

THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

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THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

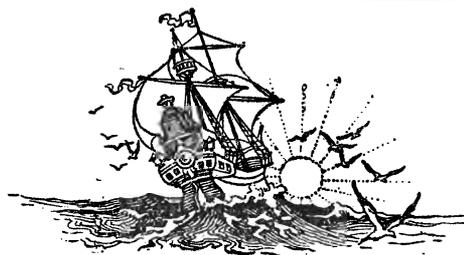
EDITED BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS  
AND EILEEN POWER

HANS STADEN

THE TRUE HISTORY  
OF HIS CAPTIVITY

1557

*Translated and edited by Malcolm Letts  
with an Introduction and Notes*



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## PREFACE

HANS STADEN'S book is not altogether unknown to English readers, for it was translated and issued by the Hakluyt Society to its members in 1874, with an Introduction and notes by Sir Richard Burton. It has long seemed to me that Hans Staden deserves a wider public, and I have therefore made a new translation and have incorporated the quaint and interesting woodcuts which were printed in the first edition, and which must have carried wonder and terror into many a German home in the 16th century. Sir Richard Burton was British Consul at Santos for some years, and knew the country of Hans Staden's captivity very intimately, and by the courtesy of the Council of the Hakluyt Society I have been enabled, as occasion arose, to make use of certain of his notes. In every case where I have done so I have added the initials R.B.

The first translator, Mr. A. Tootal, worked from the Frankfurt edition of 1557, which was a reprint without the original woodcuts. The true first edition was issued at Marburg on Shrove Tuesday, 1557, by Andres Kolben at the sign of the Clover Leaf, and this is the edition from which my translation has been made. Apart from the woodcuts the differences are not many, but a point has been cleared up here and there, and a whole paragraph has been restored in Chapter XXXIII of Part II.

I desire to express my thanks to the Council of the Hakluyt Society for the permission indicated above; to the Royal Geographical Society, and particularly to its Librarian, Mr. Ed. Heawood, for advice and

## P R E F A C E

assistance; to Professor R. Hápke of Marburg University for information concerning Dr. Dryander, the learned Marburg professor who first introduced Hans Staden to the world; to the publishers for the willingness with which they acceded to my request for the reproduction of all the woodcuts; and to my wife for much help in checking and proof-reading.

Staden's spelling of proper names is most erratic. I have not attempted to correct him except in the case of well-known places such as Dieppe, Lisbon, Antwerp, etc. It seemed useless to print Depen, Lissebona, Antdorff, or Lunden, but where necessary I have added the modern names in brackets after Staden's rendering, or in the notes. I have no knowledge of the Tupi language and have left the Tupi words as Staden printed them, but here again there is no consistency. Kawi, a drink, has three different spellings, and the Tupinambá are sometimes called Tuppim Imba and sometimes Tuppim Inba.

The first edition of the book is very scarce. I have worked on a beautiful copy in the Grenville Library at the British Museum.

MALCOLM LETTS.

Easter, 1928.

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## DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE WOODCUTS

THE woodcuts which adorn the first edition of the book and which are here reproduced are very remarkable, even if they are not quite up to the standard of mid-sixteenth-century work in general. They must have been executed under Hans Staden's personal supervision, and he figures in nearly all of them. He is easily recognized by his beard, and in many of them his hands are raised in prayer. The artist seems to have placed his initials, D.H., on the ship's flag in the illustration on p. 33, but it has not been possible to identify him. The lower of the two woodcuts on p. 163 has the initials H.S., but these are probably inserted to identify Hans Staden who stands immediately below them. Counting the ornaments on pp. 18 and 125, but excluding the map, there are fifty-six woodcuts, namely thirty-three in Part I. and twenty-three in Part II. Of these three are duplicated. The woodcuts appear only in the Marburg edition of 1557. The reprint at Frankfurt-a.-M. in that year has a number of fanciful woodcuts, drawn apparently from a book on Turkey or the Near East. There are pictures of elephants and camels, veiled ladies and walled cities, not one of which has any bearing on Hans Staden and his adventures. The Marburg woodcuts, on the other hand, do really illustrate the story. Many of them are very much alive and help us to see the country and the people, and to realize something of the hardships which the traveller had to endure during his captivity.

*Page 31.* Hans Staden's map is interesting as an early attempt at cartography, but not very helpful. The title reads: "The country with the harbours which in part I saw in America. Also of the

## DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE WOODCUTS

inhabitants, how they are called, and the manner in which their countries adjoin each other. This I have contrived according to the best of my ability for the better understanding of each judicious reader." There is an interesting note at the right-hand corner of the map by the tail of the sword-fish: "Here Amazons are said to dwell, as I was told by the savages." The legend was well established by the sixteenth century. Another German, Ulrich Schmidel (1534-54), went off in search of the Amazons, and Purchas adds a characteristic note: "The Amazons are still further off. I doubt beyond the region of Truth." For the stories of the Amazons in S. America see G. Friederici, *Die Amazonen Amerikas*, Leipzig, 1910; Southey, *History of Brazil*, 1810, I, p. 604; and generally *Archiv für Anthropologie*, V (1872), pp. 220-225.

Page 33, 35. Two drawings of ships.

Page 36. Shows Cape de Gell (Arzilla) and the capture of the boat.

Page 38. The ship surrounded by fish as described on p. 37.

Page 41. An interesting view of Garasu with some business-like cannon inside the enclosure. Below is the food-party on its way to Itamaraccá, while the attackers are throwing down trees across the channel.

Page 42. The harbour and settlement of Buttugaris, and the fight with the French ship.

Page 44. See woodcut on p. 35.

Page 46. The haven of Supraway (Superaqui).

Page 49. The island and harbour of S. Catharina with the settlement of Acutia and the cross described on p. 50.

Page 56. The shipwreck, with Hans Staden reaching shore on a kind of raft. This woodcut (compare with that at p. 65) gives an excellent idea of the country described in the book. On the mainland is Brikioka (Bertioga), and adjoining, in Santos harbour, are the islands of San Vincente and Santo Amaro. To the right is the harbour of Itanhaen, where the shipwrecked sailors were cared for.

Page 63. Hans is captured on the island of Santo Amaro. An Ingenio (p. 62) is shown on the mainland. Below is Hans praying in the boat.

Page 65. The attempted recapture. Hans is seen in a boat holding a gun. At the extreme corner of the island of Santo Amaro is the bulwark in which Hans Staden was stationed. The legend reads: "The bulwark in which I, H.S., was." This woodcut should be compared with the sketch map at p. 58.

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Page 68. Hans beseeching God to drive away the storm.

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## DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE WOODCUTS

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Page 73. Hans with head-dress and rattles beating time while the women dance.

Page 80. Hans with his legs tied together. By him is the king's son wearing the Enduap (p. 144).

Page 82. The attack on the settlement.

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Page 87. Hans preparing to lay hands on the sick. The victims of the pestilence are being buried in holes by the huts.

Page 96. Hans in the boat speaking with the crew of the Portuguese ship.

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Page 122. The homeward voyage.

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Page 135. Fishing.

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Page 144. The ornament of ostrich plumes, called Enduap.

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## DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE WOODCUTS

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*Page* 155. This is identical with the woodcut on p. 72.  
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*Page* 160. The victim drinking with his captors.  
*Page* 161. The victim tied with the rope Mussurana (p. 156).  
*Pages* 162, 163. These woodcuts need no comment.  
*Page* 164. A wart-hog.  
*Page* 165. An opossum.

# Hans Staden

## The True History

### INTRODUCTION

VERY little is known about Hans Staden except the story of his voyages and captivity among the Tupi Indians of Brazil. He was born at Homberg in Hesse, where his parents had settled, and later when he returned from the New World he was living at Wolfhagen, not far from Cassel. Of his youth nothing is reported. He appears to have had some kind of education, after which he was trained as a gunner, and when still a young man, with the call of the New World upon him, he sailed early in 1547 from Holland for Lisbon in the hope of finding employment in one of the Portuguese ships sailing for America. Lisbon at that time had a German colony of its own, for the Welsers and Fuggers had their factors there, and Germans were freely recruited through the great commercial factory at Antwerp to serve as gunners in the Portuguese ships. Staden found a German inn at Lisbon where he lodged and where he must have encountered many of his countrymen, but when he arrived the King's ships had left. His host, however, procured him employment in a vessel which was about to depart, carrying a cargo of convicts to Brazil, and some time in June 1547 he set sail. The captain had been ordered to seize any ships which were poaching on the Portuguese preserves off the African coast, and to attack French interlopers in Brazil, and after taking a prize and

## HANS STADEN

encountering heavy weather they reached Pernambuco on January 28, 1548. Staden's first five chapters describe his voyage out, his adventures in the neighbourhood of Pernambuco, and his return to Europe. The rest of his book is taken up with the account of his second voyage, his captivity among the savages, and his final escape.

Brazil had been discovered in 1500 by Vincent Pinzon, who landed on the coast near Cape St. Augustin in the State of Pernambuco and took possession in the name of the Spanish crown. Subsequently it appeared that the country was within the Portuguese limits of demarcation agreed to by the Treaty of Tordesillas, and the Portuguese lost no time in exploring the new territory. Preoccupied, however, with maintaining themselves in India and the Far East, they did little for thirty years towards establishing themselves in Brazil. A few ships traded there with the natives, or set down criminals, but it was not until 1531 that anything like a serious effort was made at colonization. Hereditary Captaincies were then set up at several points along the coast, and by 1549 the whole colony was governed direct from Bahia. Duarte Coelho Pereira had been established at Pernambuco with his wife and children and kinsmen, and for some years peace and prosperity attended their efforts, but in 1548 war broke out with the natives, and when Hans Staden arrived he found himself in the thick of the fighting. The natives had besieged the Portuguese settlement of Garasu. Coelho could not spare any men, as he was expecting to be attacked himself, but he detailed the new-comers to assist the beleaguered settlers, and Hans Staden went off with forty men in a boat to their relief. He gives an interesting account of the methods adopted by the garrison, which consisted of some ninety men, to withstand a large besieging force estimated, with

## INTRODUCTION

considerable exaggeration, at eight thousand men, and after a fruitless attempt by the attackers to cut off the food supplies and smoke out a food party with the fumes of burning pepper, the natives withdrew, and terms were arranged between them and the Portuguese. Hans Staden then sailed again for Portugal, where he arrived in October 1548 after an absence of sixteen months. There seems little doubt that by this time he had acquired a good working knowledge of Portuguese.

When Hans Staden returned to Europe men's minds were full of the conquest of Peru and aflame with the promise of untold wealth. An expedition was setting out from Seville for Rio de la Plata under Don Diego de Senabria, and Staden with a host of other adventurers joined the ships. The fleet, which consisted of three ships, set sail at Easter 1549, but the expedition was unfortunate from the first. The vessels encountered severe weather and were separated off the coast of Guinea, and the boat which carried Staden was delayed by contrary winds for four months. Finally, when they had been six months at sea, land was sighted, and after narrowly escaping destruction off the rocky coast of Paranagua, the ship found refuge in a harbour where it was hailed by a boat full of natives, in which were two Portuguese settlers who gave the captain his bearings. It had been agreed that if the ships were separated during the voyage they should meet at the island of Santa Catharina, where Senabria had been instructed to found a colony in close proximity to the Portuguese settlement at San Vincente, and when the wind was favourable the captain sailed southwards in search of it. The wind changed, however, and he was forced to seek shelter in another harbour which he could not identify, but which turned out eventually to be the very haven he was seeking. Here, after three weeks, he was joined

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by the second ship, but the third vessel was never heard of again. The crews now began to collect provisions for their voyage to Rio de la Plata, but one day a terrible calamity befell them, for the larger ship was lost in the harbour, and they were left with one ship only which was too small to attempt the voyage. For two years the survivors were forced to remain, cut off from the outside world, and supplied with food by the natives for so long only as they had hooks and knives to give them. After the supplies had given out they subsisted as best they could upon lizards, field-rats, and shell-fish, and whatever else they could catch. Finally the crews separated into two parties, one party setting off by land for Asuncion, where there was a Spanish colony, a journey which they could not expect to accomplish in less than six months, while certain of the others sailed with the ship to the Portuguese colony at San Vincente to see if a larger vessel could be freighted to complete the voyage to Rio de la Plata. Of the land party some survivors reached their destination after many hardships and dangers, but Hans Staden and his companions in the ship encountered fog and storms, and were finally shipwrecked and cast away on a desolate coast which no one could identify. Luckily a Frenchman who was running to and fro to warm himself espied some huts behind the trees. This turned out to be a Portuguese settlement, and the castaways were relieved to find that they were only two leagues from San Vincente. A ship was sent to fetch those who had remained behind, and when the men had recovered from their hardships they set to work to maintain themselves as best they could.

San Vincente, where they found themselves, was situated on an island of that name formed by an inland tidal channel, sometimes called the Santos river, on which the city and seaport of Santos now stands.

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It was the first Portuguese colony in Brazil, and at that time, and until 1710, the principal harbour of the Captaincy. To the east of San Vincente was another island called Santo Amaro, and on the mainland and protecting one of the channels, was a fort known as Brikioka (Bertioga), which was manned by the offspring of a Portuguese exile named De Praga, who lived there with a large tribe of his children. The Portuguese were friendly with the Tupinikin, a tribe inhabiting the neighbouring country, but were in deadly enmity with the Tupinambá to the north, from whom they were in constant danger of attack. It had been decided to erect another fort on the island of Santo Amaro opposite Bertioga, but this had been left unfinished since no one could be found to serve there. The Portuguese, learning that Hans Staden was a gunner, offered him a good salary and a promise of royal favour if he would take charge of the place, which he agreed to do for four months, by which time Thomé de Souza, the first governor-general of Brazil, was expected to arrive. Hans Staden took possession and with three companions guarded the fort safely until de Souza landed. He was then persuaded to continue his employment for two years more, after which he was to be sent home on the first ship returning to Europe. One day, while he was out hunting, he was surrounded and captured by the hostile Tupinambá, and it is with this episode and its consequences that the main portion of his book is concerned.

It is a moving and exciting story. The Tupinambá regarded the Portuguese as their bitterest enemies, fit only when caught to be cooked and eaten. They complained that the Portuguese, when they arrived to trade, had induced the natives to enter their ships and had then seized and enslaved them, or had sold them to their enemies. Hans Staden was carried

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off to their settlement at Ubatuba, to the south of San Vincente, his eyebrows were shaved off with a piece of glass, and soon his beard disappeared as well, and it was obvious that he was to be killed and eaten. He seems during his two years of enforced idleness in the harbour of Santa Catharina to have learnt the Tupi language, and he protested indignantly that he was not a Portuguese at all, but a German, and an ally of the French who were the friends of his captors. The savages replied with some point that he had been taken from a Portuguese settlement, and, as one of the chiefs remarked afterwards, the story was an old one, for he himself had caught and eaten five Portuguese, all of whom had protested that they were Frenchmen and yet they lied. One faint hope remained. There was a French trader in the neighbourhood who was brought in to determine the prisoner's nationality. He addressed Hans Staden in French, which the latter did not understand, and forthwith, without further enquiry or delay, abandoned the wretched man to his fate, telling the savages that he was indeed a Portuguese, their enemy and his, and that the sooner he was eaten the better. We next see the prisoner hopping with his legs tied together in and out of the huts, while his tormentors felt his flesh and quarrelled as to who had the best right to the fattest bits. Hans Staden sang a hymn and prepared for death, but was saved for the moment by a timely attack of tooth-ache which prevented him from eating, and he grew thin.

It was at this stage that some doubts as to his nationality began to dawn upon his captors. The colour of his beard (which was red) had already attracted remark, since the Portuguese had mostly black beards, and the savages could not run the risk of eating a Frenchman or even an ally of the French. Then, by a lucky chance, one of his masters fell sick

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while he was away on an expedition, and sickness seized the whole of his party. There had already been some talk about the man in the moon looking down angrily upon the savages' huts, and now the sick chief sent a messenger to ask the prisoner to tell his God to make him well again. No one can blame Hans Staden for making the most of his opportunities, and he played his cards with caution and skill. He replied that his God was indeed wrath with the chief and his people because they had called him a Portuguese and had threatened to eat him. Nevertheless, he went about laying his hands on the sick, and although his ministrations were not wholly successful, for many of the sufferers died, yet the chief recovered, and Hans Staden's stock began to rise. They told him their dreams. One chief, who on an earlier occasion had partaken so freely of roasted Portuguese that his digestion was permanently impaired, was much perturbed at his terrible nightmares and vowed that he would never touch Portuguese flesh again. Even Hans Staden's great enemy, a chief named Alkindar, on promising to mend his ways, was cured of eye-ache. Then the French trader returned collecting feathers and pepper, and he so far repented of his previous conduct as to tell the savages that Hans was indeed an ally of his people and that they had better let him go. But the Tupinambá were not going to part with their prophet, and the Frenchman departed alone.

It is doubtful if Hans Staden was ever again in danger of death, but he was to witness a good deal of cannibalism. The reader can follow the gruesome details for himself, but the rites and ceremonies observed in connection with the slaying and eating are curious and interesting. The victim was painted and adorned with feathers and his eyebrows were shaved. For a time at least he was well treated. He

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received a hut and furniture and was provided with a wife. Meanwhile his captors visited him frequently and examined him to see which of his limbs and joints they proposed to claim. His children were reared and might or might not suffer the same fate as the father. When all was ready invitations were sent out to the neighbouring tribes to partake of the feast. The club with which the victim was to be dispatched was adorned with tassels and smeared with pounded egg-shells and then religiously secluded. The executioner painted himself grey with ashes and adorned his body with feathers, and after he had dispatched the prisoner (who was expected to show complete indifference to his fate), blood was drawn from the slayer's arm, and he was forced to retire to his hut for a time and lie in his hammock, amusing himself with a miniature bow and arrow to keep his eye in, this practice of seclusion and purification being intended doubtless to protect him from the angry ghosts of his victim. These rites and ceremonies, having been described by an eye-witness, are extremely valuable. Unfortunately the writer has added a wealth of detail which is merely sickening. He was determined that not a fraction of the horrors he had escaped should be lost on his readers.

Although Hans Staden was to some extent now an honoured guest among the Tupinambá, he was not to regain his liberty for a considerable period. A bitter disappointment awaited him, for a French ship which arrived to trade for pepper, monkeys and parrots refused to take him away for fear of offending the savages. The crew did not even give him a shirt to cover his nakedness. In his desperation Hans Staden made his one dash for liberty. He fled from his keepers and swam out to the boat, but the Frenchmen refused to take him in, and he was forced to swim back to the shore. Later he expressed the

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hope that God would forgive these men, but it is clear that he could not bring himself to do so, and on learning that the ship must have foundered on the return voyage he remarks only that such cruelty and want of pity could not go unpunished. When the next French ship arrived, however, he found himself among friends. By means of a clever ruse he contrived to be taken on board, and finally, amidst the lamentations of his captors, in whose hands he had remained for nearly a year, he commenced his homeward voyage. His perils were not yet over, for he was severely wounded in a skirmish with a Portuguese vessel in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro, but finally on February 20, 1555, he landed safely at Honfleur. From Honfleur he travelled to Dieppe, returning to Germany by way of London and Antwerp. Of his subsequent life nothing of importance is known, but he must have settled down almost at once to write his history.

The book appeared at Marburg early in 1557, a small quarto volume adorned with woodcuts which must have been executed under the author's personal supervision. It was one of the earliest accounts of the New World and Brazil to appear in German, and its success seems to have been immediate. A second Marburg edition appeared in a few months, and two further editions were printed at Frankfurt, both dated 1557. It was frequently reprinted, and was translated into Latin, French and Dutch. A Portuguese version appeared in 1892, and there is no indication even now of any falling off in the general interest concerning Hans Staden and his adventures. How the book came to be written is by no means clear. It has been suggested that Staden was not sufficiently educated to write it himself, and that he must have compiled it under the direction of Dr. Dryander, the Marburg professor, who wrote the long-winded and

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tedious introduction, but I do not believe it. Dryander certainly looked through the book, and probably corrected it here and there, but one has only to compare the introduction with the narrative to realize that if the learned Doctor's heavy hand had rested on Hans Staden's work its whole character would have been changed. Moreover, Hans Staden was in no sense a dullard. He learnt Portuguese and probably Spanish. He picked up the Tupi language and spoke it apparently with considerable fluency, and I see no reason why he could not have described his adventures in the very simple language which is one of the charms of his book. It would be difficult to see how a work of this description could be better arranged. In the first place we have a straightforward narrative of the author's personal adventures and misfortunes, written briefly and without any straining after effect. In the second part we have a treatise on the customs of the Tupinambá, their polity, trade, religion, manufactures and warlike undertakings, and of the flora and fauna of the country. This survey is the result of sustained and penetrating observation, and subsequent accounts have added little to the information given in it. Particularly interesting are the chapters devoted to the marriage ceremonies, government and laws, the personal adornment and religious observances of the people. Their gods were hollow gourds or pumpkins filled with stones, which when rattled were used for purposes of divination. In Chapter XXII, Part II there is a striking account of the blessing or bewitching of these rattles by the wise men who, in return for presents, imprisoned spirits in them with power to predict future events. The prisoner saw through the imposture at once, but to a simple unsuspecting audience it must have been a solemn and mysterious ceremony. Chapter XXIII, Part II contains an interesting description of the methods adopted

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to keep up the supply of cunning women, and in Chapter XV, Part II there is an early reference to the tradition of the visit of St. Thomas the Apostle to America. Hans Staden does not tell the whole story, but when he enquired why the men had their heads shaved like monks, he was told of a mysterious personage who had visited them in times past, working miracles among the people and teaching them many strange things including the use of the tonsure. An unexpected mention occurs in Chapter XXXIII, Part I, of the weeping welcome concerning which there is much in the accounts of early travellers, and which has attracted a good deal of attention in modern times (see *Der Tränengruss der Indianer*, by G. Friederici, Leipzig, 1907). The book in fact is full of odds and ends of information which give it a special value, quite apart from the story of the author's remarkable experiences and escapes.

Throughout his narrative Hans Staden shows himself as a curious mixture of simplicity and shrewdness. He was a very pious Lutheran and was ready to see the hand of God stretched out for his special safety in every disturbance of nature. The stories of the angry moon in Part I, Chapter XXX: of the miraculous cures (Chapter XXXIV): of the Cross in Chapter XLVI: of the thunderstorm in Chapter XLVII, are all regarded as the inevitable and immediate response to his prayers. He seemed to take the view that Hans Staden's perilous situation had been at last reported in the proper quarter and was now being satisfactorily dealt with. Up to a certain point the careful reader is conscious of an undercurrent of pained surprise, as if the unfortunate victim of fate was asking himself how in a world now purged of heresies such things could be allowed to happen to any pious Lutheran, and that a good deal was due to him if his contract with his Maker was to be honourably fulfilled. Once

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he was conscious that God was on his side he was a little inclined to be presumptuous and self-centred. He was convinced, when asked to heal the sick, that his prayers would be answered, but he was seriously perturbed how to act, since he could not decide whether it would be more to his interest to let the sufferers die or live. We could wish that one or two episodes, particularly the episode in Chapter XXXIX, where a slave who had lied about him was killed and eaten, had been related in a different spirit, but it was part of the author's belief that all who wronged him should suffer both in this world and the next, and we must be careful not to judge him unfairly. It is certain that he had to face trials and dangers which would have tried the courage of many braver and more imaginative men. He was not a coward, and he really seems to have been more terrified of being eaten than of being killed. In any case we must remember that he willingly undertook the defence of the fort at Santo Amaro, which no Portuguese gunner would face, that he acquitted himself with distinction in action, and that when his captors had taken some Christian prisoners he remained by them to comfort and help them to meet their end, at a time when, apparently, he could have escaped quite easily.

The truth of Hans Staden's story does not seem ever to have been seriously questioned, although he obviously expected to be classed among the lying travellers. He is careful in his concluding address to the reader—a most convincing document—to mention the names of all Europeans with whom he came into contact, so that sceptics could check his statements. The learned Dryander, his sponsor, was a well-known man in his day, and he and the Landgrave of Hesse seem to have gone thoroughly into the matter, and to have cross-examined the traveller again and again without shaking him.

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Moreover, the sources from which even a practised writer could have compiled such a book were very few. Many of Hans Staden's statements are confirmed, in some cases strikingly confirmed, by the French missionary, Jean de Léry, who was actually in Brazil while Hans Staden was writing his book. De Léry accompanied the Huguenot expedition sent out by Coligny. He remained from 1556 to 1558 among the natives and had special opportunities for studying the Tupinambá, whose habits, appearance and language are fully described in his *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, dite Amerique*, published in 1578. It has been stated again and again by Hans Staden's German editors that de Léry, when he met with Staden's book, was so impressed by it that he remarked that he and the German traveller might have compared notes before putting pen to paper. I have searched for the authority for this statement, but I cannot find it. All I can say is that it is hallowed by continued repetition. Nor is it of much importance. The fact is that in every page of his book Hans Staden stands out as his own witness for truth. That he saw what he tells us he saw, and suffered the vicissitudes which he describes, cannot, I think, be doubted by anyone who has read his narrative with attention.

It is interesting to know that H. J. Winckelmann, who published his work *Der Americanischen Neuen Welt Beschreibung* in 1664, while engaged among the archives at Cassel, discovered thirty-four of the original wood blocks used by Hans Staden and used them again, although he does not seem to have known of the existence of the various editions of Staden's book which were issued in 1557. Winckelmann also printed a portrait of the traveller, which presents him as a long-bearded, solemn-looking elderly man clasping a book in his left hand, but I do not reproduce it,

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since a portrait produced for the first time a century after the sitter lived is open to a good deal of suspicion. It can be found at p. 3 of the facsimile reprint of Staden's book issued by the Frankfurter Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, published at Frankfurt-a.-M. in 1927.

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THE full title of Hans Staden's book is as follows:

WARHAFTIG / HISTORIA UND BESCHREIBUNG EYNER  
LANDT- / SCHAFFT DER WILDEN NACKETEN GRIMMIGEN  
MENSCHFRESSEN / LEUTHEN IN DER NEUENWELT  
AMERICA GELEGEN VOR UND NACH / CHRISTI GEBURT  
IM LAND ZU HESSEN UNBEKANT BISZ UFF DISEN /  
NECHST VERGANGENE JAR DA SIE HANS STADEN VON  
HOM- / BERG AUSZ HESSEN DURCH SEIN EYGNE  
ERFARUNG ERKANT / UND YETZO DURCH DEN TRUCK  
AN TAG GIBT.

DEDICIRT DEM DURCHLEUCHTIGEN HOCHGEBORNEN  
HERRN / H. PHILIPSEN LANDTGRAFF ZU HESSEN /  
GRAFF ZU CATZEN- / ELNBOGEN DIETZ ZIEGENHAIN  
UND NIDDA SEINEM G. H.

MIT EYNER VORREDE D. JOH. DRYANDRI GENANT  
EYCHMAN / ORDINARIII PROFESSORIS MEDICI ZU MAR-  
PURGK.

INHALT DES BÜCHLINS VOLGET NACH DEN VORREDEN  
GETRUCKT ZU MARPURG IM JAR M.D.LVII.

[Colophon] ZU MARPURG IM KLEEBLATT BEI ANDRES  
KOLBEN UFF FASTNACHT 1557.

There were three reprints in 1557. For these and the subsequent history of the book see Viktor Hantzsch, *Deutsche Reisende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (in *Leipziger Studien aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte*, Bd. I), Leipzig, 1895, pp. 57-59; *Hans Staden. Warhaftige Historia* (Faksimile-Wiedergabe nach der Erstausgabe, mit einer Begleitschrift von

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Richard N. Wegner), Frankfurt-a.-M., 1927, pp. 19-24. This fascimile was published by the Frankfurter Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte. A short bibliography is appended to the Hakluyt Society's translation issued in 1874. There is an excellent reprint of the Frankfurt edition of 1557 in vol. xlvii of the Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 1859, edited by Dr. Karl Klüpfel. Of the early translations we may note a Flemish version printed at Antwerp in 1558. There seems to have been a French translation in 1559, but no copy appears to have survived. Adam Lonicer turned it into Latin for De Bry's collection of voyages in 1593. A Dutch translation appeared in 1563 at Amsterdam which has been frequently reprinted. A new French version was printed in Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir a l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1837, vol. 3. The Hakluyt Society, as we have seen, printed an English translation of the work in 1874 by Albert Tootal, with introduction and notes by Sir Richard F. Burton. A Portuguese translation appeared in 1892 at Rio de Janeiro.

Hans Staden has received a good deal of study in Germany in recent years. The following works may be noted: Karl Klüpfel's note at the end of the reprint by the Stuttgart Litt. Verein in 1859; Hantzsch, *Deutsche Reisende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 57; Julius Pistor, *Hans Staden von Homberg und sein Reisebuch* (Festschrift der Deutschen Anthropologischen Gesellschaft zur 26. allgemeinen Versammlung zu Cassel), Cassel, 1895, pp. 1-18; Klaudius Bode, *Die Tupistämme und ihre Sprache in der Capitania S. Vincente (São Paulo)* (published in *Korrespondenzblatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, Band 69, Nos. 5/8, pp. 51-58), Brunswick, 1918. Dr.

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Richard N. Wegner's *Begleitschrift* to the facsimile reprint issued at Frankfurt-a.-M. in 1927, referred to above, brings together all that is known about Hans Staden and his book, and contains an interesting survey of the earlier and later literature of discovery. Southey in his *History of Brazil*, London, 1810, devotes a whole chapter (ch. vii) to Hans Staden. There is an interesting notice of Staden in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 35.

