DEVOURING THE OTHER: ANTHROPOPHAGY IN NELSON PEREIRA DOS SANTOS'S FILM COMO ERA GOSTOSO O MEU FRANCÊS¹

Claus Clüver Indiana University, EUA

One of the most memorable shots of *Como era gostoso o meu francês*² appears toward the very end of the film: the close-up of the painted face of a young Indian woman who is eating and then looks out of the frame with vacant eyes. The film's title, fittingly translated into English as *How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman*, expresses her sentiment at that moment, although the words would not be



Fig. 1. Last image of Seboipep (Ana Maria Magalhães), *Como era gostoso o meu francês*.

hers: a member of the Tupinambá tribe, she speaks only Tupi. She is consuming her share of the victim killed in a communal ritual: a young Frenchman who had been taken prisoner many months before and mistakenly identified as Portuguese. The year is 1557, the French have established themselves in the coastal area inhabited by the Tupinambás with whom they trade knives and trinkets for Brazilian redwood and other local riches. They have made the Indians allies in their battles against the Portuguese who have settled further south and are allied with the Tupiniquins, mortal enemies of the Tupinambás. Any Portuguese taken prisoner by the latter are therefore rightfully to be killed and devoured; French are not. But how can one tell them apart? Early in the film, facing several captured Europeans, the Tupinambás make them speak - but Portuguese and French sound all the same to them.³ The Frenchman, seized along with some Portuguesewhose prisoner he was, is declared to be one of them and thus condemned to die. He is kept as a slave until the day he will be killed and devoured. Moving freely among his captors, he both attempts to integrate himself into their society and to prepare his escape by deceiving them. He learns their language, goes naked and shaves beard and body hair as they do, and even helps them fight their enemies, both native and Portuguese. It does not work: the very 'wife' he is given and with whom he shares months of bliss prevents his escape and, in a playful but deadly serious initiation into the killing ritual that ends in offscreen love-making, instructs him how to die, caressing the neck she will be eating. He curses them as he is slain, predicting they will all be killed by the invaders. The last image shown is of a beautiful empty beach marred only by human footprints; it is followed by a Portuguese text on the screen:

"There by the sea I battled, in a way that no Tupiniquins remained alive. Stretched out rigidly along the length of the beach, the dead covered about a league." Mem de Sá, Governor General of Brazil, 1557.⁴

The film, written and directed by Nelson Pereira dos Santos and produced in 1970, has the look and sound of the authentic: interspliced with visual and verbal documents of the time, the filmic narrative represents Europeans and Indians as depicted and described by the invaders and also, in the case of the Tupinambás, a tribe now extinct, as Amazonian Indians are shown in the films of modern ethnographers. The languages spoken are French and Tupi, and the film has Portuguese subtitles. Most of the music heard is recognized as that of (modernday) Indians and is played on traditional instruments. Many elements in the depiction of the people, their habits, their environment, and their rituals have an authentic effect, which is reinforced by the very way in which the pervasive nudity is presented without any trace of the pornographic and any exploitative erotic connotations. While the few Europeans we encounter may not convey quite the same sense of a historically reliable representation, the film looks for long stretches like a pseudo-documentary, at least on a first viewing.

In this perspective the native women are shown as friendly, the men as war-loving, and all as cannibalistic. Their anthropophagous inclinations are highlighted throughout, although it is only at the very end that we are made to witness the killing ritual, without any of the details of the subsequent preparation of the food. But it is clear that they enjoy that food: when the young man is first captured by the Portuguese and their Indian allies, one Indian wants to take him to his uncle who "has never tasted a Frenchman". There is some reference to the magical transfer of power through eating one's enemy, and more talk about avenging losses incurred by him, but the culinary seems to prevail. More than anything else it is this trait and custom that prevent the general viewer from identifying with, or at least understanding, the natives. On this level of reception we remain as uncomprehending as the Frenchman, whose efforts at being accepted by making himself trustworthy and indispensable are met with indifference; they clearly have no interest in understanding their food. Even the intimacy with his native 'wife' who learns to call him "mon mari" does not affect her joyous anticipation of the feast. When we see her last she is happy; she is eating her husband.



Fig. 2. Woodcut illustration from first edition of Hans Staden's *Wahre Geschichte* (Marburg, 1557), supposed to have been executed under his supervision. From *Hans Staden: Duas viagens ao Brasil*, 1974, p. 188.

