

# Christopher Columbus

**Christopher Columbus**<sup>[a]</sup> (/kəˈlʌmbəs/ <sup>[3]</sup> born between 25 August and 31 October 1451, died 20 May 1506) was an Italian<sup>[b]</sup> explorer and navigator who completed four voyages across the Atlantic Ocean, opening the way for the widespread European exploration and colonization of the Americas. His expeditions, sponsored by the Catholic Monarchs of Spain, were the first European contact with the Caribbean, Central America, and South America.

The name *Christopher Columbus* is the Anglicisation of the Latin *Christophorus Columbus*. Scholars generally agree that Columbus was born in the Republic of Genoa and spoke a dialect of Ligurian as his first language. He went to sea at a young age and travelled widely, as far north as the British Isles and as far south as what is now Ghana. He married Portuguese noblewoman Filipa Moniz Perestrelo and was based in Lisbon for several years, but later took a Castilian mistress; he had one son with each woman.

Largely self-educated, Columbus was widely read in geography, astronomy, and history. He developed a plan to seek a western sea passage to the East Indies, hoping to profit from the lucrative spice trade. Following Columbus's persistent lobbying in multiple kingdoms, the Catholic Monarchs Queen Isabella I and King Ferdinand II agreed to sponsor a journey west. Columbus left Castile in August 1492 with three ships and made landfall in the Americas on 12 October (ending the period of human habitation in the Americas now referred to as the pre-Columbian era). His landing place was an island in the Bahamas, known by its native inhabitants as Guanahani. He subsequently visited the islands now known as Cuba and Hispaniola, establishing a colony in what is now Haiti. Columbus returned to Castile in early 1493, bringing a number of captured natives with him. Word of his voyage soon spread throughout Europe.

Columbus made three further voyages to the Americas, exploring the Lesser Antilles in 1493, Trinidad and the northern coast of South America in 1498, and the eastern coast of Central America in 1502. Many of the names he gave to geographical features—particularly islands—are still in use. He also gave the name *indios* ("Indians") to the indigenous peoples he encountered. The extent to which he was aware that the Americas were a wholly separate landmass is uncertain; he never clearly renounced his belief that he had reached the Far East. As a colonial governor, Columbus was accused by his contemporaries of significant brutality and was soon removed from the post. Columbus's strained

## Admiral of the Ocean Sea Christopher Columbus



Posthumous portrait of Columbus by Sebastiano del Piombo, 1519. There are no known authentic portraits of Columbus.<sup>[1]</sup>

### 1st Governor of the Indies

#### In office

1492–1499

**Appointed by** Isabella I of Castile

**Succeeded by** Francisco de Bobadilla

### Personal details

**Born** Between 25 August and 31 October 1451

Genoa, Republic of Genoa

**Died** 20 May 1506 (aged 54)

Valladolid, Castile

**Resting place** Seville Cathedral, Seville, Spain

**Spouse(s)** Filipa Moniz Perestrelo (m. 1479, died)

**Domestic** Beatriz Enríquez de

relationship with the Crown of Castile and its appointed colonial administrators in America led to his arrest and removal from Hispaniola in 1500, and later to protracted litigation over the perquisites that he and his heirs claimed were owed to them by the crown.

Columbus's expeditions inaugurated a period of exploration, conquest, and colonization that lasted for centuries, helping create the modern Western world. The transfers between the Old World and New World that followed his first voyage are known as the Columbian exchange. Columbus was widely celebrated in the centuries after his death,<sup>[6][7][8]</sup> but public perception has fractured in recent decades as scholars have given greater attention to the harms committed under his governance, particularly the beginning of the depopulation of Hispaniola's indigenous Táinos caused by mistreatment and Old World diseases, as well as by that people's enslavement. Proponents of the Black Legend theory of historiography claim that Columbus has been unfairly maligned as part of a wider anti-Catholic sentiment. Many places in the Western Hemisphere bear his name, including the country of Colombia, the District of Columbia, and British Columbia.

<b>partner</b>	<u>Arana</u>
<b>Children</b>	<u>Diego</u> <u>Fernando</u>
<b>Parent(s)</b>	<u>Domenico Colombo</u> <u>Susanna</u> <u>Fontanarossa</u>
<b>Relatives</b>	Brothers: <u>Giovanni Pellegrino</u> <u>Giacomo</u> (also called <u>Diego</u> ) <sup>[2]</sup> <u>Bartolomeo</u> Sister: <u>Bianchinetta</u> <u>Columbus</u>
<b>Occupation</b>	<u>Maritime explorer</u>
<b>Signature</b>	
<b>Military service</b>	
<b>Rank</b>	<u>Admiral of the</u> <u>Ocean Sea</u>

## Contents

### Early life

#### Quest for Asia

Background

Geographical considerations

Nautical considerations

Quest for financial support for a voyage

Agreement with the Spanish crown

#### Voyages

First voyage (1492–1493)

Second voyage (1493–1496)

Third voyage (1498–1500)

Fourth voyage (1502–1504)

#### Later life, illness, and death

#### Location of remains

#### Commemoration

#### Legacy

Originality of discovery of America

America as a distinct land

Flat Earth mythology

Criticism and defense

Brutality

Depopulation

Navigational expertise

**Physical appearance**

**See also**

**Notes**

**References**

Sources

**Further reading**

**External links**

## Early life

Columbus's early life is obscure, but scholars believe he was born in the Republic of Genoa between 25 August and 31 October 1451.<sup>[11]</sup> His father was Domenico Colombo, a wool weaver who worked in Genoa and Savona and who also owned a cheese stand at which young Christopher worked as a helper. His mother was Susanna Fontanarossa.<sup>[12]</sup> He had three brothers—Bartolomeo, Giovanni Pellegrino, and Giacomo (also called Diego),<sup>[2]</sup> as well as a sister named Bianchinetta.<sup>[13]</sup> His brother Bartolomeo ran a cartography workshop in Lisbon for at least part of his adulthood.<sup>[14]</sup>

His native language is presumed to have been a Genoese dialect although Columbus probably never wrote in that language.<sup>[15]</sup> His name in the 16th-century Genoese language was *Cristoffa Corombo*<sup>[16]</sup> (Ligurian pronunciation: [kriˈʃtɔffa kuˈʎuɲbu]).<sup>[17]</sup> His name in Italian is *Cristoforo Colombo*, and in Spanish *Cristóbal Colón*.<sup>[18][19]</sup>

In one of his writings, he says he went to sea at the age of fourteen.<sup>[15]</sup> In 1470, the Colombo family moved to Savona, where Domenico took over a tavern. Some modern authors have argued that he was not from Genoa but, instead, from the Aragon region of Spain<sup>[20]</sup> or from Portugal.<sup>[21]</sup> These competing hypotheses generally have been discounted by mainstream scholars.<sup>[22][23]</sup>

In 1473, Columbus began his apprenticeship as business agent for the wealthy Spinola, Centurione, and Di Negro families of Genoa.<sup>[24]</sup> Later, he made a trip to Chios, an Aegean island then ruled by Genoa.<sup>[25]</sup> In May 1476, he took part in an armed convoy sent by Genoa to carry valuable cargo to northern Europe. He probably visited Bristol, England,<sup>[26]</sup> and Galway, Ireland.<sup>[27]</sup> He may have also gone to Iceland in 1477.<sup>[28][29][30]</sup> It is known that in the autumn of 1477, he sailed on a Portuguese ship from Galway to Lisbon, where he found his brother Bartolomeo, and they continued trading for the Centurione family. Columbus based himself in Lisbon from 1477 to 1485. He married Filipa Moniz Perestrelo, daughter of Bartolomeu Perestrelo, a Portuguese nobleman of Lombard origin,<sup>[31]</sup> who had been the donatary captain of Porto Santo.<sup>[32]</sup>

In 1479 or 1480, Columbus's son Diego was born. Between 1482 and 1485, Columbus traded along the coasts of West Africa, reaching the Portuguese trading post of Elmina at the Guinea coast (in present-day Ghana).<sup>[33]</sup> Before 1484, Columbus returned to Porto Santo to find that his wife had died.<sup>[34]</sup> He returned



Christopher Columbus House in Genoa, an 18-century reconstruction of the house Columbus grew up in, which was likely destroyed during the 1684 bombardment of Genoa.<sup>[9][10]</sup>

to Portugal to settle her estate and take his son Diego with him.<sup>[35]</sup> He left Portugal for Castile in 1485, where he found a mistress in 1487, a 20-year-old orphan named Beatriz Enríquez de Arana.<sup>[36]</sup>

It is likely that Beatriz met Columbus when he was in Córdoba, a gathering site of many Genoese merchants and where the court of the Catholic Monarchs was located at intervals. Beatriz, unmarried at the time, gave birth to Columbus's natural son, Fernando Columbus in July 1488, named for the monarch of Aragon. Columbus recognized the boy as his offspring. Columbus entrusted his older, legitimate son Diego to take care of Beatriz and pay the pension set aside for her following his death, but Diego was negligent in his duties.<sup>[37]</sup>

Being ambitious, Columbus eventually learned Latin, Portuguese, and Castilian. He read widely about astronomy, geography, and history, including the works of Claudius Ptolemy, Pierre Cardinal d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi*, the travels of Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville, Pliny's *Natural History*, and Pope Pius II's *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum*. According to historian Edmund Morgan,

