B. Schmidt

'O fortunate land!' : Karel van Mander, 'A West Indies Landscape', and the Dutch discovery of America

Looks at the presence of America in early Dutch visual paintings and prints, and the significant role in interpreting Americana played by Karel van Mander. Van Mander was a 16th-c. art historian, painter, poet, and translator. Van Mander's notes reveal a number of developments in Dutch perceptions of the New World and how pervasive incidental Americana had become by the late 16th c.

In: *New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 69 (1995), no: 1/2, Leiden, 5-44

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

BENJAMIN SCHMIDT

“O FORTUNATE LAND!”
KAREL VAN MANDER, A *WEST INDIES LANDSCAPE*, AND
THE DUTCH DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

Contrary to accepted opinion, “America” occupied not inconsiderable space in the imagination of sixteenth-century Netherlanders.¹ One burgher’s “New World” did not always coincide with that of his neighbor, yet judging from the wide variety of literary genres which discuss the newly discovered lands – travel narratives, history chronicles, political pamphlets, epic poems, and cosmographies, only to mention the most obvious – it is apparent that “America” entered the discourse of the Low Countries in a dazzling array of contexts and certainly long before any discussion of the commercial West India Company (founded in 1621) took place. The presence of America in early Netherlandish visual records presents far less evidence, yet a number of provocative paintings and prints, and the significant role in interpreting various Americana played by the pre-eminent arbiter of the precocious Dutch world of art, Karel van Mander (1548-1606), merit closer attention. Late-sixteenth-century art historian, painter, poet, translator, and all around man of letters in the burgeoning Republic, Van Mander refers to the New World a number of times in his oeuvre, including a curious passage in his *Wileggingh op den Metamorphosis* (Commentary on the *Metamorphosis*), a work which he appended to his famous *Schilder-boeck*. In a discussion of Aeneas’s rescue of his former enemy, the Greek soldier Achaemenides, from the clutches of the savage and man-eating Cyclops, Polyphemus, Van Mander offers his readers “instructive commentaries” (*leerlijcke aenwijsingen*) on gentlemanly comportment, ancient diplomacy, and pre-Christian virtue among the Trojan heroes (Van Mander 1604f:110; and cf. Ovid, *Metamorphosis* 14.160-222). Always the classicist, Van Mander cites, first, Pliny

New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids vol. 69 no. 1 & 2 (1995): 5-44

to demonstrate that a truly noble soul will behave benevolently and charitably toward his fellow man, whatever the latter's nationality or race, be he enemy or friend. To illustrate such enlightened behavior, Van Mander directs his reader even farther afield, this time to the "West Indians of Florida," whose "native reasonableness" (*natuerlijcke redelycheyt*) convey some of that same nobility that Ovid sought to praise in Aeneas. "It is also worth noting," he writes,

that which the French gentleman Michel de Montaigne relates, namely, that he saw in Rouen two West Indians from Florida who were wonderfully astonished to see some of the rich people with their great and stately houses, clothing, and plentiful food; and in front of these houses, others, naked and hungry, begging for bits of bread. And the Indians saw that the inhabitants of these inhuman lands did not have it as good as they did in their more reasonable lands, which were veritable Elysian fields. There they lived among one another in greater harmony, equality, and peace, and with greater affection; they lived quite agreeably, singing and dancing, the Elders passing their time in discussion, the younger men hunting for the community meal, day turning into night, innocently and genuinely. They are satisfied with but a trifle, just as the poets describe the people of the Golden Age.²

Brief though they may be, Van Mander's notes on the American scene reveal a number of developments in Dutch perceptions of the New World at the precise moment that the United Provinces was about to embark on its own "Golden Age." First, Van Mander's comments demonstrate just how pervasive incidental Americana had become by the late sixteenth century. To be sure, his New World exemplum does not really apply here – the visiting "Floridians'" observations of French poverty and social inequality in the time of Montaigne has really very little to do with Aeneas's treatment of his former foe, Achaemenides. Yet if the analogy seems a bit far-fetched (literally), it does reveal Van Mander's apparent interest in flaunting his new found knowledge of the New World. Knowledge of America, apparently, distinguished a well-read critic from the pack.³ Second, the anecdote also says something about the state of that knowledge: in a word, chaotic. For, though Montaigne's famous essay, *Des cannibales*, relates the philosopher's encounter with visiting Amerindians in Rouen, both Montaigne and the contemporary pamphlet literature and prints describing the extraordinary *fête brésilienne* make abundantly clear that the natives came from "Brazil" and that, between singing and dancing, they also passed their time waging war and gorging on one another – hardly the Elysian repose of Van Mander's "Floridians." Van Mander's reference to *West-Indianen van Florida* betrays, perhaps, a

more topical interest in the recent *affaire Floride* – reported in numerous Dutch pamphlets and travel accounts in the later sixteenth century – wherein Spanish troops sacked the French Protestant colony of Fort Caroline, killing the Huguenot warrior Jean Ribault in the process. Florida would have quite naturally been on the mind of Van Mander as well as many of his Protestant countrymen.⁴

Finally, Van Mander's American aside also conveys some of the author's personal views of the New World – *O seer gheluckich Lant!* (Oh fortunate land!), as he terms it⁵ – which registers a pastoral landscape of noble, if naked, citizens of a utopian paradise who seem not the least bit savage. (Van Mander actually concludes the section, like Montaigne, with a reference to the utopias of Plato and Sir Thomas More.) The real savages, observes Van Mander (1604f:110v) in the continuation of the passage cited, inhabit the Old World, and can be found amidst the less than “lordly” (*heerlyck*) nobles of Europe among us, the owners of “unhealthy souls,” the legislators of burdensome laws, the bearers of iron shackles, the wagers of destructive wars. And here one cannot but recall that not only did contemporary *France* find itself in the throes of the Wars of Religion, but the Netherlands, at the time of Van Mander's writing, was mired in its own bloody war of attrition against Philip II, king of Spain, lord of the Netherlands, and master of the New World.

FIRST SIGHTS

Composed in the twilight of the sixteenth century, Van Mander's notes on America followed Columbus's historic voyage by some one hundred years. Never having been to America himself, Van Mander fashioned his image of the New World from those materials most readily available to a land-lubbing and text-loving Dutch humanist. Much like the rest of Europe, the Netherlands learned about the New World from the carefully crafted public “letters” and reports issued in the wake of the discoveries, some translated into Dutch, others into French, and many preserved in Latin, the lingua franca among learned circles of the North. Indeed, news of the New World arrived in the Low Countries relatively quickly and in surprising abundance. From the start, America seems to have found a broadly receptive audience among readers of the Netherlands who avidly consumed the earliest Americana. “These islands [recently discovered] are wondrous to describe,” wrote a leading humanist of Holland already in the first years of the sixteenth century, “but there are already books written on them,” and, in his opinion, the plethora of print made further comment

unnecessary (Aurelius 1517:279). Those books referred to would have included editions of Columbus and Vespucci which appeared in Antwerp already within months of their original publication. Other works of the first generation of conquistadors and chroniclers soon followed. Cortés's letters to Charles V, Gómara's chronicle of Mexico, and Cieza de León's description of Peru all came off the presses of the Low Countries almost simultaneously with their publication in Spain. The narratives of Agustín de Zárate (Peru) and Hans Staden (Brazil) went through more editions in Dutch than in any other language, including those of their original composition.⁶ All these and more filled the libraries of the Netherlands in impressive proportions. Well over half of the oldest printed catalogues of private libraries in the Northern Netherlands list books on the New World among their collections. Americana, moreover, featured twice as frequently in these collections as works on Asia. This contrasts sharply with the famously cited example of France, where four times as many books focused on Asia than on America during the period 1480-1609. Assuming that books printed and collected amount to books read and digested, the case of the Netherlands upsets commonly held assumptions about the impact of the New World on the Old by demonstrating the Dutch interest in, rather than indifference to, America.⁷

That printed accounts of foreign discoveries fell on fertile ground in the Netherlands should come as no surprise. Antwerp, the printing center of sixteenth-century Northern Europe and the home of a highly literate collection of international merchants and Habsburg civil servants, was ideally suited to convey the latest tidings from overseas. More generally, the economic and cultural development of the northwest corner of Europe on the eve of the Discovery provided an ideal setting for the reception of the voyagers' finds. The flourishing market economy of late medieval Flanders fostered a keen interest in overseas trade and gave every reason to follow the results of the Western enterprise. Moreover, with the rise of the towns came the parallel developments of a civic culture, an "urban literature," and a highly urbane class of readers interested in, and capable of, reading travel literature in Dutch, French, and Latin. Printers and publishers of early Americana easily prospered in this culture of readers and traders.⁸

Word of the first sightings of Columbus came off the presses already in 1493 and provided readers with a glimpse of the wondrous harbors, rivers, and hamlets, the lovely pine groves, pastures, and mountains, and the "marvelously timorous" natives of the West Indies (Columbus 1493).⁹ To the mystically inclined Columbus and, undoubtedly, to many of his readers, the New World's pastoral idyll evoked images of the elusive earthly paradise. To city-dwelling Netherlanders, the mellifluous singing of

nightingales and "other birds of a thousand kinds" (Columbus 1988:6) must have resonated with particular charm, echoing, as it did, the naturalism that featured prominently in late-medieval Dutch literature. The marvelous mingled quite easily, too, with the monstrous, and despite Columbus's (1988:14) contention that "in these islands I have so far found no human monstrosities, as many expected," reports of man-eating Caribs would have persuaded many readers otherwise. Certainly some of the American novelties approximated the Asian exotica discovered by that dubious medieval "traveler," Sir John Mandeville. One of the many Dutch editions of "Ian van Mandevil" came out, in fact, in 1494 and presumably ended up in some of the very libraries of the readers of Columbus's account (Bennett 1954:372).¹⁰

In the *Mundus novus* and *Quatuor navigationes* of Amerigo Vespucci, printed an astonishing sixty times between 1503 and 1529 – that is, almost three times as frequently as the *Epistola* of Columbus (Hirsch 1976:538; Alden & Landis 1980-88) – wonders, literally, never ceased. To that wily beef contractor turned discoverer who contrived to become America's namesake, the New World represented a land of endless novelties and limitless potential, of seductive riches and dangerous monsters, of luscious fruit and lascivious women. It partook in the fabulous as well as the ferocious, exotic landscapes alternating with Edenic. Amazonian warriors held cannibal feasts, seduced unsuspecting Christian sailors, and lorded over unchristian quantities of gold, pearls, and treasure.¹¹ If the "entirely new world" reported by Vespucci presented a somewhat confusing picture, this would have been all the more the case for readers in the Low Countries. An Antwerp "Vespucius" appeared as early as 1505 in Latin, followed by a vernacular version in 1506-07. Jan van Doesborch, the publisher of the Dutch edition, also put out a provocatively titled *De novo mondo* in 1510, which included a one page précis of Vespucci's "Letter on his Third Voyage" (containing the word "Armenica"), followed by an account of Balthasar Springer's travels to the East Indies under the command of Francisco d'Aleida. It concluded with a one page abridgment (intended, perhaps, to fill the final verso) of Vespucci's chapter on cosmography extracted from the 1507 *Cosmographia* of Martin Waldseemüller. Doesborch reissued this hybrid work in 1522, this time bearing the English title *Of the newe landes and of ye people found by the kynge of Portygale*. (The 1510 edition is in Latin.) Both these works were presumably based on the more aptly titled Flemish work of 1508, *Die reyse van Lissabone* (The voyage from Lisbon). All of this produced a curious kaleidoscope of things "American," things Asian, and, naturally, things imaginary which informed the description of both. Evidently,

publishers of early Americana, at least in the Low Countries, placed little stock in what we might call geographic precision.¹²

The first complete “history” of the New World came from the pen of the Italian humanist, Pietro Martire d’Anghiera, a Milanese nobleman in the employ of the Spanish Crown. Like most Italian-born men of his class and station, Martyr received a humanist education; and in composing his *De orbe novo* – also called the *Decades* and published in Antwerp in 1536¹³ – he tried to describe the New World in terms that made sense to other, similarly inclined Renaissance readers. Martyr’s rendition of America evokes the spirit of Renaissance humanism, resplendent, as it is, with images of antiquity and suffused by a pastoral, almost Platonic vision of a utopian land blessed with the bountiful gifts of nature and filled with an unspoiled population of innocents “living in a golden age.”

