

Theatrics and Politics of Culture in Sixteenth-Century Brazil

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Europe's Age of Discovery produced a rich travel literature of extraordinary ethnographic value, offering insights into the dynamics of the encounter of the dominant European culture and its Other. As Aldo Scaglione notes, "the perspective with which the newly discovered realities were evaluated remained European-oriented."¹ In a new world, the European man describes and maps these realities as he incorporates them into the domain of ethnography and history. The voyage takes the European to the outer limits or fringes of the known world into the space of the Other.² In the space of the Other, the voyager must reconcile his own particular experience with his culture's unquenchable desire for conquest and expansion. As Wlad Godzich observes, "Western thought has always thematized the other as a threat to be reduced, as a potential same-to-be, a yet-not-same."³ Tzvetan Todorov concludes that Europeans seem particularly well-equipped to "assimilate the other, to do away with an exterior alterity" in part because of their "remarkable qualities of flexibility and improvisation which permit them all the better to impose their own way of life."⁴ According to this ideology, the aboriginal populations of the territories explored become a *tabula rasa*—in Paul Brown's words, "an empty space to be inscribed at will by the desire of the coloniser."⁵

This paper focuses on two different representations of the European encounter with the Tupinamba aborigines of Brazil. One is a sixteenth-century German text, published in 1557, entitled *Hans Staden The True History of His Captivity*; the other, a 1973 Brazilian motion picture, directed by Nelson Pereira do Santos, entitled *Como Era Gostoso o Meu Francês [How Tasty Was My Frenchman]*.⁶ Hans Staden, a German citizen born in Hesse, went to Brazil first for a brief visit in 1548 and a second time in 1549. During his second visit, he was employed as a gunner by the Portuguese in the Colony of São Vicente in São Paulo. His second visit lasted nearly two years, a great part of which he was a prisoner of the Tupinamba. In 1557, he published *The True History of His Captivity*, an account consisting of two parts: a narrative of his voyages and imprisonment and a detailed ethnography of Tupinamba culture. The motion picture, *How Tasty Was My Frenchman*, centers on the fictional French

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protagonist Jean, who followed Nicolas Durand, chevalier de Villegagnon in 1555 to establish a French colony in the area surrounding present-day Rio de Janeiro.⁷ Based on anthropological research, and even with dialogue in Tupi, the movie offers an ethnography of Tupinamba culture.

Both Staden's text and the motion picture suggest that, like the Europeans, the Tupinamba thrive on assimilation and appropriation of what is perceived as Other. But a major difference emerges between the 16th-century text and the 20th-century work. As both Staden and Jean resist assimilation into Tupinamba culture, an intense process of negotiation ensues. In this process, Staden, unlike Jean, uses what Stephen Greenblatt has referred to as "Renaissance self-fashioning" not only to map the new reality but also to forge a literary identity for himself—an identity that ensures the ideological domination of Europe.⁸ As Greenblatt notes, self-fashioning "functions without regard for a sharp distinction between literature and social life" (3). I will argue that "self-fashioning" disregards the distinction between theatricality and politics.

From the perspective of the colonized, colonialism can be described in the words of Jaques from *As You Like It*: "All the world's a stage/ And all the men and women merely players" (II.vii.139-140).⁹ The colonial enterprise incorporates a theatrical metaphor: a drama of displacement and replacement of cultures, staged in the space of the Other. Upon this stage the native actors play their prescribed part. From the earliest moments of their discoveries, Europeans saw in the New World a topoi of theatrical images.¹⁰ Pero Vaz de Caminha, travelling in Pedro Alvarez Cabral's flagship at the time Cabral "discovered" and claimed Brazil for Portugal in 1500, became the first European to write about Brazil. In a good-humored letter to his King, Caminha concluded that the natives were "good and of pure simplicity, and there can easily be stamped upon them whatever belief we wish to give them"; "these people in order to be wholly Christian lack nothing except to understand us, for whatever they saw us do, they did likewise."¹¹ Underscoring the Indians' empathy and theatrical power—power of imitation—Caminha concluded that since the natives had been so eager to imitate European behavior they would be willingly colonized. Caminha saw in this innate theatrical skill a most desirable quality, for it would greatly facilitate the colonial enterprise: the transplantation and impersonation of Portuguese culture. Europeans were scriptwriters; the natives, actors possessed by and inescapably performing European-ness.