Columbus was not a scholarly man. Yet he studied these books, made hundreds of marginal notations in them and came out with ideas about the world that were characteristically simple and strong and sometimes wrong ...<sup>[38]</sup>



Columbus's copy of *The Travels of Marco Polo*, with his handwritten notes in Latin written on the margins

## Quest for Asia

### Background

Under the Mongol Empire's hegemony over Asia and the *Pax Mongolica*, Europeans had long enjoyed a safe land passage on the Silk Road to Maritime Southeast Asia, parts of East Asia, and China, which were sources of valuable goods. With the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Empire in 1453, the Silk Road was closed to Christian traders.<sup>[39]</sup>

In 1474, the Florentine astronomer Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli suggested to King Afonso V of Portugal that sailing west across the Atlantic would be a quicker way to reach the Maluku (Spice) Islands, China, and Japan than the route around Africa, but Afonso rejected his proposal.<sup>[40][41]</sup> In the 1480s, Columbus and his brother proposed a plan to reach the East Indies by sailing west. Columbus supposedly wrote Toscanelli in 1481 and received encouragement, along with a copy of a map the astronomer had sent Afonso implying that a westward route to Asia was possible.<sup>[42]</sup> Columbus's plans were complicated by the opening of the Cape Route to Asia around Africa in 1488.<sup>[43]</sup>



Toscanelli's notions of the geography of the Atlantic Ocean (shown superimposed on a modern map), which directly influenced Columbus's plans

Carol Delaney and other commentators have argued that Columbus was a Christian millennialist and apocalypticist and that these beliefs motivated his quest for Asia in a variety of ways. Columbus often wrote about seeking gold in the diaries of his voyages and writes about acquiring the precious metal "in such quantity that the sovereigns... will undertake and prepare to go conquer the Holy Sepulcher" in a fulfillment of Biblical prophecy.<sup>[c]</sup> Columbus also often wrote about converting all races to Christianity.<sup>[45]</sup> Abbas Hamandi argues that Columbus was motivated by the hope of "[delivering] Jerusalem from Muslim hands" by "using the resources of newly discovered lands".<sup>[46]</sup>

## Geographical considerations

Despite a popular misconception to the contrary, nearly all educated Westerners of Columbus's time knew that the Earth is spherical, a concept that had been understood since antiquity.<sup>[47]</sup> The techniques of celestial navigation, which uses the position of the Sun and the stars in the sky, had long been in use by astronomers and were beginning to be implemented by mariners.<sup>[48][49]</sup>

As far back as the 3rd century BC, Eratosthenes had correctly computed the circumference of the Earth by using simple geometry and studying the shadows cast by objects at two remote locations.<sup>[50][51]</sup> In the 1st century BC, Posidonius confirmed Eratosthenes's results by comparing stellar observations at two separate locations. These measurements were widely known among scholars, but Ptolemy's use of the smaller, old-fashioned units of distance led Columbus to underestimate the size of the Earth by about a third.<sup>[52]</sup>



"Columbus map", drawn c. 1490 in the Lisbon workshop of Bartolomeo and Christopher Columbus<sup>[53]</sup>

From Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi* (1410), Columbus learned of Alfraganus's estimate that a degree of latitude (or a degree of longitude along the equator) spanned 56.67 Arabic miles (equivalent to 66.2 nautical miles or 122.6 kilometres), but he did not realize that this was expressed in the Arabic mile (about 1,830 meters) rather than the shorter Roman mile (about 1,480 meters) with which he was familiar.<sup>[54]</sup> Columbus therefore estimated the size of the Earth to be about 75 percent of Eratosthenes's calculation, and the distance westward from the Canary Islands to the Indies as only 68 degrees, or 3080 nautical miles (a 58 percent margin of error).<sup>[55]</sup>

Furthermore, most scholars accepted Ptolemy's estimate that Eurasia spanned 180° longitude,<sup>[56]</sup> rather than the actual 130° (to the Chinese mainland) or 150° (to Japan at the latitude of Spain). Columbus, for his part, believed an even higher estimate, leaving a smaller percentage for water. In d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi*, Columbus read Marinus of Tyre's estimate that the longitudinal span of Eurasia was 225°.<sup>[57]</sup> Some historians, such as Samuel Morison, have suggested that he followed the statement in the apocryphal book 2 Esdras (6:42) that "six parts [of the globe] are habitable and the seventh is covered with water."<sup>[58]</sup> He was also aware of Marco Polo's claim that Japan (which he called "Cipangu") was some 2,414 kilometres (1,500 mi) to the east of China ("Cathay"),<sup>[57]</sup> and closer to the equator than it is. He was influenced by Toscanelli's idea that there were inhabited islands even farther to the east than Japan, including the mythical Antillia, which he thought might lie not much farther to the west than the Azores.<sup>[59]</sup>

Based on his sources, Columbus estimated a distance of 2,400 nautical miles (4,400 km) from the Canary Islands west to Japan; the actual distance is 10,600 nautical miles (19,600 km).<sup>[60]</sup> No ship in the 15th century could have carried enough food and fresh water for such a long voyage, and the dangers involved

in navigating through the uncharted ocean would have been formidable. Most European navigators reasonably concluded that a westward voyage from Europe to Asia was unfeasible. The Catholic Monarchs, however, having completed the *Reconquista*, an expensive war in the Iberian Peninsula, were eager to obtain a competitive edge over other European countries in the quest for trade with the Indies. Columbus's project, though far-fetched, held the promise of such an advantage.<sup>[61]</sup>

## Nautical considerations

Though Columbus was wrong about the number of degrees of longitude that separated Europe from the Far East and about the distance that each degree represented, he did take advantage of the trade winds, which would prove to be the key to his successful navigation of the Atlantic Ocean. He planned to first sail to the Canary Islands before continuing west with the northeast trade wind.<sup>[62]</sup> Part of the return to Spain would require traveling against the wind using an arduous sailing technique called *beating*, during which progress is made very slowly.<sup>[63]</sup> To effectively make the return voyage, Columbus would need to follow the curving trade winds northeastward to the middle latitudes of the North Atlantic, where he would be able to catch the "*westerlies*" that blow eastward to the coast of Western Europe.<sup>[64]</sup>

The navigational technique for travel in the Atlantic appears to have been exploited first by the Portuguese, who referred to it as the *volta do mar* ('turn of the sea'). Columbus's knowledge of the Atlantic wind patterns was imperfect at the time of his first voyage. By sailing due west from the Canary Islands during hurricane season, skirting the so-called *horse latitudes* of the mid-Atlantic, Columbus risked being becalmed and running into a *tropical cyclone*, both of which he avoided by chance.<sup>[65]</sup>

## Quest for financial support for a voyage

By about 1484, Columbus proposed his planned voyage to King John II of Portugal.<sup>[66]</sup> The king submitted Columbus's proposal to his advisors, who rejected it, correctly, on the grounds that Columbus's estimate for a voyage of 2,400 nautical miles was only a quarter of what it should have been.<sup>[67]</sup> In 1488, Columbus again appealed to the court of Portugal, and John II again granted him an audience. That meeting also proved unsuccessful, in part because not long afterwards Bartolomeu Dias returned to Portugal with news of his successful rounding of the southern tip of Africa (near the *Cape of Good Hope*).<sup>[68]</sup>

Columbus sought an audience from the monarchs Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile, who had united several kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula by marrying and were now ruling together. On 1 May 1486, permission having been granted, Columbus presented his plans to Queen Isabella, who, in turn, referred it to a committee. The learned men of Spain, like their counterparts in Portugal, replied that Columbus had grossly underestimated the distance to Asia. They pronounced the idea impractical and advised the Catholic Monarchs to pass on the proposed venture. To keep Columbus from taking his ideas elsewhere, and perhaps to keep their options open, the sovereigns gave him an allowance, totaling about 14,000 *maravedis* for the year, or about the annual salary of a sailor.<sup>[69]</sup> In May 1489, the queen sent him another 10,000 *maravedis*, and the same year the monarchs furnished him with a letter ordering all cities and towns under their dominion to provide him food and lodging at no cost.<sup>[70]</sup>



*Columbus offers his services to the King of Portugal; Chodowiecki, 17th century*

Columbus also dispatched his brother Bartolomeo to the court of Henry VII of England to inquire whether the English crown might sponsor his expedition, but he was captured by pirates en route, and only arrived in early 1491.<sup>[71]</sup> By that time, Columbus had retreated to La Rábida Friary, where the Spanish crown sent him 20,000 *maravedis* to buy new clothes and instructions to return to the Spanish court for renewed discussions.<sup>[72]</sup>

## Agreement with the Spanish crown

Columbus waited at King Ferdinand's camp until Ferdinand and Isabella conquered Granada, the last Muslim stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula, in January 1492. A council led by Isabella's confessor, Hernando de Talavera, found Columbus's proposal to reach the Indies implausible. Columbus had left for France when Ferdinand intervened,<sup>[d]</sup> first sending Talavera and Bishop Diego Deza to appeal to the queen.<sup>[74]</sup> Isabella was finally convinced by the king's clerk Luis de Santángel, who argued that Columbus would take his ideas elsewhere, and offered to help arrange the funding. Isabella then sent a royal guard to fetch Columbus, who had traveled 2 leagues (over 10 kilometers) toward Córdoba.<sup>[74]</sup>