The only explicit images of Indians engaged in cutting up and devouring their victims, some of them clearly Europeans, are interspliced with the film's opening credits – details of 16thcentury engravings that show men, women, and children partaking of the food. Many Brazilian viewers will recognize these images: they are illustrations of the famous account of two voyages undertaken between 1547 and 1555 by Hans Staden, a German gunner who published the story of his adventures in the New World in 1557 under the title *Wahrhaftig Historia und Beschreibung einer Landschaft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen Menschenfresser-Leuten in der Neuen Welt America gelegen*



Fig. 3. The corresponding etching illustrating the Latin edition published in Frankfurt in 1592. From *Primeiro viajante* (n.d., 1960s), source of the images used by Pereira dos Santos.

(True History and Description of a Land of the Wild, Grim, Man-Eating People Located in the New World of America). We know almost nothing about Hans Staden beyond what he tells us in this account, which he wrote ostensibly to thank his god for protecting him in all the perils of his travels and especially during his more than nine months of captivity among the Tupinambás, from whom he finally managed to escape. He had been captured while serving in a Portuguese settlement, held to be one of them, and therefore declared fit to be eaten. Through a series of fortunate events which he skillfully exploited to show



Fig. 4. Etching illustrating the 1592 edition. Hans Staden has been stripped and decorated and is made to dance in a circle of women, in the Indian village of Ubatuba (Uwattibi). From *Primeiro viajante* (n.d., 1960s), pp. 18-19.

the superior power of his god he managed to acquire an aura of awe and avoid a fate that he saw a number of other prisoners suffer. He portrayed himself as a pious man who, while going naked like the natives and sharing their life in all its aspects except for consuming human flesh, had yet remained an outsider among people he described as superstitious savages. But he was clearly fascinated by their life and fully aware of the curiosity of his potential readers about news from a world so different from theirs: a world of otherness. Staden followed the story of his personal adventures and God's providence with a second book about *The Land and its Inhabitants*, a *True Brief Report about the Life and Customs of the Tupinambás Whose Prisoner I Was*, which has established him as an early anthropologist, nowadays held in great esteem.



Fig. 5. Jean is being led around in a circle of women after his arrival in the Indian village. Notice the headgear copied from the 1592 etching. The film's captive will later decide on his own to shed his clothes and go naked.

Immediately republished several times in 1557, the work was widely translated and saw new editions in every subsequent century. In Portuguese it first appeared as late as 1892, but a free adaptation by the popular writer Monteiro Lobato published in 1925, followed by versions for young readers that have gone through many printings, has made Hans Staden's account part of many Brazilian school children's education. There have also been more reliable scholarly editions, with reproductions of the woodcuts that illustrated the work's first edition of 1557 and are held to have been made by Staden or under his supervision (see fig. 2). More impressive and artistically accomplished, but also more obviously representative of European conventions, taste, and ways of imagining the other are engravings made for a 1592 edition, long after Staden's death; in the 1960s, a large-size version of the engravings was published in São Paulo. These are the images that Nelson Pereira dos Santos used for his film (see figs. 3 and 4).

Many Brazilian viewers would thus immediately recognize the story of Jean the Frenchman as essentially the story of Hans the German, and a number of them would realize that the film-maker had frequently followed Staden's account and the illustrations even in minute details, down to the identical decorations of the victim's forehead and the "ibirapema", the club used to kill him. When the film's chieftain, Cunhambebe (a name derived from Staden), arrives with his prisoner at the village, the women shout joyfully, in Tupi, "Our meal has walked to us", a version of the book's most famous phrase ("Ali vem a nossa comida pulando", "There our meal comes hopping along").⁵ The words spoken before the killing, "Yes, here am I, I want to kill you, because your people also killed and ate many of my friends", are a direct quotation (II: 29, p. 182), and so is the conventional response that Seboipep, his 'wife', teaches Jean to speak, who curses them instead in French before he is slain. In his personal account, Staden says nothing about having a woman among the natives; but in Book II he states that until the day a prisoner is killed "they give him a woman, who takes care of him and also services him. If she has a child by him, they raise it until it is grown, then they kill it and eat it when the idea occurs to them" (II: 29, 1974, p. 179). In giving Jean the widow of his brother, who was killed by the Portuguese, the film's chieftain thus also acts in accordance with Staden's account.