It is proven that amongst them the land belongs to everybody, just as does the sun or the water. They know no difference between *meum* and *tuum*, that source of all evils. It requires so little to satisfy them, that in that vast region there is always more land to cultivate than is needed. It is indeed a golden age, neither ditches, nor hedges, nor walls enclose their domains; they live in gardens open to all, without laws and without judges; their conduct is naturally equitable. (Anghiera 1912, I:103-4)¹⁴

The Spaniards, for their part, could also be clad in the venerable robes of antiquity, such as the powerful conquistador Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who earns from Martyr a comparison with the heroic Hercules. Yet more often than not, the Spanish play the less noble role of invaders and “anxious hunters,” given to “torturing, strangling, decapitating, and, in divers other ways, killing people on the most trifling pretexts.” They are “envious, proud, and intolerable tyrants,” according to the Italian humanist; they represented the dark, brooding intruders, men from an Age of Iron capable of epic deeds of violence and rapacity (Anghiera 1912, I:141). In the hands of Martyr, “America” loses some of the fantastic hues of earlier descriptions, if only to gain a different luster, this time the glow of the Golden Age. He portrays a New World that preserves a civilization long passed, an Ovidian paradise, peaceful, bountiful, indeed utopian, and only recently disturbed by the iron-clad Spanish men of “fire and sword.”

Martyr’s *De orbe novo* appealed, presumably, to an educated, Latin-reading public, and it is hardly surprising that, in the humanist circles of the Netherlands at least, no vernacular translation was apparently deemed necessary. A Dutch-reading public with an appetite for “fire and sword,” however, could turn to other genres of Americana to satisfy their curiosity. Hernán Cortés’s *Cartas de relación* (1522), printed in Antwerp within a

year of its original Spanish publication, related the daring exploits and chivalric deeds of its larger than life hero.¹⁵ For the first time a Spanish author reported Spanish feats in Spanish America. By all indications, the knightly tests passed by the warrior-hero, Cortés, proved supremely attractive to the wider European audiences who read the Spanish adventure in America much as they might have read the popular romances of chivalry of the sixteenth century.¹⁶ Agustín de Zárate's account of the conquest of Peru would have exercised the same sort of appeal on readers on both sides of the Pyrenees. The ringing of Pizarro swords and the thrusting of Almagro lances had less to do with the conquest of America than with the clashing of hidalgo daring in a Spanish adventure of (dis)honor and intrigue. The Peruvian highlands provided but a slightly more exotic backdrop than the Castilian plains; the "wild west" displaced an already tamed Andalucía. Netherlandish readers proved hardly immune to this sort of diversion. Published originally in Antwerp in 1555 – Zárate served his Habsburg patrons as *contrador* (accountant general) in the Netherlands – the *Wonderlijcke ende warachtighe Historie vant Conick-rijck van Peru* (The true and amazing history of the kingdom of Peru) went through five more editions in Dutch and two in Latin (both published in Antwerp) before the end of the sixteenth century, placing it, in the Netherlands at least, among the all-time bestsellers of the literature of discovery.¹⁷

A BROADENING VISION

By the middle of the sixteenth century, readers of the Low Countries could turn to a variety of works on the New World written primarily by Italian and Spanish authors and translated and made available for a wider European audience. The publications of the coming years, however, introduced Dutch readers to a new sort of literature, namely, works composed by Northern European authors, often with a Protestant orientation, and sometimes with a strongly anti-Spanish bias. The new Americana reflected a number of developments, including the growing influence of the Reformation, the increasing involvement of Valois France in the New World enterprise, and the widening role of the Spanish Habsburg monarch as master of the New World riches and guardian of Old World Catholicism. It also indicated a growing awareness by publicists of the use of American themes for European polemics.

Some of these developments explain the tremendous popularity, especially in the Low Countries, of the first Northern European work on America, Hans Staden's *Warhaftige historia* (1557).¹⁸ A German gunner

in the employ of the Portuguese, Staden set out for South America in 1549, only to return five years later having spent almost half of his sojourn as a captive of the Tupinamba of Brazil. His vivid description of his adventures there contains enough “traditional” elements – a dangerous encounter with savages, spiced by racy intercultural interludes, and all set in exotic Amazonian forests – to account for its extraordinarily wide readership. Staden improves on the native-as-cannibal theme by placing *himself* in the position of the object of the Tupi’s anthropophagist desires, and his description of his captivity lingers deliberately, it would seem, on the suspense-filled period leading up to his ultimate (non)eating and on the less fortunate fate of other captives-turned-banquets. Staden survives his ordeal, by his own admission, through a combination of solemn perseverance and simple piety, and his emphasis on a very personal brand of Christian virtue might explain the work’s especial success among readers of the North. For Staden’s was not only among the first accounts of America by a non-Catholic; it was also in many identifiable ways a *Protestant* text. Unlike previous accounts, which also had their share of religious homilies, Staden’s history can be distinguished by its Protestant emphasis on the author’s direct relationship with God; by the author’s recognition of the futility of seeking any religious intermediaries in place of God; and by the special, personal significance for the author of the life and the death of Christ. Staden, thus, compares his own ordeal to the “mocking” of the condemned Christ, and includes throughout the account a number of pious prayers and “hymns,” addressed “to God alone.” In an explanatory preface to the work by a *Landsmann* of Staden’s, the Marburg physician Dryandus, the latter notes with thinly veiled contempt that “some hitherto among the papists invoke this saint or that holy one, vowing pilgrimages or offerings that they may be saved from their perils.” Staden, in contrast, gave during his ordeal “honor and praise to God alone, and in all Christian humility.” Staden’s survival, concludes Dryandus, serves as a testament to the superiority of the new brand of Protestant piety (Staden 1928:27-28).

It would be naive to accept Staden’s own assertion that his aims in the *Historia* are merely pietistic, or, for that matter, to consider the work exclusively within the context of the Reformation. Both these claims might hold more truth, however, for the description of Brazil by the Huguenot pastor, Jean de Léry, whose *Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* (1578) falls more solidly into the polemical tradition of the mid-sixteenth century. The work became an instant Calvinist classic, going through seven French-language printings during the author’s lifetime. Its prompt translation into Latin, German, Dutch, and English, and its incorporation by Theodore de Bry in his widely circulated collection *Americae*

(*Grands Voyages*) insured it a spot in the broader Protestant canon of anti-Catholic literature. It was, in fact, cited repeatedly by Dutch authors concerned with America.¹⁹

Léry, a battle-scarred veteran of the French wars of religion, received his training in the seminaries of Calvin's Geneva, which he left in 1556 to join the French colonial endeavor in Brazil under the leadership of Nicholas Durand, chevalier de Villegagnon. The colony fared badly and was forced to retreat within three years under the pressure of Iberian fire. Léry, though, did not even last this long, forced to flee under the guns of Villegagnon himself, who accused Léry, along with the rest of the colony's Calvinist party, of sedition.²⁰ Upon his return, the impassioned Léry composed *La persecution des fideles en terre d'Amerique* (1561) and later the more ambitious account of the colony, with a description of the land and people of Brazil, *Histoire d'un voyage*.²¹

In both of Léry's accounts, the blame for the colony's failure falls on Villegagnon, in particular, and the corrupt Catholic-Guise party, in general. Léry spares no words in vilifying Villegagnon, a backsliding Catholic, who appears the very whore of Babylon relocated in Brazil. His pompous attire, swaggering arrogance, and fits of violence, particularly against the Calvinist ministers and other "good Christians," earns him Léry's utmost scorn: he is an "Orlando Furioso against those of the Reformed religion." Furthermore, his "false" prayers, poisonous pride, and unholy Mass earn him eternal damnation: he is "the Cain of America" (Léry 1990:47, 218). To emphasize these religious failings and to ridicule, especially, the hotly disputed celebration of the Lord's Supper, Léry weaves into his description of the Tupinamba a parallel criticism of those other "cannibals," the French Catholics, who partake of the Lord's flesh and blood with savage ignorance and superstition. The Amerindian feasts of flesh take on a whole new meaning for Léry, who juxtaposes these to the figurative cannibalism implied by the Catholic rites, to the very real violence of the Parisian and Lyonnaise mobs (who reputedly devoured the hearts and livers of their mutilated Huguenot victims), and to the "blood sucking" usury and other sins of the villainous Guise party. "So let us henceforth," he concludes his chapter on Tupi cannibalism,

no longer abhor so very greatly the cruelty of the anthropophagous – that is, man-eating – savages. For since there are some here in our midst even worse and more detestable than those who, as we have seen, attack only enemy nations, while the ones over here [France] have plunged into the blood of their kinsmen, neighbors, and compatriots, one need not go beyond one's own country, nor as far as America, to see such monstrous and prodigious things.²²

Léry was not alone in transplanting to the soil of the New World the political and religious seeds of discord of the Old. The next chapter in France's adventure in America, the so called *affaire Floride*, occasioned a flood of pamphlets and "histories" which likewise exploited events overseas to score propaganda points at home. Once again, the martyred colonists, this time settled on the Florida peninsula, belonged to the long-suffering Huguenot party. In this instance, however, their tormentors derived from the Catholic subjects of the Most Catholic King, Philip II of Spain. Nicolas Le Challeux, a "simple carpenter," as all the sources describe him, of obscure Huguenot background, claimed to have witnessed the "massacre" at Fort Caroline in 1565, and survived to tell the dramatic story of gruesome slaughter and Spanish treachery (Le Challeux 1566).²³ Le Challeux's popular pamphlet – it went through six printings in 1566 alone – combined a number of well-tried formulae. On the one hand, like Staden's account, it contained numerous pious and largely Protestant gestures, including passages meant to appeal to specifically Calvinist readers. Thus, the narrator attributes his own miraculous survival, pointedly, neither to the intercession of any saint, nor to his own "feeble" abilities, but rather to the "special Grace" of God. On the other hand, the narrative revels in the lurid details of Spanish/Catholic tyrannies, their "pitiful" and "extreme cruelty[ies]," and their "horrible, tragic slaughter of [French] forces ... healthy and sick, women and children." Spanish savagery, in fact, calls to mind some of the descriptions in earlier accounts of the most wild fits of native American fury. In a somewhat gratuitously gore-filled passage, Le Challeux sensationalizes Spanish cruelties in much the same way that earlier writers had treated "American" – that is, Indian – violence. "They plucked out the eyes from the dead bodies, stuck them on their dagger points, and with exclamations, taunts, and mocking, threw them at the [escaping] boats," he writes of the barbarous Spanish troops. Interestingly, the Spanish here have assumed the maim and mock tactics that had generally been ascribed to the Indians. Le Challeux preserves America as the home of the savage, yet recasts the Spaniard as the primary perpetrator of barbarities (Le Challeux 1965:100-6).