The Alhambra, where Columbus received permission from the Catholic Monarchs for his first voyage<sup>[73]</sup>

In the April 1492 "Capitulations of Santa Fe", King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella promised Columbus that if he succeeded he would be given the rank of Admiral of the Ocean Sea and appointed Viceroy and Governor of all the new lands he might claim for Spain.<sup>[75]</sup> He had the right to nominate three persons, from whom the sovereigns would choose one, for any office in the new lands. He would be entitled to 10 percent (*diezmo*) of all the revenues from the new lands in perpetuity. He also would have the option of buying one-eighth interest in any commercial venture in the new lands, and receive one-eighth (*ochavo*) of the profits.<sup>[76][77][78]</sup>

In 1500, during his third voyage to the Americas, Columbus was arrested and dismissed from his posts. He and his sons, Diego and Fernando, then conducted a lengthy series of court cases against the Castilian crown, known as the *pleitos colombinos*, alleging that the Crown had illegally reneged on its contractual obligations to Columbus and his heirs.<sup>[79]</sup> The Columbus family had some success in their first litigation, as a judgment of 1511 confirmed Diego's position as viceroy but reduced his powers. Diego resumed litigation in 1512, which lasted until 1536, and further disputes initiated by heirs continued until 1790.<sup>[80]</sup>

## Voyages

---

Between 1492 and 1504, Columbus completed four round-trip voyages between Spain and the Americas, each voyage being sponsored by the Crown of Castile. On his first voyage he independently discovered the Americas for early modern Europeans,<sup>[81]</sup> initiating the beginning of the European exploration and colonization of the Americas, as well as the Columbian exchange, and are thus important to the Age of Discovery, Western history, and human history writ large.<sup>[82]</sup>



Captain's Ensign of Columbus's Ships

Columbus always insisted, in the face of mounting evidence to the contrary, that the lands that he visited during those voyages were part of the Asian continent, as previously described by Marco Polo and other European travelers.<sup>[83]</sup> Columbus's refusal to acknowledge that the lands he had visited and

claimed for Spain were not part of Asia might explain, in part, why the American continent was named after the Florentine explorer Amerigo Vespucci—who received credit for recognizing it as a "New World"—and not after Columbus.<sup>[84][e]</sup>

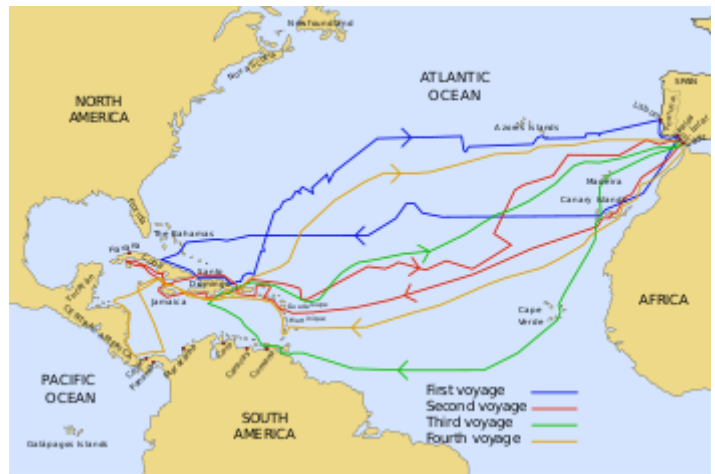
## First voyage (1492–1493)

On the evening of 3 August 1492, Columbus departed from Palos de la Frontera with three ships. The largest was a carrack, the Santa María, owned and captained by Juan de la Cosa, and under Columbus's direct command.<sup>[88]</sup> The other two were smaller caravels, the Pinta and the Niña,<sup>[89]</sup> piloted by the Pinzón brothers.<sup>[88]</sup> Columbus first sailed to the Canary Islands. There he restocked provisions and made repairs then departed from San Sebastián de La Gomera on 6 September,<sup>[90]</sup> for what turned out to be a five-week voyage across the ocean.

On 7 October, the crew spotted "[i]mmense flocks of birds".<sup>[91]</sup> On 11 October, Columbus changed the fleet's course to due west, and sailed through the night, believing land was soon to be found. At around 02:00 the following morning, a lookout on the Pinta, Rodrigo de Triana, spotted land. The captain of the Pinta, Martín Alonso Pinzón, verified the sight of land and alerted Columbus.<sup>[92][93]</sup> Columbus later maintained that he had already seen a light on the land a few hours earlier, thereby claiming for himself the lifetime pension promised by Ferdinand and Isabella to the first person to sight land.<sup>[43][94]</sup> Columbus called this island (in what is now the Bahamas) San Salvador (meaning "Holy Savior"); the natives called it Guanahani.<sup>[95][g]</sup> Christopher Columbus's journal entry of 12 October 1492 states:

I saw some who had marks of wounds on their bodies and I made signs to them asking what they were; and they showed me how people from other islands nearby came there and tried to take them, and how they defended themselves; and I believed and believe that they come here from *tierra firme* to take them captive. They should be good and intelligent servants, for I see that they say very quickly everything that is said to them; and I believe they would become Christians very easily, for it seemed to me that they had no religion. Our Lord pleasing, at the time of my departure I will take six of them from here to Your Highnesses in order that they may learn to speak.<sup>[97]</sup>

Columbus called the inhabitants of the lands that he visited Los Indios (Spanish for "Indians").<sup>[98]</sup> He initially encountered the Lucayan, Taíno, and Arawak peoples.<sup>[99]</sup> Noting their gold ear ornaments, Columbus took some of the Arawaks prisoner and insisted that they guide him to the source of the



The voyages of Christopher Columbus (conjectural)



First voyage (conjectural).<sup>[f]</sup> Modern place names in black, Columbus's place names in blue



gold.<sup>[100]</sup> Columbus observed that their primitive weapons and military tactics made the natives susceptible to easy conquest, writing, "the people here are simple in war-like matters ... I could conquer the whole of them with fifty men, and govern them as I pleased."<sup>[101]</sup>

Columbus also explored the northeast coast of Cuba, where he landed on 28 October. On the night of 26 November, Martín Alonso Pinzón took the *Pinta* on an unauthorized expedition in search of an island called "Babeque" or "Baneque",<sup>[102]</sup> which the natives had told him was rich in gold.<sup>[103]</sup> Columbus, for his part, continued to the northern coast of Hispaniola, where he landed on 6 December.<sup>[104]</sup> There, the *Santa María* ran aground on 25 December 1492 and had to be abandoned. The wreck was used as a target for cannon fire to impress the native peoples.<sup>[105]</sup> Columbus was received by the native *cacique* Guacanagari, who gave him permission to leave some of his men behind. Columbus left 39 men, including the interpreter Luis de Torres,<sup>[106][h]</sup> and founded the settlement of La Navidad, in present-day Haiti.<sup>[107][108]</sup> Columbus took more natives prisoner and continued his exploration.<sup>[100]</sup> He kept sailing along the northern coast of Hispaniola with a single ship until he encountered Pinzón and the *Pinta* on 6 January.<sup>[109]</sup>

On 13 January 1493, Columbus made his last stop of this voyage in the Americas, in the Bay of Rincón in northeast Hispaniola.<sup>[110]</sup> There he encountered the Ciguayos, the only natives who offered violent resistance during this voyage.<sup>[111]</sup> The Ciguayos refused to trade the amount of bows and arrows that Columbus desired; in the ensuing clash one Ciguayo was stabbed in the buttocks and another wounded with an arrow in his chest.<sup>[112]</sup> Because of these events, Columbus called the inlet the *Golfo de Las Flechas* (Bay of Arrows).<sup>[113]</sup>

Columbus headed for Spain on the *Niña*, but a storm separated him from the *Pinta*, and forced the *Niña* to stop at the island of Santa Maria in the Azores. Half of his crew went ashore to say prayers of thanksgiving in a chapel for having survived the storm. But while praying, they were imprisoned by the governor of the island, ostensibly on suspicion of being pirates. After a two-day standoff, the prisoners were released, and Columbus again set sail for Spain.<sup>[114]</sup>

Another storm forced Columbus into the port at Lisbon.<sup>[43]</sup> From there he went to *Vale do Paraíso* north of Lisbon to meet King John II of Portugal, who told Columbus that he believed the voyage to be in violation of the 1479 Treaty of Alcáçovas. After spending more than a week in Portugal, Columbus set sail for Spain. Returning to Palos on 15 March 1493, he was given a hero's welcome and soon afterward received by Isabella and Ferdinand in Barcelona.<sup>[115]</sup>

Columbus's letter on the first voyage, dispatched to the Spanish court, was instrumental in spreading the news throughout Europe about his voyage. Almost immediately after his arrival in Spain, printed versions began to appear, and word of his voyage spread rapidly.<sup>[116]</sup> Most people initially believed that he had reached Asia.<sup>[117]</sup> The Bulls of Donation, three papal bulls of Pope Alexander VI delivered in 1493, purported to grant overseas territories to Portugal and the Catholic Monarchs of Spain. They were replaced by the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494.<sup>[118]</sup>

