cannibal to be communicated more effectively to a European audience that v familiar with a particular traditional representational regime and its conventions.

In this manner, the cannibal was caught in the middle of a tension between t categories of fantasy (illusionism) and evidentiality (realism) that are functions of t image. These two modalities of representation, as they have been theorised Mitchell (1994) (see section 3.2 in chapter three) were crucial in the development colonial discourses on the New World and characterised the entry of Europe ir modernity. Yet these modalities rarely existed independently of each other. / Kappler (1999) has argued, monsters are believable and instil fear precisely becau they are simultaneously myth and reality. Concurrently, it can be argued that t haunting power of the cannibal depended on his construction as an other who w; like monsters, at the same time reality and myth. The cannibal was the product both *phantasia* and of the 'truth'. Phantasia, defined since Plato as image, imaginatic phantasm, illusion and fancy, literally means image-making, and this modalit function is to depict "absent things as though they were present" (Kelley 1997:6). Y a high degree of value was also assigned to the 'truthfulness' of the image of t cannibal. In medieval tradition "commentators assumed that because words we imperfect guides to meaning, images might 'at some ideal level of visual form' transparent to higher truths" (1997:6). Hence, the effectivity of the images cannibals depended precisely on the tension between these two modalities. In the Ne World, fantasy existed in reality through the figure of the cannibal.

The images of the cannibal were, in short, strategic ways for negotiati difference in a representational terrain where Eurocentric categories and practic secured the positional superiority of Western discourses. Given that images can or

between the two. The objectification of the other permitted a systematic placing o[...]
colonised "as 'evidence' of [...] superiorities and inferiorities" (Preziosi 1998:[...]
Hence, in this system of signification the other-come-object is the signifier of a r[...]
wider discursive and material colonial project. In this manner, the cannibal other[...]
deployed as "cogent 'evidence' [...] enabling us thereby to articulate certain kin[...]
desirable (and undesirable) relations between ourselves and others" (1998:518).

The other cannibal

As Todorov has argued, the encounter with America marked an important sta[...]
point in "Europe's attempt to assimilate the other, to deprive it of its exteriority[...]
alterity" (1982:251). Within this framework, the figure of the cannibal was a cr[...]
site for exploring difference. Why was cannibalism used as a symbolic site so disp[...]
with regards to meaning-making? Perhaps this was because, as a highly conte[...]
discursive site, the New World cannibal housed a maximum tension of similarity[...]
difference. Hence, the New World cannibal represented a double layer of conce[...]
tension. On the one hand, the cannibal practices of the American other were [...]
markers of the difference between the 'civilised' European and its 'savage' othe[...]
Kearney explains, "'civilised' society could confirm its own sense of un[...]
consensus by virtue of its contemplation of outcasts. Men were men because [...]
were not monsters" (2003:115). As Bennet states (in Karp & Kratz 2000), the oth[...]
presented as a category of visual spectacle which the audience is invited to ima[...]
itself in contrast with. Faced with the 'savage' other, Western viewers can con[...]
their predominantly white, homogenous European culture. In van Alphen's w[...]
"alterity is a code that helps identity to become meaningful, that is, to gain con[...]
Alterity, then *is* nothing, has no meaning in itself. It is merely a device for produ[...]
meaning" (1994:260). Hence, there can be no meaningful identity without differe[...]

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production of the non-Westerner, three main features were crucial in establishi

intrinsic divide between the civilised European and the savage cannibal. Firstl

cannibal was produced as radically different through essentialisation. This disc

strategy is based on the depiction of the non-Westerner as the product of uncha

cultural essences and, in the case of the American cannibal, the consumpti

human flesh was constructed as a defining, essential trait. For instance, in many

travel narratives and New World compendiums, the cannibal rites practiced

native peoples are transposed as an essential component of their selves. Thi

Tupinamba do not *cannibalise*; the Tupi *are* cannibals. Their cannibalism be

their distinguishing trait. Secondly, the production of absences plays a fundar

representational function in the construction of difference. This is achieved th

the establishment of a series of absences or silences in what is said about the oth

silencing other potential accounts of the indigenous peoples (their developm

technologies and sciences, their established societies and cultural practices

cultural traits that held an ideological function useful for the legitimation

colonial enterprise became highlighted. The third discursive strategy tha

deployed in order to reinforce the border between the European 'self' and the ca

was the othering process. By representing the American Indian as a polar oppo

the West, be it through the trope of the antipodes, through the figure of the wil

or through the animalisation of the native, differences became heightene

mobilised in order to serve very specific political and practical functions.