To portray America as the landscape of Spanish tyranny seems, in retrospect, hardly a stroke of originality. Surprisingly, though, up until the middle of the sixteenth century, few outside of French Calvinist circles showed much inclination to wage a war of words against Spain and to use, specifically, descriptions of America as a means thereto. Even in the literature of the Huguenots, the *Catholic* menace, French or Iberian, loomed larger than a specifically *Spanish* foe. Much of this changed, though, after the middle of the century, when not only Le Challeux's

pamphlet began to circulate, but another, more substantial and more broadly accessible work first appeared: Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del mondo nuovo*, a singularly despondent, pessimistic, anti-chivalric, and, above all, anti-Hispanic description of the New World which, as it would turn out, would have particular significance within the Dutch context.²⁴

Benzoni, like his compatriot Peter Martyr, hailed from the duchy of Milan, a territory that, by the mid-sixteenth century, had joined the New World as part of the Spanish empire. Unlike Martyr, he lacked all but the most basic education, and he sailed to the New World aiming to make his fortune rather than write it. His is very much a soldierly account in contrast to Martyr's scholarly opus. Still, on many points they ended up in agreement. Neither, for example, fostered much sympathy for the Indians. For Benzoni, as for Martyr, the native Caribbeans could appear "savage," "monstrous," and at times "mere brute animals or beasts." Such sentiments notwithstanding, Benzoni could also describe some of the islanders in terms that, if not quite as Ovidian as the language in Martyr's *De orbe novo*, recall nonetheless some of the humanist's descriptions of an American golden age of innocence and peace. "Some say that these people were very great thieves," writes Benzoni (1857:83) of certain islanders,

[B]ut what could they steal? They are neither avaricious nor rich, and what they least prized was gold and silver, since whoever [sic] wished for any could go to the mine and get as much as they liked, as people do at a spring of water. Respecting clothing, they all go naked; as to eatables everybody gives to whoever goes to his house. And whenever they assemble at their festivals, the whole tribe brings eatables, and they sing and dance till they get drunk and are tired; and so they freely pass a happy time. I cannot imagine thieving among them, unless they learned the art ... from the Spaniards.

In this discourse on the nature of the Amerindian, Benzoni deftly commingles two visions of the New World. For while he evokes all the essential ingredients of a golden age – lack of greed, absence of clothing (or the dressings of burdensome laws), indiscrete ownership of property – he also suggests the possibility of an alternative scenario – intemperance, avarice, and thieving. The Indians merit praise precisely for their *absence* of sin; and it takes very little imagination to infer who might introduce and stimulate sin and depravity. Benzoni was a soldier and not a humanist, and, unlike Martyr's, his account inclines less toward the Ovidian landscape of innocent and uncorrupted Indians than to the spectacle of pitiless and brutal conquistadors. Neither in the pay of the Spanish Crown nor in the thrall of classical learning, Benzoni enjoyed a freedom of expression

unknown to his courtly predecessor. Himself something of a swashbuckler, Benzoni participated – by his own admission – in some of the very Spanish cruelties he describes (especially the slave raids on the Caribbean islands), and was, in this sense, too, singularly suited to catalog the same. This he does with the discipline and sobriety of a soldier and with the obvious relish and ill-will of a freshly humbled, Spanish-hating Milanese. The Spanish in Benzoni's *Mondo nuovo* commit savage cruelties and behave with beastly and brutal rapacity. They “jump out like wolves” to attack unsuspecting natives who, in passive innocence, fall “like so many lambs.” They “burn,” “ambush,” and “ravage” their way through the countryside in their relentless search for gold and silver; and they “consume everything” in their path, men, women, and children, not unlike the insatiable Aztec gods whom they hastily destroy. Cortés, according to Benzoni, tortures “by slow degrees” an unyielding secretary of Montecucuma; while Pizarro's assistant, “the monk,” urges the Spanish soldiers “to kill by thrusts, lest by using the sharp edge of their swords they might break them.” Benzoni reserves some of his harshest criticism for the Spanish settlers who invent ever more grisly means to torment their slaves:

And there being among the Spaniards some who are not only cruel, but very cruel, when a man occasionally wished to punish a slave, either for some crime that he had committed, or for not having done a good day's work, or for spite he had towards him ... he had his hands and feet tied to a piece of wood laid across, so permitted under the rule of the Spaniards ... then with a thong or rope he was beaten until his body streamed with blood; which done, they took a pound of pitch or a pipkin of boiling oil and threw it gradually all over the unfortunate victim; then he was washed with some of the country pepper mixed with salt and water. He was thus left on a plank covered with a cloth, until the master thought he was again able to work.²⁵

“At the heart of this American darkness resides the Spanish nation,” to which Benzoni returns time and again. Their “unbearable arrogance,” their internecine violence, and their insatiable lust for women, wealth, and war cast a dark shadow over the reputation of good Christians everywhere. “Seeing our greed,” notes Benzoni wryly,

there are some among the [natives] who, taking a piece of gold in their hand, say, “This is the God of the Christians; for this they have come from Castile to our countries, and subjugated us, tormented us, and sold us as slaves, besides doing us many other injuries. For this they make war and kill each other; for this it is that they are never at rest; that they gamble, swear, tell lies, quarrel, rob, tear the women away from each other ... for this they commit every sort of wickedness.”²⁶

And for this ungodly behavior, adds the author, the Spanish nation deserves our utmost opprobrium.

Benzoni's Hispanophobia is striking. It can be explained, in part, by his actual experiences in Spanish America, both as a slave trader and as a hardened veteran of the *Conquista*. Yet a certain amount of the author's rancor owes something to the context of the account and to attitudes formulated back in Europe. Indeed, Spain's conquest of the New World coincided with a similar plan of expansion in the Old. The concomitant Habsburg plundering of the treasure houses of Italy and America during the sixteenth century make it only natural that the Italian-born Benzoni might have adopted a somewhat skeptical, if not cynical, view of Spain's dubious mission overseas. It could hardly have escaped the attention of contemporaries that a few years after Cortés staged Montecuçoma's oath of loyalty to the Habsburg emperor (1519) the very same Charles V and his Spanish officers orchestrated the sack of Rome (1527). Lombardy fell to the Spanish, in fact, only months after the empire of Peru. Just prior to the publication of the *Mondo nuovo* appeared a very popular *Istoria d'Italia* which provided vivid descriptions of the Spanish conquest of Prato (outside of Florence) in 1512, and the subsequent barbarities of the Habsburg-sponsored *Landsknechten* in the following decades. The author of this work, the distinguished historian Francesco Guicciardini, took a similarly dim view of the transalpine aims of an expansive Habsburg empire. Benzoni told a familiar tale, only this time with a transatlantic focus.²⁷

Benzoni's rendition of America, while sharing many features of earlier and contemporary accounts, established a fully new standard for the genre and set the tone for many of the accounts that would follow. It combined all of the high-minded indignation of Martyr without excluding the luridly "low-brow" details of Staden. It demonstrated, as did Léry's account, a considerable degree of sympathy for the tormented, if heathen, Indians, while avoiding many of the Calvinist minister's provincialism, not to mention the Gallicentrism of Le Challeux. Above all, it painted a thoroughly anti-Spanish picture of the New World, which surpassed all others in the intensity and the focus of its Hispanophobia. It thereby introduced many of the elements that would later feature in the numerous assaults on the Spanish character – the so called Black Legend – that proved so popular throughout the late-sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.²⁸

In its day, too, the *Mondo nuovo* was popular, in fact, extraordinarily popular. Whatever Benzoni's personal motives for designing his account, it found a wide and receptive audience among readers on both sides of the Alps who, with a variety of Americana to choose from, responded with enthusiasm to the Spain-bashing of the Milanese soldier. First published in

Venice in 1565 (twice), the *Historia del mondo nuovo* attracted sufficient interest to merit a prompt second printing in 1572. Understandably, the Spanish showed little inclination to translate or to publish the work, yet by the late 1570s Benzoni's narrative exploded onto the rest of the European literary market as few works of the New World had ever done before. In 1578, a Latin edition came off the presses of Calvinist Geneva, and at least four further Latin editions appeared by 1600. A widely read French edition, also published in Geneva, came out in 1579, the same year a German translation, published in Basel, began to circulate. This German edition was printed repeatedly in the following years, individually and as part of Theodore de Bry's anthology *Americae* from 1594. A Dutch-language edition, translated from the Italian by none other than the eminent Karel van Mander, was published in 1610.²⁹ Since Van Mander died in 1606 and had been working on his famous *Schilder-boeck* during the final years of his life, there is reason to believe that a manuscript of the translation had been available already for some time and perhaps even circulated among Van Mander's literary and artistic colleagues in Haarlem in the latter years of the sixteenth century.

Van Mander's role in the early history of Dutch Americana is intriguing. A man of his stature exercised influence not only in the world of art, but also in the broader, socio-political circles of his adopted city of Haarlem and later in Amsterdam (1603-1606). His collaboration with Benzoni appears, at first glance, somewhat curious. As a young man, Van Mander had made a pilgrimage to Rome, touring other parts of Italy and returning by way of Bohemia and Germany. It was in Italy that he would have come across Benzoni's work (published the year before his arrival in 1573) and also perfected his language skills sufficiently to translate into Dutch numerous Italian and Latin works of literature. Van Mander does not mention coming across any Americana in the courts of the South; yet, upon his return, he does come into contact with what has been considered the first landscape of the New World. Van Mander, as it turns out, not only served as translator of the "most popular work" on the New World, but he also provided the only description – a "translation," one might call it – of what is considered the first and only painting of the New World to be produced in the sixteenth century, the *West Indies Landscape* of Jan Mostaert.³⁰

MOSTAERT AND HIS CRITICS

Though the New World had received a fair amount of attention from cosmographers, historians, and even poets, it only sporadically and

incidentally entered the works of the visual artists of the Renaissance.³¹ There existed, certainly, a minority of travelers and scholars who recognized the importance of creating a visual record of the New World. "It needs to be painted by the hand of a Berruguete or some other painter like him, or by Leonardo da Vinci or Andrea Mantegna, famous painters whom I knew in Italy," wrote the naturalist Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo in 1535 (cf. Honour 1975a:1). This plea, however, remained largely unanswered. In the 1570s, the physician Francisco Hernández took a team of scholars, draftsmen, and painters with him on an expedition to Mexico, yet their results remained unpublished, destroyed by a fire in 1671; and by the early nineteenth century, Alexander von Humboldt would make an appeal similar to Oviedo's to the artists of his day.³² To a certain degree, crude woodblock prints and, later, more sophisticated engravings partly filled the visual gap. Prints normally accompanied the travel literature and often showed great similarities, in visual terms, to the texts they served to illustrate. Thus, sensationalist and often lurid depictions occur quite frequently in the earliest broadsides and pamphlets reporting the discoveries. A German edition of Vespucci issued in 1509, for example, contained a number of woodcuts, one displaying the seduction and murder of a "good-looking" European sailor by local Amazons, another showing a Brazilian indifferently urinating beside a New World-style barbecue of human flesh. Staden's account, too, included its share of voyeuristic candids of native living habits (usually with Staden himself in a helpless, yet pious, pose), and even Léry's account carried a print of fabulous demons, dragons, and other Brazilian beasts. In Léry's account, the reader confronts the opposite sort of print, too, namely the noble, classicized representation of the savage who had a vaguely European physiognomy, had clearly European attributes, and even used European rhetorical gestures. Still more classicized are the languid figures that elegantly decorate André Thevet's *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique* (1557), a pro-Valois description of "Nova Francia" by Henri II's royal cosmographer. Based presumably on the drawings of the French Mannerist painter, Jean Cousin (1525-94), Thevet's prints elevated the Amerindian to a level of poetic nobility far above the more prosaically indifferent description of the text. Whatever Thevet's written opinions of the native Americans – and the text presents a uniformly haughty and dismissive vision of the depraved *sauvages* of Brazil and Canada – the graphic images of powerful, Renaissance bodies portrayed in graceful *contrapposto* tell a wholly different story.³³