Because of this apparent faithfulness to its major source, *How tasty* has been called Brazil's first "great historical film" (Salem 1987, p. 267). There are discrepancies, of course. Besides the most

obvious deviation - Jean is killed, Hans escapes - there is the ultimately more significant change of national identity. On the larger scale, where Jean comes to stand for all the colonizing invaders and where his identity as French or Portuguese is in the end indifferent, it would have been less effective to have a German play this role; and making Jean part of the historically verified presence of the French contingent serving under Villegaignon reinforces the importance and ostensible authenticity of the episode. But there are other implications. When Jean is confronted by the Indians with a French trader who declares, after talking to him in their common language, that he is not French and can be eaten, Jean is coldly betrayed, whereas the Frenchman who judged Hans Staden to be Portuguese could converse with him only in Tupi. The film's trader is afraid of losing his spoils by robbing the Indians of their meal. He speaks of them to Jean with contempt and calls him insane when he asks for gunpowder, which the chieftain wants for the artillery pieces captured with Jean: no French captain would ever give them that. But when tempted by a pile of gold coins that Jean has discovered he changes his mind, only to be slain by Jean when it comes to dividing the treasure – which seems to even the score but makes killing for gold at least as questionable as eating one's enemy for revenge (and pleasure). This entire episode, like a number of others that will significantly affect our interpretation of the film's representations, is not found in Staden's account. Jean is not Hans; but for those who know that account, the explicit intertextual references are likely to reinforce the credibility of the events depicted.

The image of Europeans as well as of natives conveyed by the film is ultimately quite different from that conveyed by Staden. Moreover, while the film's faithful reproduction of so many details seems to ratify Staden's report as factual, it questions from the very start the veracity of contemporary accounts by contrasting word and image. The film opens with a prelude that features a voice-over rendition, in Portuguese, of a report that is identified as a letter by the French Huguenot Admiral Villegaignon, dated 31 March 1557, sent from Colligny in "Antarctic France" to John Calvin:

The country is deserted and uncultivated. There are no houses or roofs or any other accommodations. On the contrary. The natives are barbarous savages, with no polite manners or humanity, much different from us in their customs and education, without any religion, or any knowledge of honesty or virtue, of right and wrong. They are beasts with human faces.

These words are totally belied by what we see on the screen, a lush beach on which natives greet a party of Frenchmen, offering them food that is gratefully accepted, and mingling freely with the



Fig. 6. Corpses on the beach after the battle between the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins.

arrivals who are obviously attracted to the unclothed young women. The prologue ends with Jean the deserter being pushed in chains into the sea after a priest has sanctified the act, while the admiral's letter reports that the man was freed of his bonds but strangely enough decided to throw himself from a cliff. Jean is killed twice, the first time for having tried to join the Indians. It is the behavior of the Europeans that is portrayed throughout the film as lacking in honesty and virtue and a regard for right and wrong. There is no difference between French and Portuguese – as we have seen, the film's final quote is from a *Portuguese* commander's report of the slaughter of Indians. It is also the only quote the veracity of which is not placed in doubt: contrary to the visual sequences of the prologue, which subvert the spoken narrative, the empty beach of the final shot is filled with slain Indians by the quote of the European Governor General of Brazil.



Fig. 7. The film's final shot, which is followed by a board with Mem de Sá's account of his victory over the Indians.

The Edenic quality of life before the invasion suggested by the film's final image is throughout conveyed in the portrayal of the women, represented by Seboipep, impenetrable though she may be. The film's Indians live a life that is "natural, free, without sin" (Salem 1987, p. 261). The martial propensities of the males are questioned: the intentionally confusing fashion of filming the battle between Tupinambás and Tupiniquins, apparently fought for no different reason than to avenge earlier losses, makes all the warriors look alike (cf. note 3), and in the end the beach is shown littered with corpses, though far fewer than those of which Mem de Sá boasts in the final quote. But the correspondence of these two beach scenes (see figs. 6 and 7) is one of the powerful ways in which the film makes its points – and escapes a simplistic reading of good versus bad.

It is the final sequence of shots that leaves the strongest impression – and is likely to induce divided reactions. From the rather pathetic celebration with the canons that are soon to be entirely useless, to the image of Seboipep at her meal, to the scanning of a great variety of faces that are then re-encountered in our imagination as lying on the beach filled with corpses by the Governor's words, we are led through a gamut of responses. Many will be shared by Brazilian viewers and outsiders. The final shot may be the most disturbing. But it is the response to Seboipep that will divide viewers' reactions.

