

Mapping the 'New World': Medieval Traditions of Othering¹

Cartografiando el «Nuevo Mundo»: tradiciones medievales de otredad

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Abstract

In 1562, 70 years after Columbus's landing in Guanahaní the cartographer Diego Gutiérrez together with the engraver Hieronymus Cock elaborated one of the first scale wall maps of America. Despite the time elapsed since the «Discovery» the «new world» remains populated with fantastic creatures and monstrous beings which eventually will be incorporated to the European perception of the Atlantic world and its backyards. In the present paper, I will present three fundamental images used in this map to enlighten and depict the identity of some of the regions newly incorporated into the imaginary of the early modern European world.

Keywords: Cartography, Alterity, Travel, Atlantic World.

Resumen

En 1562, 70 años después de que Colón desembarcara en Guanahaní, El cartógrafo Diego Gutiérrez y el grabador Hieronymus Cock elaboraron uno de los primeros mapas a escala de América. A pesar del tiempo transcurrido desde el «descubrimiento» el «nuevo mundo» seguirá poblado de seres fantásticos y monstruosos que se incorporarán a la percepción europea del nuevo espacio atlántico y de su transpatio americano y africano. En este artículo presentaré a modo de microhistorias tres imágenes fundamentales del mapa (gigantes, caníbales y rinocerontes) usadas para ilustrar la identidad de algunas las regiones recién incorporadas al imaginario europeo de la Baja Edad Media y de comienzos de la modernidad.

Palabras clave: Cartografía, Alteridad, Viaje, Mundo Atlántico.

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1. INTRODUCTION

A map is almost never an innocent object. Behind artistic and scientific work there often hides a political discourse and a cultural reading of the world. At the beginning of the modern age, map drafting was a specialized and costly activity, and obviously, we should not underestimate the influence of patrons and buyers in the preparation of maps. Their authority could involve something as seemingly innocent as including the sponsor's hometown, in the case of a special order, but it could also involve symbolic representation of items with a much deeper political charge. A paradigmatic example of this is the map of Diego Gutiérrez, which now adorns the wall of the Hispanic Reading Room at the Library of Congress in Washington.

In 1592 this cartographer of the *Casa de Contratación* elaborated the largest American map of the time, together with the Flemish engraver Hieronymus Cock; this work was titled *Americae sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio*.

In it you can see a variety of fantastic beings occupying the «new» Atlantic space, such as the «giants of Patagonia», «fierce cannibals» in the region of Brazil, or the sea beasts of the ocean. This map, like most maps, does not have a single use or a single reason for its existence.

On the one hand, the work of Gutiérrez and Cock served to update knowledge of the «fourth continent», in that it includes more cities and more areas than previous maps, and is therefore a *nova et exactissima descriptio*. On the other hand, it does not seem to be the most convenient instrument for navigation at sea – first because it is too large, and second because it has no navigation references–. Furthermore, although the coastal cities are well placed, there is no route drawn, and of course there is no information on the winds or ocean currents. It seems clear, therefore, that the map was not made for navigation. What, then, was the purpose of this work?

Taking a quick look, the enormous emblems occupying the area of North America grab our attention. As we see, under the allegorical image of Victory are the escutcheons of the Spanish and French crowns, while in the lower area we can see another escutcheon of the same size: that of Portugal. In the absence of any other type of coordinates in the center of the map, the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn clearly stand out.²

As clarified at the website of the Library of Congress itself, the joining of both escutcheons would be explained by the recent treaty of Cateau-Cambrai, signed three years prior, and the resulting marriage of Isabel de Valois and Philip II.

The inclusion of the Portuguese escutcheon is not due to the unification of the Iberian kingdoms under the Habsburg crown, since this tie was not developed until 1581. The incorporation of the Portuguese symbols indicates, rather, that only boats belonging to this realm were able to traverse both tropics.

The distribution of power in the Atlantic between Castile and Portugal had been determined first by the treaty of Alcaçobas, then by the *Inter Caetera* and successive Alexandrine bulls, and finally by the Tordesillas treaty agreements,

² As John Hébert point out “Through the map, Spain proclaimed to the nations of Western Europe its American territory, clearly outlining its sphere of control, not by degrees, but with the appearance of a very broad line for the Tropic of Cancer clearly drawn on the map”: Hébert, John, *The 1562 Map of America*. Online <<https://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/frontiers/gutierrz.html>> (last accessed June 2017).

which included the division of the Atlantic world and adjacent territories through an imaginary line 370 leagues west of Cape Verde. This dividing axis would vary over time, and the inability to draw out a clear picture of the areas of influence would lead to many dividing lines between the Iberian kingdoms.