Moreover, the genealogy of the corpus of the New World cannibal is a st

the normalisation of difference. If the Indian was a cannibal, and cannibals mark

difference between 'savage' and 'civilised', then the ultimate proof of the vict

European colonialism was the eradication of cannibalistic practices. Immersed

logic of what Mignolo (1998) has called Occidentalism, the story of the canni

one of the transformation of differences into values, the naturalisatio

representations, and of a series of interventions in favour of the reproducti

asymmetrical power relations. Hence, the normalisation of the colonial other was achieved through the logic of Occidentalism. In this logic, the other must be dissolved into the same. By considering the West and the non-West as "autonomous and opposite entities" (1998:50), this opposition becomes resolved through "the incorporation of non-Western [...] communities in the triumphant march of Western expansion" (1998:50). In order to vanquish the cannibal, colonial Europe had to cannibalise him.

However, as Bhabha (1994) has theorised, the fixing of the colonial other is a never-ending task. By placing the colonised "simultaneously inside and outside Western knowledge" (McLeod 2000:53), the discourse of colonisation highlights the essential difference between coloniser and colonised while also insisting on the common human identity as a fundamental "moral and philosophical precondition for the civilizing mission" (Spurr 1993:7). It is this ambivalence that has given the figure of the cannibal its sustained presence in European colonial discourses, hence ensuring its repeatability in different historical and geographical contexts. Once the cannibal had been physically and symbolically expelled from the Americas through the triumph of colonisation, he took up residence in Africa and the South Pacific. Suddenly, all kinds of cannibals started appearing in regions that were the object of renewed European colonial interests. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' scramble for Africa, images of African cannibals followed the same discursive line that had been established in the Americas (fig. 8.1). The same phenomenon took place in the colonisation of the South Pacific (fig. 8.2).

Fig. 8.1. Allard, C. *Binnelandse Africanen*, c. 1697

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Fig. 8.2. Anon., *Le chef commença par les mains, Papouasie,* 1879

And the discourse of cannibalism persists in modern-day Latin America. When abortion first became legalised in Mexico City in 2007, the mayor of the city was excommunicated from the Catholic Church. The Bishop of Mexico argued, much in the same tone of a Cortés or an Acosta, that abortion was a way of forcing Christians "to eat the flesh immolated before the idols" (cited in Balboa 2007). The trope of the cannibal has not been surpassed to this very day. In fact, as Foucault has argued, "there are monsters on the prowl whose form changes with the history of knowledge" (cited in Kearney 2003:4); it will be interesting to see what new forms the cannibal takes on and the function that these forms will play in the constitution of our ideas of self-identity and difference.

The central question that has guided this dissertation has been if, and how, the representation of Latin American indigenous peoples as cannibals has been a constant presence and served a specific function in the deployment of European colonial discourses and practices. Through the collection of a large corpus of images and their subsequent analyses in chapters five, six and seven, it has been established that, effectively, the figure of the cannibal was used frequently and consistently in the depictions of Latin American natives. Moreover, it can be forwarded that, while there are notable exceptions to this manner of representing the Amerindian, there is a strong tendency to represent the native as either Edenic innocent or voracious cannibal in European colonial discourses. Recalling Bartolovich's approach to the topic, "cannibals as such *emerge* at this historical juncture when Europeans encounter the 'New World'" (1998:207, emphasis in original). The New World cannibal marks "a

was situated in the fantasy world of the Europeans. As Seed points out, the disco
on the New World were constructed in such a way that:

> symbolically enacting colonial authority meant that ceremonies, actions,
> speeches, and records primarily targeted their fellow Europeans. It was above all
> their own countrymen and political leaders that colonists had to convince of the
> legitimacy of their actions, not indigenous peoples. (1995:11)

Hence, throughout the genealogy of the early visual representations of the Amer
the New World cannibal assumed the varying symbolic functions established for
in European discourses. In other words, the cannibal took on whatever shape
necessary for Europe to be better able to discuss *itself* with *itself*. In the developr
of these discourses, the role of the image was crucial, as was the othering stra
through which the production of the cannibal subject was achieved.

From the fantastical dog-headed marginal races of the early modern era to
sophisticated naked philosopher of the Enlightenment, the cannibal played a cr
role in the construction of a European sense of identity; in all his different forms
cannibal marked the border separating the European self from the New World o
In sum, these images depict nothing about cannibals themselves but everything a
those who see cannibals everywhere. Importantly, the cannibal continues to h
Western discourses on the Latin American; the role of the cannibal was, and conti
to be, central to European colonial discourses. With this understanding, as I
Americans we can now recognise the Western fear and vulnerability implicit in
perpetual hunt for monsters. Indeed, cannibalism marks the "limits to Euro
capacity to contain, assimilate, or [...] destroy the resistant societies of the reg
(Colás 2001:130). Perhaps now having become fluent in Prospero's language, we
use it against him and for ourselves. And at the end of this process we will be ab
exclaim: "Mais je ne suis pas ton cannibal! Je suis mon cannibal à moi!".