## **Second voyage (1493–1496)**

On 24 September 1493, Columbus sailed from Cádiz with 17 ships, and supplies to establish permanent colonies in the Americas. He sailed with nearly 1,500 men, including sailors, soldiers, priests, carpenters, stonemasons, metalworkers, and farmers. Among the expedition members were Alvarez Chanca, a physician who wrote a detailed account of the second voyage; Juan Ponce de León, the first governor of Puerto Rico and Florida; the father of Bartolomé de las Casas; Juan de la Cosa, a cartographer who is credited with making the first world map depicting the New World; and Columbus's youngest brother

Diego.<sup>[120]</sup> The fleet stopped at the Canary Islands to take on more supplies, and set sail again on 7 October, deliberately taking a more southerly course than on the first voyage.<sup>[121]</sup>

On 3 November, they arrived in the Windward Islands; the first island they encountered was named Dominica by Columbus, but not finding a good harbor there, they anchored off a nearby smaller island, which he named Mariagalante, now a part of Guadeloupe and called Marie-Galante. Other islands named by Columbus on this voyage were Montserrat, Antigua, Saint Martin, the Virgin Islands, as well as many others.<sup>[121]</sup>



Columbus's second voyage<sup>[1]</sup>

On 22 November, Columbus returned to Hispaniola to visit La Navidad, where 39 Spaniards had been left during the first voyage. Columbus found the fort in ruins, destroyed by the Taínos after some of the Spaniards antagonizing their hosts with their unrestrained lust for gold and women.<sup>[122][107][123]</sup> Columbus then established a poorly located and short-lived settlement to the east, La Isabela,<sup>[120]</sup> in the present-day Dominican Republic.<sup>[124]</sup>

From April to August 1494, Columbus explored Cuba and Jamaica, then returned to Hispaniola. By the end of 1494, disease and famine had killed two-thirds of the Spanish settlers.<sup>[125]</sup> Columbus implemented encomienda,<sup>[126][127]</sup> a Spanish labor system that rewarded conquerors with the labor of conquered non-Christian people. Columbus executed Spanish colonists for minor crimes, and used dismemberment as punishment.<sup>[128]</sup> Columbus and the colonists enslaved the indigenous people,<sup>[129]</sup> including children.<sup>[130]</sup> Natives were beaten, raped, and tortured for the location of imagined gold.<sup>[131]</sup> Thousands committed suicide rather than face the oppression.<sup>[132][j]</sup>

In February 1495, Columbus rounded up about 1,500 Arawaks, some of whom had rebelled, in a great slave raid. About 500 of the strongest were shipped to Spain as slaves,<sup>[134]</sup> with about two hundred of those dying en route.<sup>[100][135]</sup>

In June 1495, the Spanish crown sent ships and supplies to Hispaniola. In October, Florentine merchant Gianotto Berardi, who had won the contract to provision the fleet of Columbus's second voyage and to supply the colony on Hispaniola, received almost 40,000 maravedís worth of enslaved Indians. He renewed his effort to get supplies to Columbus, and was working to organize a fleet when he suddenly died in December.<sup>[136]</sup> On 10 March 1496, having been away about 30 months,<sup>[137]</sup> the fleet departed La Isabela. On 8 June the crew sighted land somewhere between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent, and disembarked in Cádiz on 11 June.<sup>[138]</sup>

### Third voyage (1498–1500)

On 30 May 1498, Columbus left with six ships from Sanlúcar, Spain. The fleet called at Madeira and the Canary Islands, where it divided in two, with three ships heading for Hispaniola and the other three vessels, commanded by Columbus, sailing south to the Cape Verde Islands and then westward across the Atlantic. It is probable that this expedition was intended at least partly to confirm rumors of a large continent south of the Caribbean Sea, that is, South America.<sup>[139]</sup>

On 31 July they sighted Trinidad,<sup>[140]</sup> the most southerly of the Caribbean islands. On 5 August, Columbus sent several small boats ashore on the southern side of the Paria Peninsula in what is now Venezuela,<sup>[141][142]</sup> near the mouth of the Orinoco river.<sup>[139]</sup> This was the first recorded landing of Europeans on the mainland of South America,<sup>[141]</sup> which Columbus realized must be a continent.<sup>[143][144]</sup> The fleet then sailed to the islands of Chacachacare and Margarita, reaching the latter on 14 August,<sup>[145]</sup> and sighted Tobago and Grenada from afar, according to some scholars.<sup>[146][141]</sup>



Third voyage

On 19 August, Columbus returned to Hispaniola. There he found settlers in rebellion against his rule, and his unfulfilled promises of riches. Columbus had some of the Europeans tried for their disobedience; at least one rebel leader was hanged.<sup>[147]</sup>

In October 1499, Columbus sent two ships to Spain, asking the Court of Spain to appoint a royal commissioner to help him govern.<sup>[148]</sup> By this time, accusations of tyranny and incompetence on the part of Columbus had also reached the Court. The sovereigns sent Francisco de Bobadilla, a relative of Marquesa Beatriz de Bobadilla, a patron of Columbus and a close friend of Queen Isabella,<sup>[149][150]</sup> to investigate the accusations of brutality made against the Admiral. Arriving in Santo Domingo while Columbus was away, Bobadilla was immediately met with complaints about all three Columbus brothers.<sup>[151]</sup> He moved into Columbus's house and seized his property, took depositions from the Admiral's enemies, and declared himself governor.<sup>[141]</sup>

Bobadilla reported to Spain that Columbus once punished a man found guilty of stealing corn by having his ears and nose cut off and then selling him into slavery. He claimed that Columbus regularly used torture and mutilation to govern Hispaniola.<sup>[k]</sup> Testimony recorded in the report stated that Columbus congratulated his brother Bartolomeo on "defending the family" when the latter ordered a woman paraded naked through the streets and then had her tongue cut because she had "spoken ill of the admiral and his brothers".<sup>[153]</sup> The document also describes how Columbus put down native unrest and revolt: he first ordered a brutal suppression of the uprising in which many natives were killed, and then paraded their dismembered bodies through the streets in an attempt to discourage further rebellion.<sup>[154]</sup> Columbus vehemently denied the charges.<sup>[155][156]</sup> The neutrality and accuracy of the accusations and investigations of Bobadilla toward Columbus and his brothers have been disputed by historians, given the anti-Italian sentiment of the Spaniards and Bobadilla's desire to take over Columbus' position.<sup>[157][158][159]</sup>

In early October 1500, Columbus and Diego presented themselves to Bobadilla, and were put in chains aboard *La Gorda*, the caravel on which Bobadilla had arrived at Santo Domingo.<sup>[160][161]</sup> They were returned to Spain, and languished in jail for six weeks before King Ferdinand ordered their release. Not long after, the king and queen summoned the Columbus brothers to the Alhambra palace in Granada. The sovereigns expressed indignation at Bobadilla's actions, who was then recalled and ordered to make restitutions of the property he had confiscated from Columbus.<sup>[155][162]</sup> The royal couple heard the brothers' pleas; restored their freedom and wealth; and, after much persuasion, agreed to fund Columbus's fourth voyage.<sup>[163]</sup> However, Nicolás de Ovando was to replace Bobadilla and be the new governor of the West Indies.<sup>[164]</sup>

New light was shed on the seizure of Columbus and his brother Bartolomeo, the Adelantado, with the discovery by archivist Isabel Aguirre of an incomplete copy of the testimonies against them gathered by Francisco de Bobadilla at Santo Domingo in 1500. She found a manuscript copy of this *pesquisa* (inquiry) in the Archive of Simancas, Spain, uncatalogued until she and Consuelo Varela published their book, *La caída de Cristóbal Colón: el juicio de Bobadilla* (*The fall of Christopher Colón: the judgement of Bobadilla*) in 2006.<sup>[165][166]</sup>

## Fourth voyage (1502–1504)

On 9 May 1502 Columbus, with his brother Bartolomeo as second in command and his son Fernando,<sup>[167]</sup> left Cádiz with his flagship *Santa María* and three other vessels, crewed by 140 men (Some scholars, including Sauer, say the fleet sailed 11 May; Cook says 9 May). He sailed to Arzila on the Moroccan coast to rescue Portuguese soldiers said to be besieged by the Moors. The siege had been lifted by the time they arrived, so the Spaniards stayed only a day and continued on to the Canary Islands.<sup>[168]</sup>



Columbus's fourth voyage

On 15 June, the fleet arrived at Martinique, where it lingered for several days. A hurricane was forming, so Columbus continued westward,<sup>[167]</sup> hoping to find shelter on Hispaniola. He arrived at Santo Domingo on 29 June, but was denied port, and the new governor Francisco de Bobadilla refused to listen to his warning that a hurricane was approaching. Instead, while Columbus's ships sheltered at the mouth of the Rio Jaina, the first Spanish treasure fleet sailed into the hurricane. Columbus's ships survived with only minor damage, while 20 of the 30 ships in the governor's fleet were lost along with 500 lives (including that of Francisco de Bobadilla). Although a few surviving ships managed to straggle back to Santo Domingo, *Aguja*, the fragile ship carrying Columbus's personal belongings and his 4,000 *pesos* in gold was the sole vessel to reach Spain.<sup>[169][170]</sup> The gold was his *tenth* (*décimo*) of the profits from Hispaniola, equal to 240,000 maravedis,<sup>[171]</sup> guaranteed by the Catholic Monarchs in 1492.<sup>[172]</sup>