This verbal-visual hodge-podge was not uncommon, and, more often than not, the earliest prints of "America" confused a variety of Old World

Illustration 1 : Jan Sadeler (after Marten Vos), *Building of the Ark*. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)

images with New World captions. The Dutch edition of Zárate (1563:27, 29, 36, 41) illustrated the jungle wars of the Pizarros with woodcut prints from a late medieval romance of chivalry. Knights on stalwart steeds charge one another in a thoroughly European scene of gallantry.³⁴ As late as the 1590s, the great Flemish printer, Theodore de Bry adopted an Old Testament scene of the Deluge by Jan Sadeler (after Marten de Vos) to portray the shipwreck of Nicuesa off the coast of Venezuela. A cursorily added Spanish galleon in the upper right corner confirms the scene as a *New World* adventure. [Illustrations 1-2.] This lack of distinction also applies to the Amerindians, who appear, seemingly haphazardly, in a number of "oriental" prints, such as the *People of Calicut* (1517-18) after Hans Burgkmair the Elder. Thus, "Indians" of the subcontinent, wearing Brazilian feather dresses and carrying prominent stalks of maize, solemnly march behind a large-eared (that is, *African*) elephant carrying a turbaned mahout.³⁵ Burgkmair also designed the "African People" who appear in Balthasar Springer's Asian travelog, *Of the neue landes* (1522), that included introductory and concluding passages describing "Armenica."³⁶ A more elaborate version of this visual indistinction can be seen in the *Adoration of the Magi*, executed ca. 1505 for the polyptych of the Viseu Cathedral (Portugal). In the center of this triad of wise men from "the East," stands a tawny-skinned figure carrying a Tupinamba arrow and wearing various (Brazilian?) feather accessories. He is decked, however, with unquestionably European britches and an elegant blouse of gauze.³⁷

Nearly all images of native "Americans" portray stylized, classical "natives"; for only rarely did artists actually draw New World figures from genuine native models. Christopher Weiditz's unique sketches of the Mexican jugglers who visited the court of Charles V (1528) with an entourage sent by Cortés represent the exception that proves the rule, and even these drawings would never have reached a wider audience. Albrecht Dürer, who had seen the Aztec featherwork and the richly decorated gold and silver vessels of Montecuçoma, sent in 1520, "marveled at the subtle *ingenia* of men in foreign lands." He failed, however, to give expression to his admiration on canvas, copper, or wood, and the cash-hungry Charles V summarily sent the exhibition to be melted down for bullion (cf. Panofsky 1943:209 and Sturtevant 1976).³⁸ Certainly few *paintings* of the New World were ever commissioned, which says something about the seeming lack of interest on the part of sixteenth-century patrons. Charles V did retain some of the artifacts sent by Cortés, which eventually made the rounds in the various courts of the Habsburg's European empire. Some presumably ended up in the court of Charles's aunt, Margaretha of Austria, who served as the regent of the Netherlands.

Illustration 2 : Theodor de Bry, *Americae pars quarta, sive ... reperta ... à Christophoro Columbo.* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)

These, in turn, may have inspired Jan Mostaert (ca.1475-1555/56), among the regent's retinue of artists, to paint what Van Mander would later call the "West Indies Landscape."

The unique subject of Mostaert's painting has attracted a good deal of scholarly attention ever since the work's identification in 1909. [Illustration 3.] Edward Weiss, who spotted the work in a private collection in Scheveningen (the Netherlands), first ascribed the work to Mostaert on the basis of Van Mander's description (Weiss 1909-10). Since then, however, the precise location and significance of the scene has been the subject of considerable speculation and controversy. In 1931, Edouard Michel suggested that Mostaert sought to depict the conquests of Cortés in Mexico during the early 1520s. He argued on that basis that the work was commissioned by the Regent Margaretha ca. 1523-25, soon after Cortés' reports reached Europe and while Mostaert was presumably still in her employ.³⁹ This argument was challenged by Remmet van Luttervelt (1948-49), who pointed out that none of the attributes of the scene concurred with the fabulous descriptions of Aztec wealth or with the reports of Montecuçoma's colorfully clad subjects. He proposed, instead, that the details of the painting conform more closely to reports of the expedition of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, who explored the area of today's Southwestern United States in search of "Cibola," the Seven Cities of Gold. In a rather ingenious argument, Van Luttervelt located in Mostaert's landscape the pueblo huts and the stone-throwing Zuñi tribesmen that were described in Coronado's reports. The extraordinary rock formations in the background, Van Luttervelt suggested, corresponded to the geological structures of the Colorado Plateau such as Rainbow Ridge in southern Utah, and the Window Arch of Arizona, both on Coronado's possible itinerary. Coronado's reports arrived back in Europe, informally at least, from around 1542, and Van Luttervelt dates the painting accordingly ca. 1542, by which time Mostaert had already left Margaretha's court and had returned to his native Haarlem.

More recently, Erik Larsen (1970) has contended that the scene depicts neither the Zuñi of "Cibola" nor the Aztecs of Mexico, but rather the natives of Brazil. Pointing to the nudity of the subjects in the painting, Larsen reasons that Mostaert could not have intended to portray any North American tribes, since these tribes always went clothed. Based on the presence of a South American macaw perched on a stump in the foreground, Larsen proposes that the scene portrays the Tupinamba of Brazil ("land of parrots") at the moment of their fatal encounter with Portuguese forces. He further suggests that the Spanish flag on the right of the panel is only a later addition. By comparing details of the painting to

Illustration 3 : Jan Mostaert, *West Indies Landscape*. (Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.)

contemporary descriptions of Brazil, especially that of Hans Staden, Larsen situates the action of the painting, more specifically, in the vicinity of the Bahia de Todos os Santos, where a series of skirmishes took place in the mid-sixteenth century. He dates the painting among the final works of Mostaert's œuvre (ca. 1550-55), coinciding, that is, with Portugal's renewed activity with her colonial inheritance in the West.⁴⁰

In the latest contribution to the debate, it is argued that the scene is not of the New World at all. Charles Cuttler (1989) calls attention to what he considers a classical column, partly hidden on the left side of the panel, and suggests that Mostaert had a patently Old World theme in mind. He cites Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut of the *Battle of Men and Satyrs* (ca. 1497-1500), which shows an Arcadian world attacked from without by an exotic invader, as Mostaert's model. It would have been at the court of the Regent Margaretha in Mechelin, where Jacopo served from 1515-20, that Mostaert could have studied this mythological scene. Relating the work to Joachim Patinir's landscape style of the 1520s, Cuttler dates this "Arcadian Landscape" ca. 1520, that is, only shortly after Mostaert's tenure with Margaretha would have ended.

Cuttler and his predecessors base their arguments on a number of assumptions about Jan Mostaert's knowledge – or lack thereof – of the discoveries and of America. They also presume, perhaps a bit rashly, that there existed a single, obvious, and sensible set of ideas that described "America." Yet, as we have seen, throughout the sixteenth century, various "Americas" competed for readers' and viewers' attention, and to reconstruct Mostaert's knowledge of the new lands is no simple task. Mostaert, who, like Van Mander, was a long-time Haarlemmer, almost certainly never made the voyage to the New World. Slightly more cosmopolitan than the average Netherlander of his age – Van Mander (1604c: 229) reports that the artist came from a "noble and famous family" – Mostaert traveled around Europe with the court of the regent, whom he served for eighteen years at Mechelin. At the court, too, he would have come into contact with New World artifacts sent by Margaretha's nephew, Charles V.⁴¹ Both at Mechelin and back home at Haarlem, he could have read the literary descriptions of the New World available at the time: the wondrous reports of Columbus, the monster-filled letters of Vespucci, and the heroic accounts of Cortés. As a member of a more learned circle of artists, Mostaert might also have been drawn to the classically informed *De orbe novo* of Peter Martyr which described a new world of utopian innocence and Ovidian grace. As far as the reports of Coronado are concerned, Mostaert could only have heard gossip or hearsay from friends at court. It is doubtful that he was even around the court in the

1540s when such verbal reports would have circulated, and Coronado's written account was only published after Mostaert's death in 1556.⁴²

All of this does not imply that Mostaert would not have had some idea of the events of Coronado's expedition – of the Spanish exploration of the uncharted lands, of their encounter with cliff-dwelling natives, of the stones hurled at the steel-bearing invaders, of the fruitless search for gold – though it is doubtful that he had the neat, coherent narrative that his exegetes have come to expect from him. If early literary and graphic representations of America happily mixed fact with fiction, Mostaert's painting cannot be expected to show any greater consistency. His "West Indies Landscape" evokes New World themes by combining the exotic, the familiar, and the familiarly exotic. If a parrot decorates the foreground, so, too, do such common European fauna as hare, sheep, and cattle, all animals typical of the pastoral landscape.⁴³ The *arco naturale* that Van Lutervelt associates with the landscape of Arizona was actually a common feature of sixteenth-century landscape painting in general, and regularly appears in scenes of "St. Jerome in the Wilderness" and in other Flemish *Welilandschaften* by Cornelis Massys and Henri Bles.⁴⁴ A similar geological structure decorates the background of another work by Mostaert, the Rijksmuseum's *Portrait of a Woman*, a painting hardly noteworthy for its exoticism.⁴⁵ Finally, if the figures in the middle ground lack any "American" attire, this only exposes their undeniably European bodies. The only bits of "civil" dressing that Mostaert *does* include – the red, fur-lined hats which crown the three, otherwise naked natives in the center of the composition – refer, iconographically at least, to the Asiatic "Tartars" as featured, for example, in Abraham de Bruijn's *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus* (1581).⁴⁶ The *West Indies Landscape*, then, brings together a variety of exotic, other-worldly motifs as perceived by a somewhat worldly, but undeniably Netherlandish, artist of the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, enough obviously American details exist (the bizarre cliff houses and straw huts; the rude, rock-throwing defenders; the European attackers of a primitive, pre-steel society) to suggest that the work was based, at least in part, on reports of the New World. In all cases, it shows the clash of European (whether Spanish or Portuguese) steel with an innocent Age of Stone.⁴⁷ While it would be possible to *avoid* calling this scene a specifically New World landscape and to place it instead within the context of Renaissance Arcadianism, it is also eminently possible to fit the work into contemporary views of the New World, influenced, as they were, by some of the very same images of antiquity and of the Ovidian Golden Age. The demand of

modern scholars for compositional precision in Mostaert's work misconceives the Renaissance's still subtle notion of the (indeed) New World.