Staden's text and the film *How Tasty Was My Frenchman* seem to offer the opposite of the colonial experience. In these works, we see European culture not in a position of strength but struggling to assert its ideological dominance vis-à-vis Tupinamba ideology of conquest and assimilation of its Other through ritual cannibalism. Stripped of all markers of his Otherness, the prisoner experiences

complete and total assimilation into Tupinamba culture. Alfred Métraux, one of the most prominent Tupinamba anthropologists, observes that "the prisoners were dressed as *Tupinamba*, with foreheads shaved, feathers glued to their bodies, and a decoration of feather ornaments."¹² Métraux adds:

In many cases, the only outward sign of the prisoner's status was a cotton rope tied around his neck, which according to some sources, was a symbolical necklace strung with as many beads as he had months to live until his execution. The captives were in no way hampered in their movements; they knew perfectly well that there was no place to which they could escape, for their own groups, far from welcoming them, would have killed any member who attempted to return. (120)

Truly incorporated into Tupinamba life cycle, the prisoner became his original culture's Other, an outcast and enemy, for he was no longer accepted by or considered a member of his original tribe.

Both Staden and Jean discover that to be taken prisoner by the Tupinamba virtually means to become Tupinamba. Their European bodies must enact in every detail Tupinamba culture and must also be completely assimilated into the "adopted" tribe. The motion picture *How Tasty Was My Frenchman* captures quite well the spirit of Staden's account, upon which it is loosely based.¹³ The film traces the experience of Jean, the fictional French protagonist, who followed Villegagnon to the *France Antarctique*. The film vividly portrays 16th-century European politics in Brazil: the French allied with the Tupinamba try to establish a foothold in Brazil; the Portuguese, supported by the Tupinikin Indians, try to stop them. The Europeans use native rivalry to advance their interest; occasionally, however, they fall prey to native enmity.

The film immediately reveals its political dimension. It consists of two parts: a short initial segment in the form of a documentary or news report from *La France Antarctique*, and the film proper focusing on Jean's experience among the Tupinamba. The first part falls within European control and censorship. The official report intended for the French government suggests that Jean decides, of his own free will, to leave the colony, jumps into the sea, and drowns; the pictures—presumably reality—cannot be seen by the French government and therefore show a different sequence of events. Jean in chains is sentenced to death and is thrown into the sea to die; but he miraculously survives and goes to the camp of the Portuguese enemy for whom he becomes a slave working as a gunner. During a Tupinamba raid on the Portuguese, Jean is captured by the Tupi; and despite his vehement protests, he is mistaken for a Portuguese. The

Tupinamba take Jean to their *taba* [village] to await his execution as part of a cannibal feast.

Expelled by the French and enslaved by the Portuguese, Jean finds himself trapped in his European identity and is submitted to contradictory treatment in the Tupi village. Many accounts of how the Tupinamba treated their prisoners have survived, but I cite Staden's account not only because it is the earliest but also because it closely parallels Jean's experience:

When they first bring home a captive the women and children set upon him and beat him. Then they decorate him with grey feathers and shave off his eyebrows, and dance around him, having first bound him securely so that he cannot escape. They give him a woman who attends to him and has intercourse with him. If the woman conceives, the child is maintained until it is fully grown. Then, when the mood seizes them, they kill and eat it. (155)

The Tupi warrior Cuñambebe, who captured Jean, determines Jean's fate. The prisoner's assimilation into Tupinamba culture lasts approximately eight months and takes place in steps: (1) the women at first see Jean as a worthless slave, the embodiment of everything they hate: they tease and insult him; (2) the women accept the prisoner's company; (3) the prisoner is given a wife, Seboipep; (4) the Tupinamba men accept Jean as one of their own; (4) finally, the tribe consumes the prisoner in a cannibal feast. The prisoner's status improves as his execution nears: worthless slave, a womanish man who cannot enjoy the company of other males, a brave warrior, the food that sustains the tribe and the blood that quenches the tribe's revenge against the enemy.