Coat of arms granted to Christopher Columbus and the House of Colon by Pope Alexander VI *motu proprio* in 1502

After a brief stop at Jamaica, Columbus sailed to Central America, arriving at the coast of Honduras on 30 July. Here Bartolomeo found native merchants and a large canoe. On 14 August, Columbus landed on the continental mainland at Punta Caxinas, now Puerto Castilla, Honduras.<sup>[173]</sup> He spent two months exploring the coasts of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, seeking a strait in the western Caribbean through which he could sail to the Indian Ocean. Sailing south along the Nicaraguan coast, he found a channel that led into Almirante Bay in Panama on 5 October.<sup>[174][175]</sup>

As soon as his ships anchored in Almirante Bay, Columbus encountered Ngäbe people in canoes who were wearing gold ornaments.<sup>[176]</sup> In January 1503, he established a garrison at the mouth of the Belén River. Columbus left for Hispaniola on 16 April. On 10 May he sighted the Cayman Islands, naming them "*Las*

*Tortugas*" after the numerous sea turtles there.<sup>[177]</sup> His ships sustained damage in a storm off the coast of Cuba. Unable to travel farther, on 25 June 1503 they were beached in Saint Ann Parish, Jamaica.<sup>[178]</sup>

For six months Columbus and 230 of his men remained stranded on Jamaica. Diego Méndez de Segura, who had shipped out as a personal secretary to Columbus, and a Spanish shipmate called Bartolomé Flisco, along with six natives, paddled a canoe to get help from Hispaniola.<sup>[179]</sup> The governor, Nicolás de Ovando y Cáceres, detested Columbus and obstructed all efforts to rescue him and his men.<sup>[180]</sup> In the meantime Columbus, in a desperate effort to induce the natives to continue provisioning him and his hungry men, won their favor by predicting a lunar eclipse for 29 February 1504, using Abraham Zacuto's astronomical charts.<sup>[181][182][183]</sup> Help finally arrived, no thanks to the governor, on 28 June 1504, and Columbus and his men arrived in Sanlúcar, Spain, on 7 November.<sup>[180]</sup>

## Later life, illness, and death

---

Columbus had always claimed that the conversion of non-believers was one reason for his explorations, but he grew increasingly religious in his later years.<sup>[184]</sup> Probably with the assistance of his son Diego and his friend the Carthusian monk Gaspar Gorricio, Columbus produced two books during his later years: a *Book of Privileges* (1502), detailing and documenting the rewards from the Spanish Crown to which he believed he and his heirs were entitled, and a *Book of Prophecies* (1505), in which passages from the Bible were used to place his achievements as an explorer in the context of Christian eschatology.<sup>[185]</sup>

In his later years, Columbus demanded that the Spanish Crown give him his tenth of all the riches and trade goods yielded by the new lands, as stipulated in the Capitulations of Santa Fe.<sup>[77]</sup> Because he had been relieved of his duties as governor, the crown did not feel bound by that contract and his demands were rejected. After his death, his heirs sued the Crown for a part of the profits from trade with America, as well as other rewards. This led to a protracted series of legal disputes known as the *pleitos colombinos* ("Columbian lawsuits").<sup>[80]</sup>

During a violent storm on his first return voyage, Columbus, then 41, had suffered an attack of what was believed at the time to be gout. In subsequent years, he was plagued with what was thought to be influenza and other fevers, bleeding from the eyes, temporary blindness and prolonged attacks of gout. The attacks increased in duration and severity, sometimes leaving Columbus bedridden for months at a time, and culminated in his death 14 years later.

Based on Columbus's lifestyle and the described symptoms, some modern commentators suspect that he suffered from reactive arthritis, rather than gout.<sup>[186][187]</sup> Reactive arthritis is a joint inflammation caused by intestinal bacterial infections or after acquiring certain sexually transmitted diseases (primarily chlamydia or gonorrhoea). In 2006, Frank C. Arnett, a medical doctor, and historian Charles Merrill, published their paper in The American Journal of the Medical Sciences proposing that Columbus had a form of reactive arthritis; Merrill made his case in the same paper that Columbus was the son of Catalans and his mother possibly a member of a prominent *converso* (converted Jew) family.<sup>[188]</sup> "It seems likely that [Columbus] acquired reactive arthritis from food poisoning on one of his ocean voyages because of poor sanitation and improper food preparation," says Arnett, a rheumatologist and professor of internal medicine, pathology and laboratory medicine at the University of Texas Medical School at Houston.<sup>[186]</sup>

Some historians such as H. Micheal Tarver and Emily Slape,<sup>[189]</sup> as well as medical doctors such as Arnett and Antonio Rodríguez Cuartero,<sup>[190]</sup> believe that Columbus had such a form of reactive arthritis, but according to other authorities, this is "speculative",<sup>[191]</sup> or "very speculative".<sup>[192]</sup>

After his arrival to Sanlúcar from his fourth voyage (and Queen Isabella's death), an ill Columbus settled in Seville in April 1505. He stubbornly continued to make pleas to the crown to defend his own personal privileges and his family's.<sup>[193]</sup> He moved to Segovia (where the court was at the time) on a mule by early 1506,<sup>[194]</sup> and, on the occasion of the wedding of King Ferdinand with Germaine of Foix in Valladolid in March 1506, Columbus moved to the aforementioned city to persist with his demands.<sup>[195]</sup> On 20 May 1506, aged 54, Columbus died in Valladolid.<sup>[196]</sup>

## Location of remains

---

Columbus's remains were first buried at a convent in Valladolid,<sup>[197]</sup> then moved to the monastery of La Cartuja in Seville (southern Spain) by the will of his son Diego.<sup>[198]</sup> They may have been exhumed in 1513 and interred at the Cathedral of Seville. In about 1536, the remains of both Columbus and his son Diego were moved to a cathedral in Colonial Santo Domingo, in the present-day Dominican Republic. By some accounts, in 1793, when France took over the entire island of Hispaniola, Columbus's remains were moved to Havana, Cuba.<sup>[199]</sup> After Cuba became independent following the Spanish–American War in 1898, the remains were moved back to the Cathedral of Seville, Spain,<sup>[197]</sup> where they were placed on an elaborate catfalque. In June 2003, DNA samples were taken from these remains<sup>[200]</sup> as well as those of Columbus's brother Diego and younger son Fernando. Initial observations suggested that the bones did not appear to match Columbus's physique or age at death.<sup>[201]</sup> DNA extraction proved difficult; only short fragments of mitochondrial DNA could be isolated. These matched corresponding DNA from Columbus's brother, supporting that both individuals had shared the same mother.<sup>[202]</sup> Such evidence, together with anthropologic and historic analyses, led the researchers to conclude that the remains belonged to Christopher Columbus.<sup>[203][1]</sup>

In 1877, a priest discovered a lead box at Santo Domingo inscribed: "Discoverer of America, First Admiral". Inscriptions found the next year read "Last of the remains of the first admiral, Sire Christopher Columbus, discoverer."<sup>[205]</sup> The box contained bones of an arm and a leg, as well as a bullet.<sup>[m]</sup> These remains were considered legitimate by physician and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State John Eugene Osborne, who suggested in 1913 that they travel through the Panama Canal as a part of its opening ceremony.<sup>[207][n]</sup> These remains were kept at the Basilica Cathedral of Santa María la Menor before being moved to the Columbus Lighthouse (inaugurated in 1992). The authorities in Santo Domingo have never allowed these remains to be exhumed, so it is unconfirmed whether they are from Columbus's body as well.<sup>[202][208][o]</sup>

## Commemoration

---

The figure of Columbus was largely ignored in the United States during the colonial era, being "re-discovered" in the wake of the quest for independence.<sup>[210]</sup> The use of Columbus as a founding figure of New World nations spread rapidly after the American Revolution. This was out of a desire to develop a national history and founding myth with fewer ties to Britain.<sup>[211][212][213]</sup> His name was the basis for the



Tomb in Seville Cathedral. The remains in the casket are borne by kings of Castile, Leon, Aragon, and Navarre



Tomb in Columbus Lighthouse, Santo Domingo Este, Dominican Republic

female national personification of the United States, Columbia,<sup>[214]</sup> in use since the 1730s with reference to the original Thirteen Colonies, and also a historical name applied to the Americas and to the New World. The federal capital (District of Columbia) was named for her, as well as Columbia, South Carolina, and Columbia Rediviva, the ship for which the Columbia River was named.<sup>[215]</sup>

Columbus's name was given to the newly born Republic of Colombia in the early 19th century, inspired by the political project of "Colombeia" developed by revolutionary Francisco de Miranda, which was put at the service of the emancipation of continental Hispanic America.<sup>[216]</sup>

To commemorate the 400th anniversary of the landing of Columbus,<sup>[217]</sup> the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago was named the World's Columbian Exposition.<sup>[218]</sup> The U.S. Postal Service issued the first U.S. commemorative stamps, the Columbian Issue,<sup>[219]</sup> depicting Columbus, Queen Isabella and others in various stages of his several voyages.<sup>[220]</sup> The policies related to the celebration of the Spanish colonial empire as the vehicle of a nationalist project undertaken in Spain during the Restoration in the late 19th century took form with the commemoration of the 4th centenary on 12 October 1892 (in which the figure of Columbus was extolled by the Conservative government), eventually becoming the very same national day.<sup>[221]</sup> Several monuments commemorating the "discovery" were erected in cities such as Palos, Barcelona, Granada, Madrid, Salamanca, Valladolid and Seville in the years around the 400th anniversary.<sup>[222][p]</sup>



Replicas of *Niña*, *Pinta* and *Santa María* sailed from Spain to the Chicago Columbian Exposition in 1893

For the Columbus Quincentenary in 1992, a second Columbian issue was released jointly with Italy, Portugal, and Spain.<sup>[223]</sup> Columbus was celebrated at Seville Expo '92, and Genoa Expo '92.