This first division of the world benefited only the Hispanic kingdoms, and – as seems logical – neither the French crown, nor the English – also interested in the Atlantic – were at all in agreement with the Spanish and Portuguese expansionist policy or with the initial support of the papacy for their colonial enterprises.

Thus we see that starting in the second half of the sixteenth century it will be the Tropic of Cancer and the meridian of Tordesillas that are the axes used to determine the area of influence of the Spanish crown versus the other European powers (the Treaty of Tordesillas with Portugal would remain in effect until 1750).



Figure 1. *Americae sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio* (1562), Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. (G3290 1562 .G7).

The use Tropic of Cancer as a line of demarcation was much more practical than the use of meridians, since it was not only easier to locate and trace, but also for Spain it offered the advantage in that, since its area of dominion was south of the line, Spain was ensured absolute control of the Caribbean and the commercial monopoly not only of this area but also over the Pacific trade that linked Asia to Europe through the Manila-Acapulco-Seville route (Hébert, Online: last accessed June 2017)

Sive Americae quartae was completed in 1562, and despite the time that had elapsed since the discovery there were still many areas that remain unexplored by European settlers.

2. GIANTS

These «Patagonian» giants are the origin of the name of the eponymous region in Argentina, an area that –like so many others on the continent– was first part of the imaginary and then took on the form of a specific territory. But what are the Patagonians?

The word first appears associated with the Americas in Antonio Pigafetta account of Ferdinand Magellan's 1519 circumnavigation.³ In his entry for May 19, 1520, the traveler writes in his diary:

One day, when least expected, a man of gigantic stature appeared before us. He was standing over the sand, almost naked, singing and dancing and throwing dust over his head. The captain sent one of our sailors ashore with orders to make the same gestures as a sign of peace and friendship, which was very well understood by the giant (PIAGAFETTA, 1922: 52-53).

The first contact between the giant and the explorers is very reminiscent of the encounters described by travelers of the era. As Piagafetta wrote, Magellan gave food and water to the Patagonian, then made a gift of some trinkets, such as a steel mirror. The native, «who did not know what kind of tool this was, and saw his reflection for the first time» (PIAGAFETTA, 1922: 55) leapt back in shock, toppling over four of the sailors who were watching him.

On this topic, Gonzálo Fernández de Oviedo says in his General History «The invention of mirrors is attributed to Aesculapius, son of Apoline. Neither did the Indians have need of this invention» (FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO, 1535: Chapter XLIX).

The mirror is a recurring device in the tales of exploration when describing the indigenous *other*; the chronicler thus presents an individual who is not even aware of his own image. The Patagonians are described as people with culture,

³ *The first voyage round the world* was preserved in four manuscripts, one in Italian (Biblioteca Ambrosiana de Milán L. 103 Sup) and three in French (Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr 5650 ans MS fr 24224/Yale University, Beinecke Library MS 16405) In 1525 a partial first edition of Piagafettas book was published: *Le voyage et navigation fait par les Espaignolz es Isles de Mollucques: Des isles quilz ont trouue audict voyage des Roys dicelles de leur gouvernement maniere de viure avec plusieurs aultres choses*. The original language in which the travel log was written is still in dispute. Ramusio published in his *Navegazioni e Viaggi* a more completed edition in 1550. The quotes in this paper are from the Spanish edition of 1922 (Federico Ruiz Morcuende). For more information about all the editions see CACHEY (2007).

to the extent that they have weapons, clothing, and religious institutions, but at the same time they are ignorant of their own identity: naive, wild, and biddable.

Mimicry and imitation play a very important role in the representation of the encounter with the other. On this expedition there was, as usual, an interpreter: Enrique of Malacca. But Enrique's ability to communicate only begin to be practical after the arrival of sailors from the Malay Archipelago.⁴

In the absence of a common language, the sailor copied and theatricalized the giant's gestures to signify a message. The search for information was thus solved through the use of a form of communication more gestural than verbal, which does not suppose there to be an abstraction of one's way of seeing the world. Both the sailor and the giant interpret the other's movements and mimic them according to their own epistemic and symbolic experience. This way of expressing and understanding one's own culture and the culture of others is what leads Piagafetta to assert, as did Columbus a few years earlier, that when the natives pointed to the sky they were indicating that the voyagers had come from that realm.