VAN MANDER'S NEW WORLD

Though establishing the subject of Mostaert's *West Indies Landscape* poses certain difficulties, tracing Van Mander's opinion of the painting, a perhaps equally relevant issue, presents far fewer problems. "There is also a West Indies Landscape," he writes in *Het schilder-boeck*, "with many naked people, a jagged cliff, and a strange construction of houses and huts; though it is left unfinished."⁴⁸ This last comment about the state of the painting implies that the painting was unlikely to have been commissioned. It is also noteworthy that the work remained for at least two generations within the Mostaert family and that Van Mander saw it in the home of the artist's grandson, Nicolaes Suyker, then the mayor of Haarlem. Van Mander singles it out, at any rate, as one of Mostaert's more important works. It is one of only ten paintings by Mostaert mentioned in *Het schilder-boeck*. If Van Mander knew it, one can presume that others in Van Mander's circle, which included the most important artists and scholars of late sixteenth-century Haarlem, were likely to have known the work as well and perhaps shared the opinion of Van Mander, the leading critic of his day. Prominent municipal officials and other visitors to the mayor's residence would certainly have seen it, and there is little reason to doubt that Van Mander's authoritative assessment was broadly accepted among these viewers as well.

Yet what exactly did a "West Indies Landscape" mean to Van Mander? Despite certain subsequent issues of nomenclature, in the late sixteenth century "West Indies" meant the whole of the New World, and to Van Mander it would have signified a peculiarly Netherlandish perception of America, further informed by the Italian ideas Van Mander had acquired during his stay in the South.⁴⁹ From 1573 to 1577, He visited Italian centers of culture, studying not only the glories of a recently unearthed antiquity, but also the contemporary productions of cinquecento culture. His subsequent literary output attests to his broad and Italophilic interests. He would later compose a Vasari-inspired "Lives" of the ancient artists as well as a study of the "modern" Italian ones. He also translated a considerable number of works from antiquity including those of Homer (*Iliad*), Virgil (*Bucolics* and *Georgics*), and Ovid (*Metamorphosis*) (cf. Van Mander 1604d, 1604e, 1604f).⁵⁰ His familiarity with these works would have helped him in his own career as an artist,

while his translations contributed greatly to the spread of ancient mythology and Arcadianism to the burgeoning Renaissance of the North. Van Mander demonstrated his personal predilection for pastoral themes in a painting of "Adam and Eve in Paradise," executed upon his return to Flanders.⁵¹

Van Mander's sojourn in the South put him in touch with more than just the classicism and the art of the Renaissance, however. It also educated him in the political lessons of Italy's noted theorists and it subjected him to the military vicissitudes and the political havoc wreaked by Italy's most recent invaders. In the freshly issued *Istoria* of Guicciardini, he would have found the oft-cited thesis that the refined civilization of Renaissance Italy, the Italian golden age so to speak, had been ingloriously trampled upon by invading barbarians from Spain and France. The artist and future poet did not avoid letting himself become entangled in the political chaos of his day. Van Mander in Italy perhaps fell into something of an "opposition" crowd. The recent discovery of frescoes by Van Mander in the Palazzo Spada in Terni (Umbria), depicting scenes from the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572), demonstrates the artist's knowledge of, if not sympathy for, the fate of Protestant martyrs closer to home.⁵²

Much of this culture of violence and intolerance would in fact pursue Van Mander back to the Netherlands, to which he returned in the late 1570s in time to experience some of the worst turbulence of the Dutch times of troubles. The Van Mander family's ancestral village was overrun by a Walloon regiment and Karel nearly lost his life to a pack of Habsburg mercenaries. In a telling anecdote, Van Mander's seventeenth-century biographer relates how the future art historian was captured, robbed, stripped naked, and impiously strung up in a noose, before being saved by an Italian "knight," who, upon hearing the victim's elegant Italian, recognized Karel as a friend from their earlier days in Rome. This eleventh-hour cavalier scattered the executioners and saved the day (*Geslacht* 1618: sig. [Riiij]^v-S). Soon thereafter, Van Mander abandoned Flanders and emigrated to Haarlem, where he joined a group of educated, tolerant, and pacifist men of letters that included Hendrick Goltzius, Dirck Coornhert, and Cornelis van Haarlem. Van Mander's training, then, first in Italy and later in Flanders, instilled in him a wide range of sensibilities that would guide his future judgments as an art historian and, more specifically, inform his reading of Mostaert's *West Indies Landscape*. On the one hand, his exposure to antiquity and classicism, his translation of Virgil and Ovid, and his ultimate assimilation into Haarlem's more liberal and tolerant circles would have allowed him to see in Mostaert's work the pastoral, Arcadian,

indeed, Ovidian themes of a golden age of innocence invaded by violence and turmoil. On the other hand, his experience of Spanish ignominies, perhaps in Italy and most certainly in Flanders, his knowledge of Benzoni's New World exposé, and his domicile in the Netherlands during the height of its struggle against Spain, would have encouraged him to see in Mostaert's work a *Spanish* incursion against New World innocents who hopelessly try to defend *their* "houses and huts" against the invading, steel-bearing barbarians from abroad.

The literary sources complete the picture. For Van Mander's scattered references to America in *Het schilder-boeck*, and especially in the sonnets which he composed for his translation of Benzoni, afford further evidence of the author's distinctive image of the New World. Thus, a celebration of the beauty of the human body in *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const* (The foundation of the noble art of painting) leads him to consider the well formed physiques of the naked inhabitants of the "Indies." In America, notes Van Mander, men go naked and without shame, as they did in the time of Saturn's rule (the *Aurea Aetas*). These unadorned innocents expose bodies more "wonderfully beautiful" than all the costly silks and dyed fabrics of European courts, where, alas, shame and a sense of indecency infect social intercourse. America here basks in the glow of golden age simplicity. Later in the same work, Van Mander returns to the pastoral image of the "simple" people of the "West Indies" who remain ignorant of writing. Obligated to serve their conquerors, though, the Indians must bear the Spanish letters of command that contain the very instructions of their own demise. These guileless, unsuspecting creatures, concludes Van Mander, must suffer the cruelties of the writing and warring Spanish nation. In this second instance, America groans under the dark shadow of Spanish tyrannies (Van Mander 1604b:42^v and 51^v; and cf. Ovid, *Metamorphosis* 1.89-112).

Not accidentally, these references convey much of the same admixture of Arcadianism and anti-Hispanism that characterized the narrative of Benzoni. The poetry composed by Van Mander for the occasion of his translation of the *Mondo nuovo* makes the case most forthrightly. In four sonnets, Van Mander sketches the outlines of the tale of the conquest: a tale of Spanish violences and Indian sufferings. Whence comes the furious barrage of iron (weapons) that now visit the once peaceful New World? asks the poet artfully. Wooden boats brought iron weapons in search of golden treasure. The days of tranquillity have sadly passed:

Hard iron weapons, never before seen
 The sorrowful times that have come
 The never bowed neck that must now bear a heavy yoke:
 Saturn's sweet age planted there for eternity
 Must be shunted by this poor nation
 Hard and iron are the times that formerly were golden.⁵³

Spanish greed and lust for gold, argues the poet, had destroyed a world that, if hitherto "golden," had known neither envy nor strife. An Edenic idyll had succumbed to the wrath and wars of the invading Spaniards. Indeed, the contrast drawn in the poem between the undisturbed "West Indies" enjoying "sweet" tranquillity on the one hand, and the leagues of restless, iron-clad soldiers on the other, reads like a veritable caption for the Mostaert panel.

In the three sonnets that follow, Van Mander elaborates on the theme of Spanish tyrannies: on the Spanish subjection of a peace-loving and gracious nation, on their pillaging of a "richly jeweled land," and on their use of religion as a pretext for the unprincipled pursuit of profit. All of these topoi would have undoubtedly rung familiar to Dutch readers who, after years of bitter war, knew all too well of the Spanish abuse of rights, riches, and religion. (The connection between the Indians' suffering and that of the Dutch is expressed more bluntly by the printer who calls Benzoni's history "a mirror" in which the "cunning, unfaithful, and cruel nature of the Spanish nation is exposed," and who further rallies the Dutch to rise against the Spanish enemy in the Netherlands [Passchier van Wesbusch 1610:sig. Aij^v].) Between the sonnets, the scattered Americana, the translation of Benzoni itself, and, not the least, the "translation" of the Mostaert panel, a vision of America begins to emerge. For the poet Van Mander, steeped as he was in classical literature, the New World represented an ancient world of peace and prosperity inhabited by a society which knew neither shame nor war and which had survived (until recently) in a golden age of Arcadian innocence. Yet for the refugee Van Mander, whose adult life coincided with nothing *but* war, America appeared a landscape of destruction – a sorrowful illustration of sixteenth-century greed and aggression, and a theater of Spanish cruelty and tyranny. To be sure, Van Mander's "America" partook of a number of the literary motifs employed throughout the century and betrayed, to a certain degree, some of the imprecision and vagueness that characterized the earlier, graphic sources. Yet ultimately, Van Mander's representation of America combined these literary and visual traditions with a distinctly Netherlandish sense of history. "America" acquired its relevance for poetic as well as political imperatives.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

Virtually all of Van Mander's notes on America appeared in *Het schilder-boeck*, published in 1604, with the exception of the translation of Benzoni which came out posthumously in 1610. Van Mander's reference to the translation in *Het schilder-boeck* as already completed, however, implies that the manuscript lay finished already by 1603.⁵⁴ It is tempting to suppose that the work was undertaken sometime in the late 1570s or the early 1580s; for this would conform with the publishing pattern in the Netherlands where, in the final decades of the sixteenth century, a veritable torrent of Americana – including Dutch translations of Staden, Léry, and José de Acosta's classic, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1598) – streamed off the presses of the Low Countries. Also in the late sixteenth century the first translations – in Dutch, and only later in French and Latin – of Bartolomé de las Casas's catalog of Spanish cruelties in America, the *Brevíssima relación*, began to appear with remarkable regularity, first in Antwerp and later in Amsterdam (Las Casas 1578; and cf. Alden & Landis 1980-88 for later editions). The Dominican friar's account of Habsburg atrocities perpetrated against the gentle Indians had a phenomenal impact on contemporary Dutch authors. In the famous *Apologie* of Prince Willem of Orange, in which the ranking Dutch noble defended his abjuration of Philip II, numerous passages appeal to the memory of the fellow-suffering natives of America. By the turn of the century, Willem Usselinx, that tireless promoter of overseas trade and, like Van Mander, a war refugee from the South, initiated a pamphlet campaign calling for an American trading company that would not only trade with the New World, but also save the "innocent Indians" from the clutches of the tyrannical Spaniards. The foundation of the Dutch West India Company would have to wait until the end of the truce with Spain, in 1621; yet already by the beginning of the seventeenth century, over one hundred years after the voyage of Columbus, one could say that the Dutch had discovered "America."

NOTES

1. For the earliest reactions of Europeans to the voyages of discovery and the new found lands, see the pioneering essay of Elliott (1970), which emphasizes the generally "muted" impact of the New World on the Old. Many of Elliott's initial judgements were worked out in the wide-ranging collection of Chiappelli (1976) and in the thoughtful article (that likewise minimizes the impact of the discoveries) of Ryan (1981). A slightly revisionist view is found in Grafton (1992), which details the

role the discoveries played within the broader context of humanist letters. The case of the Netherlands has yet to receive scholarly attention; see, however, the exploratory volume of Lechner & Vogel (1992) and the essay by Lechner (1992), which considers the presence of early Americana within the libraries of the Low Countries.