The Boal Mansion Museum, founded in 1951, contains a collection of materials concerning later descendants of Columbus and collateral branches of the family. It features a 16th-century chapel from a Spanish castle reputedly owned by Diego Colón which became the residence of Columbus's descendants. The chapel interior was dismantled and moved from Spain in 1909 and re-erected on the Boal estate at Boalsburg, Pennsylvania. Inside it are numerous religious paintings and other objects including a reliquary with fragments of wood supposedly from the True Cross. The museum also holds a collection of documents mostly relating to Columbus descendants of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.<sup>[224]</sup>

In many countries of the Americas, as well as Spain and Italy, Columbus Day celebrates the anniversary of Columbus's arrival in the Americas on 12 October 1492.

## Legacy

---

The voyages of Columbus are considered a turning point in human history,<sup>[225]</sup> marking the beginning of globalization and accompanying demographic, commercial, economic, social, and political changes.<sup>[226]</sup>

His explorations resulted in permanent contact between the two hemispheres, and the term "pre-Columbian" is used to refer to the cultures of the Americas before the arrival of Columbus and his European successors.<sup>[227]</sup> The ensuing Columbian exchange saw the massive exchange of animals, plants, fungi, diseases, technologies, mineral wealth and ideas.<sup>[228]</sup>

In the first century after his endeavors, Columbus's figure largely languished in the backwaters of history, and his reputation was beset by his failures as a colonial administrator. His legacy was somewhat rescued from oblivion when he began to appear as a character in Italian and Spanish plays and poems from the late

16th century onward.<sup>[229]</sup>

Columbus was subsumed into the Western narrative of colonization and empire building, which invoked notions of *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii* to underline who was considered "civilized" and who was not.<sup>[230]</sup>

The Americanization of the figure of Columbus began in the latter decades of the 18th century, after the revolutionary period of the United States,<sup>[231]</sup> elevating the status of his reputation to a national myth, *homo americanus*.<sup>[232]</sup> His landing became a powerful icon as an "image of American genesis".<sup>[231]</sup> The American Columbus myth was reconfigured later in the century when he was enlisted as an ethnic hero by immigrants to the United States who were not of Anglo-Saxon stock, such as Jewish, Italian, and Irish people, who claimed Columbus as a sort of ethnic founding father.<sup>[233][234]</sup> Catholics unsuccessfully tried to promote him for canonization in the 19th century.<sup>[235][236]</sup>

From the 1990s onward, new depictions of Columbus as the environmental hatchet man or the scapegoat for genocide compete with the hitherto prevalent discourses of Columbus as the Christ-bearer, the scientist, or the father of America.<sup>[237]</sup> More recently, however, the narrative has featured the negative effects of the conquest on native populations.<sup>[131]</sup> Exposed to Old World diseases, the indigenous populations of the New World collapsed,<sup>[238]</sup> and were largely replaced by Europeans and Africans,<sup>[239]</sup> who brought with them new methods of farming, business, governance, and religious worship.

## Originality of discovery of America

Though Christopher Columbus came to be considered the European discoverer of America in Western popular culture, his historical legacy is more nuanced.<sup>[240]</sup> After settling Iceland, the Norse colonized the uninhabited southern part of Greenland (a North American island) beginning in the 10th century.<sup>[241]</sup> Norsemen are believed to have then set sail from Greenland and Iceland to become the first known Europeans to reach the North American mainland, nearly 500 years before Columbus reached the Caribbean.<sup>[242]</sup>

In the late 19th century, following work by Carl Christian Rafn and B. F. De Costa, Rasmus Bjørn Anderson sought to deconstruct the Columbus discovery story. In his book *America Not Discovered by Columbus* (1874), he argued that Columbus must have known of the North American continent before he started his voyage of discovery.<sup>[30]</sup> The 1960s discovery of a Norse settlement dating to c. 1000 CE at L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland, partially corroborates accounts within the Icelandic sagas of Erik the Red's colonization of Greenland and his son Leif Erikson's subsequent exploration of a place he called Vinland, disproving that Columbus was the European discoverer of America.<sup>[243][242]</sup>

The encountering by Europeans of the peoples who inhabited the Americas and their increasing knowledge of those peoples led them to devise explanations for the origins of the Native Americans and their geographical distribution. The narratives they created more often than not served to reinforce their own



*Landing of Columbus at the Island of Guanahaní, West Indies* (1846), by John Vanderlyn. The landing of Columbus became a powerful icon of American genesis in the 19th century.



*Discovery of America*, a postage stamp from the Faroe Islands commemorates the voyages of discovery of Leif Erikson (c. 1000) and Christopher Columbus (1492)



preconceptions built on ancient intellectual foundations.<sup>[244]</sup> In modern Latin America, the non-Native populations of some countries often demonstrate an ambiguous attitude toward the perspectives of the native peoples regarding the Columbian "discovery" and the resultant era of colonialism.<sup>[245]</sup>

For generations, use of the word "discovery" in reference to Columbus's finding of what Europeans called the "New World" has been normalized in education on both sides of the Atlantic. Although perceptions of the world have changed since that time, the encounter between two hemispheres is an historical fact. The word *discovery* emphasizes the "discoverers", i.e., the agents of the European enterprise, whereas the word *encounter* gives more emphasis to those peoples who "encountered" each other and embodied the New World.<sup>[246]</sup>

## America as a distinct land

Historians have traditionally argued that Columbus remained convinced until his death that his journeys had been along the east coast of Asia as he originally intended.<sup>[247][213]</sup> On his third voyage he briefly referred to South America as a "hitherto unknown" continent,<sup>[e]</sup> while also rationalizing that it was the "Earthly Paradise" located "at the end of the Orient".<sup>[143]</sup> Columbus continued to claim in his later writings that he had reached Asia; in a 1502 letter to Pope Alexander VI, he asserts that Cuba is the east coast of Asia.<sup>[42]</sup> On the other hand, in a document in the *Book of Privileges* (1502), Columbus refers to the New World as the *Indias Occidentales* ('West Indies'), which he says "were unknown to all the world".<sup>[248]</sup>



The Columbus Monument in Columbus Circle, New York City

## Flat Earth mythology

Washington Irving's 1828 biography of Columbus popularized the idea that Columbus had difficulty obtaining support for his plan because many Catholic theologians insisted that the Earth was flat,<sup>[249]</sup> but this is a popular misconception which can be traced back to 17th-century Protestants campaigning against Catholicism.<sup>[250]</sup> In fact, the spherical shape of the Earth had been known to scholars since antiquity, and was common knowledge among sailors, including Columbus.<sup>[251][q]</sup> Coincidentally, the oldest surviving globe of the Earth, the Erdapfel, was made in 1492, just before Columbus's return to Europe. As such it contains no sign of the Americas and yet demonstrates the common belief in a spherical Earth.<sup>[253]</sup>

## Criticism and defense

Columbus is criticized both for his brutality and for initiating the depopulation of the indigenous Americans, whether by disease or intentional genocide. Some defend his actions or allege that the worst of them are not based in fact. Scholars of Native American history George Tinker and Mark Freedman write that Columbus was responsible for creating a cycle of "murder, violence, and slavery" to maximize exploitation of the Caribbean islands' resources, and that Native deaths on the scale at which they occurred would not have been caused by new diseases alone. Further, they describe the proposition that disease and not genocide caused these deaths as "American holocaust denial".<sup>[254]</sup> Some commentators defend Columbus's actions or allege that the worst of them are not based in fact while others claim that "he has been blamed for events far beyond his own reach or knowledge".<sup>[7]</sup>

As a result of the protests and riots that followed the murder of George Floyd in 2020, many public monuments of Christopher Columbus have been removed.<sup>[255]</sup>

## Brutality

Some historians have criticized Columbus for initiating colonization and for abusing natives.<sup>[256][100][257][258]</sup> On St. Croix, Columbus' friend Michele da Cuneo—according to his own account—kept an indigenous woman he captured, whom Columbus "gave to [him]", then brutally raped her.<sup>[259][r][s]</sup> The punishment for an indigenous person, aged 14 and older, failing to pay a hawk's bell, or *cascabela*,<sup>[262]</sup> worth of gold dust every six months (based on Bartolomé de las Casas' account) was cutting off the hands of those without tokens, often leaving them to bleed to death.<sup>[254][100][263]</sup> Columbus had an economic interest in the enslavement of the Hispaniola natives and for that reason was not eager to baptize them, which attracted criticism from some churchmen.<sup>[264]</sup> Consuelo Varela, a Spanish historian who has seen Bobadilla's report, states that "Columbus's government was characterized by a form of tyranny. Even those who loved him had to admit the atrocities that had taken place."<sup>[152]</sup>