On a denotative level, her ability to turn the man to whom she made love literally into an object of consumption will prevent any spontaneous empathy with her. We are expected to accept it as historically correct; viewers familiar with Staden's account know how much time he spends on describing the Indians' cannibalistic practices and how carefully they are detailed in the illustrations. Nelson Pereira dos Santos is on record as having accepted the account as trustworthy.⁶ The filmic narrative he has constructed preserves what he considered to be the anthropological facts (but does not reflect Staden's comments and judgments, which are indeed on the level of those that the narrative questions). We are shown at length the

communal ritual leading up to the execution and are made to witness Jean's failure to live up to the expected behavior that would make him worthy of being devoured. Though we may understand those expectations, we realize we would act like him. On this level of reception, most viewers will share Jean's hope to escape, and many apparently never got beyond that: to the film-maker's chagrin, the general public in Brazil tended to identify with Jean, whom they wanted to escape like Hans Staden.

But the film's very title creates from the start an ironic distancing effect, and the emphasis on the culinary is not supported by the sources. The playful but deadly serious initiation into the ritual during which Seboipep displays her joyful anticipation of eating him is as effective as it is inauthentic – and ends with Jean "eating" her, in a common colloquialism of Brazilian Portuguese ordinarily reserved for the male. Devouring one's object of desire, one of the basic metaphorical implications of cannibalism, is here made explicit.

In fact, the film does not for any length of time support a reading of it as "realistic". Every attentive viewer will realize that the main characters, such as the chieftain and the young woman, are played by "whites" painted "red" - or rather, by Brazilians who are most likely an ethnic mix⁷ (see fig. 8); and the final shot panning the faces of the males of the tribe makes the disguise quite apparent. There are other features that undermine the ostensible authenticity of the film's anthropological reconstruction. The initial voice-over text is rendered in the tone of modern Brazilian newscasting and accompanied by the (18th-century!) theme music of the "Atualidades Francesas" newsreel in Brazilian cinemas of the '60s (Salem 1987, p. 259). The hand-held camera recalls both newsreel and "cinéma vérité" techniques but is contradicted by camera positions and angles incompatible with these techniques. The native music played on native instruments serves a cinematographic function as background music to mark the change of scene and mood after the prologue. The captive Frenchman ("maïr" in Tupi) asks Seboipep at a crucial moment to tell him about the "great Maïr", the mythical an-



Fig. 8. Chief Cunhambebe (Eduardo Imbassahy Filho) and his slave Jean (Arduíno Colasanti), followed by Seboipep (Ana Maria Magalhães). The chief's insignia are modeled after the image of a chieftain in the illustrations for Staden's account.

cestor who brought them fire and showed them how to make weapons, build houses, and plant crops; her tale in Tupi is continued by the trader's voice in French, and the story takes on prophetic dimensions: "the new God built a small village with brick and stonewalled houses with streets and squares, barracks for the warriors, and a castle for the Council of Chiefs". The visual narrative shows Jean acting out the feats of the godlike ancestor – and finally being reduced to ridicule by the natives.⁸ But this sequence clearly signals the film's tendency to match its pseudo-documentary aspects with multi-leveled allegorical representations.

Some of these will affect Brazilians differently than other viewers, and some may escape the outsider altogether. In 1970, when oppression and persecution were rampant in Brazil under a military dictatorship whose censors forced any criticism to adopt indirect and often allegorical methods, the obvious falsity of the prologue's opening report that culminates in the alleged suicide suggested parallels to the present. The images of the life and customs of the extinct Tupinambás will remind viewers of the continuing persecution, often sanctioned by the government, of the Indians fighting for survival in the Amazon even today.