2. “T’is oock aenmercklijck, het gene den Franschen Herr *Michiel de Montagne* verhaelt, hervaren te hebben, te weten, dat hy te *Rouan* hadde ghesien twee West-Indianen uyt Florida, die wonderlyck verwondert waren te sien, eenighe rijke Menschen groote heerlijcke huysen bewoonen, cleeren, en spijsse overvloedich hebben, en voor dese huysen ander Menschen naeck, en verhonghert bidden om een weynigh broodts, en dat sy saghen dat het de Menschen niet even goet en hadden in dese onmenschlijke Landen, ghelyck sy in hun beredende Landen oft rechte *Elysijs* velden deden: daer sy onderlinge in grooter eenicheyt, ghelijckheydt, liefde, en vrede seer gheneuechlijck leefden, met sanghen, en springhen, d’Oude met wat te praten, de Jonghe met wilt braedt jaghen tot den ghemeenen cost, den dagh ten avont brachten, slecht, onheveynst, en met een cleentgen te vreden wesende, recht so de Poeten t’volck van de gulden Eeuwe beschrijven” (Van Mander 1604f:110v). For Van Mander’s apparent source for this anecdote, see Montaigne (1957:150-59), who speaks of Indians from *France Antarctique*, a sixteenth-century designation that referred to France’s New World possessions in general, yet, within this context, to Brazil in particular.

3. Van Mander included American material in at least one of his own graphic works, *Confusio Babylonica* (ca. 1600), which shows a contingent of Indians among the peoples of the world in an episode from the story of the Tower of Babel (strictly speaking, then, before they had become Americans). The print is reproduced and discussed in Vandebroek (1992:321). Further literary references to “America” – especially in *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const* and in miscellaneous poetry – will be discussed below.

4. For the “Brazilian Festival” of 1550, see McGowan 1968 and 1970 and Mullaney 1992. For the Spanish forays against Fort Caroline, see Bennett 1964, and cf. the discussion below of the pamphlet literature produced in the aftermath of the affair.

5. This expression, *gelukkig land*, would reappear in numerous Dutch Americana of subsequent years, especially in works of poetry. See, for example, Steendam (1661:line 261 and *passim*).

6. Zárate’s *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru* appeared six times in Dutch and only once in Spanish; while Staden’s *Warhaftig Historia* enjoyed ten Dutch editions compared to just six German editions by the year 1650. For a complete bibliography, as well as the (virtually) definitive research tool for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century printed works on the New World, see Alden & Landis (1980-88).

7. For the presence of early Americana in Dutch libraries, see Lechner 1992 as well as the more general study of Van Selm (1987). The French case was studied by Atkinson (1935), following the earlier study of Chinard (1911).

8. On Dutch literature in the late Middle Ages and especially the development of an “urban literature” in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Pleij 1988 and the same author’s collection of essays (Pleij 1990), which includes excellent and updated

bibliographies on the subject. A recent treatment of the economy and culture of medieval Flanders can be found in Nicholas 1992.

9. Other available Latin versions of Columbus's *Epistola* were printed in Rome, Paris (thrice), and Basel. For the early publication history of Columbus, see Hirsch 1976 and Alden & Landis 1980-88.

10. On the literary imagination of Columbus, see (among the flood of recent titles) Greenblatt 1991 and Flint 1992. On Dutch readers' predilection for naturalism, see Pleij 1990:17-78 and, more generally, Gerbi 1985:12-22.

11. While Columbus's life has been the subject of relentless scrutiny over the last century, Vespucci has received far less attention. For his designation as a "beef contractor," as well as an early (modern) debunking of his "Letters," see Markham (1894:vi) and cf. more generally Magnaghi 1926.

12. Alden & Landis (1980-88) provide fuller bibliographic details (Volume one). The Dutch edition (1508) was reproduced in a facsimile in Springer 1894.

13. The Antwerp edition (Anghiera 1536) was based primarily on a Basil version of 1521, itself based on the edition of 1516 issued in Alcalá de Henares. A more detailed discussion appears in Wagner 1946.

14. Cf. Anghiera 1912, I:79 for a similar description of the naked and innocent natives of Hispaniola. For Martyr's impact on Renaissance scholarship, see Burke 1990:1-22.

15. A Dutch-language version appeared the following year (Cortés 1523).

16. At least one author of a New World account also composed a popular romance of chivalry. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Don Claribalte* (1519) appeared only shortly before his *De la natural hystoria de las Indias* (1526).

17. Cf. Alden & Landis 1980-88 and McMahon 1955. On the appetite of Netherlandish readers for the romance of chivalry, see Debaene 1968, Pleij 1982:13-31, and Robben 1988.

18. The Dutch edition was published the following year (Staden 1558) and in eight more editions over the following eighty years, making it the most popular work of its kind until Willem Ysbrantsz. Bontekoe's *Gedenkwaardige beschryvinghe* (1646) gave the Dutch a homegrown adventure of comparable gore.

19. For a full bibliography of, as well as an excellent introduction to, Léry's work, see Léry 1990. Note that the fourth and fifth editions of the *Histoire d'un voyage* (of 1599-1600 and 1611 respectively) both contain dedications to "Madame la Princesse d'Orange" (that is, Louise de Coligny, the widow of Willem the Silent and the daughter of Gaspard de Coligny), suggesting the relevance Léry, at the very least, saw his work as having to the political and religious events of the Netherlands.

20. The purpose and patronage of the expedition were less clear than Léry suggested. Though the expedition had been sponsored by the future Huguenot leader, Coligny, and though Coligny may have had other expectations from Villegagnon, it is unclear whether Coligny, already in the mid-1550s, saw the mission in religious terms. Villegagnon, in all events, would later play a central role in the French wars of religion, unambiguously on the side of the Catholics.

21. Though the *Histoire* fits nicely into the context of Calvinist polemical literature of the day, this should not take away from its merit as a precocious attempt at ethnography and an excellent source on the Tupinamba Indians. Both of these qualities have long accounted for its high reputation and prompted Claude Lévi-Strauss (1981:81) to label the work the “anthropologist’s breviary.”
22. Léry 1990:133. Mutual accusation of cannibalism became increasingly popular during the French wars of religion, exploited by Catholics and Protestants alike. See Lestringant 1980, 1982, and Whatley 1987-88. Lestringant’s exhaustive research on the French endeavors in America – most recently published in 1990 and 1991 – serve as the authoritative starting point for the subject.
23. Other records of the ill-fated colony can be found in the more polished – and, perhaps, accordingly, less popular – account of Laudonnière (1586) and in the drawings and accompanying descriptions drafted by Jaques Le Moyne, which ultimately found their way into the first volume of Theodore de Bry’s monumental *Americae* (1591).
24. The most important work to denigrate the Spanish conquest of America, Bartholomé de las Casas’s *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, appeared in Seville in 1552 and may have exercised some influence, directly or indirectly, over Benzoni’s own work, which was composed sometime between 1555 and 1565. Las Casas’s work could not have reached a very wide audience at this point, though, since it remained untranslated (or even republished) until the Dutch discovered the work in 1578, and proceeded to publish this potent piece of propaganda at least twenty times in the next half century.
25. Benzoni 1857:143, 180, 93. The last-cited passage refers, not without a certain irony, to the “law of Baiona,” that is, the code of Spanish-Indian relations promulgated in Burgos in 1512-13 sanctioning the use of native labor in the *encomiendas*.
26. Benzoni 1857:162; and cf. p. 54 for his harsh judgement of feeble Spanish efforts in spreading the Lord’s word.
27. Guicciardini’s history of Italy (1561) was issued approximately thirty times in the sixteenth century alone. Guicciardini (1969:179) also discusses the discovery of America, which he describes as a state of nature (cannibalism notwithstanding) rudely disrupted by greedy and mercenary Spanish invaders, “now digging the gold, ... now purchasing it at ridiculous prices from the inhabitants, and now robbing them of what they had.” Like Benzoni, he faults the Spanish equally severely for their failure to fulfill their Christian obligations in the New World.
28. For the Black Legend, see Arnoldsson 1960, Keen 1969, and Gibson 1971. For a case study of the role of the Black Legend in Dutch propaganda, see Swart 1975.
29. For a complete bibliography, see Alden & Landis 1980-88. Note that seven German editions appeared by 1613, and that de Bry also included the work in his Latin-language anthologies as *Pars quarta*, *Pars quinta*, and *Pars sexta* (1594-96). The Dutch edition (Benzoni 1610) was reissued by Gillis Joosten Saeghman (1663-70) in the mid-seventeenth century as part of his anthology of travel literature.
30. The judgement of Benzoni as the “most popular” work of the sixteenth

century comes from Parry (1982). By certain criteria, of course, other paintings of "America" had been produced in the sixteenth century – paintings containing depictions of Indians, plants, animals, or artifacts from the New World. Mostaert's is the only *landscape*, however, devoted primarily to an American scene.

31. For the earliest visual representations of America see the agenda-setting works of Honour (1975a and 1975b). Cf. also Sturtevant 1976 and the recent exhibition catalogues published to commemorate the Columbian Quincentenary (Levenson 1991 and Vandenbroeck 1992, the latter particularly relevant for the case of the Netherlands).

32. The lone exception to this record of visual indifference is the production of the entourage of Johan Maurits, governor of Dutch-held Brazil, in the mid-seventeenth century. See, for example, the exhibition catalog (Van den Boogaart & Duparc 1979) and volume of essays (Van den Boogaart 1979) on Johan Maurits's patronage; and Whitehead & Boeseman 1989.

33. Cousin provided the illustrations for Thevet's *Cosmographie* (1575) and has therefore been credited with the stylized illustrations of the *Singularitez* (cf. Honour 1975a:90, which also reproduces a striking image of Brazilians smoking tobacco).

34. The print on fol. 41 (a knight on a horse) was used for the title page of a now lost edition of *De ghenuechlijcke historie vanden ... vromen ridder Peeter van Provensien* (The pleasant history of the ... pious knight Peter of Provence; 1587), which is reproduced in Debaene 1951:141. Zárate's work was published by "W. Silvius for J. Verwithagen." The former headed one of Antwerp's largest publishing houses and issued, just a few years later, the romance of chivalry, *Les aventures d'Amadis de Gaule*. Verwithagen had published a number of histories and cosmographies, including a tale of *oriental* chivalry, *Nieuwe tijdinghe van alle het ghene dat geschiet is tusschen de Christenen ende de ongeloofighe Turcken* (1565).

35. David Armitage (1990) has recently argued that the Burgkmair print might also have served, if indirectly, as a model for the *Procession Portrait* of Queen Elizabeth (Sherborne Castle, Dorset), which makes any traditional iconographic conclusions even more untidy.

36. The Dutch version was slightly more appropriately titled "De reyse van Lissabone" (The voyage from Lisbon), though the text and woodcuts are equally chaotic. See the facsimile reproduction in Springer 1894.

37. Honour (1975:27) has suggested that the European clothing had been added to the Tupi visitor "to make him presentable in Church." In all events, the presumably Portuguese artist(s) has affixed the accouterments of recently discovered "Indians" of the West (and the Portuguese encountered the Tupi of Brazil first in 1500) on this visitor from the East.

38. Only John White would undertake in the sixteenth century a systematic program of drawings and watercolors of New World images. These images remained confined to a small circle of English explorers and scholars until they fell into the hands of de Bry and his engravers who stylized and classicized White's relatively "naturalistic" images. Indeed, it was de Bry more than anyone else who was responsible for disseminating a visual language of the New World.

