The Discovery of Germany in America: Hans Staden, Ulrich Schmidel, and the Construction of a German Identity

Gene Rhea Tucker

The direct German contribution to the exploration of the New World in the sixteenth century was slight compared to that of the Spanish and Portuguese, but the peoples of Germany shaped the overall European conception of the Americas. The German attempt to make sense of the momentous and unexpected discovery of the New World, assimilating the "Other" of the New World into Old World categories of knowledge, also helped to engender a nascent idea of a distinct German identity. Sixteenth century soldiers of fortune Ulrich Schmidel of Bavaria and Hans Staden of Hesse published popular accounts of their respective American travels. As with all travel literature, these works describe not only the observed, but also the observers themselves. Schmidel and Staden, like German scholars and authors of their day, attempted to explain the exotic western hemisphere in the familiar European terms they knew, but their accounts also demonstrate that encounters between German-speakers and a medley of Amerindian and other European peoples fostered the construction of a German "national" identity.

Though the Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French sponsored and undertook much of the exploration of the western hemisphere in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many individual German sailors, adventurers, and businessmen participated directly in these undertakings.[1] Bankers and financiers like the Fuggers, Welsers, Hochstetters, Herwarts, Imhofs, and Tuchers, from Upper Germany, away from the German coast, invested in Castilian expeditions to South America and the Caribbean with the permission of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. In fact, Ulrich Schmidel set sail to South America on a Welser ship and had connections to the Fugger banking interests. Businessmen in major trading centers such as Nuremberg and Augsburg sought information about the places where their money was invested, ensuring that Germany remained the center of writing and printing on geography, especially about the Americas. German printing presses published more books on the New World than any other region of Europe.[2]

Originally from Killeen, Texas, Gene Rhea Tucker earned his BA (2003) and MA (2006) in history from Tarleton State University, and his Ph.D. (2011) in Transatlantic History from the University of Texas at Arlington.

[1] The words "German" and "Germany" will be used to refer to the area inhabited by the German-speaking peoples of Central Europe, generally those under the rule of the Holy Roman Empire (though Austria is ignored in this study). This includes the German-speaking Swiss, though they had *de facto* independence from the Empire from 1499 on, but it excludes the Dutch-speaking inhabitants of the Low Countries.

[2] Hugh Thomas, *The Golden Empire: Spain, Charles V, and the Creation of America* (New York: Random House, 2011), 148-156, 416-423; Rudolf Hirsch, "Printed Reports on the Early Discoveries and Their Reception," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, Fredi Chiappelli, Michael J. B. Allen, and Robert Louis Benson, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 541; Todd Curtis Kontje, *German Orientalisms* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 3; Friedrich Wilhelm Sixel, "Die deutsche Vorstellug vom Indianer in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Annali del Pontifico Museo Misionario Etnologico* 30 (1996): 9-230; Duncan Smith, "'…beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden / Nacketen /

Though many authors on German nationalism and German identity have identified the Renaissance and Reformation of the early sixteenth century as contributing factors in the creation of a distinct German identity ("Germanness"), few scholars have considered the notion that the age of discovery may have underscored nascent notions of a German identity. [3] Christine R. Johnson, in her 2008 book *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous*, suggested that scholars have generally identified "two ways in which 'old' European categories were extended to cover the 'New' World." [4] The first is Anthony Pagden's emphasis on "the principle of attachment," or using existing categories to highlight the familiarity between the Old World and the New. The second is Edward Said's stress on "Othering," whereby Europeans forced New World discoveries into preexisting categories of "Otherness" to underscore the differences between Europe and the Americas.[5] Johnson leans towards Pagden's interpretation to support her thesis that German scholars of the sixteenth century did not explain the discoveries of that era by breaking with Renaissance thinking, but instead used Renaissance categories to make the New World and Far East comprehensible and familiar.[6] Hannah C. Wojciehowski mixes literary and psychology theories in her 2011 book *Group Identity in the Renaissance World* to suggest that the discoveries, encounters, and globalization of the Age of Discovery altered old categories of group identity and created new "large-group identities."[7]

While Johnson suggests that German-speaking scholars saw the discoveries of the 1500s in a different fashion than their Spanish and Portuguese contemporaries, and Wojciehowski maintains that European encounters with new non-European "Others" created new group identities, such scholars have not considered that encounters *between* European groups in the new milieu of the Americas may have helped to foster the construction of new identities, like a

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Grimmigen Menschfresser Leuthen': The German Image of America in the Sixteenth Century," in *The German Contribution to the Building of the Americas: Studies in Honor of Karl J.R. Arndt*, Gerhard Friesen and Walter Schatzberg, eds. ([Worcester, MA]: Clark University Press, 1977), 1; Eugene Edgar Doll, "American History as Interpreted by German Historians from 1770 to 1815," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new ser. 38, no. 5 (1948): 423-424; Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States with Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927), 4; Hermann Kellenbenz, "The Role of the Great Upper German Families in Financing the Discoveries," *Terrae Incognitae* 10 (1978): 45-59; Luciana Villas Bôas, "Travel Writing and Religious Dissent: Hans Staden's *Warhatfig Historia* in Print" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2006), 1.

[3] For a general discussion of nationalism in Germany before 1800, see: Dieter K. Buse and Juergen C. Doerr, *German Nationalisms: A Bibliographic Approach* (New York: Garland, 1985), 35-44. For more on nationalism before the nation state, see: Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates About Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000); John Alexander Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); and Kontje, *German Orientalisms*, 32, 250 n. 47. Historian Susan Reynolds, for instance, ridicules, "the belief that the German nation was doomed to wait in the anteroom of history until the modern nationalist movement summoned it forth in the nineteenth century," 289.

[4] Christine R. Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 4. This work is an adaptation of her dissertation, Christine Rebecca Johnson, "Bringing the World Home: Germany and the Age of Discovery," Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 2001.

[5] Ibid., 3-4.

[6] Ibid., 1-17.

[7] Hannah C. Wojciehowski, *Group Identity in the Renaissance World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

German identity. [8] An analysis of the printed accounts left by Staden and Schmidel, however, along with a comparison to other reports of American exploration, demonstrate elements and the awareness of an emerging identity of Germanness—an identity engendered by confrontations not only with various Indian "Others" in the Americas, but by their encounters with European "Others" in the Americas as well.

Hans Staden was born in Homburg, Hesse, around the year 1525. University of Marburg anatomist, physician, and mathematician Dr. Johannes Dryander (also known as Eichmann), who penned the original introduction to Staden's narrative in 1557, wrote that Staden's father was from Wetter and "an upright, pious, and worthy man and not unversed in the arts." Dryander assured the reader that Hans Staden was as right-minded as his father, as "the apple tastes of the tree."[9] Staden's received an education firmly grounded in religious learning, following the doctrine of the Reformation. He was probably familiar too with early notions of German nationalism, such as reverence for the newly rediscovered *Germania* of Roman historian Tacitus, respect for the German language inspired by the printing press and Luther's vernacular Bible, pride in Germany, as "Das heilige römische Reich deutscher Nation" (the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation), and its defense of Europe from the Turks.[10]

Printer Andreas Kolben published Staden's description of his two trips to South America (see fig. 1) at Marburg in 1557, titling the book *Warhafftige Historia unnd beschreibung einer landtschafft der Wilden, Nacketen, Grimmigen, Menschfresser Leuthen in der Newen Welt America gelegen…* (Veritable History and description of a country belonging to the wild, naked, savage, man-eating people, situated in the New World, America…). In it, Staden wrote of his first, rather uneventful voyage to Brazil on a Portuguese commercial vessel from 1547 to 1548 and his second, adventure-filled sojourn there from 1549 to 1554. On this latter voyage, the unfortunate Staden travelled to the New World on a Spanish ship, ended up as a gunner in the service of the Portuguese on the isle of Santo Amaro after a series of shipwrecks, and was finally captured by the native Tupinambá in early 1554. During his nine-month captivity, the indigenes cannibalized several of his companions while they threatened to eat him as well. Caught in an economic and colonial war between the Portuguese, the French, and each nation's Indian allies, he survived only by his wits, luck, and, he claimed, the grace of God. Staden returned to Europe in Europe in 1556 after his rescue by a passing Spanish merchant ship, where he became a burgher of Wolfhagen, also in Hesse, learned the gunpowder-making trade, authored his account

[8] Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World*, 2-3, 197-200; Wojciehowski even touches on Staden's account, but only to emphasize how Europeans began to see themselves as different than Amerindians because of New World cannibalism; see Wojciehowski, *Group Identity in the Renaissance World*, 116-117.