It seems to have escaped the notice of Hans Staden's editors that his book was well known to Purchas. In the volume (reprint, vol. xvii, p. 56) containing the extracts translated from another German traveller in Brazil of about the same period, Ulrich Schmidel, whom Purchas elects for the most part to call Huldrike Schnirdel, the editor has added the following note: "I had thought here to have added the Voyages of Johannes Stadius (another German which served the Portugals in Brasill about Schmidel's later time) published in Theodore de Bry; and had the same by me translated. But contayning little light for the Countrie and People, and relating in manner onely his owne Tragedies, in his taking by the Savages, and often perils of being eaten by them, as some of his friends were before his face, with other like Savage arguments wherewith wee have glutted you alreadie: I being alreadie too voluminous, have omitted the same and hasten to other Relations."

While taking exception to Purchas's views concerning the general interest and value of Hans Staden's travels, we must indeed regret the loss of a 17th-century version of the book, rendered, we may be sure, with all the raciness and style which characterizes every page of "Purchas, His Pilgrimes." To be able to describe the roasting and eating of human beings as a "Savage argument" is a luxury denied to the translator of today.

## HANS STADEN

THE TRUE HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF A COUNTRY OF SAVAGES, A NAKED AND TERRIBLE PEOPLE, EATERS OF MEN'S FLESH, WHO DWELL IN THE NEW WORLD CALLED AMERICA, BEING WHOLLY UNKNOWN IN HESSE BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER CHRIST'S BIRTH UNTIL TWO YEARS AGO, WHEN HANS STADEN OF HOMBERG IN HESSE TOOK PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THEM AND NOW PRESENTS HIS STORY IN PRINT.

DEDICATED TO THE SERENE AND HIGHBORN LORD, LORD PHILIP LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, COUNT OF CATZENELNBOKEN, DIETZ, ZIEGENHAIN AND NIDDA, WITH A PREFACE BY D. JOH. DRYANDER, CALLED EYCHMAN, PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE AT MARBURG.



## HANS STADEN'S INTRODUCTION

To the Serene and Highborn Prince and Lord, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Catzenelnbogen, Dietz, Ziegenhain and Nidda etc., my gracious Prince and Master.<sup>1</sup>

Mercy and peace in Christ Jesus our Saviour. Most gracious Prince and Lord. The holy King and Prophet David speaks in the hundred and seventh Psalm:

They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters:

These see the works of the Lord and his wonders in the deep.

For he commandeth and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof.

They mount up to the heaven, they go down again to the depths: their soul is melted because of trouble.

They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wit's end.

Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses.

He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still.

Then are they glad because they be quiet; so he bringeth them unto their desired haven.

Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!

Let them exalt him also in the congregation of the people, and praise him in the assembly of the elders.

So do I thank the Almighty Creator of the Heavens, the Earth and the Seas, his Son Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, who showed mercy and pity to me among

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the savage peoples of Brazil called Tupin Imba, eaters of men's flesh, who took me captive and whose prisoner I was for nine months amidst many dangers, and who delivered me in safety through their Holy Trinity by means wholly unlooked for and most wonderful. I thank God also that now, after so much misery and danger, I am once again after many years in these dominions, my beloved home, where I hasten dutifully to give an account of my travels and voyages, which I have described as briefly as may be. I trust that your Highness may be pleased to have read aloud at your leisure the story of my adventures by land and sea, if only on account of God's wonderful mercies vouchsafed to me in my distress. 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. To God alone and all in all be the glory. I commend myself to your Highness in all humility.

Dated at Wolfhagen, the twentieth day of June, Anno Domini, Fifteen Hundred and Fifty-Six.

Your Highness's subject Hans Staden of Homberg in Hesse, now a burgher of Wolfhagen.

## DR. DRYANDER'S INTRODUCTION

To the noble Lord, the Lord Philip Count of Nassau and Saarbrücken etc. his gracious Master, D. Dryander<sup>2</sup> sends greeting and the expression of his duty.

Hans Staden, who now offers this history in print, has asked me to read his work, to revise it and where necessary to correct it. I have complied with his request for various reasons. Firstly, I have known his father for upwards of fifty years, for he and I were born and taught in the same town, namely Wetter. Both in his home and in Homberg in Hesse, where he now lives, he is looked up to as an upright, pious and worthy man and not unversed in the arts. As the proverb says: "The apple tastes of the tree." It is to be expected, therefore, that the son of so worthy a man should resemble his father in virtue and piety.

Further, I approached the labour of revising this book with all the more pleasure and satisfaction, since I delight in matters appertaining to mathematics, such as cosmography, that is the measuring and description of countries, towns and highways, of which much will be found in these pages. I employ myself the more willingly in such matters when I know that the writer relates and discloses, in truth and honesty, only such things as have befallen him. I believe that Hans Staden has faithfully reported his history and adventures from his own experiences and not from the accounts of others, that he has no intent to deceive, and that he desires no reward or worldly renown, but only the glory of God, in humble praise and thankfulness for his escapes. This is indeed the chief

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purpose of the work, that men may see how mercifully and against all hope the Lord God delivered Hans Staden, who called upon him, out of so many and great dangers; how he rescued him from the savage people in whose power he lay for nine months in daily and hourly expectation that he would be killed and eaten, and how he restored him in safety to his fatherland in Hesse.

For these unspeakable mercies he desires, as far as in him lies, to give thanks to God and, praising him, to make his blessings known to all men, and in the laborious ordering of this work to relate in detail his journeys and the chances which befell him during his absence of nine years from his country. All this he relates simply and without ornament or great words or arguments, a fact which impresses me with the truth of what he describes. I do not see what advantage he could obtain by lying, even if he preferred falsehood to the truth.

In addition, he is now settled with his parents in this country. He does not wander from place to place, gipsy-like, a practice common among vagabonds and liars in general, and he must therefore expect to encounter other travellers on their return from the same islands who could convict him of falsehood if he were lying. This fact is also a convincing argument to me that his history is truthfully related, that he is careful to indicate the time, country and place of his meeting with Heliodorus, son of the learned and widely-famed Eoban of Hesse<sup>3</sup> who has now been long absent on a voyage of discovery in foreign parts and was believed by all of us to be dead. This Heliodorus was with Hans Staden in the country of the savages and observed his misfortune when he was taken and carried away. This same Heliodorus, I say, may return sooner or later to his home (as is indeed to be hoped), and if Hans Staden's history is a

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false and lying history, he will be able to put him to shame and denounce him as a worthless person.

I will now leave the weighty arguments and conjectures which support Hans Staden's integrity and consider briefly why it is that histories of this kind receive generally so little credit and applause.

In the first place, land travellers with their boundless falsehoods and reports of vain and imagined things have so wrought that honest and worthy people returning from foreign countries are now hardly believed. For it is commonly said: he who desires to lie, let him lie concerning far off things and places, since few travel into distant parts, and a man will sooner credit what he hears than undertake the labour of finding out the truth for himself.

But let it not be assumed that truth is to be silenced by falsehood. It is to be noted that many matters appear to the common people to be incredible, yet when they are disclosed to men of understanding and thoroughly tested they are found to be known and proved, and to be in themselves worthy of credence.

This fact is clear if we take two examples from astronomy. We who live in Germany or in adjacent countries know by long experience the duration of winter and summer as well as of the two other seasons, autumn and spring. Item, how long is the longest summer day and how short the shortest day of winter; also in the same manner the duration of the nights.

When it is reported, therefore, that somewhere in the world the sun does not set for half a year, that the longest day and the longest night endure each for six months, that is half a year; further, that in certain places the *quatuor tempora* or four seasons are duplicated, and two winters and two summers succeed each other in the course of the same year; likewise, that the sun and the stars, how small soever they appear to us, yet is the smallest star in the heavens greater

## HANŠ STADEN

than the whole earth, nor can their number be measured:—when the common people hear these things they condemn them as impossible and not to be believed. Yet these are matters within the knowledge of astronomers, and no one skilled in science can doubt that they are true.

It does not follow, then, that these things are false because the common people think them so. Nevertheless, the science of astronomy would stand low indeed if persons who profess that science could not foretell the times of the eclipses and when and for how long the sun and moon shall be darkened. These happenings have been foretold hundreds of years in advance, and men have found them to be correct. Yet some will say: “Who has traversed the heavens and measured them and beheld these things?” To this I make answer that the experience of every day confirms the evidence of the learned, as clearly as I can demonstrate that two and three make five. Facts and scientific demonstrations have established that it is possible to measure and calculate the situation of the moon, the distance of the planets, and the height of the starry heavens, the size and circumference of the sun, moon and other heavenly bodies, and with the aid of astronomy and geometry to establish the distance, circumference, breadth and length of the earth itself. Yet these matters are hidden from the common mind and are generally believed to be impossible. The ignorance of the ordinary man may be attributed to the fact that he has no knowledge of philosophy, but that learned and scientific persons should doubt of matters so definitely established is both shameful and dangerous, for the common man looks up to the learned and observes their dissensions, remarking: “If these things were true, so and so would not have disputed them.” Ergo, etc.

St. Augustine and Lactantius Firmianus (two most

## DRYANDER'S INTRODUCTION

holy and learned men as well in theology as in the arts) doubted the existence of the antipodes. They denied that men could inhabit the opposite sides of the earth and exist beneath us, walking with their feet uppermost and their heads hanging down towards the skies without falling off. This may indeed sound strange, but learned men questioned it, and it has been found to be true in the face of the denial by the holy and learned authors I have named. For it follows that those who live *ex diametro per centrum terræ* must be antipodal, for *omne versus calum vergens, ubicunque locorum sursum est*. Nor is it necessary for us to travel downwards unto the New World to seek the antipodes because they are here in the upper half of the globe. For if we consider together and compare the uttermost countries of the West, namely Spain and Cape Finiſterre, with the East, where lie the Indies, we find that these opposing peoples and inhabitants of the earth are in their way antipodes.

Certain pious theologians maintain from this that the words of the mother of the sons of Zebedee have been fulfilled, when she desired of the Lord Jesus that her two sons might sit the one on his right hand and the other on his left. This, they say, has been fulfilled in that St. James lies buried at Compostella, at the end of the earth, which is called Finiſterre, where he is held in honour, and the other apostle rests in India towards the rising of the sun. The antipodes have existed, therefore, from ancient times, and although in the days of St. Augustine the New World of America had not been discovered beneath the globe, yet in this way the antipodes were always in being. Other theologians, and among them Nicholas Lyra<sup>4</sup> (who has otherwise always been regarded as an excellent scholar), have insisted that since the globe lies or swims as to one half thereof in water, and since the part which we inhabit projects above the waters, so

## HANS STADEN

the lower hemisphere beneath us is buried deep down in the sea and is without life. But all this is contrary to the science of cosmography, for the many voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese have established the exact opposite, that the globe is everywhere inhabited, yea, even the Torrid Zone which our forefathers, and indeed all writers of old, would not allow. Our daily supplies of spice, sugar, pearls and similar commodities are brought to us from these countries. I have been at pains to explain the paradox of the antipodes and the measurement of the heavens in order to support my argument. There are many other matters which I could bring forward at length if I desired my introduction to be tedious to you.

These and similar arguments may be read in the book written by the worthy and learned Magister Caspar Goldtworm,<sup>5</sup> your Highness's diligent superintendent and chaplain at Weilburg, which book is divided into six parts and treats of miracles, wonders, and paradoxes of former and present times, and which will shortly be printed. To this work, and to many others dealing with such matters, such as *Libri Galeotti, de rebus vulgo incredibilibus*,<sup>6</sup> I refer the friendly reader who desires further instruction and understanding.

Let it be made clear that matters which are strange and ridiculous to the common mind must not straightway be condemned as lies. The island people described in this book go naked; they have no domestic beasts for food, none of those things, in fact, which are common to us for the support of the body, such as clothes, beds, horses, pigs or cows, not even wine and beer, but they contrive to maintain themselves in their own way.

Now in order that this introduction may have an end I will briefly explain why it is that Hans Staden

## DRYANDER'S INTRODUCTION

has been moved to complete and print the story of his two voyages. Some may take it amiss, as if the writer desired his own glory or to make a great name for himself. I know that this is not so and that his disposition, as appears from several indications in the history itself, is very different.

Such was his misery and so great his adversity, and so constantly was his life in peril and the victim himself without hope, that he had abandoned all expectation of gaining his liberty, or of seeing his home again. Yet God, in whom he trusted and upon whom he called, did not leave him helpless in the hands of his enemies, but was moved also by his prayers to manifest himself to the heathen, that they might see and know that the only true God, mighty and all-powerful, was at hand. To the prayers of the faithful there is neither limit nor restraint, and it pleased God through Hans Staden to show his mighty works among the heathen. This, in truth, cannot be denied.

It is known also to all men that sorrow, care, misfortune and sickness turn men's thoughts towards God: then do they cry to him in their despair. Some hitherto among the papists invoke this saint or that holy one, vowing pilgrimages or offerings that they may be saved from their perils. These vows are commonly well kept, except among such as seek to deceive the saints with empty promises. Erasmus Roterodamus in his colloquy on Shipwrecks writes of one who cried in the ship to St. Christopher, whose image, standing some ten ells high like a great Polyphemus, may be seen in Paris, and vowed that if he came safely to land he would offer the saint a wax taper as great as the image itself. His companion who sat by him, knowing his poverty, upbraided him for his false vow, declaring that if he sold all his worldly goods he could not even then buy sufficient wax to make so great a taper. The other made answer, speaking softly lest the saint should hear

## HANS STADEN

him: "If he delivers me from this, he will not get so much as a farthing candle from me."

Another story concerns a knight, who was also in danger of shipwreck, and it is as follows. This knight, when he saw that the ship was about to founder, called to St. Nicholas and vowed that if he would save him in his need he would offer him his sword or his page. His squire thereupon reproached him and asked him how he would ride abroad if he did this. "Hold thy peace," said the knight under his breath, lest the saint might hear, "let him only save me, and I shall not give him even the tail of my horse." So did these two make their plans to deceive their patron saints, intending to forget speedily the benefits vouchsafed to them.

Lest Hans Staden should be regarded as a man ready to forget his mercies now that God has succoured him, he desires in printing his history to give honour and praise to God alone, and in all Christian humility to make known to men the mercies vouchsafed to him. If this were not his intention (which is indeed both honourable and fitting), he would surely have spared himself the labour and time, to say nothing of the charges of printing this work and cutting the blocks, which alone have been considerable.

Since this history has been inscribed by the author to the Serene and Noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Catzenelnbogen, Dietz, Ziegenhain and Nidda, his Prince and gracious Master, in whose name it has been published, and since the author has long before been interrogated in my presence and in the presence of many others by his Highness, our gracious Lord, and examined closely in all matters touching his voyages and captivity (all which I have many times dutifully reported to your Highness and to other Lords), and knowing your Highness to be a great lover of such things, and of all

## DRYANDER'S INTRODUCTION

that appertains to astronomy and cosmography, I have therefore addressed my preface to your Highness, begging that it may suffice until such time as I am able to publish in your Highness's name something more weighty.

I subscribe myself in all humility.

Dated at Marburg on St. Thomas's Day in the year MDLVI.

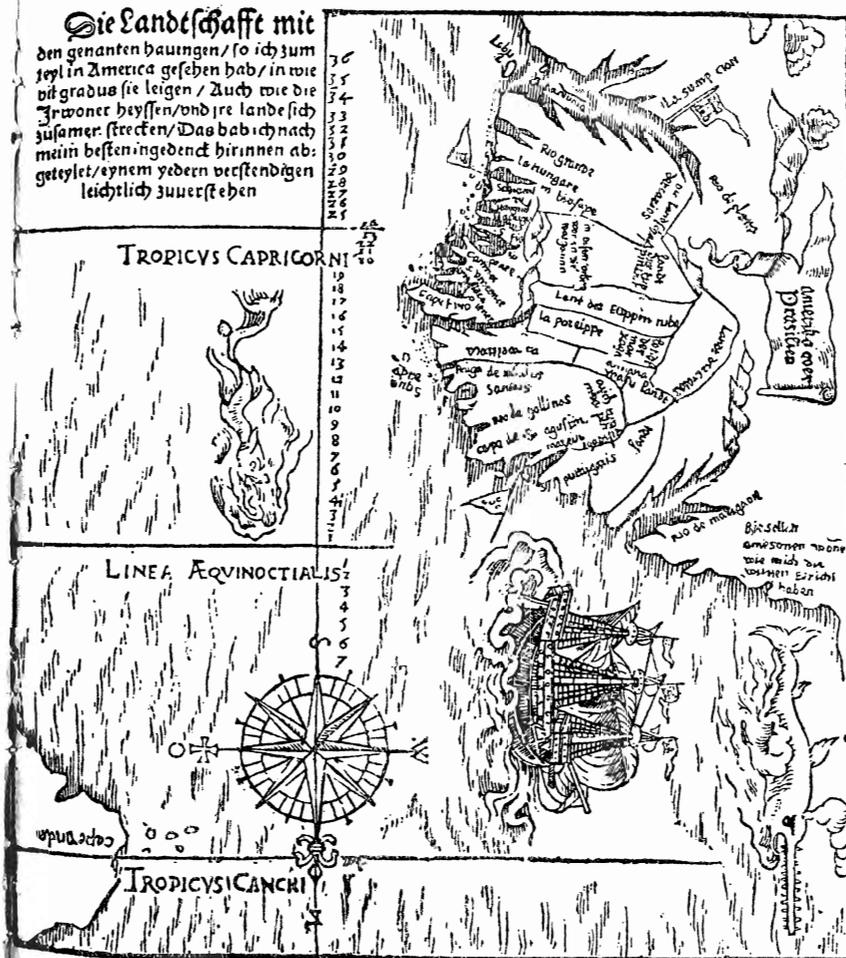
## THE CONTENTS OF THIS BOOK

1. Of the two voyages which Hans Staden undertook in eight and a half years.<sup>77</sup> The first journey was from Portugal, the second from Spain to the New World of America.

2. In what manner he was carried to the country of the savage people Toppinikin (who are subject to the King of Portugal), where he was employed as a gunner against the enemy; and how at last he was captured by the enemy and carried away and remained for nine and a half months a prisoner with them in danger of being killed and devoured.

3. How God in merciful and wonderful manner delivered him from his enemies and restored him to his fatherland.

All which is now related in print to the honour and glory of God and in thankfulness for his wondrous mercies.



## PART ONE

The watcher in the town,  
The mighty ships upon the ocean :  
If the Lord keep them not their labour is vain.



### CHAPTER I

[*The voyage to Portugal.*]

**I**HANS STADEN of Homberg in Hesse proposed, if God willed, to see the Indies, and with this intention I travelled from Bremen to Holland, where at Kampen I lighted upon a boat which was sailing for Portugal to take in salt. I embarked accordingly, and on the 29th day of April of the year 1547 we arrived at a town called Sanct Tuval (Setubal), the voyage having

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taken four weeks. Thence I reached Lisbon which is distant from St. Tuval (Setubal) five miles.<sup>8</sup> At Lisbon I lodged at an inn owned by a man known as the younger Leuhr, a German, with whom I stayed some time.<sup>9</sup> I spoke with the host, my countryman, and told him that if it were possible I desired to see the Indies. He informed me that I had delayed too long, since the King's ships bound for the Indies had departed. I asked him therefore, since he knew the language, to help me to find another ship, and told him that if he could do so I should be much in his debt.

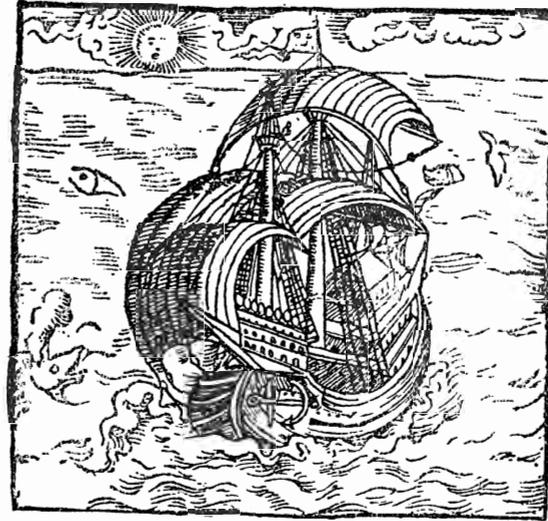
Thereupon he took me to a boat where I obtained employment as a gunner. The captain's name was Pintiado, and he was bound for Brazil on a trading voyage, but he had leave to attack certain ships which were trafficking off the coast of Barbary with the White Moors, and to seize as prizes any French ships which he might find in Brazil trading with the savages.<sup>10</sup> He carried with him also certain prisoners who had been convicted and sentenced to death, but who had been spared with the object of colonizing the New World.<sup>11</sup>

Our ship was well found and fitted with every kind of warlike contrivance which could be used at sea. There were three Germans on board, Hans von Bruchhausen, Heinrich Brant of Bremen and I.

## THE FIRST VOYAGE

### CHAPTER II

*My first voyage from Lisbon in Portugal.*



WE sailed from Lisbon, having with us another small boat also commanded by our captain, and arrived first at the Island of Madeira which belongs to the King of Portugal and is inhabited by the Portuguese. It is fruitful in wine and sugar. In this island, at a place called Funtschal, we victualled our ship.

Thence we sailed towards Barbary, to a town called Cape de Gel,<sup>12</sup> which belongs to a king of the White Moors named Schiriffe. This town belonged formerly to the King of Portugal, but this Schiriffe took it from him again. We had expected to find here the ships I have mentioned above, which were trafficking with the infidel.

When we arrived and were close to the shore we came upon numbers of Castilian fishermen who informed

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us that there were certain ships in the neighbourhood of the town, and as we sailed on there came out of the harbour a vessel which was very well laden. This ship we attacked and captured, but the crew escaped in the boat. We then espied an empty boat lying on the shore which would serve us well for boarding the prize, and we accordingly landed in order to take it.



Thereupon the White Moors came down in force, intending to defend it, but they could not withstand our shots. We then returned to Madeira with our prize, which was laden with sugar, almonds, dates, goat-skins and gum-arabic, and dispatched the small boat back to Lisbon for orders as to how we were to proceed, since the cargo was the property of Valentian and Castilian merchants.

The orders received were to leave the cargo in the

## FLYING FISH

island and continue our voyage, the King intimating that he would inform himself in the meantime concerning the whole matter. We thereupon returned to Cape de Gel seeking for further prizes. But our labour was in vain, for a land wind arose which hindered us.

On All Hallows Eve, driving before a great storm, we sailed from Barbary for Brazil, and when we were about 400 miles from the coast of Barbary great shoals of fish surrounded the ship which we caught with lines and hooks. Some of these, which the sailors called albakore,<sup>13</sup> were large, others, called bonitte, were smaller, and others were called durado. There were also fish about as large as herrings which had wings on either side like a bat, and these were closely pursued by the larger fish. When chased they lifted themselves out of the sea, vast numbers of them, and flew some two fathoms high above the water, and others quite close to it, for as far as we could see. Then they dropped again into the water. We often found them in the morning lying on the deck, having fallen into the ship at night during their flight. They are called in the Portuguese tongue *pisce bolador*. Then continuing on our voyage we sailed under the equinoctial line where we encountered great heat, for the sun stood still above our heads as if it were perpetual noon. For days there was no wind, and at nights came great thunder-storms with rain and wind which departed as quickly as they came, so that continual watch had to be kept lest they should catch us unawares while we were under sail.

The wind now blew with great force for several days against us until we began to be afraid that if it continued we should die of hunger, and we cried to God for a favouring wind. Then it came to pass one night, when we were in the midst of a great storm and sorely troubled, that blue lights began to appear in the ship such as I had never seen before. Where the

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waves struck the bows, there the lights appeared. The Portuguese said that the lights were a sign of good weather and were sent by God to comfort us. And as we praised God the lights vanished. These lights are called Santelmo,<sup>14</sup> or Corpus Santon. When day broke the weather improved, a light wind sprang up, and we knew that these lights were indeed a sign from God.



So sailing onwards, on the 28th day of January, we sighted a spit of land called Cape de Sanct Augustin.<sup>15</sup> Eight miles farther on we reached the harbour of Prannenbucke (Pernambuco), having been eighty-four days at sea without sighting land. In this place the Portuguese had a settlement called Marin.<sup>16</sup> The commander was named Artokoslio,<sup>17</sup> to whom we delivered our prisoners and some of our cargo, intending to sail away and take in fresh cargo elsewhere.

## PERNAMBUCO

### CHAPTER III

*How the savages of the place called Prannenbucke (Pernambuco) rebelled and strove to expel the Portuguese from their settlement.*

It so happened that the savages who inhabit this place rebelled against the Portuguese who had enslaved them, and the commander besought us for the love of God to occupy a settlement called Garasu,<sup>18</sup> five miles from the harbour of Marin where we lay, which had been attacked by the savages. The people at Marin were powerless to help the settlers, for they feared an attack from the savages.

Accordingly we set off to Garasu with forty men from our ship, travelling there in a small boat. The settlement lay in an arm of the sea which extended two miles inland. The defenders numbered some ninety Christians under arms. To them might be added thirty Moors and Brazilian slaves, the property of the settlers. The attackers were estimated to number about 8,000; we were closely invested and had only a palisade of rails to protect us.

### CHAPTER IV

*The nature of our defences and how they fought against us.*

THE settlement in which we were besieged was surrounded by woods in which the savages had made two forts out of trees, and thither they retreated at night or when we attacked them. In addition they had dug pits in the ground, and here they lay hid during the day ready to attack us, and when we fired at them they dropped into the pits and so escaped our shots. Indeed, they had invested us so closely that we could not stir. They approached the settlement

## HANS STADEN

and fired arrows into the air, intending that they should fall upon us behind our defences. They used also arrows bound with cotton and wax which they lit, hoping to set fire to the roofs of our huts, boasting that they would eat us when they caught us. We on our part had very little to eat, and what we had was soon finished, for it was the custom to fetch daily or every other day fresh roots to make meal or cake, and now we could not stir to get them.

When we saw that we were becoming short of food we sent two boats to a place called Tamaraka<sup>19</sup> for provisions, but the savages had thrown great trees across the channel and had assembled on either shore to prevent us. We were able to break through these obstructions, but about half way we ran aground. The savages could not reach us, but they threw down dry wood from their camp between the boats and the shore, intending to set fire to it and to burn the pepper which grows there, and thus to smoke us out of the boats. They did not succeed, however, and in the meantime the tide returned and we reached Tamaraka in safety and replenished our stores. We then set out on our return voyage, but once again the savages sought to stop us. They had thrown trees into the channel as previously, and were waiting in the shelter of the shore. They had also partly felled two trees and had tied them at the top with a plant called Sippo, which grows like a hop plant but is thicker. They made fast the ends in their camp, intending as we passed to pull the ropes so that the trees might fall and crush our boats.

The first tree, as we broke through, fell towards their camp, the second fell behind us in the water, and as we passed through we called to our companions in the settlement to come to our assistance. Then the savages set up a great shout so that the men in the settlement should not hear us, for there was a thick

## THE ATTACK ON GARASU

wood between us and the camp, and our companions could not see us although we were close to them and they could have heard us if the savages had not raised their shouts.

At last, however, we reached the settlement with the victuals, and when the savages saw that they could do nothing they made overtures for peace and with-



drew. The siege had endured almost for a month. Several of the savages were dead, but we had not lost a man.

When we saw that the savages desired peace we returned to our ship at Marin and took in water and mandioca meal, and the commander was much indebted to us for what we had done.

## HANS STADEN

### CHAPTER V

*How we sailed away from Prannenbucke (Pernambuco) to a country called Buttugaris and engaged a French vessel.*

WE now sailed for forty miles to the harbour of Buttugaris,<sup>20</sup> where we intended to ship a cargo of Brazilian wood and to raid the natives for food.



Here we fell in with a French ship which was loading wood, and we engaged it intending to capture it, but our mainmast was shot away and the ship escaped. Several of our men were killed or wounded.

We then determined to set out once more for Portugal, for the winds were contrary and we could not make the harbour where we intended to re-victual the ship. So we sailed homewards, short of victuals, suffering such hardship from lack of food that some

## THE RETURN VOYAGE

devoured the goat-skins which were on board. Each day there was served out to us a ration of water and a little meal made from Brazilian roots. We were 108 days at sea, and on August 12 we arrived at the Azores, belonging to the King of Portugal, where we anchored, rested and fished. Here we fell in with a ship which we hailed enquiring what it was. It turned out to be a pirate, and prepared to attack us, but we captured it, although the crew escaped among the islands in the boats. The ship contained a rich cargo of wine and bread which greatly refreshed us. After this we fell in with five ships belonging to the King of Portugal which were awaiting the fleet from the Indies to escort it home. We remained there and escorted an Indiaman to the Island of Terceira (Terceira), where we remained. Here we found assembled a great company of vessels which had all come from the New World, some bound for Spain and some for Portugal, and when we left Terceira we were almost a hundred strong. We arrived at Lisbon about October 8, 1548, and our voyage had lasted sixteen months.

At Lisbon I rested for a time, but was consumed with the wish to see the new lands occupied by the Spaniards. I therefore left Lisbon in an English ship bound for Castile and landed in Porta Santa Maria where the captain wished to take in a cargo of wine. Thence I reached Seville where I found three ships being refitted which were bound for Rio de Plata in America. This country, with the gold district of Peru, which was discovered some years ago, forms with Brazil one continent.