39. Michel's proposal was broadly accepted by other art historians including

Friedländer (1924-37, X:14) and Hoogewerff (1936-47, II:493).

40. Larsen's argument (1970), of which he must have conceived while working on his monograph (1962) on the Dutch painter of Brazil, Frans Post, contains a somewhat flawed series of assumptions on European knowledge of Brazil. Though Staden returned to Europe in 1555, his story appeared in print only in 1557, at least a year after Mostaert's death, and it obviously could not have influenced the artist. Furthermore, Brazil, as such, did not really enter the European imagination until well into the 1550s – when the Portuguese began to make profitable their claims on their portion of the New World – and, more importantly, in the 1560s, when the reports of French polemicists publicized the Franco-Iberian clashes overseas. In any case, Brazil hardly loomed as large in Europe's imagination as did Mesoamerica or the Caribbean islands. Furthermore, even the most public display of Brazilians during this earlier period, the Rouen festival of 1550, featured, in fact, clothed natives and not the “nude” Tupi that Larsen believes are the subject of Mostaert's work. See Denis 1850 and McGowan 1968, the former of which reproduces a contemporary print of the spectacle.

41. The exact years of Mostaert's court period, as mentioned by Van Mander, are still somewhat obscure. Friedländer (1924-37, X:12) cites a document dated 1521 referring to a portrait by “Jehan Masturd” executed sometime before 1504 that might have been an official commission, yet since Margaretha served from 1506-29, this source only confuses matters. It is possible that Mostaert maintained some informal contacts with the court (Bernaert van Orley served the regent between 1518 and 1529 and Jacopo de' Barbari served between 1510 and 1515, according to Friedländer), or with the second husband of Margaretha, Philibert of Savoy, who was the subject of the aforementioned portrait. In any case, Mostaert had continual contact with Dutch patrons who, according to Van Mander, valued Mostaert's “refined” background and paid him the highest respect.

42. The main reports came from Pedro Castañeda de Nájera, whose *Relation* was “written twenty years after events” and published only in the eighteenth century. Sabin (1868-1936:no. 98723) has an entry for a work by Coronado himself, *Relación del suceso de la jornada que Francisco Vázquez hizo en el descubrimiento de Cívola* (1556), yet this would have come out after, or only months before, Mostaert's death. Since the sixteenth-century work is known only from the copy in the Archive of the Indies in Seville, it seems more than likely that it functioned as something of an “in-house” document for the internal use of the Spanish court.

43. The parrot appears in enough exotic scenes of Africa and Asia for it to have acquired something of a general “exotic,” non-European meaning. Only after the 1550s would the parrot become so exclusively associated with Brazil.

44. See Gibson 1989 and especially the *St. Jerome* of Workshop of Henri Bles (Gibson 1989:fig. 2.45) for a good example of the use of exotic landscape within this genre.

45. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, A 3843.

46. Cf. De Bruyn 1581:fig. 42, especially the “*Tartaus gentis more armatus*.” Since many early-modern commentators considered the Americans descendants of the “Tartars,” or “Scythians,” Mostaert's iconographic footnote fits very nicely, if subtly, into sixteenth-century aetiological theory.

47. For a suggestive study of the Renaissance's representation of the early stage of man, see the gracefully argued essay of Panofsky (1939).
48. Van Mander 1604c:229^v: "Daer is ook een Landschap, wesende een West-Indien, met veel naeckst volck, met een bootstige Clip, en vreemt ghebouw van huysen en hutten: doch is onvoldaen gelaten."
49. Larsen's contention (1970) that "West Indies" meant only Brazil and the Caribbean is hardly borne out by the evidence. To cite but one example, the Dutch "West Indische Compagnie," founded in 1621 yet proposed and debated from the late-sixteenth century, was meant to trade all along the American coasts (and even Africa, though, *pace* Larsen, this continent was never included under the designation, "West Indies").
50. Van Mander's translations were all from the Latin originals, with the exception of the *Iliad*, which he re-worked from a French translation of the original Greek. For the full titles and dates of these and other works and for the standard bibliography of Van Mander, see Miedema (1972); for Van Mander's Italian trip, see Noë (1954); and on the *Schilder-boeck* itself, see Melion (1991).
51. This unidentified work is mentioned in the biography of Van Mander that was appended to *Het Schilder-boeck* (1618 edition) and composed, perhaps, by the artist's brother, Adam van Mander, or by G.A. Bredero (Geslacht 1618:sig. [Riiij]).
52. See Reznicek 1989 and 1993. The frescos show *The Wounded Admiral Gaspard de Coligny*, *The Massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Eve*, and *King Charles IX Sanctioning De Coligny's Assassination*.
53. Van Mander, "Sonnetten van den Overseter" (in Benzoni 1610): "Hard ijser wapen, daer te voeren noyt gesien / Ter droever tijt, daer quam in wissel boven dien / Den noyt gedwongen hals, swaer jock heeft moeten dulden: / Saturnij eeuwse soet, voor eeuwich daer geplant / Is dit ellendich volck, ghewisselt daer int lant / Hard ijserich is den tijdt, die was te voeren gulden."
54. For the chronology of Van Mander's literary activity, see Van Regteren Altena 1937 and Miedema 1972.

REFERENCES

- ACOSTA, JOSÉ DE, 1590. *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* Sevilla: I. de Leon.
 —, 1598. *Historie naturael ende morael van de Westersche Indien*. Haarlem: G. Rooman.
- ALDEN, JOHN & DENNIS LANDIS (eds.), 1980-88. *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493-1750*. 4 vols. New York: Readex Books.
- ANGHIERA, PIETRO MARTIRE D', 1536. *Descriptio terrae sancta exactissima ... De novis insulis nuber repertis ... per Petrum Martyr*. Antwerp: J. Grapheus.

- , 1912. *De orbe novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*. Translated and edited by Francis Augustus MacNutt. 2 vols. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.
- ARMITAGE, DAVID, 1990. The "Procession Portrait" of Queen Elizabeth I: A Note on a Tradition. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 53:301-7.
- ARNOLDSSON, SVERKER, 1960. *La leyenda negra: Estudios sobre sus orígenes*. Göteborg: s.n.
- ATKINSON, GEOFFROY, 1935. *Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française*. Paris: E. Droz.
- AURELIUS, CORNELIUS, 1517. *Die cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant*. Leiden: Jan Seuersz.
- BENNETT, CHARLES, 1964. *Laudonnière and Fort Caroline: History and Documents*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
- BENNETT, JOSEPHINE WATERS, 1954. *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*. New York: The Modern Language Association of America.
- BENZONI, GIROLAMO, 1600. *La Historia del mondo nuovo*. Venice: F. Rampazetto.
- , 1610. *De historie van de nieuwe weereld, te weten de beschrijvinghe van West Indien ... Wt het Italiaens overgheset ... door Carel vander Mander Schilder*. Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.
- , 1857. *History of the New World by Girolamo Benzoni, Showing his Travels in America from A.D. 1541 to 1556, with Some Particulars of the Island of Canary*. Translated and edited by W.H. Smyth. London: Hakluyt Society.
- BOOGAART, ERNST VAN DEN (ed.), 1979. *Johan Maurits van Nassau Siegen 1604-1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil: Essays on the Tercentenary of his Death*. The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting/The Government Publishing Office.
- BOOGAART, ERNST VAN DEN & F.J. DUPARC (eds.), 1979. *Zo wijd de wereld strekt: Tentoonstelling n.a.v. de 300ste sterfdag van Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen op 20 december 1799. Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, Den Haag, 21 dec. 1979 - 1 maart 1980*. The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting.
- BONTEKOE, WILLEM YSBRANDTSZ., 1646. *Journael ofte Gedenckwaerdige beschrijvinghe vande Oost-Indische reyse van ... Willem Ysbrandtsz. Bontekoe*. Hoorn: I. Willemsz.
- BRUJN, ABRAHAM DE, 1581. *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus*. Antwerp: [A. de Bruijn].
- BRY, THEODORE DE (comp.), 1591-98. *Americae (Grands Voyages)*. Frankfurt a. Main: Theodore de Bry.
- (comp.), 1591. *Brevis narratio eorumque in Florida Americae provincia Gallis acciderunt*. Frankfurt a. Main: Theodore de Bry.

- BURKE, PETER, 1990. The Spread of Italian Humanism. In Anthony Goodman and Angus MacKay (eds.), *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*. London: Longman.
- CHIAPPELLI, FREDI, (ed.), 1976. *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- CHINARD, GABRIEL, 1911. *L'exotisme Américain dans la littérature française au XVI^e siècle d'après Rabelais, Ronsard, Montaigne, etc.* Paris: Hachette.
- COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER, 1493. *Epistola ... de insulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inventis*. Antwerp: T. Martens.
- , 1988. *The Four Voyages of Columbus: A History in Eight Documents. Including Five by Christopher Columbus, in the Original Spanish, with English Translations*. Translated and edited by Lionel Cecil Jane. New York: Dover Publications.
- CORTÉS, HERNÁN, 1522. *Des marches yslés et pays trouuees et conquise par les captains du tres illustre Charle V.* [Antwerp: M. Hillen.]
- , 1523. *De contreyen vanden eylanden ende lantdouwen*. Antwerp: M. Hillen.
- CUTTILER, CHARLES, 1989. Errata in *Netherlandish Art: Jan Mostaert's "New World" Landscape*. *Simiolus* 19:191-97.
- DEBAENE, LUC, 1951. *De Nederlandse volksboeken: Ontstaan en geschiedenis van de Nederlandse prozaromans, gedrukt tussen 1475 en 1540*. Antwerp: De Vlijt.
- , 1968. Nederlandse prozaromans en Spaanse Libros de Caballerías. In Eduard Rombauts, *Liber Alumnorum : Aangeboden ter gelegenheid van zijn vijftenzestigste verjaardag en zijn dertigjarig hoogleraarschap*. Leuven: Universiteit van Leuven.
- DENIS, FERDINAND, 1850. *Une fête brésilienne, célébrée à Rouen en 1550*. Paris: J. Techener.
- ELLIOTT, J.H., 1970. *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO, GONZALO, 1519. *Don Claribalte*. Valencia: J. Viñao.
- , 1526. *De la natural hystoria de las Indias*. Toledo: R. de Petras.
- FLINT, VALERIE I.J., 1992. *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- FRIEDLÄNDER, MAX J., 1924-37. *Die alniederländische Malerei*. 14 vols. Berlin: P. Cassirer.
- GERBI, ANTONELLO, 1985. *Nature in the New World: From Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo*. Translated by Jeremy Moyle. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Geslacht*, 1618. 't Geslacht, de geboort, plaets, tydt, leven, ende wercken van Karel van Mander, schilder, en poeet. In Karel van Mander, *Het schilder-boeck*, 2nd ed. Amsterdam: Jacob Pietersz. Wächter.
- GIBSON, CHARLES, (ed.), 1971. *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old*

World and the New. New York: Knopf.

GIBSON, WALTER, 1989. *"Mirror of the Earth." The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

GRAFTON, ANTHONY, 1992. *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

GREENBLATT, STEPHEN J., 1991. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

GUICCIARDINI, FRANCESCO, 1561. *La Historia di Italia*. Florence: L. Torrentino.

—, 1969. *The History of Italy*. Translated and edited by Sidney Alexander. New York: Macmillan.