[9] Malcolm Henry Ikin Letts, "Introduction," in *Hans Staden: The True History of His Captivity, 1557*, trans. and ed. Malcolm Henry Ikin Letts (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1929), 1; Johannes Dryander, introduction to Hans Staden, *Hans Staden: The True History of His Captivity, 1557*, trans. and ed. Malcolm Henry Ikin Letts (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1929), 21. Quotation from Dryander, p. 21.

[10] Rosa Ribas, *Testimonios de la conciencia lingüistica en textos de viajeros alemanes a America en el siglo XVI* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2005), 32; Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 106-108; Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1977), 92; Hans J. Hahn, *German Thought and Culture: From the Holy Roman Empire to the Present Day* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) 5-8, 33-39; Kenneth C. Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 3-16, 63-65; Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage, 1996), 76-77, 81, 84-85, 91-93; Kontje, *German Orientalisms*, 32-33.

of his captivity in 1557, and faded from the pages of history.[11] Dryander stated that he and various Hessian officials authenticated Staden's report, interrogating him to verify the story. Besides, Dryander noted, Staden was "now settled with his parents… he does not wander from place to place, gipsy-like, a practice common among vagabonds and liars in general."[12]

Staden's text was primarily about his journey and hardship in captivity among the Tupinambá during 1554. Staden included a dedication to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and an introduction by the humanuist Dryander before giving his *Historia* (history) of hardships and *beschreibung* (description) of Tupinambá life. The author described the Indians of South America in typical fashion for the times. The title page was geared towards the large, bourgeois German book market, enticingly describing the Indians as a "wild, naked, savage, man-eating people." The book included more than fifty woodcuts, each created with Staden's input. The inclusion of exciting and sometimes lurid illustrations helped account for the work's popularity after its first printing at Marburg in 1557. A second Marburg edition came out that same year, along with two editions printed at Frankfurt. Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin brought out a Dutch edition in 1558. There were numerous further German and Dutch editions over the next century, and it was included in a collection of writings on the New World by Theodor de Bry in 1592. The publishers released a Latin version in 1592, which was reprinted in 1605. Interestingly, though Staden's story dealt with Frenchmen, Portuguese, and Spaniards in Brazil, the work was not translated into French until 1839, Portuguese until 1892, and Spanish until 1962.[13]

Staden treated the Tupinambá tribe with the standard literary tropes of the day. He described them as naked and barbarous, typifying their uncivilized state by their cannibalism. Staden's depiction of Tupinambá cannibalism is so similar to previous eyewitness accounts – with only the twist that Staden was a possible item on the menu – that anthropologist William Arens contended he simply plagiarized from previous reports. Arens, who argued that Amerindians did not regularly practice cannibalism in his 1979 book *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology & Anthropophagy*, provided an inaccurate analysis of Staden's text.[14] Archaeologist Donald W. Forsyth issued a riposte in 1985 in the journal *Ethnohistory* entitled "Three Cheers for Hans Staden: The Case for Brazilian Cannibalism." Forsyth countered many of Arens's claims, pointing especially to corroborating accounts of cannibalism among the Tupinambá tribe by other European travelers up through the nineteenth century. Though Arens declared that Staden copied the cannibalistic ritual from other reports, Forsyth noted that the cannibalistic ritual might, in fact, be similar across different Indian groups.[15] Most evidence indicates that Staden's

[11] Dwight E. R. TenHuisen, "Alterity and Hagiography in the Early Modern Captivity Narrative: *Naufragios*, *Wahrhaftige Historia*, and *Peregrinação"* (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2005), 135; Villas Bôas, "Travel Writing and Religious Dissent," 27-35; Letts, "Introduction," 1-17, Hans Staden, *The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse: In A.D. 1547-1555, Among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil*, trans. Albert Tootal (London: Hakluyt Society, 1874), 1; Dryander, introduction *Hans Staden, 21-22; Mark Häberlein, "Staden, Hans," in Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History: A Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia, Thomas Adam, ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 996;* Ribas, *Testimonios de la conciencia lingüistica*, 74.

[12] Dryander, introduction *Hans Staden, 22*.

[13] Richard John Ascarate, "Extreme Foreignness: German Constructions of Latin America from the Early Modern to the Postmodern" (Ph.D. diss., University of California-Berkeley, 2005), 12, 29; TenHuisen, "Alterity and Hagiography," 138 n. 159; *Häberlein, "Staden, Hans," 996-997; Albert Tootal, "Bibliography," in The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse: In A.D. 1547-1555, Among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil, Hans Staden, Albert Tootal, trans. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1874), xcv-xcvi;* Ribas, *Testimonios de la conciencia lingüistica*, 32-34, 74-76.

[14] Arens, *Man-Eating Myth*, 22-30.

[15] Donald W. Forsyth, "Three Cheers for Hans Staden: The Case for Brazilian Cannibalism," *Ethnohistory* 32, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 17-36.

description of the Tupinambá "Other" rings true: these peoples were definitely different from the Christian Europeans he wrote for.

Staden's book is also imbued with elements of Lutheran theology proliferating much of northern Germany at the time – a movement that differentiated much of Germany from the rest of Europe. One scholar, Brian Sandberg, stated "Staden's religion-infused captivity narrative" was "intended for a Lutheran audience."[16] Staden left his native Hesse in 1547, when Emperor Charles V, the strident protector of Catholicism, imprisoned the territory's ruler, Landgrave Philip, for his support of Protestantism. One researcher supposed that Staden, by his own account trained as a gunner, might have served in "Philip's Lutheran Army" during the War of the Schmalkaldic League.[17] Staden frequently invoked the name of God during his travails, cited and quoted scripture, and attributed certain miracles to Divine Providence, "testifying to a Protestant faith recently burgeoning in Germany" according to the modern-day historian Richard John Ascarte.[18] Staden's woodcuts regularly show him in pious poses, even as the natives, in wild orgiastic dances, demean and threaten his death by cannibalism (see fig. 2). This reminded Ascarte of the Apostle Paul's injunction to "pray without ceasing."[19] Staden's familiarity with the Bible in the vernacular German is indicative of his childhood schooling in Hesse. As early as 1526, Philip commanded that all learning in Hessian schools was to be centered on the Scriptures. The various miracles Staden attested to are biblical in nature as well, including his power to heal sick Tupinambá native by laying his hands on them and calming rough waters during a storm. An epidemic of European diseases aided Staden by devastating the indigenes, which allowed him to claim that his angry and effective God could punish them with illness.[20]

Dryander's introduction to Staden's book is imbued with Lutheranism and harsh criticism of Catholic theology. Dryander states that Staden tells his story not for personal gain but to, "give thanks to God and, praising him, to make his blessings known to all men."[21] Indeed, it even "pleased God" to use Hans Staden "to show his mighty works among the heathen."[22] He disparaged learned Catholic thinkers, including Saint Augustine, for denying the existence of the antipodes and the presence of people there. Dryander reserved his most scorching ire for Catholics and their saints, deriding how "papists invoke this saint or that holy one" to help them in times of peril, when truly holy people, like Staden, invoke only the name of God directly.[23] Dryander also noted that Hessian officials at the University of Marburg, a center of Lutheran theology, rigorously interviewed Staden. This process, according to one scholar, ensured that Staden's account conformed to the "political power and religious institutions that characterized

[16] Brian Sandberg, "Beyond Encounters: Religion, Ethnicity, and Violence in the Early Modern Atlantic World, 1492-1700," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 1 (March 2006): 18.