The satisfied face of a mastigating Seboipep, however, provokes more generalized and more sophisticated interpretations. Reflection will make everyone realize that the capacity of turning the other into a consumable commodity is anything but alien to the Europeans, of whom Jean becomes the representative, once we apply an only slightly allegorical reading. A (self-styled) enlightened European viewer may feel almost as estranged from the sixteenthcentury Europeans in the film as he feels from the Indians; yet such a viewer will not need long to understand that this historical distancing will not work. Those Europeans are our contemporaries are us. And any response of viewers reacting on this level is bound to be complex, ranging from an awareness of the extinction by the invaders of that homogeneous society whose anthropophagic rituals were based on communal beliefs, to the realization that Nelson Pereira dos Santos's film is entirely the product of the consequences of that invasion. As critics have long remarked, the Indians in the film are not portrayed as noble savages representing an ideal natural state. Their readiness to go to war, to kill Indians who do not belong to their own tribe, appears as pronounced as the Europeans' readiness to kill their own out of greed, religious zeal, or the need to maintain "order" and their territorial power. Deflating any justification for feeling morally superior, the film yet establishes a base for moral questioning that is entirely the product of a Western humanist tradition.

For Brazilian viewers responding on this level, however, it touches on a number of themes that may not be so obvious to the outsider but continue to be crucial to the discourses about Brazil's identity and its place in the world: the encounter of entirely dissimilar cultures, of colonizer and colonized, the question of "underdevelopment" – and the meaning of anthropophagy. For them, Seboipep chewing contentedly on the neck of her Frenchman will have rather special connotations.

Erdmute Wenzel White's study "Der Mythos der antropofagia in der Literatur und Malerei" surveys the debate, recently resumed with renewed vigor, about the status of eve-witness reports such as Staden's and the functions of cannibalism as a myth.9 But White also reminds her readers that, no matter what its anthropological status, cannibalism as metaphor has played an important role in 20th-century avant-gardes, especially in Brazil, which has furnished "the first example of radical post-modern cannibalism" (1998, p. 256). Indeed, while the general public in Brazil tended to identify with Jean, intellectuals were aware of "antropofagia" as the powerful metaphor it had been in Brazilian intellectual life since 1928, when the writer Oswald de Andrade and a few friends created a new magazine, Revista de Antropofagia, which featured Hans Staden's "Ali vem a nossa comida pulando" on the title page and contained in its first issue a by now famous "Cannibalist Manifesto" decorated with a design by the movement's pictorial muse, Tarsila do Amaral. A facsimile edition of the first and second series (or "teethings") of the magazine was published in 1975, with an introduction by the Concrete poet Augusto de Campos, who had also introduced, several years earlier, a rising star of Brazilian popular music, Caetano Veloso, to the theories of Oswaldian anthropophagy. Caetano was a co-creator, in 1968-69, of the "Tropicália" movement that manifested strong links to Oswald and his "Manifesto Antropófago". In a recent study, "Caetano Veloso: The Cannibal in Exile", Lúcia Sá gave a brief characterization of Oswald's cannibalism, derived from an analysis by Benedito Nunes, who had observed that "as a symbol of devouring, [it] is at the same time a metaphor, a diagnosis, and a therapy" (Nunes 1970, pp. xxv-xxvi, trans. Sá):

Oswald based his ideas of anthropophagy on the native Tupi ritual of eating a brave enemy after a battle, in order to acquire his strength and power. As a metaphor of cultural colonization, cannibalism is usually described as the act of devouring the colonizing culture, extracting during the process all of its useful elements and spitting out the rest. But eating human flesh is not exactly the same as eating imported grapes. Oswald's choice of cannibalism as a concept points to more than just eating, it points to the violence that is involved in any process of colonial exchange. Moreover, just as the Tupi admired their most hated enemies, colonized countries, in their never-ending struggle for cultural identity, have also an inextricable desire to savor the cultures that they want to kill. As a diagnosis, cannibalism allows us to look at colonization as a process of repressing what the Europeans saw as Brazil's most barbaric sides, those sides that the Brazilian intelligentsia from the beginning of the century also tried to eliminate in its desperate attempt to civilize, i.e. Europeanize, the country. As a therapy, Oswald's cannibalism asks us to take those barbaric sides out of the closet, exposing and assuming Indian and Black religions, Indian and Black foods, Indian and Black sexuality. (Sá 1998, pp. 2-3)

The film-maker stated in 1977 that *How tasty* was "an attempt to find in anthropology a point of support to understand the reality of Brazil" (qtd. in Avellar 1986, p. 179) and is quoted as saying in the early '80s:

The conception of the [film's] story is based on this recuperation of the culture of Brazil that has been colonized for centuries. (. . .) The anthropophagous theory (. . .) is a theory of assimilation of the foreign culture by the Brazilian. And by the Indian. The Indian ate the enemy in order to acquire his powers, not to feed himself physically. It was something ritualistic. The more powerful the enemy, the tastier was he. (Qtd. in Salem 1987, p. 261))