Jean sees the markers of his Otherness disappear as he is stripped of his European clothes and his hair is shaved in the Tupinamba fashion. For him, becoming Tupinamba is a seductive experience. His European compatriots betray him repeatedly, whereas the Tupinamba seemingly accept him as one of their own. Before long, Jean settles down and seems happy with his Tupinamba wife, although he occasionally plots to escape. Ironically, he eventually manages to escape but decides to come back for his wife. Faithful to her tribe, however, his wife Seboipep refuses to follow him and even shoots him in the leg with an arrow to prevent his escape. Seboipep plays the role of the dutiful wife, but her allegiance lies with her tribe not the tribe's enemy.

The movie exploits the highly theatrical nature of Tupinamba culture. Immediately before Jean's execution, Jean and Seboipep are on the beach where they study together the script of his execution. She instructs him to be brave, to attempt to run away but to be fully aware that he will be recaptured, to accept

that the women will paint his body black, to utter his final words, "When I am dead, my friends will come to avenge me," and to prepare to die as the club of execution is raised and smashes his skull. The last shot of the film shows Seboipep savoring his neck, the part of his body promised her. Seboipep follows the script to the letter. Enthralled by her beauty, charm, and sexuality, Jean accepts his fate and perfectly plays the prescribed role in his ritual execution.

The film shows Jean resigned to his fate, accepting a Tupinamba identity and the seductive ideology of assimilation. Hans Staden, however, vehemently resists assimilation into Tupinamba culture. At first, he does not seem to understand the nature of the role he is to play, but he quickly realizes that the center of power rests in the space between the huts, where rituals are staged and where the cacique addresses the tribesmen. Unlike Jean, Staden willingly works for the Portuguese as a gunner until he is taken prisoner one day while he is walking in the forest (62). A Frenchman visits the village, but Staden, who cannot speak French, cannot communicate with him; as a result, the Frenchman believes that Staden is indeed Portuguese and abandons him to his fate. A German trapped in a Portuguese identity, Staden yearns to return to his native culture and never embraces Tupinamba culture.

Yet the process of assimilation takes its prescribed course: the Tupinamba gradually rid him of his European identity and his cultural markers. Immediately upon his seizure, Staden is stripped of all his clothes (63). A Tupi native touches him on the shoulder and utters the words of possession: "You are my bound beast" (68). He is taken to the village where he must speak the words, "I your food have come" (70). Dancing and singing around him, the women say: "With this blow I avenge me of my friend, that one who was slain by your people" (70).

Like Jean, Staden is at first mistreated, as he is forced to play an unwilling part in the space between the huts:

Thus was I dragged from the huts by the rope which was still about my neck to the dancing place. All the women came running from the seven huts, and seized me while the men withdrew, some by the arms, some by the rope about my throat, which they pulled so tight that I could hardly breathe. (71)

He is made to sit upon "a heap of fresh earth" (71); the women try to shave off his hair, but he vehemently resists. In the woodcuts that accompany *The True History of His Captivity*, Staden always appears naked but with his beard intact—the very mark of his difference. In a ritual, which immediately follows the previous one, Staden is no longer ridiculed and abused, but he gains acceptance:

Here they made a ring round me, I being with two women in the center, and tied to my legs with strings of objects which rattled. They bound me also with sheaves of feathers arranged in a square, which they fastened behind my neck so that they stood up above my head. This ornament is called in their language Arasoya. Then the women commenced to sing all together, and I had to keep time with the rattles on my leg by stamping as they sang. (73)

This ceremony puzzles him because he seems to be a source of joy.