[17] H. E. Martel, "Hans Staden's Captive Soul: Identity, Imperialism, and Rumors of Cannibalism in Sixteenth-Century Brazil," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 1 (2006): 57.

[18] Ascarate, "Extreme Foreignness," 14.

[19] Ibid., 72.

[20] Luis L. Dominguez, "Introduction," in *The Conquest of the River Plate (1535-1555)*, Ulrich Schmidel and Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, xiii-xxxix (London: Hakluyt Society, 1891), xxx; Martel, "Hans Staden's Captive Soul," 57; Villas Bôas, "Travel Writing and Religious Dissent," 34-35; Mara R. Wade and Glenn Ehrstine, *Foreign Encounters: Case Studies in German Literature before 1700* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), 249; Ascarate, "Extreme Foreignness," 14, 29-30, 72-76; Sandberg, "Beyond Encounters," 18; TenHuisen, "Alterity and Hagiography," 135-137; Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1975), 39-40.

[21] Dryander, introduction *Hans Staden, 22.*

[22] Ibid., 27.

[23] Ibid., *27.*

the Protestant reform in Hesse."[24] Staden also did not try to convert the Indians, instead using his story to portray the efficacy of direct Protestant prayer to God. It is possible this is tied to Luther's notion that the inhabitants of the New World had purposely fallen into a state of disgrace, as opposed to the Catholic belief that they should be proselytized.[25]

The ideas of Luther and reading the Bible in vernacular German assuredly influenced Staden's text. Many German humanists considered the Roman Catholic Church an enemy to Germanness. Scholars like Conrad Celtis from Wipfeld, Franconia, used Tacitus's *Germania* as a template to attack the corruption and degeneracy of the Catholic Church.[26] Historian Simon Schama stated, "Celtis played a decisive role in pushing Germany away from the domination of papal Rome. Attacks on the decadence of the Roman church had been increasingly given voice in the second half of the fifteenth century."[27] Luther built on these embryonic feelings of Germanness, his vernacular Bible helping to create both a literary German and a sense of German identity, especially among Protestants. Note, for instance, Luther's 1520 work entitled *An den Christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* (To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation), which advocated emancipation from the Roman Church and its clergy.[28] Staden, though he may have intended to show the extreme difference between Tupinambá heathenism and European Christianity, illustrated the subtle yet important distinctions between southern Europe's Catholicism and German Protestantism.

These elements in Staden's *Warhafftige Historia* described not only the Tupinambá, but demonstrated the various preconceptions Germans like Staden accepted. More important than Staden's Germanic *épistémè*, is the budding realization of a discrete German identity, an entity greater than Hesse but smaller than Europe. This amorphous idea of Germany was an idea that was spreading across the land, and it would have been readily apparent to many readers of Staden's book. Identities are constructed in differentiation to an "Other." The encounter between Staden, a Christian European and a group of heathen Amerindians was jarring enough, but his encounter with Spaniards, Portuguese, and Frenchman necessitated that he place himself in a new, hitherto unrecognized group: German. Before his captivity, it is possible he never thought of himself as a German, or never considered Germany to extend beyond the borders of Hesse. Staden soon realized, though, that others considered him to belong to a group called "German." As historian Todd Curtis Kontje noted in his book *German Orientalisms*, educated Germans, at the very least, "shared a sense of belonging to a community that was larger than their local town or province and distinct from other parts of Europe at a time when Europeans were also beginning to discover that the world was much larger than they had previously suspected."[29]

People from polities across Europe began to differentiate themselves along national lines in the sixteenth century. Patricia Seed has noted how the governments and explorers of the colonizing nations recognized the dissimilar ways nations took possession of lands they

[24] Villas Bôas, "Travel Writing and Religious Dissent," 33.

[25] Villas Bôas, "Travel Writing and Religious Dissent," 25-33, 48-59, 76-77, 91; Martel, "Hans Staden's Captive Soul," 51-69; Dominguez, "Introduction," xxx.

[26] Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought*, 3-16, 63-65; Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 76-77, 81, 84-85, 91-93; Kontje, *German Orientalisms*, 32-33.

[27] Schama, *Landscape and Memory, 93.*

[28] Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought,* 3-16, 63-65; Schama, *Landscape and Memory,* 76-77, 81, 84-85, 91-93; Kontje, *German Orientalisms*, 32-33; Hahn, *German Thought and Culture*, 33-39; Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, 108.

[29] Kontje, *German Orientalisms*, 33.

discovered and colonized.[30] The Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas, the great advocate of Indian rights in the Spanish realm, lumped all Germans into one group and invested them with a vicious nature for their treatment of the Amerindians. Las Casas called the German governor of the Spanish colony of Venezuela, who operated under the auspices of the Welser banking house by order of Charles V, a heretic and *luterano* (Lutheran), blaming his Germanic religion for his mistreatment of the natives. Though most of the colonizers of Venezuela were Spaniards, the Germans drew special ire from Las Casas.[31] Thousands of souls, Las Casas stated, were lost due to their perfidy and he denounced them with a vicious pun, wondering if they were "animales o allemanes" (animals or Germans).[32] Even the Portuguese men Staden fought alongside on the island of Santo Amaro begged for him to stay when they discovered he "was a German" ("das ich ein Teutscher war") and thus, stereotypically, must know something about gunnery.[33]

More importantly, Staden realized his national identity as a German when he met a Frenchman in the Tupinambá village during his internment. The Indians of Brazil were no mere pawns of the Europeans, as the Tupinambá were allied with the French, fighting against the neighboring Tuppin Ikin (Tupiniquin), who allied with the Portuguese. When Tupinambá warriors captured Staden in the employ of the King of Portugal near a Portuguese fort, they declared him an enemy suitable for their cannibalistic practices. Staden furiously protested that he was not a Portuguese, but an ally of the French, "And that my native land was called Allemania"[34] ("und das landt da ich daheime bin, heysset Allemanien").[35] This is all the more relevant when Staden said at the end of his book that he returned home to "Germany" ("Teutschlandt").[36] Early in his captivity, a Frenchman with the Tupinambá nickname Karwattuware visited the village Staden was held in. The Indians tasked the Frenchman with proving to their satisfaction that the captive was indeed eatable. The captors said with relish, "Now we shall see whether you are in truth a Frenchman or not." Staden was temporarily jubilant, satisfied that the Frenchman would help him escape his captivity, "for I told myself that he was at least a Christian and would do his best for me." The Frenchman Karwattuware spoke to Staden in French, one of the few languages Staden seems not to have been proficient in, and Staden could not reply. Karwattuware told the Tupinambá to eat Staden, "Kill him and eat him, the good-for-nothing, for he is indeed a Portuguese, your enemy and mine." Staden begged the Frenchman to save him in the Tupi language, but Karwattuware replied without showing any mercy: "They will certainly eat you."[37]

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[30] Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Particular note can be made to pp. 8-11, 182-185.

[31] Bartolomé de Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, trans. Nigel Griffin (New York: Penguin, 1992), 96-101; Jose Ignacio Avellaneda, "The Men of Nikolaus Federmann: Conquerors of the New Kingdom of Granada," *The Americas* 43, no. 4 (April 1987): 385-394.