There are many occasions in early colonial history where the chronicler identifies the traveler's region of origin as close to heaven, insofar as the culture of origin is perceived as the civilized and Christian *ecumene*. The opposition of the sky, in this case, is not just the land that the explorers stepped on as they got off the ship; rather, it was Hell or the areas more subject to the influence of the devil, which usually coincide with those of the Amerindian peoples, viewed as pagans.

In the report from the *Primer viaje en torno al globo*, several paragraphs are dedicated to describing the customs and religion of the natives, which is said to consist of worship of the devil *Stebos* and a group of twelve minor demons called *Chelele* (Piagafetta 1922: 59). These infernal beings do not look very different from the classical representations that can be seen in Europe at the time, the author comments: «Our giant claimed to have once seen a demon with horns and hair so long that it covered his feet, and who shot flames from his mouth and from behind» (PIAGAFETTA, 1922: 59).

This is a curious level of detail offered by Piagafetta, considering that the explorers had to understand the giants using gestures. The identification of the New World with an area of Satanic influence is an idea that would spread across the continent throughout the sixteenth century.

Although it is a strong counterpoint to Columbus's image of America as an earthly paradise, we must not forget that the end of the Conquest of Mexico, which was occurring during the same years as the Magellan-Elcano voyage, included the 1523 sailing of the so-called «twelve apostles», a group of Franciscan missionaries in charge of fighting the Devil in New Spain.⁵

The representation of Patagonian native culture as an absolute counterpoint to the colonizer is seen particularly well in the presentation of demons. The Patagonian *Stebos* is, by definition, the Antichrist and is accompanied at all times by the *Cheleles*, who serve as anti-apostles.

4 Enrique of Malacca was most likely the first person to circumnavigate the world. After being captured in Sumatra by Portuguese sailors in 1511, he spent the next years sailing with Magellan between Asia, Africa and Europe. He returned to the island of Mactan (Philippines) in 1521, 10 years (?) after having been taken as a prisoner.

5«discourses of colonization as 'exorcism'», see CAÑIZARES ESGUERRA (2006).

Stebos will reappear in European literature 90 years later as the god *Setebos*, cited in William Shakespeare's «The Tempest» by the fearsome Caliban (Shakespeare 1611), the native slave that the protagonist, Prospero of Milan, has taken prisoner after being shipwrecked on an unknown island.

Caliban's character also has its origins in the early explorers' accounts of the Americas; the name is a transliteration of the word *cannibal* and represents, in the work of the English playwright, a primitive savage who embodies all that is instinctual and irrational in humans.

Oscar Wilde would again reinterpret the figure of Caliban, stating in the preface of the *Portrait of Dorian Grey*: «The nineteenth century dislike of realism is the rage of Caliban seeing his own face in a glass. *The nineteenth century dislike of romanticism is the rage of Caliban not seeing his own face in a glass*» (WILDE, 2006: Preface).

We do not know if Shakespeare's Caliban experienced rage on seeing his face in the reflection of a looking glass, because *The Tempest* mentioned nothing of it; but to the delight of the Romantics, Piagafetta's giant does indeed feel a jolt when confronted for the first time with his own image.

The Patagonian, just like Dorian Grey, would have at least two faces, one beautiful and humanized, the one shown in the moments of discovery and joy, and the another –the portrait or reflection– that is brutal and demonic. This second face appears in both cases when theatrics and mimicry fail: in the text of *Dorian Gray*, when Sybil, his fiancée, gets tired of playing the role of Juliet; and in Piagafetta's chronicle when the sailor get tired of acting out the role of the giant.

In both cases the *Empfindung* (thinking of the other) first leads to indifference and then to contempt or belittling.

The sailors would remain in the area for a while, and after meeting more individuals from the same community the captain decided to call them Patagonians. The word probably refers to the size of their feet, but it is not clear in the account.