These are clearly echoes of Oswald, mingled with insights gained from anthropology. The Oswaldian traces link *How tasty*, which

was filmed in 1970, to Tropicalism, although it does not share the carnevalesque nature of that movement. As we have noted, cannibalism's anthropological foundations have recently (again) been questioned. But the power assumed by its metaphorical dimensions in 20th-century Brazil continues unabated: a luxurious edition of a new translation of Staden's two books with the original illustrations as well as unpublished illustrations created in 1941 by Candido Portinari is entitled *Portinari Devora Hans Staden* (Paris and Ohtake 1998). The blank stare of the native woman at the film's end allows for many divergent interpretations. But one thing is certain: she has eaten her Frenchman. Perhaps being a Brazilian means being a cannibal. Or, in Oswald de Andrade's famous quip: "Tupi or not Tupi, that is the question".

Notes

1. Revised text of a presentation given, with many more illustrations, in the session on "Images of the Other", Fifth Congress of the International Association of Word & Image Studies, Scripps College, Claremont, CA, 14 – 21 March 1999.

2. Filmed in 1970, released in 1972. Written and directed by Nelson Pereira dos Santos. Camera: Dib Lutfi. Music: José Rodrix. Ethnographic research: Luiz Carlos Ripper. Dialogues in Tupi: Humberto Mauro. In Tupi and French, original version with Portuguese subtitles. 80 minutes, color. ©1971 Nelson Pereira dos Santos. ©1973 New Yorker Films ©1995 New Yorker Films Artwork.

3. The lines given the Portuguese and the French captive, besides being telling instances of the difference in sound, are also self-referential: the Portuguese recites a recipe (food theme!), Jean says that "les barbares marchent tous nus, et nous, nous marchons inconnus". – The audience is expected to understand the differences in language but will be unable to differentiate between the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins who at one point engage in savage battle: the Indians know whom to slay, the viewers, who are likely to side with the Tupinambás whom they have come to know, are not given a clue whether the groups of naked men running up or down the beach are friend or foe.

4. All translations from the Portuguese, French, and German are mine, unless otherwise noted. The subtitles of the film's English version are incomplete and faulty.

5. The phrase appears twice in Staden's memoirs: upon his arrival among the women of the village, who make him exclaim, in Tupi which Staden then translates, "Aju ne peê remiruràma", "Estou chegando eu, vossa comida", "Here I'm coming, your meal" (I:21, *Duas viagens* 1974, p. 87), and later when he is made by a rope to dance in the hut and the men call out, "Ali vem a nossa comida pulando", "There our meal comes hopping along" (I:28, *Duas viagens* 1974, p. 100).

6. The editions of the work that I have used, the latest a translation into Portuguese published in 1974, do not question the veracity of Staden's account that proclaims itself as "wahrhaftig", "true"; on the contrary, they emphasize the many narrative and stylistic traits that support that claim, as well as the verifiability of many of the story's details from other contemporary sources. The film-maker had no reason to mistrust the account as such. In fact, according to him, there was "a rigorous attempt at historical reconstruction: 'I respected all available data about the culture of the Tupinambás'" (Salem 1987, p. 266), among which Staden's account was the most important (cf. statement by Nelson Pereira dos Santos in *O Globo*, 1 July 1972, qtd. in Salem 1987, p. 258, note 18). In a more recently published, more extensive study of the film, Darlene Sadlier explores in greater detail Pereira dos Santos's use of and attitude toward his sources.

7. Eduardo Imbassahy, a close friend of the director's who invited him to play the part, was the chair of Clinical Medicine at the Universidade Federal Fluminense (Salem 1987, p. 259, note 19). Ana Maria Magalhães had been cast in Nelson Pereira dos Santos's preceding film, *Azyllo muito louco* (1969).

8. Sadlier correctly notes that "just as Mair was finally rejected by the Tupinambá for his arrogance, so too is Jean, whose every effort to define his individuality and superiority is eventually undercut and punished" (2000, p. 198); but she disregards the conclusion of the French narration that speaks of the "Great Maïr" in terms of the future and the colonizing presence of the Europeans.

9. White refers specifically to Tim D. White (1992), Menninger (1995), Warner (1995), and Osborne (1997). Earlier authors cited are Arens (1979) and Blumenberg (1979).

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