Another ceremony, which seems to be the opposite of the previous one, takes place a few days later. Once again he is dragged to the place between the huts, but now the treatment is quite different:

There in the other huts they began to mock me, and the king's son bound my legs in three places, and I was placed to hop thus through the huts on both feet, at which they made merry, saying: "Here comes our food hopping towards us." (80)

The natives continue to torment him; he, in turn, struggles to understand their customs:

They now unbound my legs and began to walk around me, tearing at my flesh, one saying that the skin on my head was his, another claiming the fat on my legs. After this I had to sing to them, and I sang holy songs, and when they asked me what I sang I told them that I was singing of my God. But they replied that my God was no better than dirt, calling him in their tongue Teuire. (80-81)

Staden is unable to fathom the meaning of these apparently contradictory ceremonies. The Tupinamba at times seem happy that he has joined the tribe; at other times, they deem him to be the embodiment of everything they hate. Staden does not try to explain this contradictory treatment; rather, he renews his determination to escape.

Improvising as he goes, Staden realizes that his position as a prisoner gives him a very special status: he is neither an outsider nor an insider. He occupies the space between the huts, a space of power, a space of negotiation. This becomes apparent when he becomes a spokesman for his "tribe" as he even ministers to a captive who is about to be executed:

I went to the prisoner on the eve of the day on which they were to drink in preparation for his death, and said: "All is ready for your death," and he laughed and said: "Yes." (91)

For all practical purposes, Staden has become Tupinamba. Realizing this power, he tries to gain control over the course of events.

If, as Greenblatt suggests, "self-fashioning occurs at the point of encounter between an authority and an alien" (9), Staden claims special power—even supernatural power—to control human fate. Greenblatt adds that the quintessential sign of power is "the ability to impose one's fictions upon the world: the more outrageous the fiction, the more impressive the manifestation of power" (13). Staden directly interferes in the course of events in the tribe's life by claiming control over a chain of causality. He writes: "Presently one of the savages came to me and reported that the brother of him who owned a share in me had returned with the news that the others were all sick, whereat I greatly rejoiced, for I told myself that now God would show his might" (85). When the said brother himself comes to Staden with a report that "his brother, his mother, and his brother's children had all fallen sick, and that his brother had sent him to me with the message that I was to make my God restore them to health," Staden tells him that such events are God's punishment (85-86). Soon people begin to die of a mysterious disease, and Staden claims control over this disease.

As a bringer of death and as a healer with untapped power, Staden makes an impression on Tupinamba consciousness, for soon the Tupinamba come to him to interpret their dreams:

Vratinge Wasu dreamed a dream, and in his dream I appeared before him and told him that he would die, and the next morning early he came to me and made complaint to me, but I comforted him, saying that he would live, but that he must not think of killing me, nor give counsel to others to kill me. (88)

Staden notes that a second chief "also dreamed a dream about me which greatly terrified him, and he called me into his huts and gave me to eat, and then he spoke to me of it and told me how, in one of his expeditions, he had captured a Portuguese, whom he had killed" (88). Staden not only buys time, but he also imprints a sense of fear and awe upon the Tupinamba imagination. Thus, he creates a new role for himself, building upon his special status as a prisoner. From that liminal space, he can conquer Tupinamba imagination.

Staden extends this power to shape reality even into the domain of the elements. He points out that he made a cross of reeds and set it in front of his

hut, where he would say his prayers. Despite his warnings, a Tupinamba woman destroyed the cross. Staden says that this made him very sad, and "some days later it began to rain heavily" threatening the crops of the natives: "I replied that it was their own fault, for they had angered my God by pulling up the wooden stick in front of which I used to speak with him" (114). Hearing this explanation, adds Staden, his master's son helped him set up another cross, and "as soon as the cross was set up the weather, which before noon had been very stormy, began at once to improve. And they all marvelled, saying that my God, in truth, did as I told him" (114). Staden claims other miracles, as for example when he asks God to stop a torrential rain that threatens his Tupinamba captors (114). Staden seizes upon such situations as these to suggest an inherently superior European power that the Tupinamba do not have. Even in his eventual escape to a French vessel that carries him back to Europe he sees a sign of Providence's protection of the Europeans.

Staden is obviously a man of deep religious convictions, but his claims to miracle are often self-serving. Furthermore, his book, recalled in European tranquility, is revisionist at best and creates the impression that he is fashioning himself for a European audience. This is apparent in his pious posture, obsession with authority, and omissions. According to Staden, Tupinamba custom required that the prisoner be given a Tupinamba wife; Staden, however, neglects to mention whether he himself was given one, nor does he mention whether he was forced to freshen the graves of the deceased, a task the Tupinamba assigned their slaves. Perhaps he could not reconcile this with his European image of a deeply religious man saved by his convictions and faith in God or with the sense that he was able to control the natives.