Before proceeding to the Pacific, Magellan decided to take two of them as prisoners. Knowing it was going to be difficult to capture them by force, he decided to set a trap:

The giants were delighted with the small gifts that the mariners gave to them, and so the captain ordered them to them fill both hands with objects. When they couldn't grab hold of any more, he offered one last detail: some shackles. The Patagonians, who were excited by the metal, accepted immediately, and when they had their hands full Magellan proposed that they fasten them to their ankles. And so both ended up immobilized and prisoners, condemned by their greed and stupidity (PIAGAFETTA, 1922: 57).

As we can see, the way the other is described is always determined by the worldview of the traveler. In the chronicles of discovery it is rare for anything to be truly discovered; things are almost always identified and verified to have been something that was previously known.⁶ In the specific case of Patagonia, as Ernesto Bohoslavsky pointed out (BOHOSLAVSKY, 2012: 143), it is striking how similar the description of Antonio Piagafetta's is to that of Francisco Vázquez's

⁶ As GERHARD JARITZ (2009) already pointed out visual culture and fabulous creatures from the middle ages are going to be described also later in the Americas.

Primaleón, published in 1512 (a continuation of the romance of chivalry *Palmerín de Oliva*, by same author).

In this book, Primaleón –son of the knight Palmerín de Oliva and the Empress Polinarda– lands on an island inhabited by monstrous beings, with human bodies, large ears, sharp, pointed teeth, feet like a deer and the face of a dog, dressed in animal hides and living off raw meat. These disturbing beings answer to the name *Patagonians*.

Knowing the history of Magellan and of his two Patagonians, anyone would say the characters portrayed by Hieronymus Cock on the map of the Americas are those same beings, at the precise moment the voyagers came upon them, shortly before crossing the strait.



Figure 2. Detail of *Americae sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio* (1562), Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. (G3290 1562 .G7).

The entire voyage of Magellan-Elcano served not only to increase awareness of the world in the Castilian court but also resulted in the incorporation of new territories into the Crown, and eventually the expansion of trade networks between Europe, America, Asia, and Africa. But if we move away from the voyage, with its cargo of military, political and expeditionary forces, and instead focus on the Piagafetta story per se, we can see how the words of the text practically become performative utterances (AUSTIN, 1962).⁷ The author and the main characters of the story give names to cities, cultures, regions, and even oceans, leaving a profound mark on the imaginary and symbolic geography of the New World.

The invention of the Americas, as the Mexican intellectual Edmundo O'Gorman has called it (O'GORMAN, 1958), would not be simple, uniform, and homogeneous. Naturally, the perception of each of the territories that comprise the American continents would vary depending on the perspective of the persons who meditate on them. Thus, to contemplate *Cem Anahuac*, *Tawantinsuyu*, or the Americas is not the same thing, in the same way Hispania, Castile, the Iberian Peninsula, and Spain are not synonymous concepts. There are local histories and distinct, interconnected ways of perceiving the world, even though the trend in historiography has been to approach colonial history as if it were a universal Hegelian history, in which traditional European cultures evolve globally following teleological parameters (MIGNOLO, 1988: 5-6).

That is, the pampa that emerged from the imagination of the sailors on the ship *Victoria*, even though it would have a decisive influence on the worldview of European readers of the time, was not the same one perceived by the Tehuelche population, also called Patagonians, and later Mapuche.

3. RHINOCEROS

Modern and Atlantic-world historians share the fairly widespread belief that the Americas were perceived, in the early days of the so-called discovery, as a totally unknown territory; the New World was unlike Africa or Asia, which –although exotic worlds to the Europeans– seemed closer and better studied (ELLIOT, 1990: 21).

If we look again at the map of Gutiérrez and Cock, this time on the eastern edge of the ocean, we see a representation of a rhinoceros that symbolizes very well the importance of knowledge and prior experiences of Empire when it comes to understanding and communicating something.

The animal, presented as a symbol and example of the fauna of this African region, is actually an Indian rhinoceros, which is quite different from its relatives on the African continent, the white rhino and black rhino.

It is quite possible that the inclusion of this drawing is not the result of a mistake or lack of other models, since by the mid-sixteenth century rhinos from that Africa were known of.

In 1515, Alfonso de Albuquerque sent the King of Portugal the first rhinoceros to be seen in Europe since antiquity. Exotic animals were prized in the European courts and palaces during the Middle Ages. In this case, the arrival was quite an event, because this species was considered as fantastic as a baboon or a dragon:

⁷ About speech acts theory and performative utterances see AUSTIN (1962).

there were references to its existence through some travelers' accounts, but no one had ever seen one.