Kris Lane disputes whether it is appropriate to use the term "genocide" when the atrocities were not Columbus' intent, but resulted from his decrees, family business goals, and negligence.<sup>[128]</sup> Other historians have argued that some of the accounts of the brutality of Columbus and his brothers have been exaggerated as part of the Black Legend, a historical tendency towards anti-Spanish sentiment in historical sources dating as far back as the 16th century, which they speculate may continue to taint scholarship into the present day.<sup>[265][266][267]</sup>

Historian William J. Connell has argued that, while Columbus "brought the entrepreneurial form of slavery to the New World," this "was a phenomenon of the times," further arguing that "we have to be very careful about applying 20th-century understandings of morality to the morality of the 15th century."<sup>[268]</sup> In a less popular defense of colonization, Spanish ambassador María Jesús Figa López-Palop has argued, "Normally we melded with the cultures in America, we stayed there, we spread our language and culture and religion."<sup>[269]</sup>

British historian Basil Davidson has dubbed Columbus the "father of the slave trade", citing the fact that the first license to ship enslaved Africans to the Caribbean was issued by the Catholic Monarchs in 1501.<sup>[270][271]</sup>

## Depopulation

Around the turn of the 21st century, estimates for the pre-Columbian population of Hispaniola ranged between 250,000 and two million,<sup>[134][272][273][t]</sup> but genetic analysis published in late 2020 suggests that smaller figures are more likely, perhaps as low as 10,000–50,000 for Hispaniola and Puerto Rico combined.<sup>[274][275]</sup> Based on the previous figures of a few hundred thousand, some have estimated that a third or more of the natives in Haiti were dead within the first two years of Columbus's governorship.<sup>[100][134]</sup> Contributors to depopulation included disease, warfare, and harsh



The remains of the pedestal base of the Columbus statue in the Baltimore inner harbor area. The statue was thrown into the harbor on 4 July 2020, as part of the George Floyd protests.

enslavement.<sup>[276][277]</sup> Indirect evidence suggests that some serious illness may have arrived with the 1,500 colonists who accompanied Columbus' second expedition in 1493.<sup>[276]</sup> Charles C. Mann writes that "It was as if the suffering these diseases had caused in Eurasia over the past millennia were concentrated into the span of decades."<sup>[278]</sup> A third of the natives forced to work in gold and silver mines died every six months.<sup>[279][280]</sup> Within three to six decades, the surviving Arawak population numbered only in the hundreds.<sup>[279][134][281]</sup> The indigenous population of the Americas overall is thought to have been reduced by about 90% in the century after Columbus's arrival.<sup>[282]</sup> Among indigenous peoples, Columbus is often viewed as a key agent of genocide.<sup>[283]</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, a Harvard historian and author of a multivolume biography on Columbus, writes, "The cruel policy initiated by Columbus and pursued by his successors resulted in complete genocide."<sup>[284]</sup>

According to Noble David Cook, "There were too few Spaniards to have killed the millions who were reported to have died in the first century after Old and New World contact." He instead estimates that the death toll was caused by smallpox,<sup>[285]</sup> which may have caused a pandemic only after the arrival of Hernán Cortés in 1519.<sup>[286][287][288]</sup> According to some estimates, smallpox had an 80–90% fatality rate in Native American populations.<sup>[289]</sup> The natives had no acquired immunity to these new diseases and suffered high fatalities. There is also evidence that they had poor diets and were overworked.<sup>[125][290][291]</sup> Historian Andrés Reséndez of University of California, Davis, says the available evidence suggests "slavery has emerged as major killer" of the indigenous populations of the Caribbean between 1492 and 1550 more so than diseases such as smallpox, influenza and malaria.<sup>[292]</sup> He says that indigenous populations did not experience a rebound like European populations did following the Black Death because unlike the latter, a large portion of the former were subjected to deadly forced labor in the mines.<sup>[280]</sup> Historian David Stannard says that their destruction "was neither inadvertent nor inevitable," but the result of microbial pestilence and purposeful genocide working in tandem.<sup>[293]</sup>

The diseases that devastated the Native Americans came in multiple waves at different times, sometimes as much as centuries apart, which would mean that survivors of one disease may have been killed by others, preventing the population from recovering.<sup>[294]</sup>

## Navigational expertise

Biographers and historians have a wide range of opinions about Columbus's expertise and experience navigating and captaining ships. One scholar lists some European works ranging from the 1890s to 1980s that support Columbus's experience and skill as among the best in Genoa, while listing some American works over a similar timeframe that portray the explorer as an untrained entrepreneur, having only minor crew or passenger experience prior to his noted journeys.<sup>[295]</sup> According to Morison, Columbus's success in utilizing the trade winds might owe significantly to luck.<sup>[296]</sup>

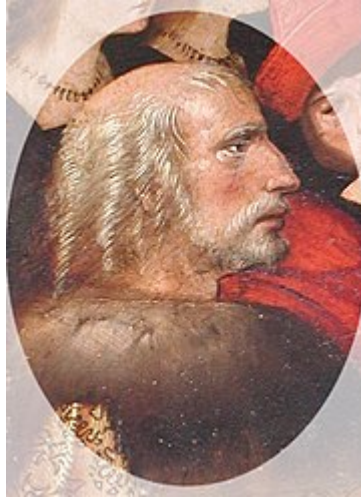
## Physical appearance

---

Contemporary descriptions of Columbus, including those by his son Fernando and Bartolomé de las Casas, describe him as taller than average, with light skin (which was often sunburnt), blue or hazel eyes, high cheekbones and freckled face, an aquiline nose, and blond to reddish hair and beard (until about the age of 30, when it began to whiten).<sup>[297][298]</sup> One Spanish commentator described his eyes using the word *garzos*, now usually translated as "light blue", but it seems to have indicated light grey-green or hazel eyes to Columbus's contemporaries. The word *rubios* can mean "blonde", "fair", or "ruddy".<sup>[299]</sup> Although an abundance of artwork depicts Christopher Columbus, no authentic contemporary portrait is known.<sup>[300]</sup>



*The Virgin of the Navigators* by Alejo Fernández (1531–1536)



Close-up for Fernández's depiction of Columbus

The most well-known image of Columbus is a portrait by Sebastiano del Piombo, which has been reproduced in many textbooks. It agrees with descriptions of Columbus in that it shows a large man with auburn hair, but the painting dates from 1519 and cannot, therefore, have been painted from life. Furthermore, the inscription identifying the subject as Columbus was probably added later, and the face shown differs from that of other images.<sup>[301]</sup>

Sometime between 1531 and 1536, Alejo Fernández painted an altarpiece, *The Virgin of the Navigators*, that includes a depiction of Columbus.<sup>[302]</sup> The painting was commissioned for a chapel in Seville's Casa de Contratación (House of Trade) in the Alcázar of Seville and remains there.<sup>[303]</sup>

At the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, 71 alleged portraits of Columbus were displayed; most of them did not match contemporary descriptions.<sup>[304]</sup>

## See also

---

- Christopher Columbus in fiction
- Egg of Columbus

## Notes

---

a. In other relevant languages:

- Italian: *Cristoforo Colombo* [kri'stɔːforo ko'lombo]
- Ligurian: *Cristoffa C(or)ombo* [kri'ʃtɔffa ku'rɔnbu, -'kɔnbu]
- Spanish: *Cristóbal Colón* [kris'toβal ko'lon]
- Portuguese: *Cristóvão Colombo* [kriʃ'tɔvẽw ku'lõbu]
- Catalan: *Cristòfor (or Cristòfol) Colom* [kris'tɔfur ku'lom, -ful k-]
- Latin: *Christophorus Columbus*.

b. Though the modern state of Italy had yet to be established, the Latin equivalent of the term Italian had been in use for natives of the region since antiquity.<sup>[4]</sup> Most scholars believe that Columbus was born in the Republic of Genoa.<sup>[5]</sup>

c. In an account of his fourth voyage, Columbus wrote that "Jerusalem and Mount Sion must be rebuilt by Christian hands".<sup>[44]</sup>