Throughout the text, Staden reveals an obsession with authority. In his preface, he dedicates his book to Philip I, the Magnanimous, of Hesse (1504-67), the founder of the University of Marburg, whom Staden refers to as his "gracious Prince and Master" (19). Staden adds: "And lest your Highness should think that I have reported untrue things, I venture to offer your Highness at the same time a sponsor for my veracity" (20). The sponsor is Dr. Dryander, professor at the University of Marburg, whom Staden asked to read the book, "to revise it and where necessary to correct it" (21). The university professor lends credibility to an extraordinary tale of a voyage to an exotic land of cannibals and miracles. Staden wants his text to be sanctioned by the highest authorities.

The movie begins with a documentary and is followed by a personal account; Staden, on the other hand, begins his book with a personal narrative and then offers an ethnographical description of Tupinamba culture, from their dwellings to their most elaborate ritual, the cannibal feast. In his last chapter, he

gives the names of several Europeans whom he encountered in the New World, so that all his "facts" can be verified. Finally, he advises the skeptical reader:

If there is a young man among you, to whom this writing and these witnesses are still insufficient, then lest he should live in doubt, let him, with God's help, undertake the voyage himself. I have given him information enough; let him follow my tracks, for the world is closed to none whom God assists. (171).

Not only can one read Staden's account but also replicate it. In this lies the story of colonialism and the role that such accounts, however fantastic they may seem to us, played in opening not closing the doors of the New World to European expansionism.

Both Staden's text and the motion picture contain political sub-texts and reveal an ideological power to impose a culture's fiction upon the world. Staden returns to Europe with a literary object—himself—that he has empowered with special divine protection, fierce resistance to assimilation, knowledge of truth sanctioned by the highest authorities, and expertise on Tupinamba culture. Throughout his account, Staden places the Tupinamba on the very borders of humanity but himself at the center of power. Jean, on the other hand, cannot control how he is presented or perceived, except by the Tupinamba; hence his decision to die bravely, truly incorporated into Tupinamba life.

Politics and theater intersect in fascinating ways. At the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts, for example, theater advanced the interests of power: power was often expressed in theatrical terms in such spectacles as masques and progresses. Similarly, the military dictators in the 1960s and 70s in Brazil staged magnificent spectacles of nationalism—the Transamazon highway, the largest hydroelectric power plant in the world, an unneeded but costly nuclear program—to seduce the country to the ideology of the state. Jean's seduction may contain an allegory of the average Brazilian in 1973. In both *How Tasty Was My Frenchman* and Staden, one finds a conjunction of theater and power as the indigenous culture imposes its ideology on the Other through theater. In his representation of the New World, Staden, in his own way, displays power as he turns himself into a literary object and fashions his performance for European eyes. Staden seems very much aware that to impose one's fiction/theater is to express one's political power; and, as Greenblatt observes, "the more outrageous the fiction, the more impressive the manifestation of power."¹⁴

Notes

1. Aldo Scaglione, "A Note on Montaigne's 'Des Cannibales' and the Humanist Tradition," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, Vol. I (Berkeley: U of California P, 1976): 63.

2. Much of this literature shares a common structure as Michel de Certeau has described in relation to Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil* (1578):

In 1556 Jean de Léry is twenty-four years old. Published twenty years later, his *Histoire* casts the movement of departure that had gone from over here (in France), to over there (among the Tupis), into circular form. It transforms the voyage into a cycle. From over there it brings back a literary object, the Savage, that allows him to turn back to his point of departure. The story effects his return to himself through the mediation of the other. [Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia UP, 1988) 213.]

See also, Geraldo U. de Sousa, "The *Tempest*, Comedy and the Space of the Other" in *Acting Funny: Comic Theory and Practice in Shakespeare*, ed. Frances Teague (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1994).