The animal was put on exhibit in Lisbon, and they even organized a fight with an elephant, with the belief that –as Pliny said– rhinos and elephants were mortal enemies. The fight was not very successful, and soon Manuel I decided to send the rhinoceros off to Pope Leo X as a gift. With all this excitement, it must have been quite a disappointment in Italy when they learned that the animal had drowned on the journey.

That same year Albrecht Dürer, in Nuremberg, would see a letter from Lisbon with a description and a sketch made by an artist who had seen the exotic beast shortly after it was unloaded from the ship.

The German master, impressed with the picture, decided to make his own representation. The result was the famous engraving *Rhinocerus*, preserved in the British Museum in London.

The image ended up being the most representative icon of the species and was copied by hundreds of artists over the following centuries, such that whenever a rhinoceros was described on a map or in a text, this was the engraving that was reproduced.

The description of an amazing and powerful experience often goes unnoticed when there is no suitable spokesperson to replay it in the public sphere and give it relevance. In this case, thanks to the fascination of many other artists and intellectuals, Dürer managed to make it so that one single rhinoceros became *all* rhinoceroses, in the same way that Piagafetta's giant eventually became the icon of southern South America and the mythical character that all subsequent voyagers passing through claimed to have seen there.

4. CANNIBALS

December 11, 1492, is the birth date of another one of the beings –partly real, partly imaginary, and partly symbolic– that inhabit the Gutiérrez's map and the pages of many travel accounts from the Atlantic: the cannibal.

Columbus wrote in his journal that the natives on board had warned him of the existence of the Caniba: a dreaded cannibal tribe in the surrounding islands. He reacted by noting, «The Caniba must be nothing other than the people of the Great Khan, who must be their neighbor; he must have ships to capture them, and when people don't return, they believe that they have been eaten» (COLÓN, 2007: 121).

Cannibalism in the Americas formed a central symbol in defining the identity of the continent and the voyagers' discourse of otherness. Since the beginning of the Conquest, the New World was perceived to be a savage wilderness where «eat or be eaten» was part of the dialectic of the voyage.

In *Wahrhaftige Historia* (1557) the German mercenary soldier Hans Staden tells the story of his nine months of captivity among the Tupinambá in Brazil. Throughout this time, he witnessed several human sacrifices and banquets where the main course was human flesh; the traveler managed to survive to tell the tale, and his story would have quite an impact in Europe once it was published. Also in Germany we find *wahrhaftige Historien einer wunderbaren Schiffahrt* (1599)

by Ulrich Schmiedel, and account of the conquest of the River Plate that also mentions cannibalism.

However, German meat is only a small part of the American cuisine. In his *History of the Conquest of New Spain*, Bernal Díaz del Castillo relates how the Aztecs had been seen eating the flesh of their defeated enemies—yet had refused to eat the flesh of Díaz's countrymen during the siege of Tenochtitlan. A somewhat different treatment reserved for the Spanish prisoners in Tlatelolco, as the chronicler narrates: «Behold, how evil and villainous you are, that your flesh is so awful to eat that it embitters like gall, and we cannot swallow it on account of its bitterness» (DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, 2005: 253-254).

Cannibalism becomes a recurring theme in these stories about the «other» of the Americas, but neither is it completely implausible in narratives about the European 'I'. One known case is that of *Naufragios*, by Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, in which he describes to the reader how the hungry Conquistadors on the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition resorted to cannibalism when they were left with nothing to eat.

People began to die, and five Christians who were on the coast arrived at such extremes that they ate one another, until only one was left, who—being alone, had no one to devour (...) when they found out, the Indians were so disturbed that if they had seen us, they undoubtedly would have killed us.⁸

It is interesting to see how the natives, far from seeing in this episode a shared culinary custom, are shocked to the point of wanting to annihilate the Spanish.

Despite the number of cases similar to that reported by Cabeza de Vaca with respect to cannibalism, or testimonies from other Christians on the savage exploitation of the indigenous population as reflected in the famous Sermon of Montesinos, *cannibal* and *savage* are concepts frequently associated with the natives of the New World.