[32] Las Casas, *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, 101.

[33] Staden, *Hans Staden*, 59. The English quotation is from Staden, *The Captivity of Hans Stade*, 47; the German quotation is from Hans Staden, *Warhaftige historia und beschreibung eyner landtschafft der wilden nacketen grimmigen menschfresser leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen*..., in *N. Federmanns und H. Stades Reisen in Südamerica, 1529 bis 1555*, Nikolaus Federmann and Hans Staden (Stuttgart: Litterarischer Verein, 1859), 119.

[34] Staden, *Hans Staden*, 74. Staden, *The Captivity of Hans Stade*, 65, reads "and the country where I am at home (to which I belong), is called Allemanien."

[35] Staden, *Warhaftige historia und beschreibung*, 128.

[36] Staden, *Hans Staden*, 171; Staden, *The Captivity of Hans Stade*, 169; Staden, *Warhaftige historia und beschreibung*, 197.

[37] Staden, *Hans Staden*, 76-77. All the quotations are to this edition, p. 76. Compare to Staden, *The Captivity of Hans Stade*, 67-69; and Staden, *Warhaftige historia und beschreibung*, 130-131.

The news devastated Staden, who recalled the words of the prophet Jeremiah: "Cursed be the man that trusteth in man." He began to cry and the Tupinambá rejoiced. Now they could consume their captive, saying, "He is indeed a true Portuguese."[38] When talking to his captors, politics necessitated that Staden adopt the identity not of a Christian or European, as this proved insufficient, but one based along national lines. He was not from France or Portugal, but "Allemanien" or Germany. Even when he believed that a fellow Christian would save him, his hopes were dashed – nationality meant more than religion, individual nations were more important than a unified Christendom. One scholar, Guillermo Giucci, made a trenchant observation discussing this scene:

> [Staden] assumes that belonging to the same Christian-European group is more important than mercantile considerations…. [When the Frenchman Karwattuware directs the Tupinambá to eat Staden] never before had the fragmentation of the abstract concepts of "European" and "Christian" been expressed in such a simple and direct manner in the literature of the conquest of America…. With Staden, the 'European' becomes a group of nations which pursue their own interests. The characterization of the cannibal as savage and barbaric is not abandoned, but the author projects on the European alternative forms of barbarism.[39]

Still, the Tupinambá postponed their Staden supper. The Tupinambá noticed that Staden's beard was red before they shaved it off – the Portuguese they encountered had black beards. The Indians did not wish to consume an ally. When Staden continued to protest that he was not Portuguese but similar to a Frenchman, the local chief Konyan Bebe responded that all the Portuguese he had previously encountered claimed that they were not Portuguese either. The tribal leader concluded: "I have already helped to catch and eat five Portuguese who said they were Frenchman, but they all lied."[40]

When the Frenchman Karwattuware returned to the Tupinambá village months later, he was stunned to find the German Staden unshackled and uneaten. Staden wrote, "He asked me how it came about that I was still alive, and I told him that God in his goodness had protected me until then."[41] Again, Staden asked the Frenchman in the Tupi language to help him, but this time he did not rely on his status as a Christian and European to convince the Frenchman. Staden spoke and thought in terms of nationality, as well as Christianity:

> I drew him [the Frenchman] aside privately, so that the savages might not hear us, and told him again that God had spared my life, and that I was no Portuguese, but a German who had suffered shipwreck with certain Spaniards and had afterwards fallen among the Portuguese."[42]
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> ("…und ich rieff ime allein auff einem ort, auff daz die Wilden nicht horeten, was ich redete, sagte zu ihm er sehe wol das mir Gott noch hotte das leben gesparet, auch were

[38] Staden, *Hans Staden*, 77. Staden quotes part of Jeremiah 17:5.

[39] Guillermo Giucci, "The Conquest of America: From the Marvelous to the Exotic" (Ph.D, diss., Stanford University, 1987), 153-154.

[40] Staden, *Hans Staden*, 78-79, 88-89. Quotation, 79.

[41] This entire section is from Chapter 35 of Staden's work: Staden, *Hans Staden*, 89-91. The quotation is from p. 89. Compare to Staden, *The Captivity of Hans Stade*, 81-84; and Staden, *Warhaftige historia und beschreibung*, 139-141.

[42] Staden, *Hans Staden*, 90.

> ich kein Porlugaleser, ich were ein Teutscher, und mit den Hispaniern, schiff bruch halben, unter die Portugaleser kommen.")[43]

The Frenchman agreed to help and informed the savages that Staden "was from Germany, and was a friend of his nation"[44] ("aber ich were auß Allemanien, und were von iren freunden").[45] The Frenchman tried to convince the Tupinambá to release Staden, but without success, they had rightfully caught him in enemy territory – they would keep him longer. At this point, Staden's awareness of his Germanness was as important to his identity as his Christianity.

Staden, a fairly well educated adventurer in the wilds of Brazil, reflected what he had learned of the New World in the Germany of his time and gained a new realization of what made him different from both American and European "Others." Though the title of Staden's work refers to America as "Unknown in the Land of Hesse before and since Christ's birth," the well-educated Dr. Dryander too, like the German humanists of his era, recognized that Germany was a place larger than Hesse and important to his readers. [46] Dryander noted that God delivered Staden back "to his fatherland in Hesse" ("in sein geliebtes Vatterland in Hessen"), but also spoke of "we who live in Germany" ("Mir leuthe so wir hie umb Teutschlandt").[47] In Lisbon before his first voyage to the New World, Staden stayed at an inn run by "a German" ("ein Teutscher") and lamented on his final ship home that "there were no other Germans on board" ("War kein Deutscher auff der reyse mit").[48] Staden and Dryander may have considered Hesse their immediate Fatherland, but they recognized an intermediate level between Hesse and Europe that they owed some form of allegiance – Germany. Staden realized that in the New World encounter between natives and Europeans, he was not considered just a European Christian, but "ein Teutscher" from "Teutschlandt," and this latter identity, in fact, was at times more important than the former.

Like Hans Staden, Ulrich Schmidel's book about his travels in South America displayed elements that were particularly German in character. Ulrich Schmidel was born around 1510 in Straubing, Bavaria, to a wealthy burgher named Wolfgang Schmidel. His surname appeared as "Schmidl," "Schmiedel," "Schmidt," or even "Schmidts" in various documents, but gravestones and autograph manuscripts have shown that he and most of the family used "Schmidel." His family was long an influential one in Straubing, as many of his relatives were mayors of the town after the year 1449. Between 1554 and 1563, Ulrich Schmidel wrote an account of his adventures in the Rio de la Plata region of South America between 1534 and 1554 (see figure 1). Printers Sebastian Franck and Sigmund Feyerabend First published in a collection of American voyages by in 1567 and titled *Warhafftige und liebliche Beschreibung etlicher fürneemen Indianischen Landtschafften und Insulen…* (A true and agreeable description of some principal Indian lands and islands). At Cadiz in 1534, Schmidel signed on to the fourteen-ship expedition of Don Pedro Mendoza, whom Emperor Charles V tasked to be viceroy of the Rio de la Plata. Schmidel sailed on to the ship of Nuremburg investors Sebastian Neidhart and Jakob Welser, which landed near Rio de Janeiro on September 1, 1534. Over the next eighteen years, Schmidel participated in the

[43] Staden, *Warhaftige historia und beschreibung*, 139-140.
[44] Staden, *Hans Staden*, 90.
[45] Staden, *Warhaftige historia und beschreibung*, 140.
[46] Staden, *The Captivity of Hans Stade*, 1.
[47] English quotations are from Staden, *Hans Staden*, 22, 23; German quotations from Staden, *Warhaftige historia und beschreibung*, 92, 93.
[48] English quotations are from Staden, *Hans Staden*, 34, 170; German quotations from Staden, *Warhaftige historia und beschreibung*, 100, 196.