Several ships were sent some years ago to conquer this country, but some returned for further assistance with the news that it was passing rich in gold. The commander of these three ships was Don Diego de Senabria,<sup>21</sup> who was to become the King's governor

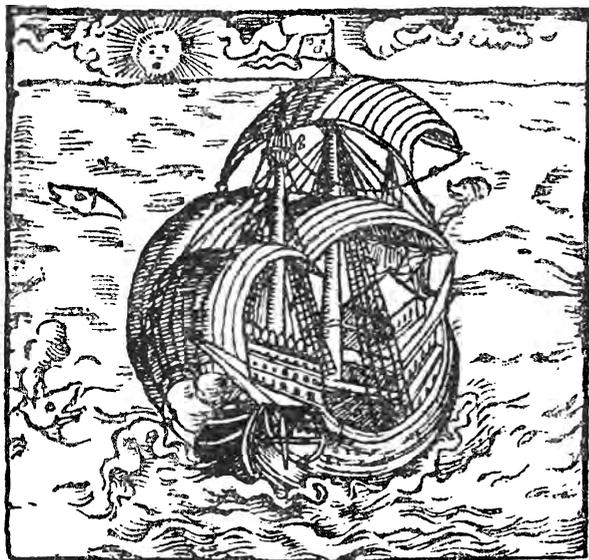
## HANS STADEN

in the country. I attached myself to one of these ships, all of which were well found, and sailed from Seville to San Lucar, where the river from Seville enters the sea, and here we lay waiting for a favourable wind.

### CHAPTER VI

*My next voyage from Seville in Spain to America.*

ON the 4th day after Easter<sup>22</sup> in the year of our Lord 1549 we set sail from San Lucar, but the wind was contrary and we entered the harbour at Lisbon. Then, when the wind improved, we sailed for the Canary Islands and anchored close to an island called Pallama (Palma) where we took in wine for the voyage. And the navigators agreed that if the ships were separated at sea they would make for land in twenty-eight degrees south of the equinoctial line.



## THE SECOND VOYAGE

From Palma we sailed to Cape Verde, that is the Green Headland, which lies in the country of the Black Moors, where we narrowly escaped shipwreck. The wind was contrary and carried us to the coast of Guinea which is likewise inhabited by the Black Moors, whence we reached the island of S. Thomé which belongs to the King of Portugal. This island is rich in sugar, but unhealthy. The Portuguese live there with numbers of Black Moors who are their slaves. Here we took in fresh water and sailed on, but in a storm during the night we lost touch with the two ships which accompanied us, and we therefore sailed on alone. The wind was still contrary, for it happens in these seas, where the sun is north of the equinoctial line, that the winds blow constantly from the south. In the same way when the sun is south of the line the winds blow from the north, and in general they blow continuously from one quarter for five months. Thus were we delayed for four months before we could make our course, but when September came the winds commenced to blow from the north, and we took our course south-south-west for America.

### CHAPTER VII

*In what manner we reached America in latitude twenty-eight degrees without finding the harbour to which we had been directed, and how a great storm arose off the coast.*

It came to pass that one day, namely November 18, when the steersman took the sun's height and found that we were in latitude twenty-eight degrees, we began to look out towards the west, and on November 24 we sighted land. We had been six months at sea and had escaped many perils, but when we drew near to land we could not discover the markings, nor the harbour to which the chief navigator had directed

## HANS STADEN

us. Fearing to enter an unknown harbour, we luffed and hugged the coast. Then a great wind arose, and we expected every moment to be dashed to pieces on the rocks. We lashed empty casks together, filled them with powder and stopped up the bung-holes, tying our weapons to them, so that if we were shipwrecked, and any of us came safely to land, we should find our weapons there, for the waves would carry the



barrels ashore. We endeavoured to draw away from the land, but in vain. The wind carried us on to the rocks which lay submerged some four fathoms beneath the water, and so driven by the great waves always nearer to the shore, we commenced to abandon hope, expecting to perish together.

But in God's mercy, when we were almost on the rocks, one of our men spied a small haven into which we contrived to sail. There we saw a small ship which

## A GREAT PERIL

escaped into the shelter of an island, so that we could not ascertain what ship it was. We did not follow it, but cast anchor, praising God that we had been saved from so great a peril, and rested and dried our clothes.

It was about two hours after noon when we cast anchor, and towards evening a great boat filled with savages approached us, desiring to speak with us, but we could not understand their language. We gave them knives and hooks and they departed. At night a second boat-full came out, bringing two Portuguese who asked us whence we came. We told them that we hailed from Spain, whereupon they said that we must have a skilled navigator on board to make the harbour, for although they knew it well, they would not have dared to enter it in such a storm. Then we told them how near we had been to shipwreck in the wind and waves, that when we had expected to perish the haven had opened suddenly before us, and that God had directed us to it and delivered us from death, and that we knew not where we were.

When they heard this they marvelled greatly and praised God, and told us that the haven was called Supraway (Superaqui), some eighteen miles from the Island of Sancte Vincente<sup>23</sup> which belongs to the King of Portugal, where they lived, and that the ship we had seen had sailed away, thinking we were Frenchmen.

We enquired how far we were from the Island of Sancta Catharina,<sup>24</sup> whither we were bound, and they told us that it was some thirty miles distant toward the south, and that there was a nation of savages called Carios of whom we should beware, but that the savages of the haven in which we found ourselves were called Tuppin Ikins and were their good friends, from whom we need fear nothing. They told us further that this land was in latitude twenty-eight degrees, which was correct, and they gave us certain indications by which we could know the place we sought.

## HANS STADEN

### CHAPTER VIII

*In what manner we left the harbour to seek the country for which we were bound.*

WHEN the wind from the east-south-east had dropped it brought good weather, and sailing with a north-easterly wind we set out for the land we were seeking, but although we looked for it for two days we could not find the harbour. We could see by the lie of the land that we must have passed it, but the sun was so darkened that we could not take our bearings. Nor could we return, as the wind was contrary.

But God is a ready helper in time of need, and as we went to evening prayers and prayed for help, it happened that before nightfall heavy clouds arose from the south, whither the wind was driving us, and before prayers were finished the north-east wind dropped and blew so softly that it could scarcely be felt. Then the south wind arose, which is not generally met with at this time of year, and brought with it such thunder and lightning, that we were much afraid. The sea grew very rough, for the south wind met the northerly waves and it became so dark that we could see nothing. The crew were panic-stricken at the thunder and lightning, and no one knew how to handle the sails. That night we confidently expected to be drowned, but God ordained otherwise. The storm ceased and we were able to make for the harbour which we had left, but we could not find it on account of the many islands near the mainland.

When we arrived in latitude twenty-eight degrees the captain ordered the pilot to steer in among the islands and anchor so that we could see where we were. We sailed in between two islands where we found an excellent harbour: there we anchored and arranged to send out a boat to observe it more closely.

## ST. CATHERINE'S HARBOUR

### CHAPTER IX

*How certain among us set off in a boat to inspect the harbour, and how we found a crucifix standing on a rock.*

IT was on St. Catherine's day in the year 1549 that we dropped anchor, and on the same day some of us departed in a boat, well armed, to examine the harbour. It seemed to us that we were in a river called Rio de Sancto Francisco which is in this province, and the farther we went the longer the river seemed to be.



We looked about us to see if we could perceive any signs of smoke, but we saw nothing. Then we thought we could discern some huts in a clearing and passed close by, but they were old huts and there were no people in them. After this we came, towards evening, to a small island in the river, and made for it

## HANS STADEN

intending to spend the night there and dispose ourselves as best we could. When we reached the island it was already dark and we dared not land for the night until certain among us went ashore to find out whether the island was inhabited, but we perceived no one. Then we lit a fire and felled a palm-tree and ate the pith and spent the night there, and when day broke we sailed on, for we were desirous to know whether the country was inhabited, since having found the huts, we did not think it could be wholly deserted. As we proceeded we saw from afar a piece of wood standing on a rock which looked like a cross, and we asked ourselves who could have placed it there. We approached and found it to be a great wooden cross made fast to the rock with stones. A piece of the bottom of a cask had been fastened to it upon which letters had been cut, but we could not read the writing. We could only wonder what ships had passed that way, and who could have set it up. Nor did we know whether this was the harbour where we were supposed to meet our companions.

We continued on our way to seek out the land, leaving the cross behind us, but taking the bottom of the cask with us, and one of our company sat down and studied the writing on the cask and after a time it became clear. The writing was in the Spanish language and read: *Si vehn por ventura ecky la armada de su majestet, tiren uhn Tiro ay averan recado,*<sup>25</sup> which is to say: "If perchance any of his Majesty's ships should come to this place let them fire a shot and they will be further advised." Thereupon we sailed back in haste to the cross and discharged a falconet and then returned and continued our voyage inland.

As we advanced we saw five canoes full of savages which came upon us as fast as they could row and we made ready our guns. When they drew near to us we discerned in one of the boats a man who wore clothes

## ST. CATHERINE'S HARBOUR

and had a beard. He stood up in front of the canoe and we saw that he was a Christian. We called to him to bring the canoe close to us so that we might converse with him.

When he came near we enquired of him in what country we were, and he replied: "You are in the harbour called in the savage tongue Schirmirein, but you should know that it is also named St. Catherine's Harbour, for it was so called when it was first discovered." Thereupon we rejoiced greatly, for this was the harbour which we were seeking, and we were there and knew it not, and had even reached it on St. Catherine's Day. See, therefore, how God stretches forth his arm to help and save those that call upon him in their distress.

This man then enquired whence we came, and we told him that we belonged to the King's ships from Spain, and intended to go on to Rio de Plata, also that there were other ships voyaging thither and we hoped, if God willed, that they would shortly arrive at this place where we had expected to meet with them. He was much pleased at what we told him, and gave thanks to God, for he had been sent by sea three years previously from a place called La Soncion<sup>26</sup> in the province of Rio de Plata, which belongs to Spain, 300 miles away, with instructions to endeavour to persuade the people called Carios (who were friendly to Spain) to plant mandioca roots, so that ships arriving there could, if need arose, obtain provisions from the savages. These had been the orders given to him by the captain who had returned to Spain with the latest tidings. This captain was called Captain Salaser, and he had come back again with the next ship. We now returned with the man who had come out to us to the place where he lived among the savages, who showed us such hospitality as they could.

## HANS STADEN

### CHAPTER X

*In what manner I was dispatched with a boat full of savages to our ship.*

OUR captain now asked the man whom we had found with the savages to send a canoe with one of us to our ship, so that it might follow us.

Then the captain sent me with the savages to the ship, and as we had been three nights absent the people in the ship knew nothing of what had befallen us. Accordingly, when I arrived within gunshot distance of the ship, they set up a great cry and prepared their weapons for defence, and would not suffer me to approach nearer, but called out, asking what had happened, where the others were, and how it came about that I was alone in a canoe with the savages. But I was silent and did not reply, for the captain had ordered me to look sad in order to see what the ship's crew would do.

As I did not reply they cried out to each other that there was something amiss, that the others must be dead, and that the savages had returned with me, intending with the help of their fellows to take the ship, and they made ready to fire. They called to me again, whereat I commenced to laugh, and cried out: "Be comforted. I bring good news, let me approach to make my report." Then I told them how matters had fallen out and they rejoiced greatly, and the savages departed to their homes. We then drew near with the ship to the place where the savages dwelt and anchored, and lay there waiting for the other ships which we had lost in the storm, and which were expected to arrive.

The settlement in which the savages lived was called Acuttia,<sup>27</sup> and the man whom we found there was called Juan Ferdinando, a Biscayan from Bilba

## A SHIP IS LOST

(Bilbao). The savages were called Carios, and they brought us much game and fish, for which we gave them fish-hooks.

### CHAPTER XI

*How the other ship arrived, in which was the chief pilot, and which we had lost at sea.*

AFTER we had been there for about three weeks the ship arrived with the chief pilot, but the third ship had been lost and was never heard of again.

We at once prepared to continue our voyage, having collected victuals for six months, for we had a voyage of some 300 miles before us, but one day, when everything was ready, the big ship foundered in the harbour and we could not proceed.

We lay there for two years in the wilderness, in great peril and so straitened for food that we were forced to eat lizards and field-rats and other strange food, as well as shell-fish hanging to the rocks and creatures of that kind. Most of the savages who had at first supplied us with food departed to other villages when they had obtained sufficient wares from us, and we were unable to rely on them for our support. It seemed as if we must remain there and die.

At last we resolved that the greater number of our company should travel overland to the place called Sumption (Asuncion), distant some 300 miles from the spot where we lay, while the rest should sail with the one remaining ship. The captain selected those who were to travel with him by water, and those who were to make the land journey and cross the wilderness were provided with food and set off with some savages to guide them. But many died of hunger, and only a remnant arrived, as we afterwards ascertained. As for the rest of us, the ship was too small to carry the whole company.

## HANS STADEN

### CHAPTER XII

*How we took counsel and sailed for the Portuguese colony of Sancte Vincente, where we intended to freight another ship with which to complete our voyage; how we suffered shipwreck in a storm, not knowing how far we were from Sancte Vincente.*

It so happened that the Portuguese had taken possession of an island adjoining the mainland called Sancte Vincente, which is known in the savage tongue as Urbioneme. This province lies some seventy miles from the place to which we had come, and our resolution was to sail there and find out if we could freight a ship from the Portuguese in which to continue the voyage to Rio de Plata, since a ship such as we had was too small to carry all of us. Certain of the company sailed accordingly for the island of Sancte Vincente with the Captain Salaser whom I have already named, but no one of us had ever been there before except a man called Roman who thought he could find the place again.

We sailed from the harbour, which is called Inbiasape, situate in thirty-four degrees south of the equinoctial line, and in about two days we arrived at an island known as Insula de Alkatrasas, about forty miles away, where we had to anchor since the wind was contrary. This island<sup>28</sup> abounds with the sea-birds called Alkatrasas, which were easy to catch, it being nesting time. We landed in search of fresh water and found some remains of old huts and fragments of earthenware left by the former inhabitants, and came also upon a small fountain in a rock. We killed a number of the birds and took them and the eggs to the ship, where we cooked both birds and eggs. After we had eaten them a great storm arose from the south, and we began to be afraid that our anchors would give way and that the wind would drive us on to the rocks.

## THE SHIPWRECK

It was now evening and we agreed to try and reach the harbour of Caninee.<sup>29</sup> But before we could reach it night fell and we were driven in great peril from the land. The waves beat against the ship until it seemed that we must be dashed to pieces, for we were near to a cape where the waves raged more furiously than out at sea.

During the night we were driven so far from land that by morning we had lost sight of it, but shortly afterwards we saw land again, although the storm was so violent that we could scarcely keep afloat. Then the man who knew the land told us that we were near Sancte Vincente, and we strove to reach it, but the fog and clouds obscured the coast and it was impossible to recognize it. We were forced to throw overboard everything that was weighty, and thus we lightened the ship because of the great waves. So in constant fear of death, we laboured on, hoping to reach the harbour in which was the Portuguese settlement. But our efforts were in vain.

When the clouds lifted a little and we could again see the land the man Roman was persuaded that the harbour was now before us, and that if we steered for a certain rock we should find the harbour behind it. We sailed on, but as we approached we saw nought but death before our eyes, since there was no harbour and we were driving before the wind straight for the shore and were in imminent danger of shipwreck. The waves beat upon the rocks until it was a horror to see them, but we could only pray to God for pity and help, and take such measures as are fitting to sailors about to be shipwrecked.

As we drew near to land the waves swept us so far aloft that we seemed to be looking down upon them from a high wall. Then with one blow the ship was broken in pieces. Some leapt into the sea and swam ashore, others clung to fragments of the

## HANS STADEN

ship, and so with God's help, one and all, we came alive to land. But it was raining and blowing hard, and we were indeed devoid of hope.

### CHAPTER XIII



*How we learnt in what savage country we had been shipwrecked.*

WHEN we had come safely to land we gave thanks to God who had preserved us alive, but we were much cast down since we knew not in what country we were. The man called Roman had no knowledge of it, and could not tell us whether we were close to the island of Sancte Vincente or not, nor whether the place was inhabited by savages who might seek to injure us. But one of our company, a Frenchman named Claudio, who was running to and fro on the

## SAN VINCENTE

shore to warm himself, espied a village behind a wood, the houses of which appeared to be built after the manner of Christians, and he ran there and found that it was a settlement inhabited by Portuguese, and that it was called Itenge Ehm,<sup>30</sup> and was situate two miles from Sancte Vincente. He told them how we had been shipwrecked and were almost frozen and knew not what to do. Then they came running towards us and carried us to their houses, where they clothed us, and we remained some days with them until we had recovered ourselves.

Thence we travelled overland to Sancte Vincente where the Portuguese received us kindly and entertained us for a time, after which each one of us began to work to maintain himself. Then the commander, seeing that we had lost all our ships, sent a Portuguese boat to fetch our companions who had remained behind at Byasape, and in due course they rejoined us.

### CHAPTER XIV

*The situation of Sancte Vincente.<sup>31</sup>*

SANCTE VINCENTE is an island and lies close to the mainland. In it are two settlements: the one called in the Portuguese tongue Sancte Vincente, and in the savage tongue Orbioneme: the second settlement is situated some two miles away and is called Uwawa Supe.<sup>32</sup> There are also certain houses in the island called Ingenio<sup>33</sup> where sugar is made.

The Portuguese live in the island and are friendly with a Brazilian tribe called Tuppin Ikin.<sup>34</sup> The country of the Tuppin Ikins reaches for eighty miles inland and for about forty miles along the coast.

This tribe is encompassed to the north and south by hostile tribes. Those to the south are called Carios;

## HANS STADEN

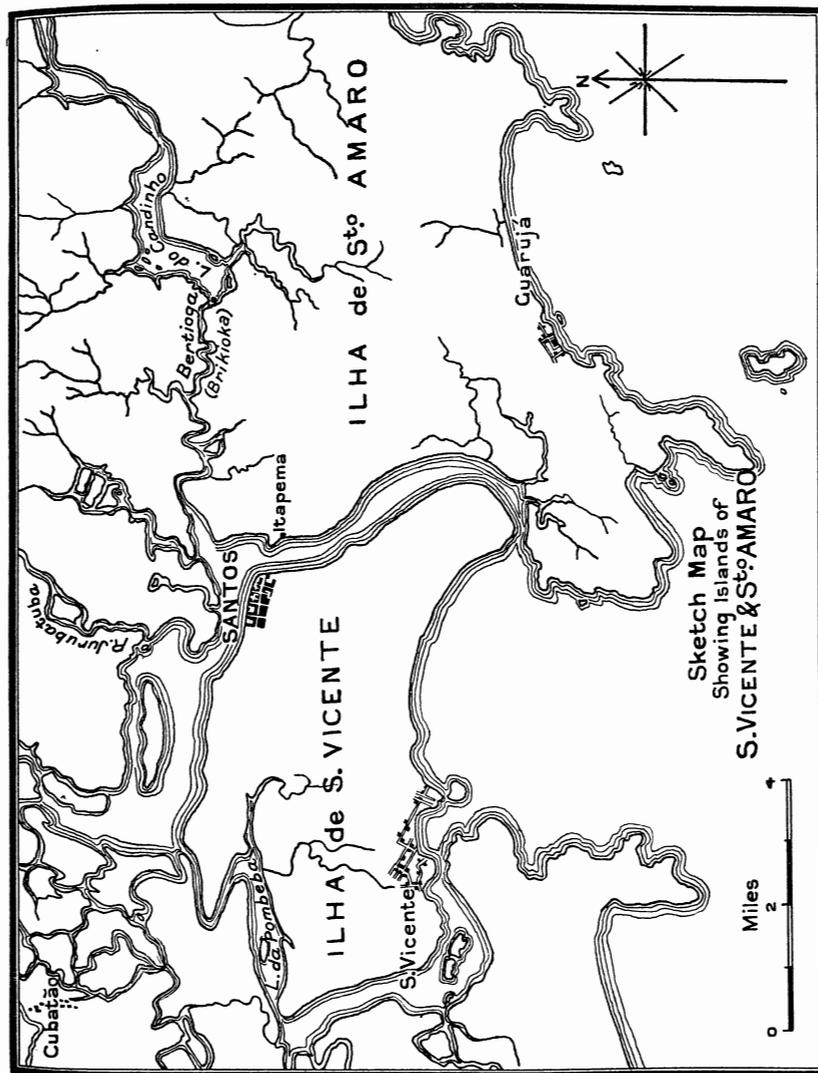
those to the north are named Tuppin Imba. They are also known by their foes as Tawaijar, which is to say enemy. The Portuguese have suffered much injury from these people, and even today they go in fear of them.

### CHAPTER XV

*How the place is named in which the enemy is chiefly gathered together, and how it is situated.*

FIVE miles from Sancte Vincente is a place called Brikioka.<sup>35</sup> Here the people are in touch with the savages, their enemies, who sail thither between an island called Sancto Maro<sup>36</sup> and the mainland. At this point a number of mameluke<sup>37</sup> brethren were stationed to protect the passage. Their father was a Portuguese and their mother was a Brazilian woman, and they were skilful and experienced both in Christian and savage speech and customs. The eldest among them was called Johan de Praga, the second Diego de Praga, the third Domingus de Praga, the fourth Francisco de Praga, the fifth Andreas de Praga, and the father was known as Diego de Praga.

About two years before I arrived these five brethren had undertaken, in conjunction with the friendly savages, to build a fort in the native fashion as a bulwark against the enemy, and this they had accomplished. Certain Portuguese had joined them and dwelt there, as it was a fruitful country, but their enemies, the Tuppin Imba, had discovered this and had prepared themselves for war in their own country some twenty-five miles away. One night they arrived with seventy canoes and had ~~attacked~~ the settlement, as their custom was, an hour before daybreak, forcing the mamelukes and Portuguese into a hut which they had built of earth where they defended themselves.



## THE FORT AT SANTO AMARO

The other savages had also defended themselves stoutly in their huts, so that numbers of the enemy were killed. In the end, however, the enemy prevailed and burnt the settlement of Brikioka and captured all the savages, but the Christians, numbering about eight, and the mamelukes remained safe in their house, for God was their protector. As for the captives they were forthwith hacked in pieces and divided up, after which the attackers returned to their own country.

### CHAPTER XVI

*In what manner the Portuguese rebuilt Brikioka, and later constructed a fort in the island of Sancte Maro.*

It did not seem wise to the commanders and the community to leave the place, but they decided to rebuild it more strongly, since at this point the whole country could be defended. And they did so.

When the enemy observed that the settlement of Brikioka was too strong to be attacked, they passed at night close to the place by water and captured whomsoever they could in the neighbourhood around Sancte Vincente. For those that dwelt inland imagined that they were in no danger, since the settlement close by was so strongly fortified, and for this they paid the penalty. Then the dwellers there commenced to build a fort by the water in the Island of Sancte Maro, which lies immediately opposite Brikioka, and to furnish it with guns and men, with intent to prevent the passage of the savages. They began to set up the fort on the island, but it remained unfinished since, as I was told, no Portuguese gunner would stay there. I was then at that place looking about me, and when the people learnt that I was a German with some knowledge of guns, they desired me to take duty

## HANS STADEN

in the fort and prepare for the enemy, offering to find me companions and to pay me a good wage. They promised also if I would do this that I should receive favours from their King, who was always pleased to show his pleasure to those who offered help and counsel in the New World.

I then made an agreement with them to serve four months in the fort, by which time an officer was due to arrive from the King with ships and material for the building of a stone blockhouse which would be much stronger. And so it fell out. During most of the time I was in the blockhouse with three others and some guns, but we were in great danger from the savages, for the fort was not strong, and we had to keep perpetual watch lest the savages should slip past in the darkness, which they tried to do on several occasions; but God was with us and showed them to us in the night watches.

After some months the King's officer arrived, for the people had petitioned the King on account of the pride and insolence of the enemy thereabouts, and had reported how fine a country it was and that it ought not to be abandoned. Therefore the officer arrived, who was called Tome de Susse,<sup>38</sup> with intent to improve matters and to survey the country and inspect those places which the inhabitants desired to strengthen.

Then the people made report to the officer concerning my services and told him how I had stationed myself in the fort where no Portuguese would remain, since it was so badly defended. The officer was much gratified and promised to report the matter to the King when God brought him safely home to Portugal, and that I should be rewarded.

My period of service, namely four months, being now finished, I desired my release, but the officer and the people begged me to remain for a further period in their service. I consented and agreed to serve for two years more on condition that when this time was

## THE DEFENCE OF THE FORT

at an end they would then without hindrance set me on the first ship for Portugal in order to obtain my reward. Then the officer gave me the commission, which it is customary to bestow on the King's gunners who demand it. The bulwark was constructed of stone and fortified with a number of cannon, and I was ordered to take charge of the place and keep a careful watch.

### CHAPTER XVII

*How and for what reasons it was necessary to keep watch for the enemy at one season of the year more than at other times.*

It was necessary for us to keep particular watch at two seasons of the year, especially when the savages go forth to make war on their enemies. Of these two seasons the one occurred in the month of November, when certain fruit which they call in their language Abbati became ripe, from which fruit the savages make a drink called Kaa Wy. At the same time they gather a root called mandioca which they mix with the fruit when it is ripe to make the drink. This drink is made ready against their return from war so that they can enjoy it when they eat their enemies, and they make merry for a whole year when the time of the Abbati arrives. We had also to look for attacks in the month of August when they go out to catch fish. The fish at this season ascend into the fresh water which flows into the sea, in order to deposit their spawn. The name of this fish in the savage tongue is Bratti,<sup>39</sup> but the Spaniards call them Lysses. At this season the savages are accustomed to sally forth to make war, so that they may be well supplied with food. They catch the fish in small nets and shoot them also with arrows. Then they take them home and roast them, and make a meal from them which they call Pira Kui.

## HANS STADEN

### CHAPTER XVIII

*My capture by the savages and how it occurred.*

I HAD a savage man for a slave of the tribe called Carios who caught game for me, and it was my custom to make expeditions with him into the forest.

It fell out after a time that a Spaniard from Sancte Vincente came to me to the island of Sancte Maro, a distance of about five miles, and was with me in the fort where I lived, and with him came also a German called Heliodorus Hessus,<sup>40</sup> son of the deceased Eobanus Hessus. He had been stationed in the island of Sancte Vincente in an Ingenio where they make sugar. This Ingenio belonged to a Genoese named Josepe Ornio,<sup>41</sup> and Heliodorus was his clerk and manager. (Ingenio is used to designate the houses where sugar is made.) I had had dealings with this Heliodorus previously, for when I was shipwrecked with the Spaniards I found him in the Island of Sancte Vincente and he showed me much kindness. He came to see how I was situated, for he had heard perchance that I was sick.

The day previously I had sent my slave into the forest to hunt for game, intending to go on the following day to fetch it so that we might have food, for in that country there is little to be had except what comes out of the wilderness.

As I was going through the forest I heard loud yells on either side of me, such as savages are accustomed to utter, and immediately a company of savages came running towards me, surrounding me on every side and shooting at me with their bows and arrows. Then I cried out: "Now may God preserve my soul." Scarcely had I uttered the words when they threw me to the ground and shot and stabbed at me. God be praised they only wounded me in the leg, but they

## HANS IS CAPTURED

tore my clothes from my body, one the jerkin, another the hat, a third the shirt, and so forth. Then they commenced to quarrel over me. One said he was the first to overtake me, another protested that it was he that caught me, while the rest smote me with their bows. At last two of them seized me and lifted me up, naked as I was, and taking me by the arms, some



running in front and some behind, they carried me along with them through the forest at a great pace towards the sea where they had their canoes. As we approached the sea I saw the canoes about a stone's-throw away, which they had dragged out of the water and hidden behind the shrubs, and with the canoes were great multitudes of savages, all decked out with feathers according to their custom. When they saw me they rushed towards me, biting their arms and threatening me, and making gestures as if they would

## HANS STADEN

eat me. Then a king approached me carrying the club with which they kill their captives, who spoke saying that having captured me from the Perot, that is to say the Portuguese, they would now take vengeance on me for the death of their friends, and so carrying me to the canoes they beat me with their fists. Then they made haste to launch their canoes, for they feared that an alarm might be raised at Brikioka, as indeed was the case.

Before launching the canoes they bound my hands together, but since they were not all from the same place and no one wanted to go home empty-handed, they began to dispute with my two captors, saying that they had all been just as near to me when I was taken, and each one demanding a piece of me and clamouring to have me killed on the spot.

Then I stood and prayed, expecting every moment to be struck down. But at last the king, who desired to keep me, gave orders to carry me back alive so that their women might see me and make merry with me. For they intended to kill me "Kawewi Pepicke": that is, to prepare a drink and gather together for a feast at which they would eat me. At these words they desisted, but they bound four ropes round my neck, and I was forced to climb into a canoe, while they made fast the ends of the ropes to the boats and then pushed off and commenced the homeward journey.

## CHAPTER XIX

*How my people came out when the savages were carrying me away, intending to recapture me, and how they fought with the savages.*

THERE is another island close by the one where I was captured in which water-birds nest which are called Uwara,<sup>42</sup> and they have red feathers. The savages

## THE ATTEMPTED RECAPTURE

asked me whether their enemies the Tuppin Ikins had been there that year to take the birds during the nesting season. I told them that the Tuppin Ikins had been there, but they proposed to visit the island to see for themselves if this was so, for they value the feathers of these birds exceedingly since all their adornment depends upon them. It is a peculiarity



of these birds that when they are young the feathers are a whitish-grey. They then become dark grey and so they fly for about a year, after which the feathers turn red, as red as paint. The savages made for this island, hoping to take the birds, but when they were a distance of some two gun-shots from the place where they had left their canoes, they looked back and saw behind them a number of Tuppin Ikin savages with certain of the Portuguese who had set out to recapture me. For a slave who was with me had escaped when

## HANS STADEN

I was taken and had raised an alarm. They cried out to my captors that unless they were cowards they would turn and fight. My captors turned about and those on the land assailed us with blow-pipes and arrows while we replied. My captors then unbound my hands leaving the cord still fastened to my neck, and as the king had a gun and a little powder, which a Frenchman had given him in exchange for some Brazilian wood, I was forced to shoot with it towards the land.

After both parties had skirmished for a time my captors, fearing that those on shore might be reinforced with canoes and might give chase, made off with three casualties and passed about a gun-shot distance from the fort at Brikioka where I had been stationed, and as we passed I had to stand up in the canoe so that my companions might see me. They fired two large guns from the fort, but the shot fell short.