3. Introduction to Michel de Certeau's *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1986): xiii. At the time of the discoveries, Europe was making its transition from the medieval to the Renaissance, but the view of the other was apparent, as Godzich points out even in chivalric romance:

The paradigmatic conception here is that of the quest in romances of chivalry, in which the adventurous knight leaves Arthur's court—the realm of the known—to encounter some form of otherness, a domain in which the courtly values of the Arthurian world do not prevail. The quest is brought to an end when this alien world is brought within the hegemonic sway of the Arthurian world: the other has been reduced to (more of) the same. The quest has shown that the other is amenable to being reduced to the status of the same. And, in those few instances where the errant knight—Lohengrin, for example—does find a form of otherness that he prefers to the realm of the same from which he came, this otherness is interpreted—by contemporary critics as much as by medieval writers—as the realm of the dead, for it is ideologically inconceivable that there should exist an otherness of the same ontological status as the same, without there being immediately mounted an effort at its appropriation (xiii).

For an early study of Europe's perception of the Other, see Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1964).

4. Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1984) 247. For other studies of the colonial experience, see Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London and New York: Methuen, 1986); Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988); Francis Barker, et al, eds., *Europe and Its Others, Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature* (Colchester: U of Essex, 1985); Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia UP, 1988); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991); James Axtell, *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 1992).

5. In "'This thing of darkness I acknowledge mine': *The Tempest* and the discourse of colonialism" [in Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, eds, *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in*

Cultural Materialism (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985) 48-71], Paul Brown cites Eden's translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades* (1555) "The Amerindians are 'Gentiles' who 'may well be likened to a smooth, bare table unpainted, or a white paper unwritten, upon the which you may at the first paint or write what you list, as you cannot upon tables already painted, unless you raze or blot out the first forms'" (56).

6. All quotations from Staden will be from the following translation: *Hans Staden The True History of His Captivity 1557*, trans. Malcolm Letts (London: George Routledge & Sons, Inc., 1928).

7. For an account of the early Portuguese and French settlements in Brazil, consult Leslie Bethell, ed., *Colonial Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987) 1-39. Bethell writes: "Growing religious strife in France had by 1550 produced groups (as later in England) who saw the New World as the perfect location for a new commonwealth, based on 'right' religion and free from the corrupt entanglements of European society" (28). "Villegagnon and company set off in 1555 on three ships carrying some 600 persons for *la France Antarctique*" in order to found a colony on the island of Seripe in the bay of Guanabara, Rio de Janeiro (28). Theological disputes about the nature of the Eucharist led to the dissolution of the colony: "for Léry and his co-religionists, the Catholics' adherence to transubstantiation in the midst of a society of savage cannibals was too much to swallow. Angered by the disruptive activities of the Calvinists whose resistance he was unable to break, Villegagnon suddenly reverted to an orthodox Catholicism, abandoned the colony and sailed back to France in 1559, where he finished his days as a member of the ultra-Catholic party of the Guises" (28-29). See Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: U of California P, 1990).

8. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1980). See also Howard Felperin, *Shakespearean Representation: Mimesis and Modernity in Elizabethan Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977).

9. Quotations from Shakespeare are from *The Complete Works*, ed. Alfred Harbage (New York: Viking Press, 1969).

10. From early colonial days, Brazilian natives have provided the Europeans with spectacle and entertainment. Famous among these are the three natives Montaigne interviewed at Rouen. Through the eyes of these natives, Montaigne offers a commentary on his own culture, especially through his summary of the blatant oddities of French society that the Indians remarked upon: (1) strong, well-armed, bearded men taking orders from a child king; and (2) great injustice and inequality among the haves and have-nots. Perhaps the most elaborate theatrical spectacle that the Indians provided in Europe was the entertainment staged for Henri II's entry into Rouen in 1550, in which a Brazilian landscape was created and a battle between the Tupinamba and the Tabagerres was staged. See Margaret M. McGowan, "Form and Themes in Henri II's Entry into Rouen," *Renaissance Drama*, NS I(1968):199-251; *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550: A Facsimile with an Introduction by Margaret M. McGowan* (New York and Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970); Ferdinand Denis, *Une Fête Brésilienne Célébrée à Rouen en 1550* (Paris: J. Techener, Libraire, 1850; rpt. Upper Saddle River: The Gregg Press, 1968). Steven Mullaney discusses this entertainment in *The Place of the Stage: License, Play and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988).