founding of Buenos Aires and Asuncion, embarked on numerous explorations, battles, and conquests ranging from the Atlantic coasts to the borders of the old Inca Empire in the west. In July 1552 he received a letter from his ailing half-brother Thomas Schmidel requesting that he return to Straubing to inherit his family's business interests. He returned to his hometown in 1554, married in 1558, and lived there until he publicly declared his Lutheranism in 1562, forcing him to relocate to Regensburg, where he was granted citizenship on May 21, 1563. Schmidel married two more times, though he left no children, and probably died between 1579 and 1581.[49]

Schmidel's book was not as popular as Staden's, probably because it did not center on the sensational trope of cannibalism and lacked illustrations. After its initial 1567 printing in a collection called *Warhafftige Beschreibunge aller theil der Welt*, Theodor de Bry included it in his 1599 anthology of works on America. Nuremburg printer Levinus Hulsius reprinted the German edition under a new title in 1599, adding sixteen illustrations and a map. This edition was reprinted in 1602 and 1612, at Nuremburg and Frankfort respectively. Hulsius issued a Latin translation in 1599 as well. The first Dutch translation was made in 1707, followed by a Spanish translation in 1749.[50] Schmidel's story was unique as it offered the perspective of a common Bavarian mercenary in Spanish employ.

Rare too is another narrative written by a Spaniard that discussed many of the same events from a competing point of view. In 1540, Charles V appointed the noted Spanish explorer Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca as governor of the Rio de la Plata after Don Pedro Mendoza's death. During his 1541 to 1544 governorship Cabeza de Vaca quarreled with the conquistadors under his leadership, who balked at his attempt to bring law and order to their rapine and debauchery (many soldiers had harems of native Guaraní women). In 1544, the soldiers mutinied and sent Cabeza de Vaca back to Spain in chains where he was eventually freed. He penned a defense of his governorship, with the help of his personal secretary Pero Hernandez, which was published in 1555.[51] Indeed Schmidel composed his narrative twelve years after Cabeza de Vaca's was

[49] Alvaro Félix Bolaños, "The Requirements of a Memoir: Ulrich Schmidel's Account of the Conquest of the River Plate (1536-54)," *Colonial Latin American Review* 11, no. 2 (December 2002): 231; Bernard Moses, *Spanish Colonial Literature in South America* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1922), 399-404; Ribas, *Testimonios de la conciencia lingüistica*, 34-36, 79-82; Albrecht Classen, "Ulrich Schmidel in the Brazilian Jungle: A Sixteenth-Century Travel Account," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 230, no. 2 (1993): 246-248; Marion Lois Huffines, "The Original Manuscript of Ulrich Schmidl: German Conquistador and Chronicler," *The Americas* 34, no. 2 (October 1977): 202-206; Ulrich Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description of some Principal Indian Lands...*, in *The Conquest of the River Plate (1535-1555*), Ulrich Schmidel and Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, trans. Luis L. Dominguez (London: Hakluyt Society, 1891), 80; Werner Friedrich, "Ulrich Schmidl und die Reformation in Straubing," *Jahresbericht des Historischen Vereins für Straubing und Umgebung* 86 (1984): 173-184; Germán Arciniegas, *Germans in the Conquest of America: A Sixteenth Century Venture*, trans. Angel Flores (New York: Macmillan, 1943), 148; Luis L. Dominguez, "Bibliography," in *The Conquest of the River Plate (1535-1555)*, Ulrich Schmidel and Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (London: Hakluyt Society, 1891), xli; Ascarate, "Extreme Foreignness," 51-55; Richard John Ascarate, "Schmidel (Schmidl, Schmidt), Ulrich," in *Germany and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History: A Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia*, Thomas Adam, ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 945-947. For a good recounting of Schmidel's voyages see Arciniegas, *Germans in the Conquest of America*, chapters 8 and 9.

[50] Ascarate, "Extreme Foreignness," 12; Dominguez, "Bibliography," xli-xliv.

[51] Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz. *Alvar Núñez Cabeza De Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo De Narváez* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 1:382-395; Cyclone Covey, "Preface," in *Cabeza De Vaca's Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America*, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 14-15; Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *The Commentaries of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, in *The Conquest of the River Plate (1535-1555*), Ulrich Schmidel and Alvar Nuñez

published, and it was apparently meant to refute the Spaniard's account of events.[52] Though their narratives overlap for only four years, Schmidel and Cabeza de Vaca described many of the same events in very dissimilar ways. By examining these differences and analyzing other aspects of Schmidel's relation, elements of an emerging German identity can be discerned.

Schmidel encountered numerous Indian groups in his South American travels, always giving garbled native names for each tribe before describing their physical appearance, living habits, and food sources. The nakedness of various tribes shocked Schmidel, especially when the women were naked. Like most Europeans of his day, the nakedness of the Indians marked them as inferior to clothed Europeans. Historian Albrecht Classen noted this, remarking that, "Apparently, for Schmidel the degree to which women covered their genitals was the deciding criteria according to which he placed these people on a hidden ladder indicating the degree of civilization."[53] Nakedness, however, was not the only reason Schmidel condemned the native inhabitants of the New World. Schmidel commented on the Carendies tribe by criticizing their living habits, comparing them to the *Zigeiner* (Gipsies) of his native land: "These Carendies have no houses, but wander about, as do the Gipsies with us at home."[54] Schmidel denounced the Zchemias Saluaischo tribe as being "just like our highwaymen or street-robbers at home."[55] The Carios drew special ire not only because they went about "completely naked as God created them," but because they bought and sold their women: "Among these Indians, the father sells his daughter, the husband his wife if she does not please him, and the brother sells or exchanges his sister. A woman costs a shirt or a bread knife, or a small hoe, or some other thing of that kind."[56] Worse yet, the Carios appear as cannibals:

> These Carios also eat man's flesh if they can get it. For when they make prisoners in war, male or female, they fatten them as we do swine in Germany. But if the woman be somewhat young and good-looking, they keep her for a year or so, and if during that time she does not live after their desires, they put her to death and eat her, making a solemn banquet of it, and oftentimes this is combined with a marriage. Only old persons are put to work until they die.[57]

Schmidel was not above judging these cultures based upon his own set of prejudices and values, often comparing them to less-civilized elements in Germany.

Like Staden, there was a strain of Protestant ideas running through Schmidel's text. Though there is no proof Schmidel was a Lutheran before he journeyed to South America, he converted soon after his return, at least five years before the printing of his text in 1567. Sebastian Frank, one of his first printers, was a fervent Anabaptist. Theodor de Bry, who published both Staden

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Cabeza de Vaca, trans. Luis L. Dominguez (London: Hakluyt Society, 1891), 93; Dominguez, "Introduction," xvii; Miguel de Asúa and R. K. French, *A New World of Animals: Early Modern Europeans on the Creatures of Iberian America* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2005), 77.

[52] Dominguez, "Introduction," xvii.

[53] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 6-7; Classen, "Ulrich Schmidel in the Brazilian Jungle," 251-252; Raingard Eßer, "Cultures in Contact: The Representation of 'the Other' in Early Modern German Travel Narratives." in *Racial Discrimination and Ethnicity in Europe*, Guðmundur Hálfdanarson, ed., 33-47 (Pisa: Clioh's Workshop II, 2003), 40. Quotation, 252.

[54] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 7. Compare to Ulrich Schmidel, *Ulrich Schmidels Reise nach Süd-Amerika in den Jahren 1534 bis 1554* (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1889), 28.

[55] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 17.