In the meantime some canoes had set out from Brikioka in pursuit, hoping to overtake us, but my captors rowed too fast, and when my friends saw that they could do nothing they returned to Brikioka.

## CHAPTER XX

*In what manner my captors returned to their own country.*

WHEN we were about seven miles from Brikioka towards the country of the savages it was by the sun about four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day on which I was captured.

My captors passed by an island and ran the canoes ashore, intending to spend the night there, and they carried me from the canoe to the land. I could scarcely see, for I had been wounded in the face, nor could I walk on account of the wounds in my leg, but could only lie down on the sand.

## HANS IS CARRIED OFF

Then they stood round me and boasted that they would eat me.

So in mighty fear and terror I bethought me of matters which I had never dwelt upon before, and considered with myself how dark is the vale of sorrows in which we have our being. Then, weeping, I began in the bitterness of my heart to sing the Psalm: "Out



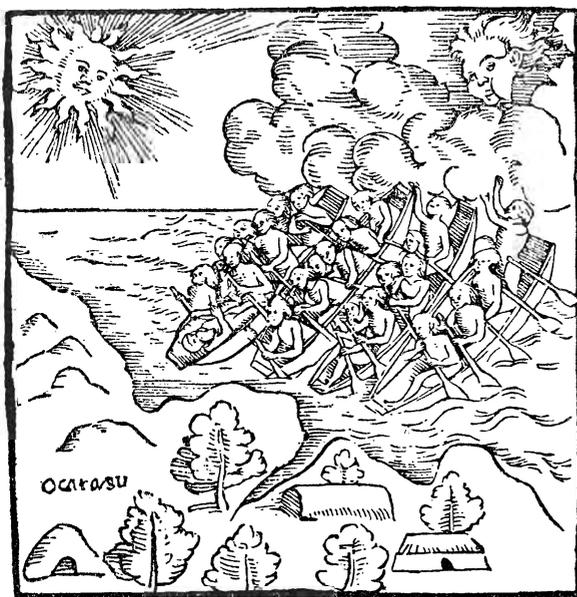
of the depths have I cried unto thee." Whereupon the savages rejoiced and said: "See how he cries: now is he sorrowful indeed."

Then they considered and decided that the island was not a suitable place in which to spend the night, and they returned to the mainland where there were huts which they had erected previously, and it was night when we came there. The savages beached the canoes and lit a fire and afterwards took me to it. There I had to sleep in a net<sup>43</sup> which they call in their tongue Inni. These nets are their beds and they make

## HANS STADEN

them fast to two posts above the ground, or if they are in the forest they tie them to two trees. So I lay there with the cord which I had about my neck tied high up in a tree, and they lay round about me all night and mocked me saying in their speech: *Schere inbau ende*, which is to say: "You are my bound beast."

Before daybreak we were once more on our way and rowed all day, so that by Vespers we were some two



miles from the place where they intended to spend the night. Then great black clouds arose behind me which were terrible to see, and the savages laboured at the oars, striving to reach land and to escape the wind and darkness. But when they saw that their efforts were in vain they said to me: *Ne mungitta dee Tuppan do Quabe, amanasu y an dee Imme Ranni me sisse*, which is to say: "Speak with your God that we may escape the wind and rain." I kept silence, but

## A PRAYER FOR GOOD WEATHER

prayed in my heart as the savages required of me: "O almighty God, Lord of heaven and earth, who from the beginning hast succoured those that call upon thee, now among the heathen show thy mercy to me that I may know that thou art with me, and establish thee among these savages who know thee not, that they may see that thou hast heard my prayer."

I lay bound in the canoe and could not turn myself to regard the sky, but the savages looked steadfastly behind them and commenced to say: *Oqua moa amanasu*, which means: "The great storm is departing." Then I raised myself as best I could and looked back and saw that the clouds were passing, and I praised God.

When we came to land they did with me as before and bound me to a tree, and lay about me all night telling me that we were approaching their country where we should arrive on the morrow about evening, at which I rejoiced not at all.

## CHAPTER XXI

*How they dealt with me on the day on which they brought me to their dwellings.*

ON the same day about Vesper time (reckoning by the sun) we came in sight of their dwellings after we had been journeying for three days. The place to which I had come was thirty miles distant from Brikioka where I had been captured.

When we were near the dwellings I saw that the place was a small village with seven huts, and it was called Uwattibi<sup>44</sup> (Ubatuba). We landed on a beach close by the sea, and there were the women folk in a plantation of mandioca roots. They were going up and down gathering roots, and I was forced to call

## HANS STADEN

out to them and say: *A junesche been ermi vramme*, which means: "I your food have come."

As we landed, all the women, young and old, came running out of the huts, which were built on a hill, to stare at me. The men went into their huts with their bows and arrows, leaving me to the pleasure of the women who gathered round and went along with me, some in front and some behind, dancing and singing the songs they are wont to sing to their own people when they are about to eat them.

They then carried me to a kind of fort outside the huts called Ywara, which they defend against their enemies by means of great rails made like a garden fence. When I entered this enclosure the women fell upon me and beat me with their fists, plucking at my beard and crying out in their speech: *Sehe innamme pepikeae*, which is to say: "With this blow I avenge me of my friend, that one who was slain by your people."

After this they took me into the huts where I had to lie in a hammock while the women surrounded me and beat me and pulled at me on all sides, mocking me and offering to eat me. Meanwhile the men had assembled in a hut by themselves, drinking a drink which is known as Kawi, and having their gods, called Tammerka,<sup>46</sup> about them, to whom they sang praises, since these gods, they said, had foretold my capture. I could hear this singing, but for half an hour none of the men came near me, and I was left with the women and children.

## HANS AMONG THE WOMEN

### CHAPTER XXII

*How my two captors came to me and told me that they had presented me to one of their friends, who would keep me and slay me when I was to be eaten.*

At this time I knew less of their customs than I knew later, and I thought to myself: now they are preparing to kill me. In a little time the two men who had captured me, namely Jeppipo Wasu and his brother, Alkindar Miri, came near and told me that they had presented me in friendship to their father's brother, Ipperu Wasu, who would keep me until I was ready to be eaten, when he would kill me and thus acquire a new name.

This Ipperu Wasu had captured a slave a year before, and had presented him in friendship to Alkindar Miri, who had slain him and gained a new name. This Alkindar Miri had then promised to present Ipperu Wasu with the first prisoner he caught. And I was that prisoner.

My two captors told me further that the women would lead me out Aprasse. This word I did not then understand, but it signifies a dance. 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. So they carried me with them, for what purpose I knew not, and I could think only of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of his innocent sufferings at the hands of the Jews, whereat I was comforted and grew more patient. They brought me to the hut of their king, who was called Vratinge Wasu, which means the great white bird. In front of this hut was a heap of fresh earth,

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and they brought me to it and sat me there, holding me fast. I could not but think that they would slay me forthwith and began to look about me for the club Iwera Pemme<sup>46</sup> which they use to kill their prisoners, and I asked whether I was now to die, but they told me "not yet." Upon this a woman approached



carrying a piece of crystal fastened to a kind of ring and with it she scraped off my eyebrows and tried to scrape off my beard also, but I resisted, saying that I would die with my beard. Then they answered that they were not ready to kill me yet and left me my beard. But a few days later they cut it off with some scissors which the Frenchmen had given them.

## THE DANCE OF THE WOMEN

### CHAPTER XXIII

*How they danced with me before the huts in which their idols Tammerka had been set up.*



AFTER this they carried me from the place where they had cut off my eyebrows to the huts where they kept their idols, Tammerka. Here they made a ring round me, I being with two women in the centre, and tied my leg with strings of objects which rattled. They bound me also with sheaves of feathers arranged in a square, which they fastened behind at 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.<sup>47</sup> But my wounded leg was so painful that I could hardly stand upright, for the wound had not been dressed.

## CHAPTER XXIV

*How, after they had danced, they brought me home to Ipperu Wasu who was to kill me.*

WHEN the dance was ended I was handed over to Ipperu Wasu who guarded me closely. He told me that I had some time to live. And the people brought the idols from the huts and set them up around me, saying that these had prophesied that they would capture a Portuguese. Then I replied that the idols were powerless and could not speak, and that even so they lied, since I was no Portuguese, but a kinsman and friend to the French, and that my native land was called Allemania. They made answer that it was I who lied, for if I was truly the Frenchmen's friend, how came it that I was among the Portuguese? For they knew well that the French were as much the enemies of the Portuguese as they were,<sup>48</sup> and that they came every year in their boats, bringing knives, axes, mirrors, combs and scissors, and taking in exchange Brazilian wood, cotton, and other goods, such as feathers and pepper. These men were their good friends which the Portuguese were not. For the Portuguese, when they came to the country and settled there, had made friends with their enemies. Moreover, the Portuguese had come to their country, desiring to trade with them, and when they had gone down in all friendship and entered the ships, as they are to this day accustomed to do with the Frenchmen, the Portuguese had waited until sufficient numbers were on board, and had then seized and bound them, carrying them away to their enemies who had killed and eaten them. Others the Portuguese had slain with their guns, committing also many further acts of aggression, and even joining with their enemies and waging frequent war, with intent to capture them.

## CHAPTER XXV

*How my captors made angry complaint that the Portuguese had slain their father, which deed they desired to avenge on me.*

THE savages said, moreover, that the Portuguese had wounded the father of the two brothers, my captors, and had shot off one of his arms so that he died of his wounds, and that they intended to take vengeance on me for their father's death. To which I made answer that they should not visit this upon me, since I was no Portuguese, but had arrived some time since with the Castilians, and had been shipwrecked among the Portuguese, for which reason I had remained with them.

Now there was a young man of their tribe who had been a slave among the Portuguese, for the savages among whom the Portuguese dwell had waged war on the Tuppin Imbas and had captured a whole village, killing and eating the grown men. But the young ones had been carried off and bartered to the Portuguese for goods, and among them was this young man, who had passed into the hands of a master in the neighbourhood of Brikioka named Antonio Agudin of Galicia. My captors had taken this slave some three months before I fell into their hands, but as he belonged to their tribe they had not killed him. This young man knew me well and my captors enquired of him what manner of man I was. He told them that it was true that a ship had been cast away, and that the people in it were called Castilians, and that they were friends of the Portuguese. He said also that I was among them, but knew nothing more of me.

When I heard this and understood that there were Frenchmen among them who came there in their ships, I persisted in my story that I was a kinsman and friend to the French, and that they should leave me alive

## HANS STADEN

until the Frenchmen arrived and recognized me. And they kept me in close confinement, for there were certain Frenchmen in the district who had been left there to collect pepper.

### CHAPTER XXVI

*How a Frenchman who had been left among the savages came to see me and bade them eat me, saying that I was truly a Portuguese.*

THERE was a Frenchman four miles distant from the village in which I was, and when he heard news of me he came and entered one of the huts opposite to the one in which I was kept. Then the savages came running to me and said: "Here is a Frenchman. Now we shall see whether you are in truth a Frenchman or not." At this I rejoiced greatly, for I told myself that he was at least a Christian and would do his best for me.

Then they took me to him, naked as I was, and I found him to be a youth known to the savages by the name Karwattuware. He commenced to speak to me in French, which I could not well understand, and the savages stood round about and listened. Then, when I was unable to reply to him, he spoke to the savages in their own tongue and said: "Kill him and eat him, the good-for-nothing, for he is indeed a Portuguese, your enemy and mine." This I understood, and I begged him for the love of God to tell them not to eat me, but he replied only: "They will certainly eat you." Whereupon I bethought me of the words of the Prophet Jeremy (chapter xvii) when he said: "Cursed be the man that trusteth in man," and I departed from them with a heavy heart. I had on my shoulders a linen cloth which the savages had given me, although I know not where they can have obtained it. This I tore off and flung it at the French-

## HANS HAS TOOTHACHE

man's feet, saying to myself (for the sun had burnt me severely) that it was useless to preserve my flesh for others if I was to die. And they carried me back to the hut which was my prison where I stretched myself in my hammock. God alone knows the misery that I endured, and weeping I commenced to sing the verse: "Let us now beseech the Holy Ghost to save and guard us when death approaches and we pass from sorrows into peace. Kyrieleys." But the savages said only: "He is indeed a true Portuguese. Now he cries. Truly he is afraid to die."

The Frenchman remained for two days in the huts, and on the third day he departed. The savages had resolved to make their preparations and to kill me on the day when everything should be ready. In the meantime they kept me very closely and mocked me continuously, both young and old.

### CHAPTER XXVII

*How I suffered greatly from toothache.*

IT fell out during my misery, just as men say, that troubles never come singly, for one of my teeth commenced to ache so violently that by reason of the pain I could not eat and lost flesh. Whereat my master enquired of me why I ate so little, and I replied that I had toothache. Then he came with an instrument made of wood, and wanted to pull out the tooth. I told him that it had ceased to trouble me, but nevertheless he tried to pull it out with force, and I resisted so vigorously that he gave up the attempt. Then he threatened that if I did not eat and grow fat again they would kill me before the appointed day. God knows how earnestly, from my heart, I desired, if it was his will, to die in peace without the savages perceiving it and before they could work their will on me.

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### CHAPTER XXVIII

*In what manner they brought me to their chief ruler, king Konyan Bebe, and how they dealt with me there.*

A FEW days later they took me to another village called Arirab, the dwelling place of their chief king who was called Konyan Bebe. Here a great company had assembled, with much rejoicing in the native manner, for the people desired to see me, and he had ordered me to be brought there on that day.

As I arrived at the huts I heard a great noise, with singing and blowing of trumpets, and in front of the huts some fifteen heads had been set up on posts. These were the heads of their enemies, called Markayas,<sup>49</sup> whom they had eaten, and as they took me past them they told me what they were. Then I was afraid, for I could not but consider that they might treat me in the same way. When we entered the huts one of my keepers went forward and spoke, with cruel words, so that all might hear, saying: "Behold I bring you a Portuguese slave," as if it were a fine thing for him to have his adversary in his power, and speaking much else besides according to their custom. He then took me to the place where the king sat, and he and his companions drank together of the drink called Kawawy until they were drunken, and they all regarded me with evil looks, saying: "Is not our enemy now come to us?" And I replied: "I am indeed come to you, but I am not your enemy." Then they gave me to drink.

Now I had heard much of this king who was called Konyan Bebe, how that he was a mighty king and a great tyrant and eater of men's flesh, and when I saw the one among them who looked like a king I went forward and spoke to him, as if I had been of his people. And I said: "Are you king Konyan Bebe, do you

## KING KONYAN BEBE

still live?" He made answer: "Yes, I am still alive," and I said: "I have heard much of you, how that you are a very mighty man." Upon this he rose up and began to strut about before me with great pomp. He had a round green stone thrust through his lips (as their custom is).<sup>50</sup> These people make also a kind of pater noster of sea-shells, which they use for ornament. This king wore six ropes of them hanging at his neck whereby I saw that he was a great personage.

The king then sat down again and began to question me as to what his enemies the Tuppin Ikins and the Portuguese were about to do; and why I had tried to shoot his people at Brikioka (for he had learnt that I was employed as a gunner against them). I made answer that the Portuguese had placed me there and I had to obey orders. But he said that I was also a Portuguese, for the Frenchman who had seen me, whom he called his son, had told him that I could not speak with him, and that I was a true Portuguese. Whereupon I told him that I had been so long absent from my country that I had forgotten my native tongue. Then said he: "I have already helped to catch and eat five Portuguese who said they were Frenchmen, but they all lied."

Then, indeed, I abandoned all hope of life and commended myself to God, for I saw clearly that I must die. But he still questioned me and enquired what the Portuguese reported of him, for they must surely go in fear of him. And I replied that they spoke much of him, and of the mighty wars which he waged against them, but that now they had greatly strengthened Brikioka. Nevertheless he boasted that he would catch them all in time in the forest, as he had caught me. To which I answered that his true enemies the Tuppin Ikins were preparing twenty-five canoes to attack his country, and this indeed fell out as I had said.

## HANS STADEN

While the king was speaking with me the others stood by and listened, for he asked me much and told me much, bragging how many of his enemies, both Portuguese and savages, he had killed. In the meantime, while he spoke thus, the drink in the huts had been consumed, and the people were moving to another hut where more drink had been prepared. And with this the king made an end of speaking.



There in the other huts they began to mock me, and the king's son bound my legs in three places, and I was forced to hop thus through the huts on both feet, at which they made merry, saying: "Here comes our food hopping towards us." Then I asked my master whether he had brought me there to be killed, and he said "No," but that it was the people's custom to treat enemy slaves so. They now unbound my legs and began to walk round me, tearing at my flesh, one

## AN ATTACK ON THE HUTS

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. These words caused me much anguish, and I prayed and said: "O God, thou art long-suffering indeed." When all in the village had seen me and abused me, the king, Konyan Bebe, gave orders on the following day that I was to be closely guarded. Then they carried me away from the huts towards Uwattibi where they were to kill me, and the people mocked me, crying out after me that they would not fail to come to my master's hut to drink to me while they ate me; but my master comforted me, saying that they would not kill me yet.

## CHAPTER XXIX

*How the Tuppin Ikins came with twenty-five canoes, as I had predicted to the king, intending to attack the huts where I was kept.*

IN the meantime the twenty-five canoes of the savages who were friendly to the Portuguese, of whom I spoke before I was captured, came out in warlike array, and one morning they attacked the village.

Now when these Tuppin Ikins commenced to attack and were shooting at us, there was consternation in the huts and the women prepared to flee. But I said: "You take me for a Portuguese, your enemy, now give me a bow and arrows and free me, and I will help you to defend the huts." This they did, and I called out and shot my arrows, doing as they did, and encouraging them to be of good heart and no evil would befall them. My intention was to break through the stockade surrounding the huts and run towards the

## HANS STADEN

attackers, for they knew me well and were apprised that I was in the village, but my captors guarded me too well. And when the Tuppin Ikins saw that



they could do nothing they returned to their canoes and departed, and as for me I was watched all the more closely.

## CHAPTER XXX

*In what manner the chiefs assembled in the moonlight.*

ON the day on which the others departed, towards evening, when it was moonlight, the people assembled in the space between the huts and took counsel and deliberated when to kill me, placing me in their midst, and mocking and threatening me. I was much cast down and as I regarded the moon I thought within

## THE MOON IS WRATH

myself and said: "O Lord God, rescue me from this danger and bring it to a peaceful end." Then they asked me why I looked so intently at the moon, and I replied: "I perceive that the moon is wrath," for the face in the moon seemed to me to have (God forgive me) so terrible an aspect that I imagined God and all creatures must be angry with me. Then the king who desired to kill me, by name Jeppipo Wasu, one of the chiefs of the huts, enquired of me with whom the moon was angry, and I replied: "She is looking towards your huts," whereupon he began to rage and dispute with me, and to appease him I added: "Perchance it is not you with whom she is wrath, but the Carios slaves" (these being a savage tribe so called). "Yes," said he, "upon them let the misfortune fall," and thus the matter remained, and it passed from my mind.



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### CHAPTER XXXI

*How the Tuppin Ikins burnt another village called Mambukabe.*

NEWS came the next day from a village called Mambukabe that the Tuppin Ikins, after they had departed leaving me a captive, had descended upon the village and burnt it, but the inhabitants had escaped except a small boy who had been captured. Upon this Jeppipo Wasu, who had charge of me and who did me many injuries, hurried off, since the people of the village were his friends, to help them to rebuild their huts. And with him went all his companions from the huts. His intention was to bring back clay and root meal in order to prepare the feast at which I was to be eaten, and as he departed he gave orders to Ipperu Wasu, to whom he had presented me, that I was to be closely guarded. They were absent for more than a fortnight making their preparations.

### CHAPTER XXXII

*How a ship came from Brikioka enquiring for me, and of the brief report which was given.*

IN the meantime a Portuguese ship arrived from Brikioka and anchored not far from the place where I was, and shot off a gun so that the savages might come and parley with them. As soon as the savages heard this they said: "Here are your friends, the Portuguese. Doubtless they wish to hear whether you are still alive and to buy you." And I replied: "This will certainly be my brother," for I was sure that the Portuguese ship which was there would enquire for me, and lest the savages should take me for a Portuguese, I told them that I had a brother,

## THE SAVAGES FALL SICK

a Frenchman, among them. As soon as the ship drew near I told them that my brother had come, but the savages continued to maintain that I was a Portuguese, and they approached within speaking distance of the ship. When the Portuguese enquired after me the savages replied only that they might cease their enquiries. Whereupon the ship sailed away, the Portuguese thinking doubtless that I was dead. God alone knows what my thoughts were when I saw the ship depart, but the savages said amongst themselves: "We have the right man. They are already sending ships after him."

### CHAPTER XXXIII

*How the brother of king Jeppipo Wasu returned from Mambukale with the news that his brother and mother, and all the company had fallen sick, and entreated me to procure my God to make them well again.*

WHEN I was daily expecting the return of the others who, as I have reported, were preparing for my death, I heard one day the sound of howling in the huts of the king who was absent. I was much afraid, for I thought that they had now returned, since it is the custom of the savages, when one of them has been absent for not longer than four days, to cry over him with joy when he returns.<sup>61</sup> 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. Not long afterwards this brother himself came to the hut where I was, and sitting down by me he commenced to cry aloud, saying 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

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message that I was to make my God restore them to health; and he added that his brother was persuaded that my God was wrath with them. To which I replied: "My God is indeed angry with you for threatening to eat me, and for going to Mambukabe to prepare the feast, and for falsely accusing me of being a Portuguese." I told him, further, to return to his brother and bid him come back to the huts, and I would intercede with my God to make him well again. He replied that his brother was too ill to come, but that he knew and had observed that if I desired it he would recover. Whereupon I made answer that he must wait until he was strong enough to come home to his huts, and that then he would be restored to health. With this answer he returned to Mambukabe, which is situated four miles from Uwattibi, where I was.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

*In what manner the sick king Jeppipo Wasu returned home.*

AFTER some days the sick persons all came back. Then was I taken to the king's huts, and he told me how the sickness had come upon them, and that I must have known of it, for he well remembered my saying that the moon was wrath with them. When I heard this I told myself that it was indeed God's doing that I had spoken of the moon on that evening, and I rejoiced greatly and said: "This day is God with me."

I told the king that this misfortune had befallen him because he had threatened to eat me, although I was no enemy of his, and he promised that if he recovered his health no evil should happen to me. But I was at a loss what to ask of God, for it seemed to me that if the savages recovered they would kill me

## HANS AS HEALER

at once, and if they died the others would say: "Let us kill him lest greater misfortunes befall us," as indeed they had already begun to say, and I could only submit the whole matter to God, the king beseeching me anew to make them well again. I went to and fro laying my hands on their heads as they desired me to do, but God did not suffer it and they began to die. A child died first, and then the king's mother, an old



woman, whose business it was to prepare the pots for the drink with which I was to be eaten. Some days later a brother died, and then again a child, and then another brother, that one who had first brought me news of their illness.

When the king saw that his children and his mother and brother were dead he began to fear that he and his wives would die also, and he begged me to tell my God to make an end of his wrath so that he might

## HANS STADEN

live. I comforted him mightily, telling him not to despair, and that when he recovered his health he must give up all thought of killing me, which he promised, giving orders to those in his huts to cease from mocking me and threatening to eat me. He remained sick for a time, but finally he recovered, as did one of his wives who had been stricken, but there died of his family some eight persons, besides others, all of whom had treated me with great cruelty.

There were two kings in two other huts, one called Vratinge Wasu, the other Kenrimakui. 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 also must not think of killing me, nor give counsel to others to kill me. He replied that he would not do so, and that so long as those who had captured me did not kill me, so long he would do me no harm, and that even if they killed me he would not eat of me.

The second king, Kenrimakui, 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 with his own hands, after which he had eaten so much of him that his stomach had been afflicted ever afterwards, and that he would never eat another Portuguese. But now he had dreamed about me, and his dream was so terrible that he thought he was about to die. I comforted him also, and told him he would recover, but that he must eat no more human flesh.

The old women about the huts who had done me much injury, beating me and threatening to eat me, now called me *Scheraeire*, which signifies: "Son, do

## THE FRENCHMAN RETURNS

not let me die," saying that when they ill-treated me they thought I was one of the Portuguese whom they hated. Further that they had eaten many Portuguese whose God had never been as angry as mine, and that it was clear that I was not a Portuguese at all.

After this they left me alone for a time, for they did not know what to do with me, nor whether I was in truth a Portuguese or a Frenchman. They remarked that I had a red beard like the Frenchmen, whereas the Portuguese, although they had seen some with red beards, had in general black beards.

When the terror was abated, and one of my masters had recovered, there was no more talk of eating me, but they guarded me closely and would not suffer me to go about unattended.

## CHAPTER XXXV

*How the Frenchman returned who had told the savages to eat me, and how I begged him to take me away, but my masters would not suffer me to go.*

THE Frenchman, called Karwattuware, of whom I have reported that he had abandoned me, had remained with the savages, his friends, trading with them and collecting pepper and feathers, and when he was travelling to those parts called Mungu Wappe and Iterroenne, where the ships arrive, he passed by the place where I was. Now when he left me he thought that the savages would certainly eat me, as he had recommended them to do, and having been absent for some time he expected to find me dead.

When, therefore, he entered the huts and saw me he addressed me in the savage tongue, and at that time I was not bound as previously. 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.

## HANS STADEN

It occurred to me that he might have heard from the savages how matters had fallen out, and I drew him 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. I urged him to tell the savages this, and to make clear to them that I was his kinsman and friend, and to take me away with him when the ships arrived. For I was fearful that if he did not do this the savages would consider all that I had told them to be lies, and that sooner or later in their anger they would kill me. And I reproached him in the savage tongue, and asked whether he had a Christian heart in his bosom when he enjoined the savages to kill me, or had considered the life that was to come, whereupon he began to be ashamed and excused himself, saying that he had thought that I was indeed a Portuguese, who were such scoundrels that if the French could catch them anywhere in the province of Brazil they would hang them forthwith, which was indeed the truth. He said also that his people had to submit to the savages and be content with their treatment of their enemies, since the Portuguese were their hereditary foes.

Accordingly the Frenchman informed the savages that at our first meeting he had not properly recognized me, that I was from Germany, and was a friend of his nation, and that he proposed to take me to the place where the ships came. But the savages refused to deliver me up, stating that if my own father or brother came with a shipload of axes, mirrors, knives, combs and scissors and gave them these goods, they would not let me go, for they had captured me in the enemy's country and I belonged to them. When the Frenchman heard this he told me that, as I could see, the savages would not part with me. Then I begged him,

## A CANNIBAL FEAST

for the love of God, to send for me and take me back in the first ship sailing for France, and this he promised to do, bidding the savages to care for me and on no account to kill me, for my friends were at hand and would certainly come for me. And with this he departed.

When the Frenchman had gone, one of my masters named Alkindar Miri (not the one who was sick) asked me what Karwattuware (which was the savages' name for the Frenchman) had given me. He enquired also whether he was indeed my countryman, and I replied that he was. Then said he: "Why did he not give you a knife which you could have given to me?" and he was angry; and later, when they had been restored to health, the savages began to murmur against me, saying that after all a Frenchman was not worth more than a Portuguese, and I commenced to be afraid again.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

*Of the manner in which the savages ate a prisoner and carried me to the feast.*

SOME days later the savages made preparations to eat one of their captives. These preparations took place in a village called Teckquarippe, about six miles away, and a company of people set out for the village, taking me with them. The slave who was to be eaten belonged to a nation called Marcaya, and we travelled thither in a canoe.

Now it is their custom when they are about to kill a man for the people to brew a drink from roots called Kawî, and after they have drunk this they kill their victim. 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." Now the rope with which

## HANS STADEN

they bind their victims is called Mussurana, and it is made of cotton, being thicker than a man's finger, and the man agreed that all was in order, only the rope was too short, for it wanted some six fathoms in length, and he added that with his people the matter would have been better arranged. And he spoke and acted as if he were going to a merrymaking.

I had with me a book in the Portuguese tongue, which the savages had taken from a ship they had captured with the help of the French, and they had given it to me. I departed from the prisoner and read in the book, and was consumed with pity for him. I therefore returned to him, for the Portuguese are friendly with the Marcaya tribe, and told him that I also was a prisoner as he was, and had not come to eat him, but had been brought there by my masters. He replied that he knew well that we did not eat human flesh. I then told him to be comforted for they would eat his body only, but his soul would be gathered to another place with the people of our nation where all was happiness and joy, but he doubted whether this was true, for he said he had never seen God. I told him that he would indeed see him in another life, and so left him.

That night a great storm of wind arose and blew so furiously that pieces of the roofs of the huts were carried away. Then the savages began to murmur against me, saying in their speech: *Apo Meiren geuppawy wittu wasu Immou*: "This evil fellow, the magician, has brought this wind upon us, for he looked by day into his book of thunder," meaning the book which I had, and they insisted that I had done this because the prisoner was a friend of the Portuguese, saying that I intended, perchance, to hinder the feast with bad weather. Then I prayed to God and said: "Lord, thou hast protected me until now, protect me still further," for they murmured much against me.

## THE RETURN JOURNEY

When day broke it was fine weather and the savages drank and were merry, but I went to the victim and told him that the great wind was my God, and that he had come to claim him. And on the following day he was eaten. The manner of this is related hereafter.<sup>52</sup>

### CHAPTER XXXVII

*What happened on the homeward journey after the man had been eaten.*

WHEN the feast was over we returned to our dwellings, my masters bringing some of the roast meat with them. The journey, which usually occupies one day, took three days to accomplish owing to the wind and rain, and the first evening, as we were setting up huts of wood to protect us, the savages asked me to make the rain cease. Now there was a boy with us who had a piece of the leg-bone of the dead slave with some flesh upon it, which he was eating. I told the boy to throw it away, but he grew angry, as did also the others, saying that it was their proper food. So I left the matter.