HIRSCH, RUDOLF, 1976. Printed Reports of the Early Discoveries and their Reception. In Fredi Chiappelli (ed.), *First Images of America: Impact of the New World on the Old*. Berkeley: University of California Press, vol. 2, pp. 537-62.

HOOGEWERFF, G.J., 1936-47. *De Noord-Nederlandsche schilderkunst*. 5 vols. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

HONOUR, HUGH, 1975a. *The European Vision of America: A Special Exhibition to Honor the Bicentennial of the United States, Organized by the Cleveland Museum of Art with the Collaboration of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and the Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris*. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.

—, 1975b. *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*. New York: Pantheon.

KEEN, BENJAMIN, 1969. The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities. *Hispanic American Historical Review* 49:703-19.

LARSEN, ERIK, 1962. *Frans Post, interprète du Brésil*. Amsterdam: Colibris Editora.

—, 1970. One more Jan Mostaert's West Indian Landscape. In *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, offerts au professeur Jacques Lavalleye*. Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université.

LAS CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ DE, 1552. *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de Indias*. Seville: S. Trugillo.

—, 1578. *Seer cort verhael vande destructie van d'Indien*. [Antwerp]: s.n.

LAUDONNIÈRE, RENÉ DE, 1586. *L'histoire notable de la Floride*. Paris: G. Auvray.

LE CHALLEUX, NICHOLAS, 1566. *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride*. Dieppe: J. LeSellier.

—, 1965. *A true and perfect description of the last voyage ... into Florida*. Translated by Thomas Hacket. In Stefan Lorant (ed.), *The New World: The First Pictures of America made by John White and Jacques Le Moyne and engraved by Theodore de Bry with Contemporary Narratives of the French Settlements in Florida 1562-1565, and the English Colonies in Virginia, 1585-1590*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce. [New rev. ed.]

LECHNER, JAN, 1992. Dutch Humanists' Knowledge of America. *Itinerario* 16:101-13.

LECHNER, JAN & H.P.H. VOGEL (eds.), 1992. *De Nieuwe Wereld en de Lage Landen: Onbekende aspecten van vijfhonderd jaar ontmoetingen tussen Latijns-Amerika en Nederland*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.

LÉRY, JEAN DE, 1561. *La persecution des fideles en terre d'Amerique*. Geneva: s.n.

—, 1578. *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil*. La Rochelle: A. Chuppin

—, 1990. *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

LESTRINGANT, FRANK, 1980. Calvinistes et Cannibales: Les écrits protestants sur les Brésil français (1555-1560). *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Française* 1-2:9-26, 167-92.

—, 1982. Catholiques et Cannibales: Le thème du cannibalisme dans le discours protestant au temps des guerres de religion. In J.-Cl. Margolin and Robert Sauzet (eds.), *Pratique & discours alimentaires à la Renaissance: Actes du colloque de Tours de mars 1979*, (&) *Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.

—, 1990. *Le Huguenot et le sauvage l'Amerique et la controverse coloniale en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555-1589)*. Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres.

—, 1991. *L'atelier du cosmographe, ou l'image du monde à la Renaissance*. Paris: Albin Michel.

LEVENSON, JAY A. (ed.), 1991. *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE, 1981. *Tristes Tropiques*. Translated by John & Doreen Weighman. New York: Atheneum.

LUTTERVELT, REMMET VAN, 1948-49. Jan Mostaert's West-Indisch landschap. *Nederlands Kunsthistorische Jaarboek* 2:107-17.

MAGNAGHI, ALBERTO, 1926. *Amerigo Vespucci: studio critico, con speciale riguardo ad una nuova valutazione delle fonti* ... 2 vols. Rome: Fratelli Treves.

MANDER, KAREL VAN, 1604a. *Het schilder-boeck, waerin voor het eerst de leerlustige iueght den grondt der edelvrij schilderconst in verscheyden deelen wort voorghedraghen, daer nae in dry deelen 't leven der ... schilders des ouden, en nieuwen tijds, eyntlyck d'uut legghinghe op den Metamorphosson Pub. Ovidii Nations, oock daerbeneffens uitbeeldinghe der figueren* ... Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

—, 1604b. *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const. In Het schilder-boeck*. Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

—, 1604c. *Het leven der doorluchtighe nederlandsche en hoogduytsche schilders. In Het schilder-boeck*. Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

—, 1604d. *Het leven der moderne, oft dees-tijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche schilders. In Het schilder-boeck.* Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

—, 1604e. *Het leven der oude antijcke doorluchtighe schilders. In Het schilder-boeck.* Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

—, 1604f. *Wileggingh op den Metamorphosis Pub. Ovidij Nasonis. In Het schilder-boeck.* Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

MARKHAM, CLEMENTS R. (ed.), 1894. *The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and Other Documents Illustrative of his Career.* London: Hakluyt Society.

MCGOWAN, MARGARET, 1968. Form and Themes in Henri II's Entry into Rouen. *Renaissance Drama* 1:199-252.

—, (ed.), 1970. *L'entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550.* New York: Johnson.

MCMAHON, DOROTHY, 1955. Some Observations on the Spanish and Foreign Editions of Zárate's "Historia de descubrimiento y conquista del Perú." *Proceedings of the Bibliographic Society of America* 49:95-111.

MICHEL, EDOUARD, 1931. Un tableau colonial de Jan Mostaert. *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 1:133-41.

MIEDEMA, HESSEL, 1972. *Karel van Mander (1548-1606). Het bio-bibliografisch materiaal.* Amsterdam: s.n.

MONTAIGNE, MICHEL EYQUEM DE, 1957. On Cannibals. In Donald M. Frame (trans. & ed.), *The Complete Works of Montaigne.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. [2nd ed.]

MULLANEY, STEVEN, 1992. The New World on Display. In Rachel Doggett (ed.), *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas, 1492-1700.* Washington DC: Folger Shakespeare Library.

NICHOLAS, DAVID, 1992. *Medieval Flanders.* London: Longman.

NOË, HELEN, 1954. *Carel van Mander en Italië: Beschouwingen en notities naar aanleiding van zijn "Leven der dees-tijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche Schilders."* The Hague: M. Nijhoff.

MELION, WALTER S., 1991. *Shaping of the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's "Schilder-boeck."* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

OVID [PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO], 1977-84. *Metamorphosis.* 2 vols. Translated by Frank Justus Miller & Rev. G.P. Godd. Cambridge MA: Loeb Classical Library.

PANOFSKY, ERWIN, 1939. *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance.* New York: Oxford University Press.

—, 1943. *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer.* 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

PARRY, J.H., 1982. Depicting a New World. In Sandra Hindman (ed.), *The Early Illustrated Book: Essays in Honor of Lessing J. Rosenwald.* Washington DC: Library of Congress.

PASSCHIER VAN WESBUSCH, 1610. Dedication. In Girolamo Benzoni, *Historie van de nieuwe wereld*. Haarlem: Passchier van Wesbusch.

PLEIJ, HERMAN, 1982. *De wereld volgens Thomas van der Noot, boekdrukker en uitgever te Brussel in het eerste kwart van de zestiende eeuw*. Muiderberg: Coutinho.

—, 1988. *De sneeuwpoppen van 1511: Literatuur en stadscultuur tussen middeleeuwen en moderne tijd*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff.

—, 1990. *Nederlandse literatuur van de late middeleeuwen*. Utrecht: HES.

REGTEREN ALTENA, I.Q. VAN, 1937. Carel van Mander. *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 47:153-69.

REZNICEK, E.K.J., 1989. Karel van Mander as a Fresco Painter. *Hoogesteder Mercury* 10:11-14.

—, 1993. Een en ander over Van Mander. *Oud Holland* 107:75-83.

ROBBEN, F.M.A., 1988. Brandstichters en boekenkopers. In P.J.A.N. Rietbergen, F.M.A. Robben & H. de Schepper (eds.), *Tussen twee culturen: De Nederlanden en de Iberische wereld, 1550-1800*. Nijmegen: Nijmeegse Publicaties over de Nieuwe Geschiedenis.

RYAN, MICHAEL, 1981. Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23:519-38.

SABIN, JOSEPH (comp.), 1868-1936. *Bibliotheca Americana: A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time*. 29 vols. New York: J. Sabin.

SAEGHMAN, GILLIS JOOSTEN (comp.), 1663-70. *Verscheide Oost Indische voyagien: Met beschrijvingen van Indien. 't Eerste deel*. Amsterdam: G.J. Saeghman.

SELM, B. VAN, 1987. *Een menigte treffelijke boecken: Nederlandse boekhandels-catalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw*. Utrecht: HES.

STEENDAM, JACOB, 1661. *'t Lof van Nuw-Nederland*. Amsterdam: Pieter Dircksz. Boeteman.

SPRINGER, BALTHASAR, 1522. *Of the newe landes*. Antwerp: Jan van Doesborch.

—, 1894. *The Voyage From Lisbon to India, 1505-6: Being an Account and Journal by Albericus Vespuccius*. Translated from the Contemporary Flemish. Translated and edited by C.H. Coote. London: B.F. Stevens.

STADEN, HANS, 1557. *Warhaftige Historia und Beschreibung eyner Landschaft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen Menschenfresser in der Neuen Welt Amerika gelegen*. Marburg: A. Kolbe.

—, 1558. *Warachtige historie ende beschrijvinge eens lants in America gelegen*. Antwerp: C. Plantin.

—, 1928. *The True History of his Captivity, 1557*. Translated and edited by Malcolm Letts. London: Routledge.

STURTEVANT, WILLIAM C., 1976. First Visual Images of Native Americans. In Fredi

Chiapelli (ed.), *The First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*. Berkeley: University of California Press, vol. 1, pp. 417-54.

SWART, K.W., 1975. The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War. *Britain and the Netherlands* 5:36-57.

THEVET, ANDRÉ, 1557. *Les singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique et de plusieurs terres et d'isles decouvertes de notre temps*. Paris: chez les héritiers de Maurice de la Porte.

—, 1575. *La Cosmographie universelle ...* 2 vols. Paris: Pierre L'Huiller.

VANDENBROECK, PAUL et al., 1992. *America, Bride of the Sun: 500 years Latin America and the Low Countries*. Ghent: Imschoot.

VESPUCCI, AMERIGO, 1509. *Diss Bûchlin saget wie die zwen durch lûchtigsten Herren Her Fernandus K. zû Castilien und Herr Emanuel K. zû Portugal haben das weyte mör ersüchet unnd funden vil Insulen und Nüwe welt von wilden nackenden Leüten, vormals unbekant*. Strassburg: J. Grüninger.

WAGNER, HENRY R., 1946. Peter Martyr and His Works. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 56:239-88.

WHATLEY, JANET, 1987-88. Une révérence réciproque: Huguenot Writing on the New World. *University of Toronto Quarterly* 57:270-89.

WHITEHEAD, P.J.P. & M. BOESEMAM, 1989. *A Portrait of Dutch 17th Century Brazil; Animals, Plants and People by the Artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau*. Amsterdam: North Holland.

WEISS, E., 1909-10. Ein neues Bild Jan Mostaerts. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 20: 215-17.

ZÁRATE, AGUSTÍN DE, 1555. *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru*. Antwerp: M. Nuyts.

—, 1563. *Conqueste van Indien: De wonderlijcke ende warachtighe Historie vant Coninckrijck van Peru geleghen in Indien*. Antwerp: J. Verwithagen.

J. BENJAMIN SCHMIDT
Department of History and Literature
Harvard University
Cambridge MA 02138, U.S.A.