[56] Ibid., 20.

[57] Ibid.

and Schmidel in his great collections of writings, seemed to have chosen these and many texts because of their strong anti-Catholic bias. Levinus Hulsius, who printed the 1599 German and Latin editions with illustrations, was a strident advocate of Church reform and was expelled from his native Ghent by Philip II of Spain. Hulsius, in his 1599 introduction, emphasized Schmidel's religious tone, as it, according to historian Raingard Eßer, "shows its readers the astonishing wealth of God's creation and his mercy on the Christians in contrast to the heathen Indians who demonstrate where moral decline and rejection of the Christian God might lead man."[58] Schmidel recounted an incident of Spanish cruelty at Buenos Aires that some historians have described as a swipe at the Catholic Eucharist and the doctrine of transubstantiation, which many Protestants of the sixteenth century equated to cannibalism. While the inhabitants of Buenos Aires were starving due to siege, three Spaniards stole a horse, butchered it, and ate it. When discovered, they were executed by hanging. That night, three other Spaniards secretly went to the gallows and hacked off pieces of human flesh to eat.[59]

The German adventurer Schmidel and the Spanish governor Cabeza de Vaca had widely divergent views on the nature of and required attitudes towards the Indians of South America. Schmidel, like Staden, does not appear to care about saving souls – following the Lutheran notion that the inhabitants of the Americas had purposely fallen into a state of disgrace. Cabeza de Vaca, however, was very concerned with the souls of Indians – as both the Crown and Pope demanded. Cabeza de Vaca judged the Guaraní people, for example, to be "friendly towards the Christians, and with a little trouble would accept our holy Catholic faith."[60] He "ordered all the native subjects of the king" together and made sure they were told that:

> They should come to the knowledge of God and accept Christianity at the hands of the monks and clergy who had come as the ministers of God, and should subject themselves to His Majesty. If they did this they would be better treated and protected. He warned them to give up eating human flesh, as that was a sin and grave offence in the sight of God. The monks and the clergy repeated this warning, and the governor concluded by distributing presents among them, such as shirts, stuffs, caps, and other things they delighted in.[61]

Schmidel related that most of these trade goods, which the conquistadors gave out often, were produced at Nuremberg, though they were mostly given out for purely secular purposes: to secure allegiance, food, and precious metals from the Indians. Cabeza de Vaca was shocked when these "Christianized" Guaraní rebelled against the Spanish and reverted to their cannibalism. Still, the Spanish Crown required that the natives of America have every chance to come to Christ and become good subjects of the king. Schmidel, though, was disgusted by the

[58] Eßer, "Cultures in Contact," 40.

[59] Classen, "Ulrich Schmidel in the Brazilian Jungle," 250; Dominguez, "Introduction," xxx; Eßer, "Cultures in Contact," 39-40; Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 9-10, 58; Huffines, "Original Manuscript of Ulrich Schmidl," 206; Maggie Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 82-83. See Levinus Hulsius's introduction to Ulrich Schmidel, *Vera historia admirandae cuiusdam nauigationis, quam Huldericus Schmidel, Straubingensis, ab anno 1534, usque ad annum 1554, in Americam vel nouum mundum, iuxta Brasiliam & Rio della Plata...* (Noribergae: Impensis Levini Hulsii, 1599), 1-2.

[60] Cabeza de Vaca, *The Commentaries*, 119.

[61] Ibid., 129.

fact that the Emperor, his Emperor, required leniency be given to a particularly hostile tribe after a tough battle.[62]

One of the most striking differences between the narratives of Schmidel and Cabeza de Vaca concerned the story of an encounter with the Guarayos, a Guaraní-speaking tribe who inhabited the selva of present-day eastern Bolivia. For Schmidel, the Guarayos, a tribe he called the "Scherues," were the most civilized Indian group he had met (see fig. 3). They were not a nomadic tribe but have a "country" ("landt") with scattered settlements under the leadership of one man. The men of the tribe were painted blue from their head to their knees so they look as if they were "wearing breeches." The women were "painted otherwise, blue from the breast to the privities, and so artistically, that one could not soon find a painter to do it so well." Schmidel usually found Indian women to be "ugly," but these, though "absolutely naked," were "beautiful after their manner."[63] Interestingly, this tribe had facial hair, which was notable enough for Schmidel to state that "these Scherues to whom we now came wear a moustache."[64] This facial hair struck nineteenth-century ethnographer Elisée Reclus as well, who noted:

> The face is round, with mild bright eyes slightly oblique at the outer angle; but they are specially distinguished from the other Guarani and, in fact, from all American aborigines by a long, full and straight beard, never frizzly like those of Europeans, covering the chin, the lower part of the cheeks and upper lip.[65]

By the middle of the sixteenth century Europeans considered the ability to grow a beard a mark of superiority over the Indians, who, by all accounts, could not. Schmidel may have used European terms to define this tribe because of their skin color and physiognomy. Reclus continued:

> The Guarayos, that is, Guara-Yu, or "Yellow Men," have really an extremely light complexion, so that were they transported to Europe they would easily be confounded with the rest of the population. Although akin to the Guarani of Paraguay, the Guarayos are of taller stature. With their robust and, at the same time, graceful figures, they present a fine type of manhood.[66]

A tribe with European facial hair, European physical features, and European complexion, coupled with a European type of monarchy and royal court may have all contributed to Schmidel's decision to call the leader of the Guarayos a king and describe them in generally flattering terms.

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[62] Villas Bôas, "Travel Writing and Religious Dissent," 58; Cabeza de Vaca, *The Commentaries*, 119, 129, 154; Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 39, 48.

[63] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 43-45.

[64] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 43; Schmidel, *Ulrich Schmidels Reise nach Süd-Amerika*, 66.

[65] Elisée Reclus, *The Earth and Its Inhabitants: South America*, vol. 1, *The Andes Region* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1882), 875.

[66] Ibid., 874-875. Another nineteenth-century ethnographer stated that: "The Guarayos… are not much darker in complexion than many of the people of Southern Europe…. The Guarayos, who are of the Guarani race but inhabit 'humid forests,' have acquired a more graceful shape and almost European proportions." See James Cowles Prichard, *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, vol. 5, *Researches into the History of the Oceanic and of the American Nations* (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1851), 498.

The Guarayos so impressed Schmidel that the head of the group was the only ruler of an Indian tribe that he deigned to call a "king" ("könig" or 'khönig"). He called the leaders of every other tribe he encountered "chief" ("oberster"). Schmidel related that the Guarayos king fêted the conquistadors in royal style:

> The King was also accompanied by his musicians, whose instruments resemble our hoboys. His Royal Majesty had also ordered that deer and other wild beasts should be hunted on both sides of the way; so that they caught about thirty deer and twenty ostriches, and it was indeed an agreeable thing to see; and when we came to their place, the King appointed a house to accommodate every two Christians, and our captain with his servants were taken into the Royal House, and I was not very far from the King's house. Then the King of the Scherues and his subjects resolved to treat us Christians well, and to give us all our necessaries.[67]

Schmidel is not averse to compare the King of the Gaurayos to European monarchs: "And the King also held a Court in his own way, like the greatest lord in the country."[68]

Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, however, portrayed the same Guarayos tribe, Cabeza de Vaca called them "Xarayes," and "royal reception" in decidedly different terms. For Cabeza de Vaca, the members of the tribe Schmidel described in glowing terms are "hideous, owing to the habit they have of piercing a hole in the lower lip, and inserting in it the husk of a fruit of a certain tree."[69] Though the German portrayed the women as naked and beautiful, the Spaniard made an opposite observation: "Their women are very ugly, tattooing their faces with the tip of the ray's tail, which they keep for this purpose, and they cover their nakedness."[70] The account of the audience between the conquistadors and the leader of the Guarayos is related differently as well:

> When they were a bow-shot off, upwards of five hundred Xarayes came forth to receive them with great joy. All were elegantly attired with parrots' feathers, and aprons of white beads to cover their nakedness…. The women all had their privities covered, and many of them wore wide cotton dresses, this material being in use among them under the name of *tipoes*. When the Spaniards had entered the village they came to where the chief of the Xarayes was he was surrounded by three hundred Indians of very good appearance, mostly elderly men. This chief was seated on a cotton hammock in the midst of a large open place, all his people standing round him. They formed a lane by which the Spaniards might pass….[71]

In the Spanish conception of the event, the leader of the Guarayos was a mere "chief" ("principal"), as he is but a subject of the Castilian Kingdom. Indeed the Guarayos chief is rather timid and submissive in Cabeza de Vaca's account, saying, "I am rejoiced to have you as my

[67] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 44-45. Compare to Schmidel, *Ulrich Schmidels Reise nach Süd-Amerika*, 66-67.
[68] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 45.
[69] Cabeza de Vaca, *The Commentaries*, 207.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., 209.

friends; I and my people consider the governor [Cabeza de Vaca] as our master; he has only to command, and we will obey him."[72]

Schmidel and Cabeza de Vaca also disagreed about the ending of the meeting with the Guarayos. After the initial encounter between the Guarayos king and the conquistadors, there was a dinner and dance. Indian musicians played as men and women danced wildly before the guests. Schmidel focused on the women, who were "absolutely naked, and are beautiful after their manner." The conquistadors judged the dance to be "quite wonderful, so much so that looking upon them one could think of nothing else." What this "nothing else" was Schmidel revealed for his readers: "[The women] commit transgressions in the dark," and were "very fair and venerous, very amiable, and very hot too, as it seemed to me."[73] Cabeza de Vaca's account does not include the orgiastic dancing scene. Instead the Guarayos chief simply "took them into his house, and gave them to eat, and had hammocks prepared for them." Perhaps as a display of Indian barbarity and Spanish superiority in morals, Cabeza de Vaca related that: "He [the chief] then offered each of them [the conquistadors] a girl to sleep with, but they declined on the score of fatigue."[74]

This example is emblematic of the differences between the histories of Schmidel and Cabeza de Vaca. It is true that Schmidel's text is a travelogue and Cabeza de Vaca's an apologia for his term as governor. It can be claimed the dissimilarities between the two texts arise from the fact that one was penned by a middling Bavarian and the other by an Andalusian with royal connections – one the son of a merchant, the other the son of landed gentry. Cabeza de Vaca, too, was well known for his advocacy for the rights of Spain's Indian subjects, in the mold of Bartolomé de Las Casas. Yet Schmidel and Cabeza de Vaca were writing for diverse audiences in their respective homelands. Spain's meager book-buying market and ever-watchful authorities expected a certain sort of text, one that showed Spain's temporal and spiritual authority over the Indians of the New World. Schmidel tailored his tale for a large reading public that demanded stories of discovery, cannibalism, and sex, with perhaps a swipe at Catholicism.[75]

Like both Staden and Dryander, the fairly well educated Schmidel recognized that in relation to Amerindian Others and European "Others" he dealt with as a conquistador, he belonged to a group larger than Bavarian, and smaller than European and Christian. Though many times he referred to himself and his cohorts as "we Christians" ("wir Chriestenn"), he never directly referred to himself as a German as Staden did.[76] He observed, however, that the Mendoza expedition was composed of "two thousand five hundred Spaniards and one hundred and fifty [High] Germans, Netherlanders, and Saxons"[77] ("2500 Spanier unnd 150 Hochteusche, Niederlennder unnd Sachsen").[78] The closest Schmidel gets to defining himself in a fashion other

[72] Ibid., 210. Compare this section to Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Relación de los Naufragios y Comentarios* (Madrid: Suárez, 1906), 297-303.

[73] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 43-45. Compare to Schmidel, *Ulrich Schmidels Reise nach Süd-Amerika*, 66-67: "…sie gehen muetternackhet unnd sind schön auff ir manir, vergingen sich auch wol in der finster" and "Diese frauen sindt sehr schönn unnd gross pulerin, gar freindtlich unnd sehr hizig am leib, als mich beduncкhet."

[74] Cabeza de Vaca, *The Commentaries*, 211. Compare to Cabeza de Vaca, *Relación de los Naufragios y Comentarios, 302: "…y porque ya era noche el mesmo principal los lleno consigo a su casa y alli les mando dar de comer y sendas redes de algodon en que durmíessen, y les combido que si quisiesse cada vno su moça que se la darian, pero no la quisieron diziendo que venian cansados."*

[75] For some general thoughts in this direction, see Bolaños, "Requirements of a Memoir," 236-239.

[76] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 48; Schmidel, *Ulrich Schmidels Reise nach Süd-Amerika*, 71.

[77] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*.

[78] Schmidel, *Ulrich Schmidels Reise nach Süd-Amerika*, 21.

than *Chriestenn* (in opposition to *wilden*, "savages") is at the outset of his trip, as he described the ship he embarked upon:

> Among these fourteen ships, one belonged to Messrs. Sebastian Neidhart and Jacob Welser, from Nürnberg, who had sent their factor, Heinrich Paeime, with merchandise to Riodellaplata. With these and others, as Germans [Hochteusche] and Netherlanders, about eighty men, armed with arquebuses and muskets, I went to Riodellaplata.[79]

Still, even if he did not call himself a German, Schmidel referred to his homeland as "Germany" and compared the New World "Other" to things he finds more familiar. Discussing the caiman, he referenced a rumor that "in our Germany" ("in unnserm Teuschlanndt") the reptile was imagined to be poisonous.[80] Discussing the cannibalism of the Carios, Schmidel remarked that they fattened their captives for the feast "as we do swine in Germany" ("unnd wie man in Teuschslanndt schwein mest"). He compared the taking of trophy heads in South America to a German custom, when "a knight or commander puts a scutcheon in the churches" ("ein rietter oder haupttman, die 'habenn ein fennlein, die steckhens in die kirchenn").[81] He likened the relationship between two tribes to feudal relationships in his homeland:

> Afterwards we went further, to a people called Zchemui, who are subject to the aforesaid Maijaijs, as here at home the peasants are subject to their landlords.[82]
> ("Nach dem zogenn wir wieder zu einer nazionn haist Zchennte, sindt baisailles a oder underthonen der vorgenantenn Mayaieß, al[s] hie zu landt die paurenn underthenig sindt irem herren").[83]

Like Staden and others, Schmidel recognized he belonged to a subset of both Europe and Christendom that was larger still than Straubing or Bavaria—a "Germany" that would understand his language, his allusions, and his analogies. Unlike Staden, Schmidel could still easily recognize himself as belonging to a Christian group in opposition to a Pagan Other. Staden's jarring experiences with the Frenchman Karwattuware militated against recognizing himself as just a Christian, he was a *German* Christian.

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[79] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 2; Schmidel, *Ulrich Schmidels Reise nach Süd-Amerika*, 22. It should also be noted that early in the sixteenth century Nikolaus Federmann, a German conquistador from Ulm among the Welser colony of Venezuela, wrote an account of his travels that does not refer to a Germany, though he speaks of "Castyllia," "Gasconein," and "Frankreich." Federmann uses the term "German" only to refer to the language. Fellow German-speakers are referred to by the city they come from, e.g. "Ambrosio Talfinger von Ulm." Federmann spent much of his life in the Spanish-speaking world, even dying in Valladolid in 1542, and left his hometown before it officially became Protestant. (See Ascarate, "Extreme Foreignness," 27, 56-64 and Nikolaus Federmann and Hans Staden, *N. Federmanns und H. Stades Reisen in Südamerica, 1529 bis 1555* (Stuttgart: Litterarischer Verein, 1859). Federmann's account was printed posthumously in 1557 and has yet to be translated into English.) Both Schmidel and Federmann were at least fifteen years older than Staden, and Staden was from Protestant Hesse, born at a time in a place where "nationalistic" feelings were stronger than in other parts of Germany. Perhaps this is why Federmann and Schmidel never designated themselves a "German," though Staden does. The importance of Staden's unique, jarring experience as a captive to a tribe fighting with and against different groups of Europeans can not be underestimated in contributing to the construction of his German identity.