When we arrived within a quarter of a mile of our dwellings we could proceed no further, since the waves were too much for us. We beached the canoe and waited for the next day, when we looked for better weather, and hoped to be able to take the canoe home, but it remained stormy. Then they resolved to proceed by land and come back for the canoe when the weather improved. As we were about to go, the savages finished their meal, and the boy continued gnawing the flesh off the bone, after which he threw it away, and as soon as we set out the weather improved. "Now see," said I, "you doubted when I said that my God was angry because the boy ate the

## HANS STADEN

flesh from the bone," and they all agreed, saying that he should have eaten it out of my sight, and that the weather would then have continued fine, and so the matter rested.

After we had at last reached the huts, one of the men who owned a part of me, named Alkindar, enquired whether I had seen what they did with their enemies, and I replied that I had seen it indeed, but that the eating was more terrible to me than the killing. Whereupon he answered: "Such is our custom, and so we do also with the Portuguese."

This Alkindar was very incensed against me and would have rejoiced if the man to whom he had presented me had killed me, for, as you will have read above, Ipperu Wasu had presented him with a slave for him to kill in order to obtain a fresh name for himself, and Alkindar in return had vowed to present him with the first slave he caught. Since he had not killed me, however, Alkindar would gladly have done so himself, but his brother prevented this, fearing that fresh misfortunes might befall him.

Before the others had taken me to the place where they ate the man, this same Alkindar had renewed his threats to kill me, but when I returned I found that during my absence he had been attacked by pains in the eyes, and was forced to lie still. He was quite blind for a time, and begged me continually to speak with my God so that he might be cured. I consented upon condition that he should cease to ill-treat me, which he promised, and in a few days he was restored to health.

## A PORTUGUESE SHIP ARRIVES

### CHAPTER XXXVIII

*How once more a ship was sent after me by the Portuguese.*

AFTER I had been five months among the savages, another ship came from the island of Sancto Vincente, for it is the custom of the Portuguese from time to time to send ships which are well armed into the country of their enemies to trade with them, giving them knives and sickles in exchange for mandioca meal, which the savages have in great quantities. The Portuguese have many slaves employed in the sugar plantations and require the meal for their food. When the ships come to trade, the savages row out, one or two in a canoe, and keeping as far away as possible, they hand out their goods, and name what they require in exchange which the Portuguese then give them. All the time that the two men are close to the ship, their companions keep a look out some distance off in their canoes, and when the trading is at an end, the savages often draw near and skirmish with the Portuguese and shoot their arrows at them, after which they return.

The crew of the ship fired a gun so that the savages might know that a ship had arrived, and when the savages rowed out, they enquired of them concerning me, whether I was still alive, and the savages answered "Yes." Then the Portuguese desired to see me, stating that they had a box full of things for me from my brother, also a Frenchman, who was in the ship with them.

Now there was a Frenchman called Claudio Mirando with the Portuguese in the ship who had been my companion. This man I called my brother, and I thought that he might be in the ship enquiring for me, as he had made the voyage before. The savages returned from the ship, and told me that my brother

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had come back, bringing me a box of goods, and that he desired to see me. Then I said: "Carry me to a place near at hand so that I can speak with my brother. The Portuguese will not understand what we say, and I will tell him to ask my father, when he returns home, to send a ship full of goods and take me away." To this they agreed, but they were much



concerned lest the Portuguese should understand what we said, for the savages intended to make war during the month of August in the neighbourhood of Brikioka where I was captured, and I knew all their plans, and they were afraid I might disclose them. But I assured the savages that the Portuguese could not understand our speech. Then they carried me to within a stone's throw of the ship, naked as I was and had been all the time of my captivity, and I spoke to those in the ship

## A SHIP ARRIVES

and said: "The Lord God be with you, my brothers. Let one speak to me alone and do not allow it to be seen that I am otherwise than a Frenchman." Then one spoke who was called Johann Senches, a Biscayan, whom I knew well, and he said: "My dear brother, on your account have we come in the ship, not knowing whether you were dead or alive, for the first ship brought no news of you. Captain Brascupas<sup>58</sup> at Sanctus has ordered us to find out whether you were still alive, and if so to endeavour to buy you back, and if that failed to try and capture some of the savages to exchange for you."

Then I said: "Now may God reward you in eternity, for I am here in great fear and peril, and know not what may befall me. But for God's merciful intervention I should have been eaten." I said further: "They will not sell me to you: they would not even think of it, but do not you in the ship let the savages think of me otherwise than as a Frenchman, and give me, for the love of God, knives and fish-hooks." This they did at once, and a man returned to the ship and fetched them.

When I saw that the savages would not suffer me to parley any longer, I said to the Portuguese: "Look well to it, they are going to attack Brikioka." They replied that the savages, their allies, were also preparing for war, and would attack the village where I was, and that I was to be of good cheer, since God would do what was best, but, as I could see, they were powerless to help me. I agreed, saying: "All this has befallen me on account of my sins. It is better that God should punish me now, rather than in the world to come, but pray you to God for my deliverance": and I commended them to God. The Portuguese desired to speak further with me, but the savages would not permit it and carried me back again to the huts.

Then I took the knives and fish-hooks and gave

## HANS STADEN

them to the savages saying: "All these my brother, the Frenchman, gave me." And they enquired what he had spoken about with me. I replied that I had told my brother to escape from the Portuguese and return to our home, and bring a ship well stocked with goods to fetch me: "For," said I, "you are good people and treat me well and I am anxious to reward you when the ship comes." Thus at all times I had to conciliate them and they were well pleased.

Afterwards they spoke among themselves and said: "He must surely be a Frenchman, let us in future treat him more kindly." So matters continued for a while, I telling them that a ship would shortly come to fetch me and that they were to treat me well. Then they carried me about with them in the forest and forced me to labour for them.

## CHAPTER XXXIX

*How a slave, who had perpetually defamed me and desired to have me killed, was himself killed and eaten in my presence.*

THERE was a slave among the savages belonging to the nation called Carios, who were enemies of the savages and allies of the Portuguese. This man had been a slave among the Portuguese, but had escaped from them. The savages do not kill those who escape in this wise unless they commit some crime, but keep them as slaves to serve them. This slave had been three years among the Tuppin Inba people, and had declared that he had seen me among the Portuguese, shooting with the Tuppin Inba when they made war upon them.

Now some years previously the Portuguese had slain one of their kings, and this man maintained that the king had been shot by me, and he urged the savages

## A SLAVE IS EATEN

constantly to kill me, saying that I was their real enemy as he himself had seen, but this was all lies, for he had been three years there and only a year had passed since I had reached Sancto Vincente, from which place he had escaped. And I prayed God to save me from his lies.

It happened about the year 1554, in the sixth month of my captivity, that this Cario fell ill, and his master besought me to help him and make him well again, so that he might catch game for us to eat, especially since, as I knew well, the food that was brought in was shared with me. But if I was of opinion that the man could not recover, then he would give him to one of his friends, so that he might kill him and take a fresh name for himself. And the man had been ill for nine or ten days.

Now the savages are accustomed to use for several purposes the teeth of a wild beast called Backe,<sup>54</sup> which they sharpen, and when the blood is sluggish they cut the skin with one of these teeth so that the blood flows freely. This is equivalent with us to letting blood. I took one of these teeth, intending to open the median vein, but I could not cut it as the tooth was too blunt, and the savages stood round about. As I left him I saw that it was useless, but the savages continued to enquire whether he would recover, to which I replied that I could do nothing and that, as they saw, the blood would not flow. Then they said: "He will surely die. Let us kill him before he is dead." I answered: "No, do not kill him, for possibly he may recover," but I could not restrain them. They dragged him in front of the hut of the king Vratinge, while two men held him, although he was so ill that he did not know what they were doing. Then the man came up, to whom the Cario had been given, and beat out his brains, after which they left him lying before the huts ready to be eaten. But I warned them that he was

## HANS STADEN

a sick man, and that they might also fall sick if they ate him, and they knew not what to do. Nevertheless, one came from the huts where I was and called the women-folk to make a fire beside the body. Then he cut off the head, for the man had lost an eye from his disease and his appearance was horrible, and throwing away the head, he singed the body at the fire. After this



he cut him up and divided the flesh equally, as is their custom, and they devoured everything except the head and intestines, which they did not fancy, on account of the man's sickness.

As I went to and fro in the huts I saw them roasting here the feet, there the hands, and elsewhere a piece of the trunk, and I told the savages that this Cario whom they were roasting and eating had always spoken ill of me, saying that while I was among the Portuguese

## A FRENCH SHIP ARRIVES

I had shot several of their friends, and that he lied, for he had never seen me before. "Now see," said I, "he had been several years with you and had never been sick, but on account of his lying stories about me, my God was angry with him and smote him with sickness and put it into your minds to kill and eat him. So will my God do to all evil persons who seek or have sought to injure me." And they were greatly terrified at my words, but I thanked God that he had in this wise shown his might and power through me. Note reader, and mark well my writing, for I do this not in order to tell you strange things, but only to make known the wonderful works of God.

The time now approached when the savages proposed to make war, having prepared themselves during three months. I hoped that when they departed they would leave me with the women, so that I might escape in their absence.

## CHAPTER XL

*How a French ship arrived to trade with the savages for cotton and Brazil-wood, to which ship I tried to escape, but God did not intend it.*

SOME eight days before the savages intended to set out for war, a French ship arrived in a harbour called by the Portuguese Rio de Jenero, and by the savages Iteronne, which was about eight miles away. There the French are accustomed to load wood, and they came now with their boat to the village where I was, and traded with the savages for pepper, apes and parrots. One of the crew came from the boat on shore, who was called Jacob and knew the savage speech, and as he traded with the people, I begged him to take me back to his ship, but my master declined to let me go, saying that they would require much goods

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for me. Then I told the savages to take me themselves to the ship, and my friends would give them all that they required, but they would not, saying: "These are not your true friends, or they would have given you a shirt when they saw that you were naked. It is clear that they take no account of you" (which was indeed true). I replied that they would clothe me when I reached the great ship, but they answered that



the ship would not depart at present and they had first to set off to war, but when they returned they would take me to it. So the boat prepared to go back to the ship, having anchored for a night at the village.

Now when I saw that the boat was preparing to depart, I prayed and said: "O merciful God, if the ship sails without me I shall certainly perish, for this is a people in whom no man can trust." With this I left the huts and ran towards the water, but the savages

## HANS TRIES TO ESCAPE

saw me and came after me. I ran as fast as I could, while they tried to seize me. The first that came up with me I struck down, and soon the whole village was at my heels, but I escaped and swam out beside the boat. When I tried to climb into the boat the Frenchmen thrust me away, for they thought that if they took me thus the savages would rise against them and become their enemies. So, very sadly, I swam back to the shore, for I saw it was God's will that I should remain there still longer in misery. But if I had not tried to escape then I should have blamed myself afterwards.

When the savages saw me return they rejoiced and said: "Now he comes back to us." But I was wrath with them and said: "Do you think that I would leave you thus? I went to the boat to tell my people that they must send again for me after your return from the wars, so that when you bring me to them they will have much to give you in exchange." This pleased them greatly and they were once more contented.

## CHAPTER XLI

*How the savages went forth to war taking me with them and what befell me on the way.*

Four days later the canoes began to assemble in the village in readiness for the expedition, and the chief king Konyan Bebe came also with his boats. My master announced that he would take me with him, but I asked to be left behind, and this would have happened if the king, Konyan Bebe, had not ordered otherwise. I let them see that I went unwillingly, lest they should think that I intended to escape when they reached the enemy country, and that they might guard me less closely. But it had been my intention,

## HANS STADEN

if they left me at home, to run away to the French ship.

However, they took me with them. There were thirty-eight canoes, each canoe carrying eighteen men more or less. Certain of them had enquired of their idols by dreams and had committed other follies concerning the expedition, as is their custom, and they were all much puffed up. Their intention was to make for the neighbourhood of Brikioka, where they had captured me, and to conceal themselves in the forest close by, and take back those who fell into their hands.

It was now about the 14th day of August in the year 1554. At this time, as I have stated before, it is the custom for the fish which is called in Portuguese Doynges, in Spanish Liesses, and in the savage tongue Bratti,<sup>65</sup> to leave the sea for the fresh waters in order to spawn there, and this season of the year the savages call Pirakaen. At this time the savages go forth to war, both they and their enemies, catching and eating the fish by the way, and on the journey out they travel slowly, but on the journey back they travel as speedily as they can.

I hoped that the savages who were friendly to the Portuguese would also then be going to war, for those in the ship had told me that the savages, their allies, intended to attack at this time. My companions enquired of me continually during the voyage whether they would capture any prisoners, and in order not to anger them I said "Yes." I also told them that the enemy would engage them. One night we lay at the place called Uwattibi, where we caught many of the fish called Bratti, which are as large as a good-sized pike. That night the wind blew mightily, and the savages talked much to me and asked me many questions, whereupon I said that the wind was blowing over the bodies of dead men. Now it happened that

## ON THE WARPATH

another party of savages had set out by water to a river called Paraibe, and my companions concluded that this party must have reached the enemy country, and that some of the men were dead. This, as I heard later, had in fact happened.

When we were a day's journey further on, and were preparing for the attack, we hid ourselves in a wood close to an island which is called by the Portuguese S. Sebastian, and by the savages Meyenbipe. At night the king, Konyan Bebe, went to and fro in the camp and harangued and said that we had now arrived close to the enemy country, and that each one was to take note of his dreams that night, and that all were to see to it that their dreams were good. When he had finished speaking, the men danced with their idols until far into the night, after which they slept, and as my master laid himself down he told me to be sure to dream well, but I replied that I took no account of dreams which are delusions. He then bade me speak to my God so that they might take many prisoners.

At daybreak the chiefs gathered round a cauldron of stewed fish, and while they ate they recounted their dreams, in so far as they were propitious; others danced with their idols, and that day they elected to set out for a place called Boywassu Kange, which was close to the enemy's country, where they would rest until evening. When we left the place called Meyenbipe, where we spent the night, the savages enquired of me what was in my mind, and I said at a venture that the enemy would meet us close to Boywassu Kange, but that we had nothing to fear; and it was my intention at Boywassu Kange to make my escape, for it was only six miles from the place where I had been captured.

As we were coasting along we saw a number of canoes approaching us from behind an island, and the savages called out: "Here come our enemies the

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Tuppin Ikins," and we hid ourselves behind a rock so that the others might pass without observing us, but they became aware of us and commenced to row in the direction of their home. We rowed after them as swiftly as we could, and gave chase for four whole hours until we came up with them. There were five canoes full of men, and they all came from Brikioka. I knew them all. In one of the canoes were six



mamelukes who had been baptized, and among them were two brothers, one called Diego de Praga, the other Domingus de Praga,<sup>56</sup> who defended themselves stoutly, one with a gun, the other with a bow and arrows. These two alone kept our thirty canoes at bay for two whole hours. But when their arrows were exhausted the Tupin Inba fell upon them and captured them, and some were knocked on the head at once or

## THE FATE OF THE PRISONERS

shot. The two brothers were unhurt, but two of the six mamelukes were badly wounded, as were also several of the Tuppin Ikin, among whom was one woman.



## CHAPTER XLII

*How the prisoners were disposed of on the return voyage.*

THE capture had taken place at sea, two full miles from land, and we hurried back as quickly as we could in order to encamp in the place where we had spent the previous night. When we reached the land called Meyenbipe it was evening and the sun was setting, and each man took his prisoner to his hut. Those that had been badly wounded they carried to the land, where they were killed at once and cut up and roasted.

## HANS STADEN

Among those who were roasted that night were two of the mamelukes who were Christians; one was a Portuguese named George Ferrero, the son of a captain by a native woman. The other was called Hieronymus. He had been captured by a native belonging to my hut, whose name was Parwaa, and this man spent the whole night roasting Hieronymus, scarcely a step from the spot where I lay. This same Hieronymus (God have his soul) was blood relation to Diego de Praga.



That night, when we were encamped, I went into the hut where the two brothers were to talk with them, for they had been my good friends at Brikioka where I was captured. They enquired of me whether they would also be eaten, but I told them that they must trust in our Heavenly Father and in his Son Jesus Christ, who was crucified for our sins, and in whose

## A CANNIBAL FEAST

name we were baptized. I said also: "This is my belief. God has watched over me so long here among the savages, and what God decrees must satisfy us."

The two brothers enquired also concerning their cousin Hieronymus, and I told them that he lay by the fire roasting, and that I had seen a piece of Ferrero's son being eaten. Then they commenced to weep, and I comforted them, telling them that I had been eight months or thereabouts among the savages, and that God had been my protector. "So also," I said, "will he protect you, if you trust in him." I told them also that it was harder for me than for them, for I had come from foreign countries, knowing nothing of the dreadful practices of the savages, but, as for them, they had been born in the country and bred there. They replied, however, that I had been hardened by misery and should therefore take less account of it.

As I was discoursing with them, the savages came and ordered me to depart, and they wanted to know what matters I had discussed with them at such length. I was sad at leaving them, and told them to put their whole trust in God, and to remember what sufferings were ours in this vale of sorrows, and they replied that never until then had they realized this, that they owed their lives to God, and that they would die more happily since I was with them. With that I left them and went through the whole camp visiting the prisoners. I went alone and none heeded me, and I could have escaped then, for the island Meyenbipe was only some ten miles from Brikioka, but I refrained on account of the Christian prisoners, of whom four were still alive. I thought that if I escaped, the savages would kill them at once in their anger. It might well be that God would still preserve us all, and I resolved to remain with them and comfort them, and this I did. The savages were now very favourably disposed towards

## HANS STADEN

me, since I had predicted, by chance, that the enemy would encounter us, as indeed it fell out. They said also that I was a better prophet than their prophet Miraka.

### CHAPTER XLIII

*How they danced in the camp on the following day with their enemies.*

On the day following we reached a place not far from the country of my captors, called Occarasu, a great mountain. There we camped for the night, and I went to the hut of Konyan Bebe, the chief king, and asked what he intended to do with the two mamelukes. He replied that they would be eaten, and forbade me to speak with them, for he was very wrath, saying that they should have stayed at home instead of going to fight with his enemies. I begged him to spare their lives and sell them back again to their friends, but he was resolved that they should be eaten.

This same Konyan Bebe had then a great vessel full of human flesh in front of him and was eating a leg which he held to my mouth, asking me to taste it. I replied that even beasts which were without understanding did not eat their own species, and should a man devour his fellow creatures? But he took a bite saying *Jau ware sehe*: "I am a tiger; it tastes well," and with that I left him.

In the evening he gave orders that each man should bring his prisoner to an open space by the water, and this was done, and the savages gathered together into a circle with the prisoners in the centre, and they forced them to sing and rattle the idols which are called *Tammaraka*.<sup>57</sup> When the prisoners had finished singing, they commenced to talk wantonly among themselves, saying: "We set forth like brave men intending to capture you, our enemies, and to eat you. Now you have the mastery, and have taken us, but we

## THE RETURN JOURNEY

do not crave for mercy, for brave men are willing to die in an enemy country. But our land is wide and there are many waiting to take vengeance for our deaths." And the others made answer: "You have slain many of our fellows. Now will we be the avengers." When this speech was ended the prisoners were taken back to the huts.



Three days later we reached our country and each man took his prisoner to his dwelling. In the village of Uwattibi, where I was, there were eight live savages who were prisoners and three Christian mamelukes, namely Diego and his brother, and another Christian called Antonio, the latter having been captured by my master's son. The two other mamelukes they carried home roasted, ready to be eaten. The journey out and home again had lasted eleven days.

## HANS STADEN

### CHAPTER XLIV

*How the French ship, to which the savages had promised to bring me, was still there when they returned from the war.*

WHEN we returned home I asked to be taken to the French ship, telling my captors that I had been with them upon their expedition, and had assisted them to capture their enemies, and from this alone they must have seen that I was no Portuguese. They replied that they would carry me to the ship, but that they must first rest and eat the Mokaen, that is the flesh of the two Christians.

### CHAPTER XLV

*How they ate George Ferrero, the Portuguese captain's son, and the first of the two roasted Christians.*

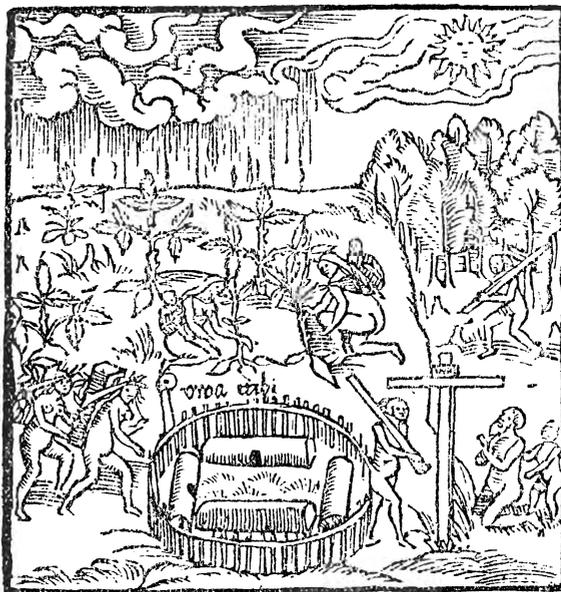
THERE was a king over certain huts which were close to my hut, named Tatamiri, and he had charge of the roasted flesh. He caused drink to be prepared, according to their custom, and all the savages gathered together, drinking, singing, and making very merry. The day following they cooked the flesh again and ate it. But the flesh of Hieronymus remained in the hut where I was, hanging in the smoke, in a pot over the fire for three weeks, until it was as dry as wood. This was due to the fact that one of the savages named Parwaa had gone to collect roots with which to prepare drink to be served when Hieronymus was eaten, and so the time passed. The savages would not take me to the ship until they had celebrated their feast and eaten the remains of Hieronymus, and in the meantime the ship had departed, for it lay about eight miles from the place where I was.

## A MIRACLE

When I heard the news of this I was much cast down, but the savages assured me that the ship came every year, and with this I had to be content.

### CHAPTER XLVI

*How Almighty God worked a wonder.*



I HAD made a cross of reeds and set it up in front of my hut, and it was my custom to say my prayers there. I had told the savages not to remove it, lest some misfortune should befall them. But they gave no heed to my words, and once when I was away fishing, a woman tore up the cross and gave it to her husband to use for rubbing down the charms which they make from the shells of sea-snails, since it was round. At

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this I was very sad, and some days later it began to rain heavily. The rain endured for several days, and the savages came to my hut and asked me to tell my God to stop the rain, for if it continued it would spoil their planting, the time for which had then arrived. 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. When they heard that this was the cause of the rain, my master's son helped me to set up another cross, and it was then about an hour after midday, reckoning by the sun. 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.

### CHAPTER XLVII

*How I went fishing one evening with two savages, and God worked another wonder with rain and storm.*

ONE day I went fishing with the chief named Parwaa, the man who had roasted Hieronymus, and as I stood fishing with him and another at the close of day, there arose a great storm of rain and thunder not far from where we stood, and the wind blew the rain in our direction. Then the two men begged me to ask my God to see to it that the rain did not hinder us, so that we might catch more fish since, as I knew, there was nothing to eat in the hut. Thus moved, I prayed to God from the depths of my heart, that he might show his power in me and make plain to the heathen that he was with me at all times. As I finished my supplication the wind, blowing mightily, carried the rain towards us, so that it was raining heavily some six feet away from us, but on the place where we stood we

## ANOTHER MIRACLE

felt nothing. Then the savage Parwaa spoke saying: "Now I see that you have indeed prayed to your God," and we caught a number of fish.



When we returned to the huts the two men told the others what had happened when I spoke to my God, and they were all amazed.

### CHAPTER XLVIII

*How the savages ate the second roasted Christian, called Hieronymus.*

WHEN all was made ready, as I have already related, the savage Parwaa caused drink to be prepared which was to be served when Hieronymus was eaten. When they had finished drinking they brought out the two

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brothers and another named Anthonius who had been captured by my master's son, and we four Christians were there together. We were forced to drink with the savages, but before doing so we prayed to God to have mercy on the dead man's soul, and to us also when our time came. And the savages spoke with us and were merry, but we were full of sorrow. The next day, early in the morning, they cooked the flesh again and ate it very quickly.

They now took me to be given away, and as I parted from the two brothers they begged me to pray to God for them, and I advised them, in case they should escape, what direction they should take in the mountains, and how best to cover their tracks, for I knew the mountains well. They were able to take advantage of my counsel, for I heard later that they had escaped, but whether they were recaptured I know not.

### CHAPTER XLIX

*How they carried me to be given away.*

THE savages now carried me to a place called Tackwara Sutibi, where they intended to give me away. When we were a short distance from the shore I looked behind me towards the huts and saw a black cloud hovering over them. I pointed this out to my companions, and told them that my God was wrath with the whole village for having eaten Christian flesh. When we arrived at the end of our journey I was presented to a king called Abbati Bossange, and the savages warned him that he was not to injure me or suffer me to be injured, since my God was very mighty against those that did me evil, which thing they had seen while I was with them. And I added my own warning, saying that my brother and friends would shortly arrive with

## ANOTHER SHIP ARRIVES

a ship full of goods, and if they took care of me I would make them large gifts; for I knew full well that my God would send my brother with the ship right speedily. This pleased the savages greatly, and the king called me his son and I went with his sons hunting.

### CHAPTER L

*How the savages of this place reported to me that the French ship had sailed away again.*

THE savages now told me that the French ship called Maria Bellete from Dieppe, which I had wished to join, had departed, having taken in a cargo of Brazil wood, pepper, cotton, feathers, monkeys, parrots and the like. Also that the crew had captured a Portuguese ship in the harbour of Rio de Jenero, and had given a Portuguese sailor to a king called Ita Wu who had eaten him.<sup>58</sup> I learnt, further, that the Frenchman who saw me when I was captured, and told the savages to eat me, was returning home in this ship. It was this ship's boat which I had tried to reach when I made my escape and the crew refused to take me in. She was, however, lost on the voyage home, for when I reached France in another ship, as I shall relate hereafter, no one could tell me what had become of her.

### CHAPTER LI

*How shortly after I had been given away, another ship arrived from France, the Catherine of Vattavilla,<sup>59</sup> which through God's providence was able to buy me, and of the manner in which this fell out.*

I REMAINED some fourteen days in the place Tackwara Sutibi with king Abbati Bossange, and one day it happened that certain of the savages came to me and

## HANS STADEN

reported that they had heard the sound of shooting, which must have come from the harbour of Iteronne, or Rio de Jenero. As I was sure that a ship must have arrived there, I told them to carry me to it, for this was doubtless my brother's ship. They agreed to do this, but detained me for a few days more.

In the meantime it happened that the Frenchmen who had arrived there heard that I was a prisoner among the savages, and the captain sent two of his men, together with certain native kings, their friends, to the place where I was, and they came to a hut, the chief king of which was called Sowarasu. My hut was close at hand, and news was brought to me that the two men had arrived from the ship. At this I rejoiced greatly, and went to them and bade them welcome in the native tongue, and when they saw my misery and nakedness they were full of pity and shared their clothes with me. I asked them why they had come and they said that it was on my account, and that their orders were to take me to the ship and to use force if necessary. Then my heart overflowed with gratitude to God, and I told one of the men, who was called Perot and knew the savage tongue, that he must make believe he was my brother, and that he was to say that he had brought me certain chests full of merchandise and must take me with him to the ship to fetch them. He was to tell the savages also that I would then return to collect pepper and other things and wait until the ship came again next year. Then they took me to the ship, my master going with us, where they received me in all pity and showed me great kindness. After we had been some five days in the ship, the king Abbati Bossange, to whom I had been given, asked me for the chests which they had brought me, so that we might now return home. I reported this to the ship's captain who told me to put him off until the ship had taken in the full cargo, in case the

## THE ESCAPE

savages should become angry when they saw that I was kept in the ship and work some mischief, since they were a people in whom no trust could be placed. My master still thought that he would take me back with him, but I held him with empty words, telling him not to hurry, for he knew that when good friends came together they could not part at once, and that when the ship left we would return to the huts. And so I satisfied him.

At last the ship was ready and the Frenchmen were all mustered together and I with them, the king, my master, with his people, being also there. Then the ship's captain spoke to the savages through his interpreter, and said that he was well pleased that they had not killed me when they captured me from among their enemies. He said also, in order to make it easier for him to take me away, that he had ordered me to be brought to the ship so that he might reward them for their care of me. Further, that it was his intention to give me goods and wares, and as I was known to them, to leave me there to collect pepper and other useful commodities until he came again. Meanwhile we had arranged between us that some ten of the crew, who were not unlike me, should gather round and say that they were my brothers and wanted to take me home. And so it fell out. My brothers would not suffer me to land, saying that I must return with them, as my father longed to see me once more before he died. Upon this the captain told the savages that he was captain in the ship and would have preferred that I should return with them, but that he was only one against many and could do nothing. All this was ordained so that we might part from the savages on friendly terms. I told the king, my master, that I should greatly like to return with him, but that, as he could see, my brothers would not allow me to do so. Thereupon he began to howl and cry in the ship,

## HANS STADEN

saying that if they took me away I must return with the first boat, for he looked upon me as his son, and was wrath with those of Uwattibi for threatening to eat me. And one of his wives who was in the ship began to cry over me, according to their custom, and I cried also. Then the captain gave them goods, some five ducats' worth in knives, axes, looking-glasses, and combs, and the savages returned with them to their dwellings.

Thus Almighty God, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, saved me from the hands of these evil men. To him be praise and glory through Jesus Christ, his Son, our Redeemer. Amen.