11. John H. Parry and Robert G. Keith, eds., *New Iberian World. Vol. V. Coastlines, Rivers, and Forests* (New York: Time Books, 1984): 13-14.

12. "The Tupinamba," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, ed. Julian H. Steward, Vol. 3 "The Tropical Forest Tribes" (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1963):120. See also Alfred Métraux, *A Religião dos Tupinambás*, *Brasíliana* Volume 267, trans. Estêvão Pinto (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1979), especially Chapter XI, "A Antropofagia Ritual dos Tupinambás," pp. 114-147; Florestan Fernandes, *Organização Social dos Tupinambás*, 2nd. ed. (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1963); Yves d'Evreux, *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil, Fait Durant les Années*

1613 et 1614 (Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1864), or *Viagem ao Norte do Brasil, feita nos anos de 1613 e 1614*, trans. César Augusto Marques (Maranhão, 1874); Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil em 1587*, ed. Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagem, 3rd ed. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938); Pero de Magalhães Gandavo, *História da Província de Santa Cruz* (Lisbon: Tip. Antônio Gonçalves, 1576); rpt. Assis Cintra, ed. (São Paulo: Comp. Melhoramentos, 1922); Pero Lopez de Souza, *Diário da Navegação de Pero Lopes de Souza (1530-1532)*, ed. Paulo Prado (Rio de Janeiro: Tipografia Leuzinger, 1927); Carlos Malheiro Dias, *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil*, 3 Vols. (Porto, Portugal: Litografia Nacional, 1921-24); Jean Mocquet, *Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes Orientales et Occidentales* (Paris: Imprimé aux Frais du Gouvernement, 1830): II:54-126; Villegagnon, "Letter" from la France Antarctique, dated 31 March 1557, in Jean de Léry, *Viagem à Terra do Brasil*, trans. Sérgio Milliet (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 1961): 36-39. Jean de Léry's work has recently been translated into English: *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: U of California P, 1990). A fascinating early account of the encounter between Europeans and the Tupinamba is the Letter of Pedro Vaz de Caminha to King Manuel of Portugal, May 1, 1500 in *The Voyage of Pedro Alvarez Cabral to Brazil and India, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society*, Second Series No. 81 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1938): 5-40.

13. Hans Staden, *The True History of His Captivity (1557)*, trans. Malcolm Letts (New York and London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1928). The film also makes use of 16th- and 17th-century travel literature on the natives of Brazil.

14. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1980) 13.

Note on the Woodcuts

The "Tupinamba Cerimonial Dance" is from Jean de Léry, *Navigatio in Brasiliam Americae*, in Theodor de Bry, *Americae Tertia Pars* (Frankfurt, 1592), reproduced in *Voyages of Pedro Alvarez Cabral to Brazil and India*, trans. William Brooks Greenlee (London: Hakluyt Society, 1937). The other woodcuts are from the original Marburg edition of 1557, reproduced in Hans Staden, *The True History of His Captivity* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1928).



Fig. 1. Tupinamba Cerimonial Dance (reproduced in *Voyages of Cabral*)



Fig. 2. Two Tupinamba Caciques, one with the sacrificial club. (Staden 127)

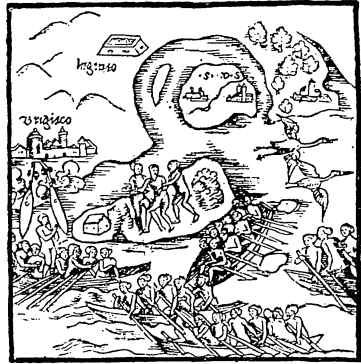


Fig. 3. Staden captured Santo Amaro Island (Staden 63)



Fig. 4. Staden with head dress and rattles beating time while the women dance. (Staden 73)



Fig. 5. Staden praying. (Staden 83)



Fig. 6. Staden with legs tied together. (Staden 80)



Figs. 7 and 8. The cannibal feast. (Staden 163)