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Appendix 1: Sources Timeline

Sources consulted without images of cannibalism

Year, Author, Title. [Illustrated Y/N][Archive]

- 1493. Columbus, C. Second Letter [Y][CAT.]
- 1493. Columbus, C. De insulis nuper [Y][CAT.]
- 1493. Schedel, H. Liber chronicarum [Y][BL]
- 1503. Vespucci, A. Mondus novus [Y][CAT.]
- 1507. Montalboddo, F. Paesi. [N][BL]
- 1511. Martyr of Anghiera, P. De orbe novo, vol. 1 [N][BL]
- 1519. Fernández de Enciso, M. Suma de geografía [N][BNE]
- 1519. Homen, L. Mappa mundi [Y][BNE]
- 1521. Martyr of Anghiera, P. De nuper sub D. Carlo [N][BL]
- 1523. Cortés, H. Cartas de relación [Y][CAT.]
- 1528. Bordone, B. Libro di tutte l'isole del mundo [Y][BL]
- 1535. Fernández de Oviedo, G. Historia general de las Indias [Y][BL]
- 1547. Fernández de Oviedo, G. La natural hystoria de las Indias [Y][BL]
- 1550. Ramusio, G. Raccolta delle navigationi et viaggi [Y][BNE]

16th C.

Sources consulted with images of cannibalism

Year, Author, Title [# of images of cannibalism][Archive]

- c. 1502. Kunstmann II [1][BNE]
- 1504. Caribes [1][CAT.]
- 1505. Epistola Albericii [1][BL]
- 1509. van Doesborch, J. Voyages (German Ed.) [2][CAT.]
- 1509. Vespucci, A. Mondus novus [1][CAT.]
- 1513. Piri Reis. Die verschollene Columbus-Karte [1][BL]
- c. 1515. Canibales [1][CAT.]
- 1516. Waldseemüller, Carta marina [1][BL]
- 1522. Newe zeitung [1][BNF]
- 1525. Fries, L. Carta marina [1][BL]
- 1532. Grynaeus, S. Novis orbis regionum [1][BL]
- 1540. Münster, S. Novae Insulae, Nova Tabula XVII [1][BNF]
- 1541. Treschel. Oceanus Occidentalis [1][BL]
- 1545. Apianus, S. Cosmographia [1][BL]
- c. 1550. Descellers. Mappa mundi [1][BL]
- 1550. Mercator, G. Mappa mundi [1][BL]
- 1550. Münster S. Cosmographia [3][BNF]

Archives Key
BL: British Library
BM: British Museum Online
BNE: Biblioteca Nacional de España
BNF: Bibliothèque Nationale de France
CAT: Catalogues, Secondary sources

Sources consulted without images of cannibalism

Year, Author, Title. [Illustrated Y/N][Archive]

- 1552. López de Gomara, F. Historia general de las Indias [N][BNE]
- 1557. Cardano, G. De rerum varietate [Y][BL]
- 1562. Deserps, F. Recueil de la diversité des habits [Y][BNE]
- 1564. Cieza de León, S. Crónica del Perú [N][BNE]
- 1566. Boemus, J. The fardle of facions [N][BNE]
- 1566. Chaves, J. Chronographia [N][BNE]
- 1577. Drake, F. The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake [N][BL]
- 1581. Díaz del Castillo, B. Historia verdadera de la conquista [N][BNE]
- 1599. Raleigh, W. Guyana [Y][BL]

16th C.

Sources consulted with images of cannibalism

Year, Author, Title [# of images of cannibalism][Archive]

- 1551. Le Testu. Cosmographie universelle [1][BL]
- 1552. Münster, S. Cosmographia [3][BNF]
- 1556. Heemskerck, M. Anthac humanis [1][CAT.]
- 1557. Staden, H. Warhaftige Historia [17][CAT.]
- 1558. Thévet, A. Singularitez de la France Antarctique [4][BNF]
- 1562. Gutiérrez, D. Regio de Brasil [1][BL]
- c. 1565. Brasiliani ex America [1][BNE]
- 1570. Ortelius. Theatrum Orbis Terrarum [1][BNE]
- 1572. Benzoni, G. Historia del mondo nuovo [1][BNF]
- 1579. Vaudeclaye, J. Map of Brazil [1][BNF]
- 1580. Léry, J. Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil [1][BNF]
- 1583-1593. Cannibal [1][BM]
- 1585. van der Straet, J. America [1][BM]
- 1588-1612. Galle, P. Nova reperta [1][BM]
- 1593. de Bry, T. Americae, vols. III-VI [15][CAT.]
- 1593. Ripa, C. Amerigo Vespucci [1][BNF]
- 1595. Galle, P. Allegorie de l'évangelisation [1][BNF]
- 1595. Farinati, P. Prosopographia [1][CAT.]
- 1596. de Bry, T. Dritte Bush America [1][CAT.]
- 1599. Schmidt, U. Map of South America [1][BNF]
- 1599. de Bry, T. Crudelitates Hispanorum in India [1][CAT.]