[80] Asúa and French, *New World of Animals*, 30.

[81] The English quotations are from Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 42, 20; the German quotations are from Schmidel, *Ulrich Schmidels Reise nach Süd-Amerika*, 65, 44.

[82] Schmidel, *A True and Agreeable Description*, 55.

[83] Schmidel, *Ulrich Schmidels Reise nach Süd-Amerika*, 78.

Though Germany did not exist as a single political entity in the century after the discovery of the New World, German-speaking mapmakers, cosmographers, and, most importantly, printers contributed greatly to the formation of a European perception of the New World. The conception of this newly discovered "Other," the Indian, was shaped not only by the explorers and discoverers who first laid their gaze on the natives, but also by the interpreters who created the maps, wrote the books, and published the pamphlets on the Americas. Similarly, the printing presses that molded the image of the New World in the European mind fostered and stimulated the ideas of the German Renaissance and Reformation, which contributed to the creation of a German "national" identity, however nascent and undeveloped that identity might have been. Identities are usually constructed in opposition to a disparate "Other." Some dichotomies were held Europe-wide: civilization versus barbarity, Christian versus Pagan, and European versus American. Other competing identities on a less grand scale were forming in the Age of Discovery: Dutchman versus Spaniard or Englishman versus Frenchman.

By the beginning in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, many German-speakers, mainly, but not limited to, those better educated, recognized the existence of a Germany. Tacitus's *Germania* told Germans they had a common past in opposition to the Latins. Luther's theology undermined the authority of the Latin Church; his Bible coupled with Gutenberg's press fostered the development of a common language. The discovery of America, with its attendant array of distinct and competing tribal and European groups, offered many "Others" to contrast against "Germany." Spaniards like Bartolomé de Las Casas could speak of a stereotypical German brutality and wonder if Germans were "animales o allemanes." Ulrich Schmidel could point to Spanish cannibalism and Johannes Dryander to Spanish hagiolatry to bolster the idea that would later be called *la leyenda negra*. Though Hans Staden of Hesse and Ulrich Schmidel of Bavaria might have had different ideas about what constituted "Germanness" and "Germany," they each operated with and aided in the construction of a German identity. Historians Christine Johnson and Hannah C. Wojciehowski have noted that German encounters with the wider world, the Americas, Africa, and Asia, fostered a distinct German identity, but they have failed to recognize that encounters between European groups *in* the Americas also helped to create a nascent idea of Germanness. Schmidel's text had German elements that can be distinctly identified as German when read in opposition to the text of the Spaniard Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. The Tupinambá capture of Staden drew him into a situation where he had to identify himself as more than just a Christian: he was a non-Frenchman, a non-Portuguese, he was a *German*. Adventurers like Staden and Schmidel operated with a distinct set of biases, preconceptions, and knowledge – a constructed "German" identity in its infancy – and their writings propagated these ideas in their homeland. Though inchoate and amorphous, these men acknowledged that they belonged to a group that was more inclusive than their native town or princely state, yet less inclusive than Christendom as a whole: Germany.

Figure 1:

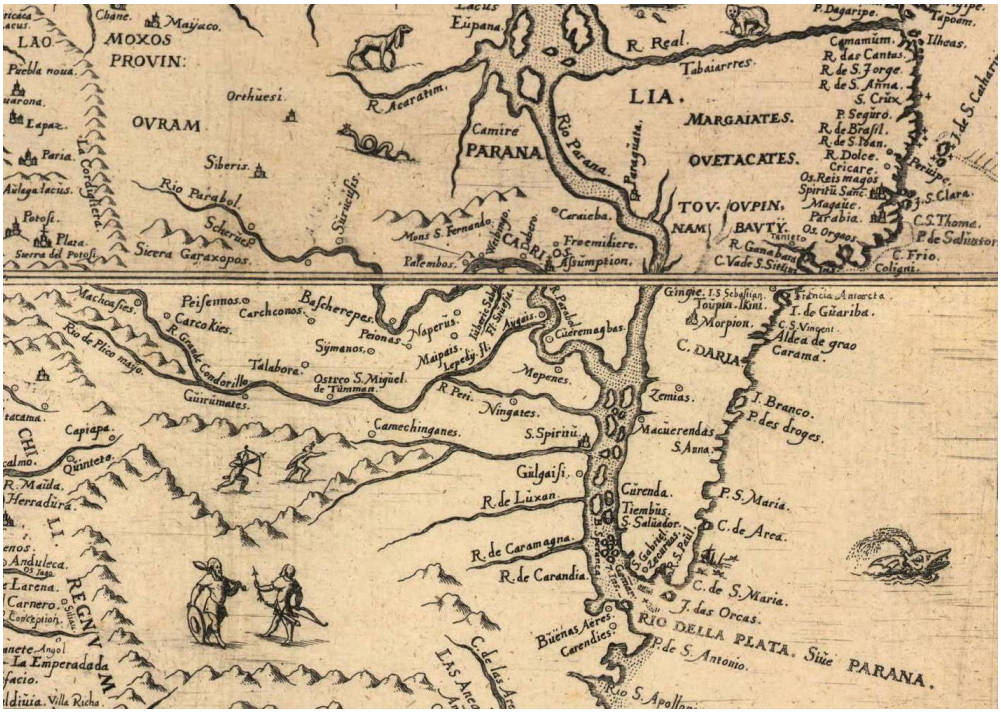

Figure 1. In 1599 Nuremburg printer Levinus Hulsius added a map to his printing of Ulrich Schmidel's book. This detail shows the areas of South America that Hans Staden and Schmidel traveled in. The Tupinambá (here called Tou-oupinnambautÿ) and their rivals Tuppin Ikin (here called Toupin-Ikini) reside near the eastern coast, and Schmidel's Guarayos (here called the Scherùes) are in the west along the Rio Parabol. Buenos Aires (Buënas Aëres) is near the center-bottom of the map. *Source*: Levinus Hulsius, *Nova et exacta delineatio Americae.*

Figure 2:

Figure 2. Hans Staden's book contained several woodcut illustrations depicting his captivity among the Tupinambá. Here Staden, on the right with a beard and under a cross symbol, witnesses cannibalistic rites performed upon his Portuguese companions. *Source*: Hans Staden, *Warhafftige Historia unnd beschreibung einer landtschafft der Wilden, Nacketen, Grimmigen, Menschfresser Leuthen in der Newen Welt America gelegen*…(Marburg: Andreas Kolben, 1557).

Figure 3:

Figure 3. In 1599 Nuremburg printer Levinus Hulsius added images to Ulrich Schmidel's account of his time in the Rio de la Plata region of South America. Here the Guarayos, Schmidel called them "Scherues," impressed the German soldier with their beards, complex polity, and lavish ceremonies. Schmidel's account of the Guarayos differs significantly from that of Cabeza de Vaca. *Source*: Ulrich Schmidel, *Vera historia admirandae cuiusdam nauigationis, quam Huldericus Schmidel, Straubingensis, ab anno 1534, usque ad annum 1554, in Americam vel nouum mundum…* (Nuremburg: Levinus Hulsius, 1599).