An example of this association is found in the letter Giovanni da Verrazzano sent to Francis I of France concerning his first voyage to America in 1524.⁹ The traveler recounts that, after spotting from his ship a group of apparently friendly natives, he sent a boat to collect water on the beach; the waves were apparently so large that the sailors had to return, so he sent one of youngest of them to make the trip swimming, carrying «little bells, mirrors and other trifles». This sailor, rocked by the sea, arrived the beach exhausted and «half dead», and so the Indians, when they saw him, carried him to a warmer place, took off her clothes and built a fire beside him. «When the sailors on the boat saw it, they were terrified, as always when something new happens, and they thought these people wanted to roast and eat him». Finally, once he had recovered, the explorer communicated to them with signs that he would return on his own, and the hosts very kindly accompanied him back to the sea.

⁸ Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (1555: chapt. XIV).

⁹ Quotes from the Celere Codex translation by Susan Tarrow in WROTH (1970: 133-143). The letter of Giovanni da Verrazzano to King Francis I of France is dated July 8, 1524. It was published for the first time in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's travel compendium «Navigazioni et Viaggi (1550-1559)». Until 1909 the original manuscript, included in the Celere Codex, remained missing. For this reason some doubt was cast upon the authenticity of the account. The document is conserved today in the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York. See SCHWARTZ (2003: 43 and ff.).

It is interesting to note the spontaneous fear of the crew on seeing the welcome that the natives accorded their companion; as Verrazzano tells us, anything unexpected when dealing with the other led to an instinctive fear, to the point of linking the sailor's nudity and the fire as the prelude to a cannibal feast. Seeing the reaction of voyagers, one gets the feeling that by this time the image of the savage, man-eating tribes of the New World was deeply rooted in the worldview of European explorers.

After leaving that beach, the voyagers moving northward, leaving on their right an isthmus about a mile wide and about two hundred miles long (probably Pamlico Sound). Verrazzano claimed that it was a gateway to the eastern seas and, therefore, a potential route to India, China and Catay¹⁰.

Having passed the inlet, we find the sailors once again on land and surrounded by natives, but this time the game is different and it is the others who are afraid. The Florentine chronicler tells how even though the locals had fled to the woods, the sailors had managed to find an older woman with two girls on her back and clutching a little boy, accompanied by a young man about 18 or 20 years, all hidden in the grass:

When we met them, they began to shout. The old woman made signs to us that the men had fled to the woods. We gave her some of our food to eat, which she accepted with great pleasure; the young woman refused everything and threw it angrily to the ground. We took the boy from the old woman to carry back to France, and we wanted to take the young woman, who was very beautiful and tall, but it was impossible to take her to the sea because of the loud cries she uttered. And as we were a long way from the ship and had to pass through several woods, we decided to leave her behind, and took only the boy.

The kidnappings in general, and abuse of women in particular, are not uncommon in the accounts of the Conquest: For example, Michele de Cuneo's rape of a young «cannibal» on the second voyage of Columbus is well known, and Rangel's account of the expedition of Hernando de Soto to Florida also mentions several times how the soldiers demanded local cacique's women or simply took them on their own.¹¹

In many cases, the kidnapped natives accompanied explorers back to Europe as symbolic spoils, as in the case of the Tainos who came to the Iberian peninsula after the first voyage of Columbus, or the sons of Donnacona captured on the first voyage of Jacques Cartier. In many cases the natives learned the language of the captor and served as translators in future expeditions.

The crew of *La Dauphine* continue their journey, arriving in France in July 1524. Ironically Verrazzano would die four years later devoured by cannibals in the Caribbean.

¹⁰ This letter was written two years after Juan Sebastian el Cano captained the Magellan expedition back to Spain having completed a successful circumnavigation of the globe. Nevertheless, the search for a route to the Pacific Ocean would remain one of the main goals for European explorers in America. «The first European travelers in the new world are not always in search of new things or discoveries», as John Sutton Lutz says about Columbus, Jacques Cartier and Martin Frobisher: «They went into new territories full of expectations, ideas, and stereotypes: what they found was –in large measure– what they expected to find» (SUTTON LUTZ, 2007: 2).

¹¹ About the image of women in the Chronicles of the conquest see MOORE (2006).



Figure 3. Detail of *Americae sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio* (1562), Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. (G3290 1562 .G7).

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