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BM: British Museum Online
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BNF: Bibliothèque Nationale de France
CAT: Catalogues, Secondary sources

Sources consulted with images of cannibalism

Year. Author, Title [# of images of cannibalism][Archive]
1600. Geographisch Handbuch [1][CAT.]
c. 1600. de Passe, C. Saturnus [1][BM]
c. 1600. Gheeraerts, M. Allegory of America [1][BNE]
1601. Huisius. Amazon and Ewaiponans [1][BNE]
1603. de Passe, C. America [1][BNE]
1608. Geyn, G. L'Amérique [1][CAT.]
1615. Jacquard. America [1][CAT.]
1616. Mocquet de Meaux. Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes [1][CAT.]
1621. Philiponus. H. Nova Typis transacta [2][BL]
1623. Voyage de Claude d'Abbeville: America [1][CAT.]
1625. The Four Continents: America [1][CAT.]
1628. Orientalische Indien [1][CAT.]
1635. Blaeu, J. Atlas Novus [1][CAT.]
1642. Aldrovandi: U. Monstrorum historia [2][CAT.]
1652. Visscher. N. Nova totius terrar...
1671. Montanus. A. Nova totius terrar...
1683. Mane... l'univers [2][CA...

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CAT: Catalogues, Secondary sources

Sources consulted without images of cannibalism

Year. Author, Title. [Illustrated Y/N][Archive]
1743. Mathey, C. Nouvelle relation [Y][BNF]
1749. Buffon. Histoire naturelle, génerale [Y][BL]
1768. Bougainville, L.A. Voyage autour du monde [Y][BL]
1780. Clavijero, F. Historia antigua de Mégico [N][BNE]
1783. Salvador Carmona, J.A. America [Y][BM]
1796. Grasset de Saint Sauveur, J. Encyclopaedie des voyages [Y][BNF]

Sources consulted with images of cannibalism

Year. Author, Title [# of images of cannibalism][Archive]
1708. Picart, B. L'Amérique [1][BM]
1720. Aveline, P. Nouvelle relation contenant [1][BNF]
c. 1720. van der Aa, P. Le miroir de la cruelle [2][BNF]
1723. Picart, B. Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses [3][BNE]
1724. Lafitau, J.F. Moeurs des Sauvages américains [2][BNF]
1729. van der Aa, P. La galerie agréable du monde [13][BNF]
1768. Delafosse, J.C. Iconologie historique [2][BNF]

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CAT: Catalogues, Secondary sources

Appendix 2: Image Card
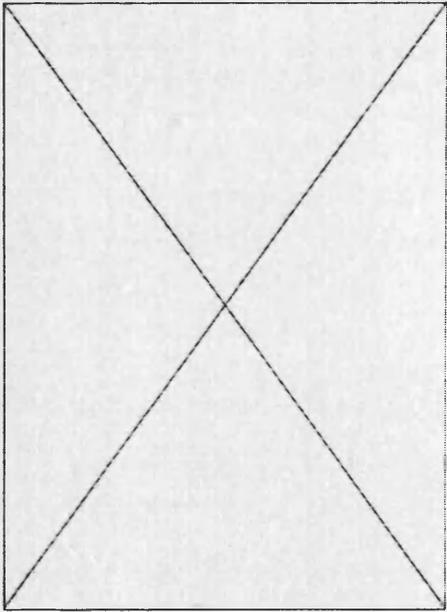
Title: _____

Artist: _____

Year: _____

Technique: _____

Book/
Anthology: _____

Archive: _____

Collection: _____

Reference: _____

Chapter/
Keyword: _____

Priority   1   2   3

Title: *Guerriers Indiens au Brésil*

Artist: *Léry, J.*

Year: *1580 (2nd Ed.)*

Technique: *Copperplate*

Book/
Anthology: *Histoire d'un voyage...*

Archive: *BnF*

Collection: *Num.*

Reference: *IFN- 2000031, im 3*

Chapter/
Keyword: *Body: Renaissance Canni-
bal Body politic.*

Priority   ●   2   3   *Pl. 2*