## CHAPTER LII

*The name of the ship's captain, from whence the ship came, and what happened before we left harbour, and the manner of our return to France.*

THE captain of the ship was named William de Moner and the helmsman was called Francoy de Schantz. The ship was the Catherine of Wattavilla, and we now made all things ready to sail for France. One morning, as we lay in the harbour of Rio de Jenero, a small Portuguese vessel came by intending to leave the harbour, the crew of which had been trading with a friendly tribe of savages called Los Markayes. Their country abuts on the country of the Tuppin Ikins, who are friendly to the French, but the two tribes are great enemies.

This ship was the one which, as I have related, came after me to buy me from the savages, and it was owned by a factor named Peter Rösel. The Frenchmen armed a boat and drew near, intending to take it, and I went with them to speak to the Portuguese and advise them to surrender. But when we attacked them they

## HANS ARRIVES IN FRANCE

beat us off and killed and wounded several of us. I also was wounded by a shot, and that more severely than some of the others who recovered, for I was very near death, and in my fear I cried to God and besought him, since he had rescued me from the savages, to save



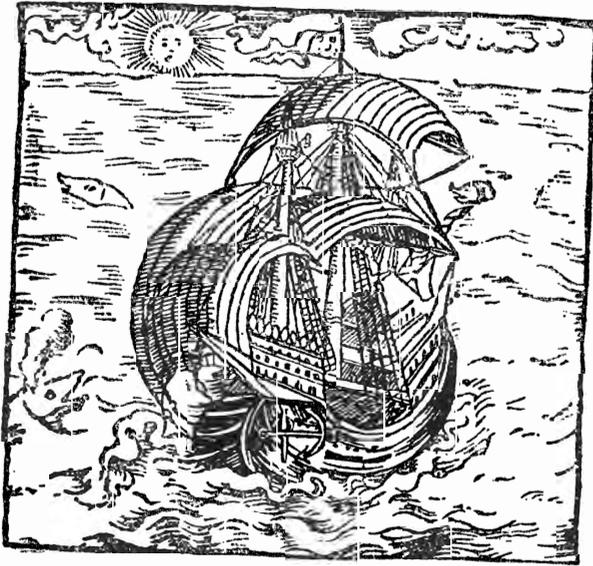
me alive and bring me safe to Christian lands, so that I might make known there the mercies vouchsafed to me. And in due course I was completely restored to health. Glory be to God for ever and ever.

On the last day of October 1554 we sailed from the harbour at Rio de Jenero, and made for France. We had favouring winds, so that the crew marvelled saying that such weather must have been sent specially as a gift from God (as indeed it was), for the hand of God was upon the waters.

On Christmas Eve great numbers of fishes surrounded the ship which are called porpoises, and we

## HANS STADEN

caught so many that for a few days we ate our fill of them. On the feast of the Three Kings God sent us also an abundance of fish, and save for this we had little to eat in the ship. About February 20 in the year 1555 we reached the Kingdom of France and anchored at a small town called Honfleur in Normandy. During the whole voyage we saw no land for well-nigh four months. I assisted to unload the ship, and then



thanking the crew for their kindness to me, I asked the captain for a passport. He was anxious for me to take another voyage with him, but when he saw that I would not be persuaded, he requested the Governor of Normandy, Moensoral Miranth, to give me a passport, and the Governor, when he had news of me, called me into his presence and gave me the passport personally. My captain gave me money for my journey, and taking my leave of him, I made my way from Honfleur to Habelnoeff,<sup>60</sup> and so to Dieppe.

## HANS AT DIEPPE

### CHAPTER LIII

*How at Dieppe I was taken to the house of the captain of the ship Bellete, which had left Brazil before us, but had not yet arrived.*

THE ship Maria Bellete, in which was the interpreter who had told the savages to eat me, and in which he proposed to return to France, belonged to Dieppe, and the crew of this ship were the people who refused to take me into the boat when I escaped from the savages. The captain also was the man of whom the savages told me that he had given them a Portuguese sailor to eat when he took the Portuguese ship, as I have related before.<sup>61</sup>

The crew of the Bellete had not yet reached land when I arrived, although, reckoning by the voyage of the ship from Wattavilla which carried me, they should have preceded us by three months. The wives and relations of the men came to me, enquiring if I had news of them. I said that I had indeed news of them, and that there were godless people in the ship, whatever else they might be, and I related how one of them who was in the ship, finding me in a savage country, had told the savages to eat me, but that God had brought me home in safety. I told them, further, that when they were in their boat by the huts where I was, having traded with the savages for pepper and monkeys, these people, I said, when I contrived to escape and swam out to them refused to take me in and forced me to return to land to the savages, which nearly broke my heart. Also that they had given a Portuguese sailor to the savages to be eaten, and were a people altogether without pity. "From this," said I, "it is clear that God dealt kindly with me, so that I am here to bring you the latest tidings. Let them come when they may, but I will prophesy to you that God will see to it that such cruelty and tyranny as they

## HANS STADEN

showed to me among the savages (God forgive them) will be punished sooner or later, since it is clear that God listened to my complaints." I told them also the manner in which I had been purchased from the savages and of my voyage home, and the truth of these matters, how that God had sent us good weather and favouring winds, and had given us fish from the depths of the sea. They were much cast down and enquired of me whether I thought they were safe, and in order not to distress them overmuch I said that it was possible that they might return. But I, and indeed most people, could not suppose otherwise than that they had perished with the ship. I then took my leave, telling them to report to their kinsmen, if they arrived, that God had preserved me, and that I had reached my home in safety.

From Dieppe I travelled by ship to London in England, where I spent some days, after which I sailed for Zeeland and Antwerp. Thus did Almighty God, to whom all things are possible, bring me safely to my Fatherland, to whom be praise for evermore. Amen.

### HANS STADEN'S PRAYER

*My prayer to the Lord God when I was in the hands of the savages who threatened to eat me.*

Almighty God, the maker of heaven and earth, God of our forefathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who with great might didst bring the children of Israel through the Red Sea out of the hands of their enemies, and didst save Daniel in the den of lions, I beseech thee, all-powerful and eternal God, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ, who has redeemed us prisoners from everlasting captivity, to deliver me from the power of these tyrants who know thee not. If Lord it is thy will that I should suffer death at the hands of these people, who when I speak of thee deny thy power to save me, so strengthen me in my last hour when they work their will upon me that I may trust in thy mercy to the end. And if I am to suffer this great misery, now, do thou give me peace hereafter and save me from those torments which our fore-

## HIS PRAYER AND HYMN

fathers so much feared. Yet Lord thou canst deliver me from their hands, help me Lord, for I know thy might, and when thou hast delivered me, so will I acknowledge no power but thine own mighty hand stretched forth to save me, for I am indeed beyond the help of men. So will I praise thy mercy and publish it abroad to all people and in all countries where I may be. Amen.

### HANS STADEN'S HYMN

A man rejoicing in his strength and pride thinks not upon God, but strives with him.

Yet when tribulation comes upon him, then he lifts up his voice to the heavens.

For men are tried by God for their salvation.

Let none doubt that sorrow is a gift from God; for there is neither strength nor comfort, neither defence nor support save in God's name alone.

So shall a man bring up his children to know God and trust in him. And when trouble comes upon them they shall be comforted.

Know reader that in these my labours I seek no honour for myself. To God be the glory. He knows all the thoughts of men and searches out their hearts. May God's blessing rest on you and on me hereafter for evermore.<sup>62</sup>

### THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK



## THE SECOND PART

### PART TWO

A TRUE and Brief Account of all that I learnt concerning the trade and manners of the Tuppin Inbas, whose captive I was. These savages live in America. Their country lies in twenty-four degrees on the southern side of the equinoctial line, and is bounded by a river called Rio de Jenero.



## CHAPTER I

*The manner of the voyage from Portugal to Rio de Janero in America.*

LISBON, a town in Portugal, lies in thirty-nine degrees north of the equinoctial line. If a man desires to sail from Lisbon to the Province of Rio de Jenero in the country of Brazil, which is also called America, he makes first for the Canary Islands, of which six are here named, belonging to the King of Spain. They are called as follows:—the first Grand Canary; the second Lanserutta; the third Forte Ventura; the fourth Il Ferro (Hierro); the fifth La Palma; the sixth Tineriffe. Thence he sails for the islands of Cape Virde, that is to say the Islands of the Green Headland. This green headland lies in the country of the Black Moors, which is called also Gene (Guinea). These islands are situated under the Tropic of Cancer and belong to the King of Portugal. Thence the route is south-south-west to the country of Brazil, across a vast ocean where a man may sail for three months and more before reaching land. First the Tropic of Cancer is passed. Then comes the equinoctial line, and so leaving the north behind, the North Star, called Polum Articum, is lost sight of. After this the height of the Tropic of Capricorn is passed, and one sails under the sun through the Tropic of Capricorn, so that at noon the sun is visible to the north. The heat in the Tropics is always severe. The land of Brazil lies partly in the Tropics.

## CHAPTER II

*The situation of the land called America or Brazil, of which I have seen a part.*

AMERICA is a large country inhabited by many tribes of savages who speak several different languages, and there are many curious beasts there. It is a pleasant country to look at, the trees are always green, but there is no wood there like our wood, and the savages go naked. In tropical countries it is never so cold as with us at Michaelmas, but the country lying south of the Tropic of Capricorn is somewhat colder. In this part live the savage nations called Carios, who use the skin of wild beasts, which they prepare with great skill and clothe themselves therewith. Their women make garments of cotton yarn, like a sack below and open above, and they wear these garments and call them in their language Typpoy.<sup>63</sup> The land is well supplied with fruits both of the earth and the trees, and is apt for the sustenance of man and beast. The natives are of a reddish-brown colour on account of the sun which burns them severely. They are a well-shaped people, but cunning in all wickedness, and it is their custom to capture and eat their enemies. The land of America is some hundreds of miles north and south in its length. I have sailed along 500 miles of coast and have visited many places there.

## CHAPTER III

*Concerning a great range of mountains which is in the Country.*<sup>64</sup>

THERE is a range of mountains which reaches to within three miles of the sea, more or less, and begins to rise in the neighbourhood of Boiga de Todolos Sanctus,<sup>65</sup> which was built by the Portuguese who inhabit there.

## HANS STADEN

This range of mountains runs beside the sea for about 204 miles, in latitude twenty-nine degrees south of the equinoctial line, and is in places eight miles from the sea-ports. The land on both sides is similar. Many beautiful rivers flow from these mountains, and there is an abundance of wild life in the heights. A nation of savages lives on the mountains called Wayganna, and these savages have no fixed dwellings like the other nations living on either side of the mountains. The Wayganna<sup>66</sup> wage war against the others, and when they capture them they eat them. This practice is also followed by their enemies. The Wayganna are great hunters in the mountains and are very skilful in shooting game with their bows, and have much cunning in the use of slings and traps, wherewith to take the animals. There is an abundance of wild honey in the mountains, which they eat, and they learn the cries of the beasts and the notes of the birds in order to track and shoot them. They make fire like the other savages with two pieces of wood, and roast their meat before eating. They carry their wives and children about with them.

When they set up their camps close to the enemy's country, they surround the huts with hedges, so that they cannot be surprised, and to protect themselves also against wild beasts. They surround the camp with sharp thorns, called Maraga eibe Ju, just as with us one lays down foot-hooks, and this they do for fear of their enemies. All night long they burn their fires, but they extinguish them by day, so that none may see the smoke and track them.

They wear their hair long, and allow their fingernails to grow to a great length. They have rattles called Maraka,<sup>67</sup> like the other savages, which they look upon as their gods, and they have their own dances and drinking ceremonies. They use the teeth of wild beasts as knives and chop with stone wedges,

## THE HABITS AND DWELLINGS

as did also the other savages before they commenced to trade with the ships.

They make constant war upon their enemies, and when they want to capture them they hide behind the dry wood near to the huts, so that when anyone comes to take wood they can fall upon him.

They treat their enemies with great cruelty and receive the same treatment when they are captured. For example, such is their hate that they often cut off an arm or a leg from a living prisoner.<sup>68</sup> Others they kill, before they cut them up for eating.

### CHAPTER IV

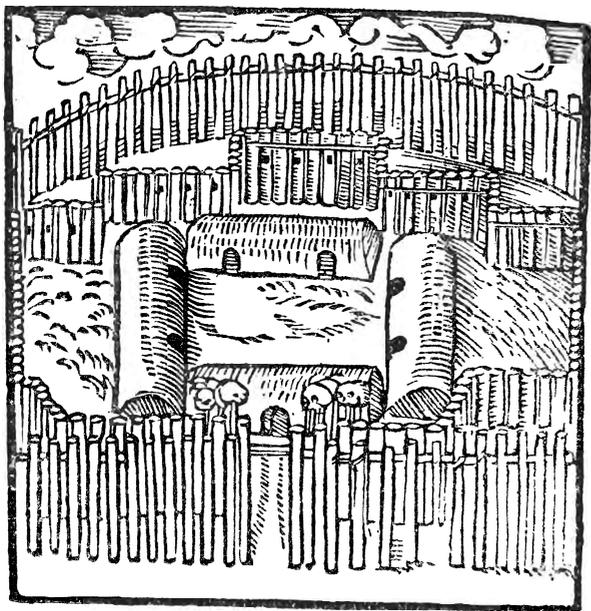
*Concerning the dwellings of the Tuppin Inba, whose prisoner I was.*

THESE people have their dwellings close by the sea, in front of the range of mountains of which I have spoken. Their dwellings extend also some sixty miles inland behind the mountains, and a river flows down from the hills to the sea, on the banks of which they also have a settlement called Paraeibe. They have settlements as well for some twenty-eight miles along the sea shore, and on all sides they are encompassed by their enemies. To the north they are bounded by a nation of savages called Weittaka<sup>69</sup> who are their enemies. On the south are the Tuppin Ikin. On the land side their enemies are called Karaya, while the Wayganna inhabit the mountains, and between these two are the savages called Markaya. These tribes harass them greatly and make war also among themselves, and when they capture one of the others they eat him.

They prefer to set up their dwellings in places where they have wood, water, and game and fish close at hand. When they have exhausted one place they move to

## HANS STADEN

another, and their manner of settling is this. A chief among them collects a party of forty men and women, as many as he can get, and these are usually friends and relations. They set up their huts,<sup>70</sup> which are about fourteen feet wide and quite 150 feet long, according to the number of those who are to inhabit them. These huts are about twelve feet (2 fathoms) high and are round at the top and vaulted like a cellar.



They roof them closely with the branches of palms to keep out the rain. Inside, the huts are all one: no one has a separate chamber to himself. Each couple, man and wife, has a space in the hut on one side, the space measuring about twelve feet, and on the other side lives another couple, and so the hut is filled, each couple having its own fire. The chief of the huts has his dwelling in the centre. The huts have gener-

## THE HUTS

ally three doors, one at each end, and the other in the middle, and the doors are so low that the people have to stoop to get in or out. Few of the villages have more than seven huts. Between the huts is a space where they knock their prisoners on the head.

The savages fortify their huts as follows. They make a stockade of palm trees, which they first split and then set up to a height of about nine feet ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms). This they build so thickly that no arrow can pierce it, but they leave little holes here and there through which they can shoot. Outside this stockade they build another of high stakes, which they set up close together, but so that the space between them is not sufficient for a man to creep through. Among certain of the savages it is the custom to set up the heads of the men they have eaten on the stockade at the entrance to the huts.

## CHAPTER V

*In what manner they make fire.*



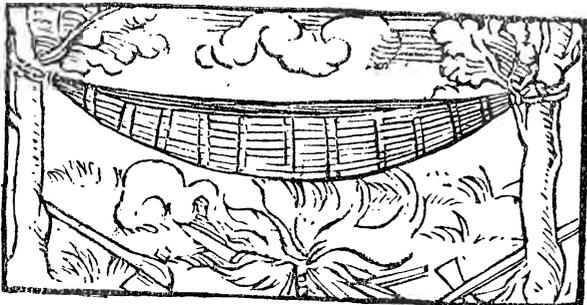
THE savages have a kind of wood called Urakueiba which they dry. They then take two sticks of this wood, about the thickness of a finger, which they rub

## HANS STADEN

together. This produces a dust, and the friction from rubbing sets the dust alight. This is their manner of making fire, as is shown in the picture.

### CHAPTER VI

*Of their manner of sleeping.*



THEY sleep in things which are called in their language *Inni*.<sup>71</sup> They are made of cotton yarn, and they tie them to two poles above the ground, and at night they burn their fires beside them. They do not willingly go out of their huts at night for any reason without fire, so greatly are they in awe of their devil whom they call *Ingange*, and whom they often see.

### CHAPTER VII

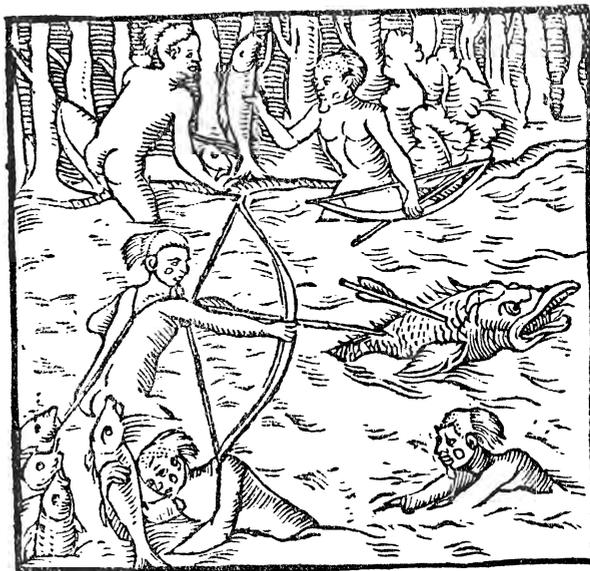
*Of their skill in shooting beasts and fish with arrows.*

WHEREVER they go, whether in the forest or on the water, they are never without their bows and arrows. When in the forest they are perpetually watching, with eyes raised towards the trees, and when they hear the noise of birds, monkeys, or other animals in the trees

## CATCHING FISH

they know well how to shoot them, following them unceasingly until they are successful. It seldom happens that a man returns empty-handed from hunting.

In the same way they take the fish by the sea shore. They have keen sight, and as soon as a fish jumps they shoot and seldom miss. When they have hit the fish they jump into the water and swim after it. Some large fish, on feeling the arrow, sink to the bottom,



but the savages will dive to a depth of well-nigh six fathoms to get them. They use also small nets which they make out of long pointed leaves called *Tockaun*, and when they fish with nets several gather together, each man having his own station where the water is shallow, and they beat the water, driving the fish down into the nets. He who catches the greatest number divides his catch with his fellows.

## HANS STADEN

It happens at times that those who live at a distance from the sea come down to catch fish which they bake until they are hard, after which they pound them into a kind of meal. This meal when dried lasts a long time, and they carry it back with them to their homes and eat it with roots. Otherwise, if they took the baked fish home, it would not keep for long, since they do not salt it. Also the meal goes further than the fish if baked whole.

### CHAPTER VIII

*Of the appearance of the people.*

THE savages are a fine race and handsome in face and general appearance, both men and women. They resemble our own people at home, except that they are brown from the sun. They go naked, both young and old, having nothing whatever to cover their shame, and they disguise themselves by painting. They wear no beards, but pluck out the hair by the roots as soon as it grows. They bore holes in the mouth and ears, in which they hang stones. This is their ornament, but they bedeck themselves also with feathers.

### CHAPTER IX

*How they cut and hew without axes, knives and scissors.*

BEFORE the ships began to arrive the savages had (and they have even now in many places where the ships do not come) a certain bluish-black stone shaped like a wedge, which they sharpen at its broadest end. These stones are about a span long, two fingers thick, and as broad as a hand, but some are larger and some

## BREAD AND FRUIT

smaller. They then take a thin reed and bend it round the stone, binding it with bast. The iron wedges which the Christians give them in certain places have the same shape, but now the savages make the handles differently. They bore a hole, in which they fix the wedge, and this is their axe with which they hew.

They use also the teeth of wild pigs and whet them in the centre to make them sharp, after which they bind them between two sticks. With these they shape their bows and arrows, making them as round as if they had been turned. They use also the teeth of an animal called Pacca,<sup>72</sup> which they sharpen, and when they have infirmities arising from the blood they scratch themselves until the blood comes, and thus they bleed themselves.

### CHAPTER X

*Concerning their bread and the names of their fruit; how they plant them and prepare them to be eaten.*

IN the places where they intend to plant, they cut down the trees and leave them to dry for one or three months and then set fire to them and burn them. Afterwards they plant the roots between the trunks, from which the roots take sustenance. This root is called mandioca and is a small tree about a fathom high, giving out three kinds of roots. When they desire to eat the roots they pull up the tree and break off the roots; then they take a branch from the tree and re-plant it. This in due time throws out roots, and in six months it is big enough to be used for food.

They use the roots in three ways. First they rub them against a stone<sup>73</sup> and reduce them to small crumbs, after which they press out the juice with a thing

## HANS STADEN

made of palm branches, called Tippiti. When the crumbs are dry they pass them through a sieve and make them into thin cakes. The utensil in which they dry the meal and bake it is made of burnt clay, shaped like a large dish.

They also take the fresh roots and soak them in water until they are rotten after which they place them over the fire and smoke them until they are dry. This



dried root they call Keinrima, and they preserve it for a long time. When they want to use it they pound it in a mortar made of wood, so that it becomes white like white meal, and from it they make cakes called Byyw.

Again, they take the rotten mandioca before it is dried and mix it with the dry and the green roots. From this they make a dry meal which can be kept

## THE FOOD

for a year or eaten at once. This meal they call Vy-than.

They make also meal from fish and meat in this manner. They roast the flesh or fish in the smoke over the fire until it becomes quite dry. Then they pull it to pieces and dry it again over the fire in pots called Yneppaun. After this they pound it small in a wooden mortar and press it through a sieve, reducing it to powder. This keeps for a long time, for they do not salt their fish or meat. This meal they eat with the root-meal, and it is quite pleasant to the taste.

## CHAPTER XI

*How they prepare their food.*

THERE are many tribes of savages who eat no salt.<sup>74</sup> Some of those among whom I was a prisoner ate salt, which they had seen in use among the Frenchmen who traded with them. But they told me of a nation called Karaya, whose country adjoins their own, lying inland from the sea, who make salt from palm trees and eat it, but those who partook of it to excess did not live long. They prepare the salt as follows, for I saw and helped them to do it. They cut down a thick palm tree and split it up into small pieces. Then they make a stand of dried wood upon which they lay the pieces and burn them to ashes. From the ashes they make a solution which they boil until the salt is separated. I thought at first it must be saltpetre, and I tried it in the fire, but it was not. It tasted like salt and was grey in colour. But the majority of the savages eat no salt.

When they boil anything, whether fish or flesh, they generally put green pepper with it, and when it is well cooked they take it out of the broth and make of it

## HANS STADEN

a thin mixture which they call Mingau, and they drink it out of gourds which they use for vessels. Further, when they cook food, whether fish or flesh, which is to last for some time, they lay it four spans above the fire upon wooden rests, and making a good fire beneath, they let it roast and smoke until it becomes quite dry. When they want to eat it they boil it up again and eat it, and this food they call Mockaein.

### CHAPTER XII

*Concerning their government by chiefs, and their laws.*

THE savages have no special form of government or law. Each hut has its chief or king, and all their chiefs belong to one family with one common authority and control. Beyond this a man can do what he will. It may happen that one by experience in war has more authority than another, and when they make war, greater respect is shown to him, as in the case of Konyan Bebe whom I have mentioned. Otherwise I have seen no particular authority among them except that by custom the young defer to their elders.

If a man slay or shoot another his friends are ready to take vengeance and to kill the slayer, but this happens seldom. They obey the orders of the chief of the hut: this they do without compulsion or fear, but of their own free will.

### CHAPTER XIII

*How they bake the pots and vessels which they use.*

THE women make the pots which they use, as follows. They take clay and make mud, out of which they shape the pots they wish to make. Then they leave them to

## THE DRINKS

dry for a time and are skilled in painting them. When they bake the pots they lay them on stones, placing a quantity of dried bark about them which they light, and the pots become so hot that they glow like hot iron.

### CHAPTER XIV

*How they concoct their drinks and make themselves drunk therewith, and the manner of their drinking.*



THE women prepare the drinks.<sup>75</sup> They take the mandioca root and boil it in great pots. Afterwards they pour it into other vessels and allow it to cool a little. Then young girls sit round and chew the boiled root in their mouths, and what is chewed they set apart in a special vessel. When the boiled root is

## HANS STADEN

all chewed, they place it back again in the pot which they fill with water, mixing the water with the chewed root, after which they heat it again.

They have special pots, half buried in the ground, which they make use of much as we use casks for wine or beer. They pour the liquid into these and close them, and the liquor ferments of itself and becomes strong. After two days they drink it until they are drunken. It is thick, but pleasant to the taste.

Each hut prepares its own drink, and when the whole village desires to make merry, which happens generally about once a month, they go first of all together into one hut and drink there until the drink is finished. Then they go the round of the other huts, drinking until they have drunk their fill and there is nothing left.

When they drink they gather round the pots and sit, some on the fire-sticks, others on the ground. The drink is served by the women in a very orderly manner. The drinkers sing and dance round the pots, and on the spot where they drink they pass their water.

The drinking lasts all night, the merry-makers continuing to dance between the fires, with shouting and blowing of trumpets, and when they are drunken the noise is terrible; but they quarrel little. They are also generously disposed, and when a man has more food than his fellow he shares it with him.<sup>76</sup>

## CHAPTER XV

*Of the manner in which the men adorn and paint themselves, and of their names.*

THE men have a bare space on the head with a circle of hair round it like a monk. I asked them frequently from what they took this fashion, and they told me

## LIPSTONES

that their forefathers had seen it on a man called Meire Humane, who had worked many miracles among them, and this man is supposed to have been a prophet or one of the Apostles.<sup>77</sup>

I asked them further how they contrived to cut the hair before the ships brought them scissors, and they told me that they used a stone wedge with another instrument underneath and so cut off the hair. The bare space in the middle they make with a scraper of transparent stone which they use frequently for shearing. They have also a thing made of red feathers called Kannittare, which they bind round the head.



They have a large hole in the lower lip which they make when they are young. They take the children and prick the hole with a sharpened deer's horn. In this they insert a small piece of stone or wood and anoint it with salve, and the hole remains open. Then when the children are fully grown and fit to bear arms they enlarge the hole and insert in it a large green stone.<sup>78</sup> This stone is shaped so that the smaller end is inside the lip and the larger end outside. The result is that their lips hang down with the weight of the stones. They have also at both sides of the mouth, and in either cheek, other small stones. Some of these are of crystal and are narrow and long. They wear also ornaments made from large snail-shells

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called Mattepue. These ornaments are shaped like a half-moon, and they hang them round the neck. They are snow-white and are called Bogesso.

Others make white necklaces of shells which they also hang round the neck. These are about the thickness of a reed and are very difficult to make.<sup>79</sup> They paint themselves black and decorate themselves also with plumes of red and white feathers which look very gay when mixed together.<sup>80</sup> They stick them also to their bodies with a substance taken from the trees. They smear themselves with this substance when they wish to feather themselves, and the feathers adhere to it. They paint also one arm black and the other red, and adorn the legs and body in the same manner.

They make also an ornament of ostrich plumes which takes the form of a large round ball to which feathers are attached. They tie this to their buttocks when they set out to war or make merry. It is called Enduap.



They call themselves by the names of wild animals and have indeed many names, with this distinction, however. When they are born they are given one name. This they retain until they are fit to bear arms and able to slay their enemies, and as many as they kill so many names they have.

## THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN

### CHAPTER XVI

*Concerning the adornment of the women.*

THE women paint their faces beneath the eyes and also the whole body in the same manner as the men. But they allow their hair to grow long like other women. They have no special adornment, but they have holes in the ears from which they hang ornaments about a span long. These are round and about as thick as a thumb, and they call them in their tongue Nambibeya. They make them also from shells called Mattepue.

Their names are taken from birds, fishes and fruit. From youth up they have one name only, but for every slave killed by the men another name is given to the women. When they pick their lice they eat them. I asked them frequently why they did this, and they told me it was because the lice were their enemies who ate up their heads, and thus they took vengeance.<sup>81</sup>

There are no special midwives among them. When a woman is in labour the nearest person, whether man or woman, runs to help her. I have seen the women going about on the fourth day after birth.

They carry their children on their backs in cradles made of cotton yarn, and while the mothers work the children sleep and are content, however much the women stoop and move with them.

### CHAPTER XVII

*How they first name a child.*

ONE of the savages who worked with me had a son born to him, and a few days later he called together his neighbours in the huts and took counsel with them

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what name, which was both noble and terrifying, should be given to the child. These put forward names which did not please him, for he desired to name the child with one of the names of his forefathers, saying that a child so named would flourish and be cunning to catch slaves. His forefathers were named as follows: the first Krimen, the second Hemittan, the third Koem, the fourth I have forgotten. I thought when he spoke of Koem that he must have meant Cham, but Koem in their speech signifies the morning. I suggested that he should call the child by that name, since one of his forefathers was certainly so called, and this was done. They name their children without any baptism or circumcision.

### CHAPTER XVIII

*How many wives a man has, and his manner of dealing with them.*

Most of the savages have one wife only, but some have more, and certain of the kings have thirteen or fourteen wives. The king to whom I was finally presented and from whom the Frenchmen bought me (he was named Abbati Bossange) had many wives, and his first wife had authority over the others. Each wife had her separate lodging in the huts, her own fire and root plantation, and that one with whom he cohabited for the time being gave him his food, and thus he went the round of them. As for the children, the boys when they grow up go hunting, and that which any one of them brings back he gives to his own mother who cooks it and divides it among the others, and the women agree well together. The savages have the custom for a man to give away a wife when he is tired of her, and they make presents also of their daughters and sisters.

## BETROTHALS AND POSSESSIONS

### CHAPTER XIX

*Of their betrothals.*

THEY betroth their daughters at an early age, and when they are grown up to womanhood, they cut off the hair from their heads and scratch peculiar marks on their backs, tying at the same time the teeth of wild beasts round their necks. The hair grows again, but the cut is treated with a substance so that it remains black, and this is held to be a great honour.

After these ceremonies they deliver the girls to those to whom they are betrothed, but without any further ceremony. The men and women behave themselves decently and do their business secretly.

Item, I have seen one of the chiefs go through all the huts at early morning, scratching the children's legs with a sharpened fish's tooth in order to frighten them, so that when they are unruly the parents can tell them that the chief will come again and so restrain them.

### CHAPTER XX

*Of their possessions.*

THERE is no community of goods among them and they know nothing of money. Their treasures are the feathers of birds. He that has many feathers is rich, and he that has a stone in his lip is also counted among the rich.

Each couple has a particular plantation of roots which supplies both man and wife with food.

## HANS STADEN

### CHAPTER XXI

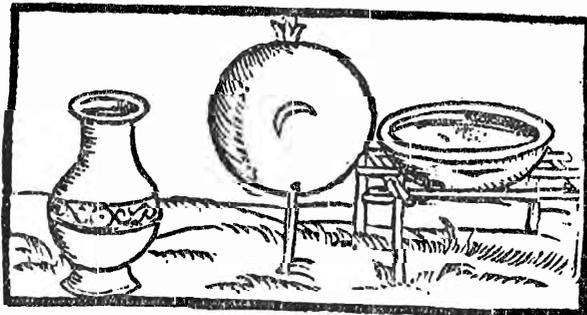
*What is their greatest honour.*

THEIR greatest honour is to capture their enemies and to slay them; for such is their custom. And for every foe a man kills he takes a new name. The most famous among them is he that has the most names.

### CHAPTER XXII

*Of their beliefs.*

THEY put their faith in a thing shaped like a pumpkin, the size of a pint pot. It is hollow within, and they put a stick through it and cut a hole in it like a mouth, filling it with small stones so that it rattles. They shake it about when they sing and dance, and call it Tammaraka, and each man has one of his own. It is shaped like this.



There are certain wise ones among them called Paygi, who are looked up to as soothsayers are with us. These men travel every year throughout the whole country, visiting all the huts and saying that a spirit has been with them from afar off, and that this

## THEIR BELIEFS

spirit has endued them with power to cause all the rattling Tammaraka, chosen by them to speak and grow so powerful that they can grant whatever is required of them. Then each man desires that his Tammaraka should have this virtue, and a great feast is prepared, with drinking, singing and prophesying, and many other strange ceremonies. The wise men then ordain a day, and fix upon one of the huts which they cause to be cleared, no woman or child being suffered to remain there, and they direct that each man shall paint his Tammaraka red and decorate it with feathers, and come to the place so that this power of speech may be conferred upon them. After this they all go to the hut, and the wise men sit down at the upper end, each one having his own Tammaraka on the ground before him. The others place theirs also there, and each one offers a present to the wise men, such as arrows, feathers, and ornaments for the ears, so that his particular Tammaraka shall not be overlooked. When all are gathered together, one of the wise men takes each Tammaraka separately and fumigates it with a herb called Bittin. Then he seizes the rattle by the mouth shaking it and saying: *Nee kora*;—"Now speak and let us hear you: are you within?" Then he speaks a word or two softly so that one cannot know whether it is he that speaks or the rattle; but the people imagine that the rattle is speaking. Nevertheless, it is the wise man that speaks, and so he does with all the rattles one after the other.<sup>82</sup> Each one then thinks that great virtue has entered into his rattle, and the wise men command them to make war and take many enemies, since the spirit in the Tammaraka craves for the flesh of prisoners, and so the people set off to war.

After the Paygi (or wise men) have changed the rattles into gods, each man takes his rattle away, calling it his beloved son, and building a hut apart in which to

## HANS STADEN

place it, setting food before it and praying to it for what he desires, just as we pray to the true God. These rattles are their gods, for they know nothing of the true God, the maker of heaven and earth, believing that the earth and the heavens have existed from the beginning of time. Beyond this they know nothing of the creation of the world.

They say that once upon a time there was a great flood which drowned all their ancestors, save those that escaped in canoes or on to the tops of high trees. This I imagine must have been the Deluge.

When I first came into their hands, and they told me about the rattles, I thought there must be a devil's spirit in them, for they said that they spoke often. But when I went to the huts where the wise men sat to make the rattles speak, and saw their tricks, and that everyone had to sit down apart, I went away marvelling at the simplicity of the people and the ease with which they were beguiled.

### CHAPTER XXIII

*How they turn the women into soothsayers.*

THEY go first to a hut and take all the women, one after another, and fumigate them. After this the women have to jump and yell and run about until they become so exhausted that they fall down as if they were dead. Then the soothsayer says: "See now, she is dead; but I will bring her to life again." After the woman has come to herself they say that she is able to foretell future things, and when the men go out to war the women have to prophesy concerning it.

At one time the wife of the king to whom I had been presented to be killed began to prophesy and told her husband that a spirit had come to her from far away

## THEIR CANOES

enquiring concerning me, when I was to be killed, and as to the club with which I was to be knocked on the head, and where it was. The king replied that it would not be long and that all was prepared, only he was afraid I was not a Portuguese, but a Frenchman. Afterwards I asked the woman why she desired my death, seeing that I was no enemy, and whether she was not afraid that my God would punish her? She replied that I must not be troubled since they were only strange spirits seeking news of me. They have many ceremonies of this nature.

### CHAPTER XXIV

*Concerning their canoes.<sup>83</sup>*

THEY have a kind of tree in the country called Yga Ywera, the bark of which they remove from the top to the bottom, building a platform round the tree so that they can remove the bark in one piece. After this they take the bark and carry it from the mountains to the sea and heat it at the fire, bending it upwards, before and behind, but first lashing it together with wood so that it does not stretch. In this manner they make their canoes, in which thirty men can go to war. The bark is about the thickness of a thumb, quite four feet across, and forty feet long, some being longer and some shorter. They paddle very quickly and travel as far as they will. When the sea is rough they beach the canoe until the weather improves. They do not adventure more than two miles from the land, but they travel long distances along the coast.

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### CHAPTER XXV

*Why one enemy eats another.*

THIS they do, not from hunger, but from great hate and jealousy, and when they are fighting with each other one, filled with hate, will call out to his opponent: *Dete Immeraya, Schermiuramme, heiwoe*:—"Cursed be you my meat": *De kange Jueve eypota kurine*:—"To-day will I cut off your head": *Sche Innamme pepicke Reseagu*:—"Now am I come to take vengeance on you for the death of my friends": *Yande soo, sche mocken Sera Quora Ossorime Rire* etc.:—"This day before sunset your flesh shall be my roast meat." All this they do from their great hatred.

### CHAPTER XXVI

*Of their plan of campaign when they set out to invade their enemy's country.*

WHEN they desire to make war in an enemy's country the chiefs gather together and take counsel how best to achieve their purpose, all which they make known in the huts, so that the men may arm themselves. They name the time of the ripening of a certain fruit as the date of their departure, for they have not the art to reckon by the day or year. They also fix their expeditions by the time of the spawning of a fish called Pratti, in their tongue, and the spawning time they call Pirakaen. Then they equip themselves with canoes and arrows, and lay in stores of dried root-meal called Vy-than. After this they enquire of the Pagy, their wise men, whether they shall return victorious. These will say "Yes," but will warn the enquirers to note well their dreams when they dream of their foes.

## ON THE WARPATH

If many dream that they are roasting their enemy's flesh that signifies victory. But if it is their own flesh which they see in the pot, that is an evil omen and they had better stay at home. If their dreams are propitious they arm themselves and prepare much drink in the huts after which they dance and drink with their idols, the Tammaraka, each one beseeching his idol to assist him in catching an enemy. Then they set out, and when they draw near to the enemy's country, on the night before the attack, the chiefs once more direct their men to remember their dreams.

I accompanied them in one of their expeditions and on the night before they intended to attack, when we were close to the enemy's country, the chief went up and down in the camp, telling the men to note well their dreams that night, and ordering the young men to set off at daybreak to hunt for game and catch fish, which was done, and the food was cooked. Then the chief summoned the other chiefs to his hut and when they were all seated upon the ground in a circle he gave them to eat, after which they all told their dreams, that is, such dreams as were favourable, and then they danced and made merry with the Tammaraka. They spy out the enemy's huts at night and attack at dawn. If they take a prisoner who is badly wounded they kill him at once and carry home the meat roasted. Those that are unwounded they take back alive and kill them in the huts. They attack with loud yells, stamping on the ground, and blowing blasts upon trumpets made of gourds. They all carry cords bound about their bodies to make fast their prisoners, and adorn themselves with red feathers so that they may distinguish their friends from their foes. They shoot very rapidly and send fire-arrows into the enemy's huts to set them alight. And if they are wounded they have their special herbs with them to heal their wounds.

## CHAPTER XXVII

*Concerning their weapons.*

THEY use bows, and the points of their arrows are made of bone,<sup>84</sup> which they sharpen and bind to the arrows. They fashion them also of the teeth of a fish which they call Tiberaun and catch in the sea. Also they take cotton, and mixing it with wax, they bind it to the arrow and set fire to it. These are their fire-arrows. They use also shields made of bark, and others of the skin of wild beasts, and they set sharpened thorns in the ground, which they use like our foot-traps.

I heard also, but did not see, that when they choose they can drive their enemies from their strongholds by means of the pepper which grows there. They make great fires when the wind is blowing, and throw the pepper into the flames, and they say that when the smoke strikes the huts, the inmates have to evacuate them, which I can well believe. For I was once with the Portuguese in a province called Brannenbucke (Pernambuco), as I have related. We were stranded with our ship in the shallows of a river where the tide had left us, and a company of savages came up, intending to capture us, but they could not do so. Whereupon they threw down heaps of wood between us and the boat, and tried to drive us out with the pepper fumes, but they could not ignite the wood.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

*Of their manner of killing and eating their enemies. Of the instrument with which they kill them, and the rites which follow.*<sup>85</sup>

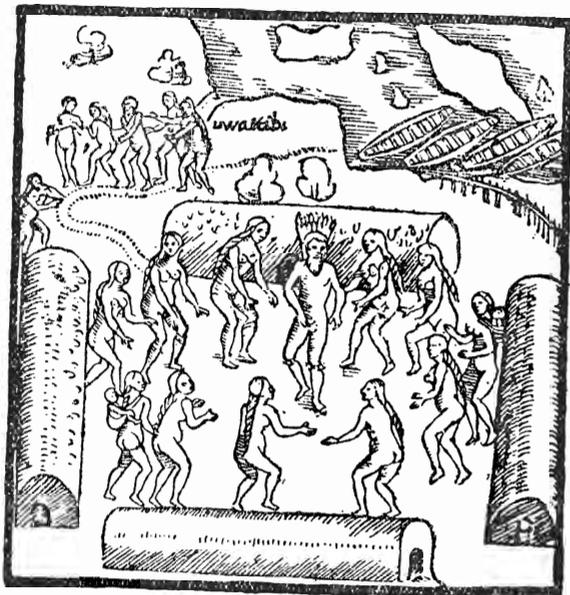


WHEN they first bring home a captive the women and children set upon him and beat him. Then they decorate him with grey feathers and shave off his eyebrows, and dance around him, having first bound him securely so that he cannot escape. They give him a woman who attends to him and has intercourse with 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.

They feed the prisoner well and keep him for a time while they prepare the pots which are to contain their drink. They bake also special pots in which to pre-

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pare the mixture wherewith they paint him, and they make tassels to tie to the club with which he is to be killed, as well as a long cord, called Mussurana, to bind him when the time comes. When all is ready they fix the day of his death and invite the savages from the neighbouring villages to be present. The drinking vessels are filled a few days in advance, and

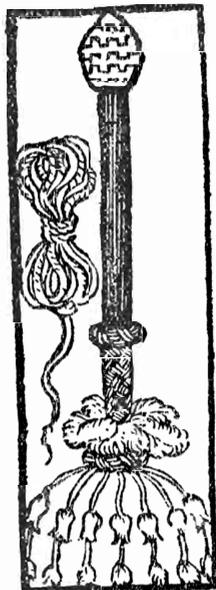


before the women make the drink, they bring forth the prisoner once or twice to the place where he is to die and dance round him.

When the guests have assembled, the chief of the huts bids them welcome and desires that they shall help them to eat their enemy. The day before they commence to drink, the cord Mussurana is tied about the victim's neck and on this day also they paint the club called Iwera Pemme with which they intend to kill him. This is of the shape depicted here.

## THE SACRIFICIAL CLUB

It is about 6 feet (a fathom) long, and they cover it with a sticky mess, after which they take the eggs of a bird called Mackukawa, which they break up to powder and spread upon the club. Then a woman



sits down and scratches figures in the powder, while the other women dance and sing around her. When the club Iwera Pemme is ready decked with tassels and other things, they hang it in an empty hut upon a pole, and sing in front of it all night.

In the same manner they paint the face of the victim, the women singing while another woman paints, and when they begin to drink they take their captive with them and talk to him while he drinks with them. After the drinking bout is over they rest the next day and build a hut on the place of execution, in which the prisoner spends the night under close guard. Then, a good while before daybreak on the day follow-

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ing, they commence to dance and sing before the club, and so they continue until day breaks. After this they take the prisoner from his hut, which they break to pieces and clear away. Then they remove the Mussurana from the prisoner's neck, and tying it round his body they draw it tight on either side so that he stands there bound in the midst of them, while



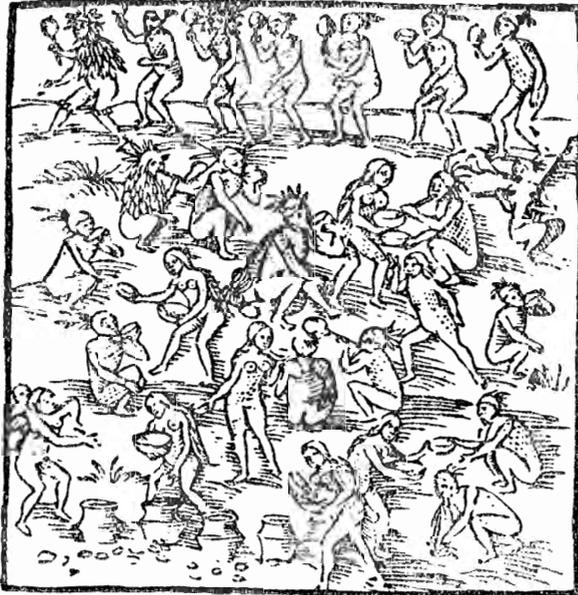
numbers of them hold the two ends of the cord. So they leave him for a time, but they place stones beside him which he throws at the women, who run about mocking him and boasting that they will eat him. These women are painted, and are ready to take his four quarters when he is cut up, and run with them round the huts, a proceeding which causes great amusement to the others.

## PREPARATIONS FOR THE FEAST



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Then they make a fire about two paces from the prisoner which he has to tend. After this a woman brings the club Iwera Pemme, waving the tassels in the air, shrieking with joy, and running to and fro before the prisoner so that he may see it. Then a man takes the club and standing before the prisoner he shows it to him. Meanwhile he who is going to

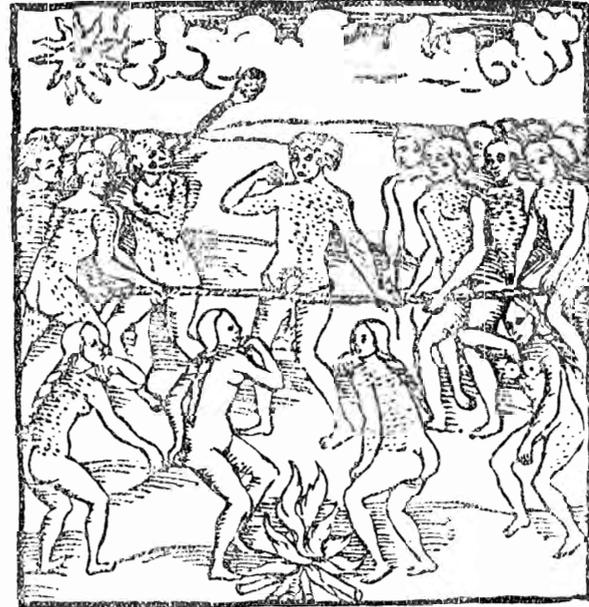


do the deed withdraws with fourteen or fifteen others, and they all paint their bodies grey with ashes. Then the slayer returns with his companions, and the man who holds the club before the prisoner hands it to the slayer. At this stage the king of the huts approaches, and taking the club he thrusts it once between the slayer's legs which is a sign of great honour. Then the slayer seizes it and thus addresses the victim:

## THE VICTIM'S DEATH

"I am he that will kill you, since you and yours have slain and eaten many of my friends." To which the prisoner replies: "When I am dead I shall still have many to avenge my death." Then the slayer strikes from behind and beats out his brains.

The women seize the body at once and carry it to the fire where they scrape off the skin, making the flesh

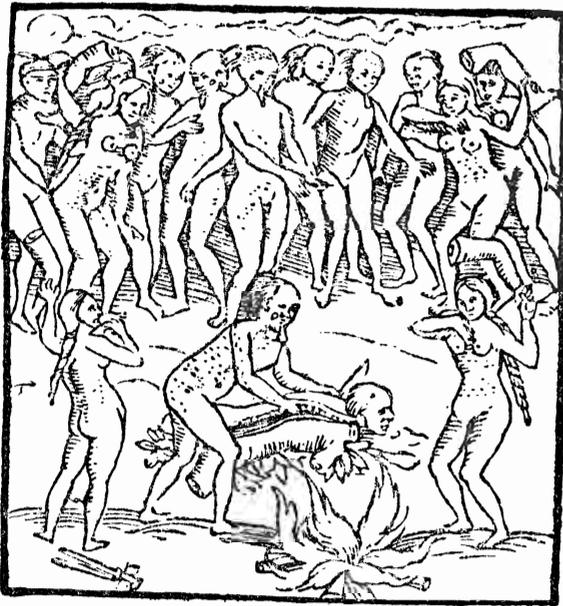


quite white, and stopping up the fundament with a piece of wood so that nothing may be lost. Then a man cuts up the body, removing the legs above the knee and the arms at the trunk, whereupon the four women seize the four limbs and run with them round the huts, making a joyful cry. After this they divide the trunk among themselves, and devour everything that can be eaten.<sup>86</sup>

When this is finished they all depart, each one

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carrying a piece with him. The slayer takes a fresh name, and the king of the huts scratches him in the upper part of the arm with the tooth of a wild beast. When the wound is healed the scar remains visible, which is a great honour. He must lie all that day in his hammock, but they give him a small bow and an arrow, so that he can amuse himself by shooting into wax, lest his arm should become feeble from the shock



of the death-blow. I was present and have seen all this with my own eyes.

The savages have not the art of counting beyond five. If they have to count more they make use of their fingers and toes. Beyond that they point to four or five persons and reckon up the number of fingers and toes which they have between them.

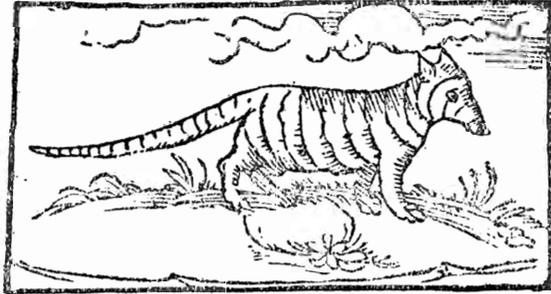
## THE FEAST



## HANS STADEN

### CHAPTER XXIX

*Concerning certain animals in the country.*



THERE are in the country deer like ours, and wild pigs of two kinds. One kind resembles the pigs in our country: the other, which is small like a young pig, is called Teygasu Dattu,<sup>87</sup> and is very difficult to catch in the traps which the savages use to snare wild beasts.

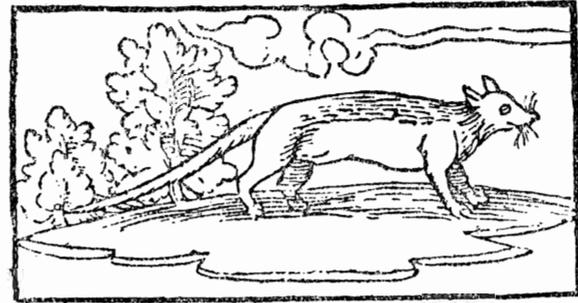
There are three kinds of monkeys.<sup>88</sup> One species is called Key, and is familiar to us at home. Another is called Ackakey. They are seen jumping about in great numbers on the trees and make a great noise in the forests. The third kind is called Pricki. These are red and bearded like a goat, and as big as a good-sized dog.

They have also a beast called Dattu,<sup>89</sup> about a span high and a span and a half long. It is armoured over the whole of its body, except on the belly, where it has no protection. This armour resembles horn and moves with joints like mail. The beast has a long pointed snout and a long tail. It inhabits stony places and lives on ants. Its flesh is fat, and I have often eaten of it.

## THE ANIMALS

### CHAPTER XXX

*[Certain animals.]*



THERE is another beast called Serwoy,<sup>90</sup> as big as a cat. Its hair is whitish-grey or dark grey, and it has a cat's tail. When it breeds it has a litter of about six young, more or less, and in its belly it has a pouch about half a span long in which is a second skin, for the belly is not open. In this pouch are the teats, and wherever it goes it carries its young in its pouch between the two skins. I have often helped to catch them, and have taken the young out of the pouch.

There are also many tigers in the country which kill the people and do much damage.<sup>91</sup> They have a kind of lion called leopard, which is to say grey lion, and many other strange beasts besides.

There is also an animal called Cativare,<sup>92</sup> which lives both on land and in water, and eats the reeds growing by the water's edge, and when these beasts are alarmed they dive to the bottom. They are bigger than sheep, having a head shaped like a hare, only larger, and they are short-eared. They have a short tail and fairly long legs. On the land they move quickly from one water to another. Their hair is blackish-grey and they have three balls on each foot. The flesh tastes like pig's flesh.

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There is also a kind of lizard which lives in the water, and another kind on the land. They are very good to eat.

### CHAPTER XXXI

*Concerning a small insect, like a flea, which the natives call Attun.*

THERE is a small insect like a flea, but smaller, called Attun in the savage tongue.<sup>93</sup> It is bred in the huts from the uncleanness of the people. These insects creep into the feet, causing a tickling sensation when they enter, but eating themselves into the flesh so that one scarcely feels them. If they are not observed and extracted at once they lay a batch of eggs as round as peas, and when these are extracted a small hole about the size of a pea remains in the flesh. I have seen, when I came first to the country with the Spaniards, that my companions frequently ruined their feet by neglecting these creatures.

### CHAPTER XXXII

*Concerning a kind of bat which at night bites the toes and foreheads of the people when they are asleep.*

THERE is a kind of bat<sup>94</sup> in the country, bigger than the bats in Germany, and at nights these creatures fly about the huts and hammocks when the people are asleep. And when they see that anyone is asleep and not easily disturbed, they alight by the feet and bite off a mouthful, or they bite the forehead, and then they fly away.

When I was among the savages they often bit my toes, and when I awoke my toe was all bloody. But they attack the savages for the most part in the forehead.

## BEEES AND BIRDS

### CHAPTER XXXIII

*Concerning the bees of the country.*

THERE are three kinds of bees<sup>95</sup> in the land. The first kind is exactly similar to our own. The second kind is black and as big as a fly. The third is as small as a gnat. They all store their honey in the trunks of trees, and I have gone frequently with the savages to gather it. In general, among all three species, we found the honey best among the smallest. They do not sting as severely as the bees with us. I have often seen them fly upon the savages when they were taking the honey, so that they were forced to brush them from their naked bodies. I have also taken the honey when I was naked, but the first time on account of the great pain I had to run to a stream and wash the bees off before I could get rid of them.

### CHAPTER XXXIV

*Concerning the birds of the country.*

THERE are many strange birds in this country, particularly a kind called Uwara Pirange,<sup>96</sup> which seeks its food by the sea and nests in the rocks close to the shore. This bird is about the size of a hen, with a long beak and legs like a heron, but not so long. The feathers on the young birds are light grey. Later, when they are fledged, the feathers become dark grey. They fly about thus for a year, after which the plumage changes again and the whole bird becomes red, as red as paint, and so it remains. The savages set great store by these feathers.

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### CHAPTER XXXV

*An account of certain trees in the country.*

THERE are certain trees called by the savages Juni Papeeywa,<sup>97</sup> whereon grows a fruit not unlike an apple. The savages chew the fruit and press the juice into a vessel, and paint themselves with it. When it spreads on the skin it looks at first like water. Then, after a time, the skin becomes as black as ink, and so it remains until the ninth day when it disappears, but until then it cannot be removed, however much the skin is washed with water.

### CHAPTER XXXVI

*Concerning the growth of the cotton plant, and the Brazilian pepper plant, and of certain other roots which the savages plant for food.*

THE cotton grows upon trees which are about six feet (a fathom) in height, having many branches, and as they blossom the bloom turns into balls. When these are about to ripen they open, and the wool is found in the balls, surrounding black kernels which are the seeds from which the trees are planted. The shrubs are full of these balls.<sup>98</sup>

The pepper is of two kinds, one yellow the other red, and the growth is in this manner. When green it is about the size of haws which grow on thorn bushes. The plant is small, about three feet (half a fathom) in height, with small leaves. It is full of pepper which burns the mouth. They gather the pepper when it is ripe and dry it in the sun.

There are roots also called Jettiki,<sup>99</sup> which are excellent to the taste. When they plant them they cut off small pieces and place them in the ground. These then take root and spread themselves over the ground like hops, throwing off many additional roots.

## HANS STADEN'S FAREWELL

### THE CONCLUDING ADDRESS

*Hans Staden wishes the reader mercy and peace in God's name.*

KIND reader. I have now described my voyage and journey with all brevity, in order to relate how I fell into the hands of barbarous people, and the manner in which our Saviour, the Lord God, delivered me out of their power when I was without hope. This I have done that all may know that Almighty God can still stretch forth his hand to save and direct his people among the heathen, as he was wont to do in times past, and that all may bless his name and rest upon him in their necessity. For he himself has said: "Call thou upon me in the time of trouble. I will save thee and thou shalt glorify me."

Some may say that if I had described all my trials and experiences I might have made a bigger book. That is true, for I could indeed have told much more. But that was not my intention. I have shown here and there what reasons led me to write this book. My mind is to show only how much we owe to God who is with us always to protect us from the day of our birth onwards.

I perceive also that the contents of my book will seem strange to many. This cannot be helped. Nevertheless I was not the first, nor shall I be the last, to undertake voyages and see strange lands and peoples. Those who have had similar experiences will not laugh at my relation, but will take it to heart. But that he who has been face to face with death should have the same mind as those who stay at home and listen to what is told them is not to be expected, and this everybody knows well. Moreover, if all who sailed to America were to fall into the hands of the savages no one would set out to distant parts.

And this I know, indeed, that there are many honest

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men in Castile, Portugal and France, and some even in Antwerp, in Brabant, who having been in America, can testify that all that I have written is true. For the benefit of those to whom such matters are unknown I call upon these witnesses, but above all I call upon God.

My first journey to America was made in a Portuguese ship. The captain's name was Pintyado. There were three of us Germans on board. One came from Bremen and was called Heinrich Brant: the second was called Heinrich von Bruchhausen. I was the third.

My next voyage was from Seville to Rio de Plata, a province of America so called. The captain of this ship was named Don Diego de Senabrie. There were no other Germans on board. After much tribulation, anxiety and danger by land and sea during this one voyage, which endured for two years, as I have related, we suffered shipwreck upon the island of S. Vincente, which lies hard by the mainland of Brazil, and is inhabited by the Portuguese. There I found a countryman, a son of the late Eoban Hessus, who received me kindly. Also the merchants of Antwerp, called Schetzen, had a factor there, one Peter Rösel.<sup>100</sup> These two can testify that I arrived there and was taken prisoner by the savages.

The ship's crew who bought me from the savages came from Normandy in France. The captain belonged to Watavilla (Vatierville) and was named William de Moner. The navigator's name was Francoy de Schantz from Harfleur. The interpreter was also from Harfleur; his name was Perott. These honest men (may God reward them hereafter) helped me, under God, to reach France. They procured me a passport, clothed me, and fed me. They can testify in what place they found me.

When I left Dieppe in France I sailed to London

## HIS WITNESSES

in England. There the merchants of the Dutch Bourse had news of me and my adventures from the ship's captain with whom I sailed. They received me as their guest and gave me money for my journey. Then I sailed for Germany.

At Antwerp I was received in a house called Von Oka, by a merchant called Jasper Schetzen. This man's factor at Sancto Vincente was Peter Rösel of whom I have spoken. To him I brought the news that his factor's ship had been attacked by the French at Rio de Jenero, but that they had been beaten off. He gave me two Imperial ducats for my support. God will reward him.

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.

Now to Almighty God, who is all in all, be praise, honour, and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

At Marburg at the Clover-leaf, in the house of Andres Kolben, on Shrove Tuesday 1557.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Philip I, the Magnanimous, of Hesse was born in 1504 and died in 1567. He was the founder of the University of Marburg.

<sup>2</sup> Dryander, or Eichmann, one of the most famous of German anatomists, was born at Wetterau, studied medicine at Bourges and Paris, and about 1533 was practising as a doctor at Mainz. In 1535 he settled at Marburg where he taught as Professor for twenty-four years with great success until his death in 1560. He was eight times Rector of the University, whose affairs he administered with an experienced and practical hand. Dryander was a keen student of astronomy and delighted in everything relating to travel and discovery. See H. Hermelink and S. A. Kaehler, *Die Philipps-Universität zu Marburg (1527-1927). Fünf Kapitel aus ihrer Geschichte*. Marburg, 1927, p. 139 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This was Helius Eobanus Hessus, humanist, born 6 January 1488 at Bochendorf in Hesse. He died 6 October 1540 at Marburg. His son Heliodorus, who early developed a roving disposition, was born in 1529, and in 1548 he left Europe for Brazil, where he was engaged as a clerk in a sugar plantation near San Vincente. He was lost sight of for some years. In 1565 he led a troop of "Mamelukes" and Indians to Rio de Janeiro to the assistance of Estacios de Sá against the French, after which he seems to have remained at Rio. See G. Schwertzele, *H. E. Hessus, ein Lebensbild aus der Reformationszeit*. Halle, 1874; C. Krause, *H. E. Hessus*. Gotha, 1879.

<sup>4</sup> A Franciscan who died in Paris in 1340. He cleansed the Bible of unfitting expressions.

<sup>5</sup> Goldtorm was a Lutheran preacher. He is known as the compiler of a church calendar, but his promised book on miracles and wonders does not seem to have been printed.

<sup>6</sup> Galeotti-Mario, astronomer, Professor at Bologna, c. 1440. He died in 1494.

<sup>7</sup> The eight and a half years must refer to the period between Staden's first leaving home and his final return. The first voyage lasted sixteen months, from 29 April 1547, when he set out from Kampen, to 8 October 1548, when he arrived back in Lisbon (ch. v). The second voyage lasted for about six years, from the fourth day after Easter 1549 (ch. vi), to 20 February 1555, when he reached Honfleur (ch. lii).

<sup>8</sup> I have translated Hans Staden's *Meilen* by "miles," but the reader must remember that a German mile equals about four English

miles. It is not easy to fix correctly the measurements intended by Staden, but "league" would probably give a better idea of his distances than "mile." Setubal, for instance, is some twenty English miles south-east of Lisbon.

<sup>9</sup> There is an account of the German colony at Lisbon in *Ceylon and Portugal*, by Pieris and Fitzler, Pt. I. Leipzig, 1927, pp. 298 ff. Miss Fitzler is engaged on a work *Deutschland und Portugal vom 12. Jahrhundert bis zum Gegenwart*, which will contain further information and documents. Germans were freely recruited to serve as gunners in Portuguese ships.

<sup>10</sup> On the relations between the Portuguese and the French in Brazil see note 48.

<sup>11</sup> An interesting sidelight on the conditions in Brazil in the early 17th century is contained in the *Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval*, Hakluyt Society, 1890, Vol. II, p. 313: "Brazil is so sorry a country that it would be impossible to reside there for long but for the traffic in sugar and wood; and even making the sugar entails great toil and trouble. . . . Of the Portuguese themselves the most part there are exiles, bankrupts and convicts."

<sup>12</sup> This must be Arzilla, a small port about thirty miles from Tangiers, once in the possession of Portugal. Schiriffe is for Sherif, a descendant of Mohammed the Apostle [R. B.].

<sup>13</sup> Portuguese *albacora*, the long-finned tunny, or germon. The bonito is the striped tunny known to sailors from its habit of playing round the bows of ships. See Purchas (reprint), XVII, p. 82: "The Bonito or Spanish Mackerell is altogether like unto a Mackerell, but that it is somewhat more grown: he is reasonable food but drier than a Mackerell." (Sir Richard Hawkins.) There is a description of flying fish in *A Treatise of Brazil* (1601), Purchas, XVI, p. 487: "The flying fishes are ordinarily of a spanne long or little more, it hath the eies verie faire, of a certaine verie gallant picture that beautifies it much, and doe seeme precious stones, the head is also very faire, it hath wings like Reere-mice, but of a silver hue: they are much persecuted of the other fishes, and for to escape they flie in flockes like Stares or Sparrowes, but they flie not verie high, they are also good to eat, and when they flie they glad the Sailers, and many times they fall in the ship, and come in at the Cabbin windowes."

<sup>14</sup> St. Elmo Fire. The name St. Elmo is a corruption of Sant' Ermo or St. Erasmus, a bishop, during the reign of Domitian of Formiae, Italy, who was broken on the wheel. He was the patron saint of Mediterranean sailors who regarded St. Elmo fire as the visible sign of his protection. To English sailors St. Elmo's fires were known as "corposants" (corpo santo).

<sup>15</sup> Cabo de Santo Agostinho, a sharp promontory S. of Pernambuco.

<sup>16</sup> Marin (Olinda), one of the oldest towns in Brazil, founded by Duarte Coelho Peireira in 1535.

<sup>17</sup> Duarte Coelho was invested with the captaincy of Pernambuco on 24 September 1534. Pernambuco developed rapidly, and by 1587 it was described as "the greatest towne in all that coast and hath above three thousand houses in it with seventie Ingenios for sugar, and great store of Brasil-wood and abundance of cotton." Hakluyt (Everyman ed.), VIII, p. 172.

<sup>18</sup> Iguarassú, which means a big canoe. It was one of the first factories founded by Coelho on the river of that name. Sir Richard Burton describes these savages as the Caetés, a warlike and cannibalistic tribe inhabiting the sea-board of Pernambuco. On the occasion mentioned in the text they had risen against the Tabayarás who were allied to the Portuguese. The writer of the anonymous *Treatise of Brazil* (1601), Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 442, speaks of the "contrarieties" between the Caetés and "them of Pernambuco."

<sup>19</sup> Itamaraccá, a well-known island colonized by the Portuguese in 1535.

<sup>20</sup> The country of the Potyguaras, or tobacco-chewers, a warlike race in Parahyba, inimical to the Portuguese. The anonymous writer in Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 441, says: "Pitiguaras Lords of Parayba, thirtie leagues from Pernambuco, and have the best Brasill woode, and are great friends to the Frenchmen, and did contract with them untill now, marrying their Daughters with them."

<sup>21</sup> Don Diego de Senabria succeeded his father D. Juan de Senabria who had been appointed to the captaincy of Paraguay in 1549, but had died in Spain before the expedition sailed. Southey, *History of Brazil*, 1810, I, p. 173.

<sup>22</sup> Easter fell on April 21, so that the date of sailing would be 25 April 1549.

<sup>23</sup> San Vincente, the town and harbour situated on the island of that name, superseded later by Santos. It was the first Portuguese settlement on the coast of S. Paulo and was founded in 1531. Until 1710 it remained the chief town of the captaincy. In 1581 San Vincente was described as "4 townes, the greatest whereof is called Santos and consisteth of foure hundred houses there and also three Ingenios." Hakluyt (Everyman ed.), VIII, p. 173.

<sup>24</sup> Santa Catharina, one of the principal islands of S. Brazil.

<sup>25</sup> Staden evidently quotes from memory. The correct Spanish would be: Si viniessse por ventura aquí la armada de Su Magestad, tiren un tiro y harán recado.

<sup>26</sup> Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay.

<sup>27</sup> Cutia. Near the city of S. Paulo there is still a village of the same name, variously written Cotia, Cuttia and Coteya [R. B.].

<sup>28</sup> The Pelican Islands. They lie about forty-five miles E.S.E. of Santos.

<sup>29</sup> Cananéa in the South of the State of S. Paulo, a harbour protected by the island of Abrigo.

<sup>30</sup> Itanhaen, a small harbour, ten geographical miles from Santos harbour.

<sup>31</sup> San Vincente, see note 23.

<sup>32</sup> Uwawa Supe may have occupied the site where Santos afterwards arose, the first tenement being a Casa de Misericordia built by Braz Cubas in 1543 [R. B.].

<sup>33</sup> Ingenhio (engenho) signifies a sugar plantation. See ch. xviii. The first engenho was erected close to S. Vincente by the governor Martim Affonso. When Staden was there the place was in charge of Peter Röscl, a factor of the banking and commercial house of Schetz of Antwerp.

<sup>34</sup> Tupinikin, Tupinambá. These two tribes, which figure frequently in the narrative of Hans Staden, were branches of the great Tupi race which is supposed to have originated in the region of Uruguay, and to have spread northwards, monopolizing the coasts and the best river valleys. There were many branches of the same family, but they had the same customs and spoke the same language. See generally *Die Tupi-Stämme und ihre Sprache in der Capitania S. Vincente (S. Paulo)*, by Klaudius Bode, in *Korrespondenzblatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, Brunswick, 1918, Band 69, Nos. 5/8, pp. 51 ff. E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, Oxford, 1899, II, p. 429. Sir Richard Burton in his introduction to the Hakluyt Society's edition of Hans Staden (pp. lxii ff.), has much to say on the "Indians" of Brazil. The Tupinambá, as we shall see, were allies of the French, while the Tupinikin allied themselves to the Portuguese. See further note 48.

<sup>35</sup> Brikioka = Bertioga on the mainland, opposite the island of Santo Amaro. Sir Richard Burton visited the Fortaleza da Bertioga in 1865 and described its appearance in his preface to the Hakluyt Society's edition of Hans Staden. The present reader is referred to the map (p. 58) and to the woodcut at p. 65, which explain the situation of Brikioka in relation to S. Vincente and Santo Amaro.

<sup>36</sup> This is the island of Santo Amaro. See last note.

<sup>37</sup> The offspring of white men and Indian women were called *mamelukes* (*mamalucco*).

<sup>38</sup> Thomé de Souza became governor of the captaincy of Bahia in 1549. After thoroughly organizing the various districts he returned to Europe in 1553.

<sup>39</sup> Bratti (Portuguese *Tainha*) were apparently a species of white mullet. The writer of the anonymous *Treatise of Brazil* (1601) in Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 485, says, "a fish called Tainhas and a great multitude, and it hath beene tried that the Tainha beeing fresh and laid to the stinging of a Snake is another Unicorne." See below ch. xli.

<sup>40</sup> On Heliodorus Hesse see note 3.

<sup>41</sup> Giuseppe Adorno. The Adornos belonged to a noble Genoese

family which settled in Brazil and founded a sugar factory at S. Vincente. Giuseppe is said to have lived to be a hundred. In 1589-90 he established the Carmelites at Santos, whence they passed to Rio de Janeiro [R. B.].

<sup>42</sup> Guará is the Tupi name for the American flamingo. The bird is described in Pt. II, ch. xxxiv.

<sup>43</sup> Peter Carder, who dwelt among the Tupi Indians for some months between 1578 and 1586, writes of the hammocks: "They hanged up their Beds tying them fast to a couple of Trees, being a kinde of white Cotton Netting, which hanged two foot from the ground, and kindled fire of two sticks which they made on both sides of their Beds, for warmth, and for driving away of wilde beasts." Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 139. See below Pt. II, ch. vi.

<sup>44</sup> A small settlement near San Vincente.

<sup>45</sup> The Tammaraka is described later. Pt. II, ch. xxii.

<sup>46</sup> This was the club with which victims were dispatched. See Pt. II, ch. xxviii.

<sup>47</sup> These stamping dances are mentioned by other travellers—*e.g.*, the anonymous writer of the *Treatise of Brazil* in Purchas (reprint), XVI, pp. 427 f.: "their dancings are not sundrie changes, but a continuall stamping with the feet standing still or going round about, or stirring their bodie or their head, and they doe it all by such compasse and pleasantnesse as can be desired at the sound of a Timbrell."

<sup>48</sup> Hans Staden's frequent references to the enmity existing between the Portuguese and French are not easily understood unless we know something of the attempts by the French to colonize Brazil. The French obtained a footing in Brazil not long after its discovery, and ships from Normandy were soon trading on the coast in considerable numbers, bringing Brazil wood and monkeys and parrots for the ladies at the French court. One of the most remarkable of these early adventurers was Captain Binot Paulmier de Gonneville of Honfleur, who sailed for the New World in June 1503. This voyage was the foundation of French trade in Brazil. The Portuguese did their best to suppress the French settlements, the French retaliated, and in 1532 Lopez de Souza attacked the French fort at Biberibe, and twenty of the settlers, and handed over two more to the cannibals. That the two nations thereafter sought every occasion to destroy each other is not surprising. The Portuguese sided with the Tupinikin and the French with the Tupinambá. One result of the French alliance was that numbers of natives found their way to Europe. De Gonneville brought back a youth of fifteen who was still alive in 1583, having married a relation of De Gonneville and settled down in France with his family, and there are frequent references in the 16th century to Brazilian natives at Rouen. Montaigne interrogated three of them there in 1563 (*Essays*, Bk. I, No. 31). See generally, Gaffarel, *Histoire du Brésil français*, Paris, 1878; Bréard, *Les marins*

*honfleurais*, Paris, 1884; *Relation authentique du voyage du capitaine de Gonneville*, publiée par M. d'Avezac, Extrait des *Annales des Voyages*, Juin et Juillet, 1869, Paris, 1869; R. N. Wegner's Begleitschrift in *Hans Staden Faksimile-Wiedergabe*, Frankfurt-a.-M., 1927, pp. 13 ff. A Brazilian king was presented to Henry VIII at Whitehall in 1530. Hakluyt (Everyman edition), VIII, p. 14. Sydney Lee in his *Call of the West* (Scribner's Magazine, 1907) deals with the vicissitudes of a number of natives who visited Europe during the age of discovery.

<sup>49</sup> Called Karaya in Pt. II, ch. xi.

<sup>50</sup> On these lipstones see Pt. II, ch. xv, and note 78. The anonymous writer of the *Treatise of Brazil* in Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 426, says: "These Indians use ordinarily, chiefly in their Feasts, Collars which they make of Wilkes . . . they are round and some of them so long that they reach to their breasts, and it is ordinarily among the great and principal men to have them of a span or more in length."

<sup>51</sup> Although Hans Staden speaks of cries of joy, this seems to be a reference to the weeping welcome, about which there is much in the accounts of the early travellers to Brazil. See *A Treatise of Brazil* in Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 425: "When any guest doth come to the house, the honour and entertainment they make him is to bewaile him: Now the guest being come into the house they set him in the Net, and after he is set, without speaking any word to him, the wife and the daughters and the other friends do sit them downe round about him with their haire loose, touching with the hand the partie: they all beginne to weepe with a high voice and great abundance of tears, and there they tell in a versified prose all things that have happened since they saw one another to that houre, and manie other which they invent, and the troubles that the guest hath suffered in his journie; and all things else that may provoke pitie and teares. The guest all this time speaketh not one word, but after they have bewailed him a good while they wipe the teares, and remaine so quiet, so modest, so pleasant and merrie that it seemeth they never wept." See on the whole subject G. Friederici, *Der Tränenruss der Indianer*, Leipzig, 1907.

<sup>52</sup> The detailed description of a cannibal feast is given in Pt. II, ch. xxviii.

<sup>53</sup> The reference is to Braz Cubas, the founder of Santos, a noted man in his time. He died in 1592, aged eighty-five, and is buried at Santos.

<sup>54</sup> In Pt. II, ch. ix, this beast is called more correctly Pacca. See note 72.

<sup>55</sup> See note 39.

<sup>56</sup> For the De Praga family see ch. xv.

<sup>57</sup> For a full account of the Miraka (Tammaraka) see Pt. II, ch. xxii.

<sup>58</sup> There is evidence to show that the horrible practice of handing

over European captives to the cannibals was by no means uncommon. See G. Friederici, *Die Behandlung der Kriegsgefangenen durch die Indianer Amerikas*. Festschrift für Eduard Seeler, Stuttgart, 1922, p. 92; Gaffarel, *Hist. du Brésil français*, Paris, 1878, pp. 85, 95, 101-102, 128.

<sup>59</sup> Vatierville on the Arques, Dep. Seine Inférieure.

<sup>60</sup> This must be Le Havre neuf.

<sup>61</sup> See ch. 1.

<sup>62</sup> I cannot attempt a literal rendering of these doggerel verses, but I give the gist of them.

<sup>63</sup> In Brazil "Tipoya" was applied to the sleeveless shirts of "Indian" converts, sewn by the women with a thorn of the Murumuru palm [R. B.].

<sup>64</sup> Sir Richard Burton writes that this is a fair description of the Eastern Ghauts of the Brazil, whose presence forms the wonderful charm of "Rio Bay."

<sup>65</sup> Now Bahia, founded in 1549 by Thomé de Souza.

<sup>66</sup> These were the Guayana, a branch of the S. Tupis. They occupied fifty leagues of coast from Angra dos Reis to Cananéa, where they met the Carijós [R. B.].

<sup>67</sup> On the Tammaraka see Pt. II, ch. xxii.

<sup>68</sup> Not only did they cut off the limbs of their living victims, but they roasted and devoured them before their eyes. G. Friederici, *Die Behandlung der Kriegsgefangenen durch die Indianer Amerikas*. Festschrift für Eduard Seeler, Stuttgart, 1922, p. 85.

<sup>69</sup> These were the Guaitacá who occupied the prairies between Rio de Janeiro and Espirito Santo [R. B.].

<sup>70</sup> Compare *A Treatise of Brazil*, Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 423: "These Indians doe use certaine Cottages or houses of timber, covered with Palme tree leaves, and are in length, some of two hundred and three hundred spans, and they have two or three doores verie little and low. . . . There be houses that have fiftie, sixtie, or seventie roomes of twentie or five and twentie quarters long, and as manie in breadth. In this house dwelleth one principall man or more, whom all the rest doe obey, and ordinarily they are kinsmen. In every room of these dwelleth a household with their children and family without any repartition betweene the one and the other, and to enter in one of these houses is to enter into a laberinth, for every room hath his fire, and their nets hanging, and their stufte, so that comming in, all that they have is in sight, and some house hath two hundred persons and more." The object secured by the lowness was coolness in hot weather, heat in cold seasons, and freedom from flies and other such pests.

<sup>71</sup> On the hammocks see note 43.

<sup>72</sup> "The Pacai are like Pigs, there are great abundance of them; the flesh is pleasant, but it is heavie." Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 451.

<sup>73</sup> An illustration of a board set with stone chips for grating the manioc roots is given in British Museum, *Handbook to Ethnographical Collections*, 1925, fig. 280. For a long description of the manioc roots and their use see *A Treatise of Brazil*, Purchas (reprint), XVI, pp. 474 ff.

<sup>74</sup> There is an interesting account of the use of salt by the natives in G. Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas*. Stuttgart, 1926, I, p. 293.

<sup>75</sup> Intoxicating drinks made from palms, manioc roots, maize, bananas, etc., were in use long before the Europeans arrived. The writer of the *Treatise of Brazil*, Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 435, says: "when they begin to drinke it is a Labyrinth or a Hell to see and heare them." Compare Peter Carder's account at p. 141: "they take the liquor and put it into broad mouth Jarres of earth, and of this both their men and women doe drinke at their feasts till they be as drunke as Apes." See also Sir Richard Hawkins' *Voyage into the South Sea*, Purchas (reprint), XVII, pp. 100 ff. An illustration of a pottery vase for holding cassava-beer is given in British Museum, *Handbook to Ethnographical Collections*, 1925, fig. 281.

<sup>76</sup> The writer of the *Treatise of Brazil* in Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 421, refers to the liberality of the natives: "they eate all that they have and devide it among their friends, in sort that of one fish that they have they divide it to all, and they hold for a great honour and gallantrie to be liberrall, and thereby they get great fame and honour."

<sup>77</sup> This is an interesting reference to the story of St. Thomas the Apostle in America. The early missionaries inferred from the presence of certain objects having the form of the Cross, as well as from certain answers to their enquiries, that the Christian religion had at some remote time been preached in America, and it was argued that St. Thomas had passed the Pacific and had preached the Gospel there. See E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, Oxford, 1899, II, p. 91. The whole subject is treated, rather uncritically, in P. de Roo, *History of America before Columbus*, 1900, I, ch. ix. Hans Staden may have read the story in a very early report from the New World written apparently by a German merchant who sailed with the Portuguese, and printed at Augsburg in 1514. See *New Zeitung aus Presillanndt*, Facsimile einer handschriftlichen "Neuen Zeitung" aus dem Anfange des 16. Jahrhunderts, ed. by Dr. Konrad Haebler (Dokumente des Zeitungswesens, No. 5), Leipzig, 1920. Also K. Haebler, *Die "Neuwe Zeitung aus Presilg-Land," im Fürstlich Fugger'schen Archiv* (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Bd. XXX, 1895, No. 4), Berlin, 1895.

<sup>78</sup> Illustrations of these lipstones, curiously similar to Hans Staden's woodcut at p. 143, are given in R. N. Wegner's Begleitschrift to *Hans Staden, Faksimile-Wiedergabe*, Frankfurt-a.-M., 1927, p. 34. See also British Museum, *Handbook to Ethnographical Collections*, 1925, fig. 279.

<sup>79</sup> The king Konyan Bebe wore such a necklace when he received Hans Staden. See ch. xxviii.

<sup>80</sup> A magnificent specimen of a mantle of feathers from the National Museum, Copenhagen, is reproduced at p. 32 of the *Faksimile-Wiedergabe* of Hans Staden's book referred to above.

<sup>81</sup> The Indians took vengeance on stone or wood which might injure them by chance, and ate not only their own lice and vermin by way of revenge, but also the lice from the bodies of their prisoners. G. Friederici, *Die Behandlung der Kriegsgefangenen durch die Indianer Amerikas*, in *Festschrift für Eduard Seeler*, Stuttgart, 1922, p. 61.

<sup>82</sup> Apparently there was at times an even more solemn ceremony which Hans Staden did not witness. When de Léry and two other Frenchmen came to a town of the Tupinambá, the men had retired to a hut and were singing and yelling and jumping about until they fell senseless to the ground, foaming at the mouth. Then after a while they began to sing in the sweetest and most delightful tones. De Léry and his companions, at considerable risk, witnessed the ceremony through a hole in the roof of the hut. Southey, *History of Brazil*, I, p. 203; de Léry, *Histoire d'un Voyage*, ch. xv. On the power of the medicine-men among the Indians of Brazil see Frazer's *Golden Bough*, *The Magic Art*, I, p. 358.

<sup>83</sup> On the native canoes see G. Friederici, *Die Schiffahrt der Indianer*. Stuttgart, 1907, p. 40.

<sup>84</sup> Compare *A Treatise of Brazil*, Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 430. "These Arrowes to ones sight seeme a thing of mockerie, but are verie cruell Weapons, and pierce quilted breast-plates or curates; and striking in a sticke they cleave it asunder, and sometimes happen to goe through a man and sticke on the ground."

<sup>85</sup> There is a long and gruesome description of a cannibalistic feast in Purchas (reprint), XVI, pp. 431 ff. Compare pp. 140 and 247. There is not much difference between the two accounts, but the writer in Purchas gives a variation of what he calls the "butchery rites." Speaking of the slaying he says: "the one makes him readie to discharge, and the other to avoid his bodie, which is all the honour of his death. And they are so nimble in this that many times it is high daies before they are able to kill them, for when he sees the weapon in the aire, sometimes hee draws his head aside, sometimes hee declines his bodie, and in this they are so doughtie that if those that hold the points of the coards doe gird him hard (as they doe when the slaughterer is slow or weake) hee puls so hard that hee brings them to him, and makes them to slacken in despight, having one eie on them, another on the Sword, without any standing still." The account concludes: "hee striketh till hee hitteth and that is enough, for assoone as he is downe he giveth him so many blowes till he batters his head (though one man was seene that had it so hard that they could never breake it, for as they goe bare-head, they have them so hard that ours in com-

parison of theirs are like a Pompion, and when they will injurie any White man, they call him soft-head)." There is an illustration of a fine club such as is described in the text from the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, in *Hans Staden, Faksimile-Wiedergabe*, Frankfurt-a.-M., 1927, p. 33. François Pyrard of Laval (early 17th century) discussed the taste of human flesh with some native converts who affirmed that the hands and feet were the most delicate morsels. *Voyage*, Hakluyt Society, 1890, Vol. II, p. 318. On the apathy of savages under sentence of death see Frazer's *Golden Bough*, The Dying God, p. 138.

<sup>86</sup> I have suppressed a few details. The text is as follows: "dar-nach schneiden sie im den rücke mit dem hindersten von dem vortheyl ab, dasselbige theylen sie dann unter sich, aber das ingeweyd behalten die weiber, siedem, und in der brüe machen sie eynen brei, mingau genannt, den drincken sie und die kinder, das ingeweyd essen sie, essen auch das fleysch umb das haupt her, das hirn in dem heubt, die zungen, unnd wass sie sunst daran geniessen können essen die jungen."

<sup>87</sup> This "wart-hog" or "hog with navel on the back," as old travellers call it, is the small porcupine-quilled Dicotyles Torquatus, of white colour turning to grey and silver, on a black base, without tail, very fierce and fond of biting and hard to tame [R. B.].

<sup>88</sup> The early discoverers were greatly interested in monkeys, and their accounts are full of stories about them. See G. Friederici in Archiv für Anthropologie, N. F., Bd. VII, Heft I, pp. 16-21 (1908), and the same writer's *Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas*, Stuttgart, 1926, I, p. 25.

<sup>89</sup> This is, of course, the armadillo.

<sup>90</sup> The opossum was seen first by the younger Pinzon. See for various descriptions G. Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung Amerikas*, quoted in the preceding note, p. 25, note 5.

<sup>91</sup> This creature must be the ounce, called by the Spaniards Tigre or Tigre real, and by the Portuguese Onça vermelha, Onça pintada. It was a great eater of men's flesh, and is said to have devastated whole districts. Friederici, *op. cit.*, p. 137. The other animal was probably the puma. Friederici, p. 139.

<sup>92</sup> The well-known Cavia Capybara Linn., a water-hog whose name is derived from Capim, grass, and G-uara, an eater. See R. F. Burton, *Highlands of Brazil*, I, p. 3.

<sup>93</sup> The nigua, or "jigger" (*Pulex penetrans*). There is a description in the *Voyage of Ulrich Schmidt* (Schmidel), Hakluyt Society, No. LXXXI (1891), p. 74. François Pyrard of Laval says that he had seen people lose their feet by these pests, and that he was himself afflicted by them and carried the marks on his legs long afterwards. *Voyage*, Hakluyt Society, 1890, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 319. Staden does not mention mosquitos and midges, but there are some harrowing accounts in the letters of the early missionary Fathers of the sufferings

caused by them. See G. Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas*, Stuttgart, 1926, I, p. 149.

<sup>94</sup> The vampire, in Tupi Andyra, the Morcego of the Portuguese.

<sup>95</sup> Wild honey formed part of the food of most of the tribes of South America. The bee is indigenous to both worlds, though the various American species, inferior in size and in honey-making capacity to those of the other hemisphere, have never been reduced to captivity. E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, Oxford, 1892, Vol. I, p. 377.

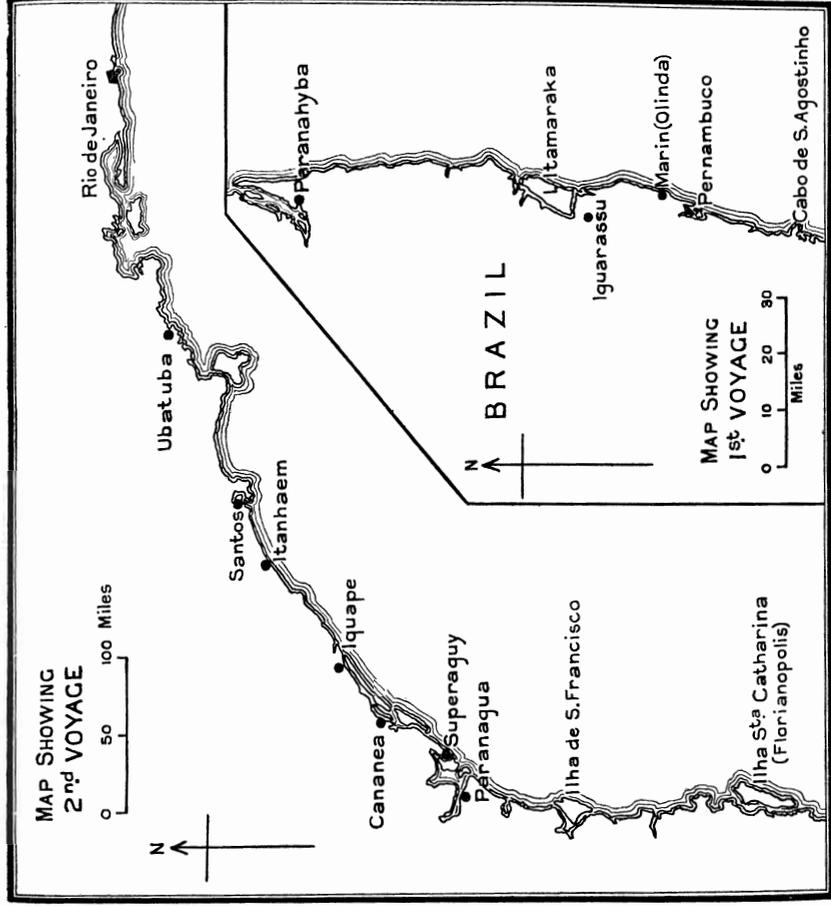
<sup>96</sup> The Flamingo, described in ch. xix.

<sup>97</sup> The Papaw Tree (*Carica Papaya*), generally called Mammoeira from the fruit Mammão being shaped like mammæ [R. B.]. The writer of the *Treatise of Brazil*, Purchas (reprint), XVI, p. 473, calls it the Janipaba tree: "Of this fruit is made a blacke Inke: when it is made it is white, and annointing themselves therewith it stayneth not presently, but within a few houres the partie remayneth as blacke as any Jeat."

<sup>98</sup> On the cotton plant see E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, Oxford, 1892, I, p. 369.

<sup>99</sup> The Tupi word Jetyca is also applied to the batata or sweet potato [R. B.].

<sup>100</sup> Peter Rüssel is mentioned in ch. lii, Pt. I. He is referred to also by Ulrich Schmidel, another German who was at San Vincente in 1553. See "Voyage of Ulrich Schmidt" (Schmidel) in *The Conquest of the River Plate*, Hakluyt Society, 1891, p. 86.



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