- d. Ferdinand later claimed credit for being "the principal cause why those islands were discovered."<sup>[74]</sup>
- e. Felipe Fernández-Armesto points out that Columbus briefly described South America as an unknown continent after seeing the mainland for the first time. Vespucci seems to have modeled his naming of the "new world" after Columbus's description of this discovery. Further, mapmaker Martin Waldseemüller eventually retracted his naming of the continent after Vespucci, seemingly after it came to light that a claim that Vespucci visited the mainland before Columbus had been falsified. In his new map, Waldseemüller labelled the continent as *Terra Incognita* ('unknown land'), noting that it had been discovered by Columbus.<sup>[85]</sup>
- f. This map is based on the premise that Columbus first landed at Plana Cays.<sup>[86]</sup> The island considered by Samuel Eliot Morison to be the most likely location of first contact<sup>[87]</sup> is the easternmost land touching the top edge of this image.
- g. According to Samuel Eliot Morison, San Salvador Island, renamed from Watling's Island in 1925 in the belief that it was Columbus's San Salvador,<sup>[96]</sup> is the only island fitting the position indicated by Columbus's journal. Other candidates are the Grand Turk, Cat Island, Rum Cay, Samana Cay, or Mayaguana.<sup>[87]</sup>
- h. Torres spoke Hebrew and some Arabic; the latter was then believed to be the mother tongue of all languages.<sup>[106]</sup>
- i. Omitted from this image, Columbus returned to Guadeloupe at the end of his second voyage before sailing back to Spain.<sup>[119]</sup>
- j. The tribute system had all but collapsed by 1497.<sup>[133]</sup>
- k. Bobadilla's 48-page report, derived from the testimonies of 23 people who had seen or heard about the treatment meted out by Columbus and his brothers—had originally been lost for centuries, but was rediscovered in 2005 in the Spanish archives in Valladolid. It contained an account of Columbus's seven-year reign as the first governor of the Indies. Consuelo Varela, a Spanish historian, states: "Even those who loved him [Columbus] had to admit the atrocities that had taken place."<sup>[152]</sup>
- l. DNA from Columbus's presumed remains in Seville will be used to conduct further ancestral studies, with results expected in 2021.<sup>[204]</sup>
- m. This same year, dust collected from these remains was placed in a locket, which was placed inside the stern of a silver model caravel. Two tiny portions of dust from the same source were placed in separate vials.<sup>[206]</sup>
- n. Osborne cited the bullet as evidence the remains belonged to Columbus,<sup>[207]</sup> but its significance is unclear.<sup>[205]</sup>
- o. These remains are displayed in their crypt (behind a sheet of glass) once a year on Columbus Day.<sup>[209]</sup>
- p. See: Columbus Monument, Barcelona (1888), Monument to the Discoverers (1892), Monument to Columbus (Madrid) (1892), Monument to Isabella the Catholic (Granada) (1892), Monument to Columbus (Salamanca) (1893), Monument to Columbus (Valladolid) (inaugurated in 1905, but whose inception dates to an earlier date and a tentative location in Spanish Havana).

- q. On his third voyage, Columbus formulated a new model of the Earth shortly after observing that the North Star is not fixed. Making observations with a quadrant, he "regularly saw the plumb line fall to the same point," instead of moving along as his ship moved. He thought that he had discovered the entrance to Heaven, from which Earth's waters extend, the planet forming a pear shape with the insurmountable "stalk" portion of the pear pointing towards Heaven.<sup>[251]</sup> In fact, the Earth ever so slightly is pear-shaped, with the "stalk" pointing north.<sup>[252]</sup>
- r. Cuneo wrote,

While I was in the boat, I captured a very beautiful Carib woman, whom the said Lord Admiral gave to me. When I had taken her to my cabin she was naked—as was their custom. I was filled with a desire to take my pleasure with her and attempted to satisfy my desire. She was unwilling, and so treated me with her nails that I wished I had never begun. But—to cut a long story short—I then took a piece of rope and whipped her soundly, and she let forth such incredible screams that you would not have believed your ears. Eventually we came to such terms, I assure you, that you would have thought that she had been brought up in a school for whores.<sup>[260]</sup>

- s. Author Tony Horwitz notes that this is the first recorded instance of sexuality between a European and Native American.<sup>[261]</sup>
- t. Bartolomé de las Casas estimated that there were three to four million Taínos in Hispaniola, and said 500,000 Lucayans were killed in the Bahamas. Most modern historians reject his figures.<sup>[273]</sup>

## References

---

1. Lester, Paul M. (January 1993). "Looks are deceiving: The portraits of Christopher Columbus". *Visual Anthropology*. **5** (3–4): 211–227. doi:10.1080/08949468.1993.9966590 (<https://doi.org/10.1080%2F08949468.1993.9966590>).
2. Gilman, D. C.; Peck, H. T.; Colby, F. M., eds. (1905). "Columbus, Diego. The youngest brother of Christopher Columbus" ([https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The\\_New\\_International\\_Encyclop%C3%A6dia/Columbus,\\_Diego\\_\(brother\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_New_International_Encyclop%C3%A6dia/Columbus,_Diego_(brother))). *New International Encyclopedia* (1st ed.). New York: Dodd, Mead. – The names Giacomo and Diego are cognates, along with James, all sharing a common origin. See *Behind the Name*, Mike Campbell, pages Giacomo (<http://www.behindthename.com/name/Giacomo>), Diego (<http://www.behindthename.com/name/diego>), and James (<http://www.behindthename.com/name/james>). All retrieved 3 February 2017.
3. "Columbus" (<https://www.dictionary.com/browse/columbus>). *Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*.
4. Pliny the Elder, *Letters* 9.23.
5. Flint, Valerie I.J. (16 May 2021). "Christopher Columbus" (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Christopher-Columbus>). *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved 2 January 2022.
6. Schuman, Howard; Schwartz, Barry; D'Arcy, Hannah (2005). "Elite Revisionists and Popular Beliefs: Christopher Columbus, Hero or Villain?" (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3521601>). *The Public Opinion Quarterly*. **69** (1): 2–29. doi:10.1093/poq/nfi001 (<https://doi.org/10.1093%2Fpoq%2Fnfi001>). ISSN 0033-362X (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0033-362X>). JSTOR 3521601 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3521601>).

7. "Christopher Columbus - Legacy | Britannica" (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Christopher-Columbus/Legacy>). *www.britannica.com*. Retrieved 9 January 2022.
8. Burmila, Ed (9 October 2017). "The Invention of Christopher Columbus, American Hero" (<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/the-invention-of-christopher-columbus-american-hero/>). *The Nation*. ISSN 0027-8378 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0027-8378>). Retrieved 9 January 2022.
9. Corinna Praga; Laura Monac (1992). *Una Giornata nella Città* (in Italian). Genoa: Sagep Editrice. p. 14.
10. Alfredo Preste; Alessandro Torti; Remo Viazzi (1997). "Casa di Colombo". *Sei itinerari in Portoria* (<http://www.ortidicarignano.it/files/seiitinerariinportoria.pdf>) (PDF) (in Italian). Genova: Grafiche Frassicomio.
11. Edwards, J. (2014). *Ferdinand and Isabella* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=pnHJAwAAQBAJ&pg=PA118>). Routledge. p. 118. ISBN 978-1-317-89345-5.
12. Phillips, Jr & Phillips 1992, p. 91.
13. Bergreen 2011, p. 56.
14. King, Ross (2021). *The Bookseller of Florence: The Story of the Manuscripts That Illuminated the Renaissance* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=FoskEAAAQBAJ&pg=PT264>). Atlantic Monthly Press. p. 264. ISBN 978-0-8021-5853-6.
15. Phillips, Jr & Phillips 1992, p. 96.
16. Galante, John Starosta (2022). *On the Other Shore: The Atlantic Worlds of Italians in South America During the Great War* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=fapJEAAAQBAJ&pg=PA13>). U of Nebraska Press. p. 13. ISBN 978-1-4962-2958-8.
17. Consulta ligure, *Vocabolario delle parlate liguri*, Sage, 1982, ISBN 88-7058-044-X
18. Sánchez, Joseph P.; Gurulé, Jerry L.; Broughton, William H. (1990). *Bibliografía Colombina, 1492-1990: Books, Articles and Other Publications on the Life and Times of Christopher Columbus* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=vw60dj9PV10C&pg=PR9>). National Park Service, Spanish Colonial Research Center. p. ix.
19. Bedini, Silvio A. (2016). Bedini, Silvio A. (ed.). *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=gmmMCwAAQBAJ&pg=PR8>). Springer. p. viii. ISBN 978-1-349-12573-9.
20. Wilgus, Alva Curtis (1973). *Latin America, 1492-1942: A Guide to Historical and Cultural Development Before World War II* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=PZoWAAAAYAAJ&q=%22New%20theories%22>). Scarecrow Reprint Corporation. p. 71. ISBN 978-0-8108-0595-8.
21. (in Portuguese) "Armas e Troféus." *Revista de História, Heráldica, Genealogia e Arte*. 1994, VI serie – Tomo VI, pp. 5–52. Retrieved 21 November 2011.
22. Davidson 1997, p. 3.
23. Phillips, Jr & Phillips 1992, p. 85.
24. Lyon, Eugene (1992). "Navigation and Ships in the Age of Columbus" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=3mOh34X6UY8C&pg=PA90>). In McGovern, James R. (ed.). *The World of Columbus*. Mercer University Press. pp. 90–91. ISBN 978-0-86554-414-7.
25. Phillips, Jr & Phillips 1992, p. 93.
26. Vigneras, L. A. (2016). "Columbus in Portugal" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=gmmMCwAAQBAJ&pg=PA175>). In Bedini, Silvio A. (ed.). *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia*. Springer. p. 175. ISBN 978-1-349-12573-9. "It is most probable that Columbus visited Bristol, where he was introduced to English commerce with Iceland."

27. Ureland, P. Sture (2011). "Introduction" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=O46ZKTUg2ogC&pg=PA14>). In Ureland, P. Sture; Clarkson, Iain (eds.). *Language Contact across the North Atlantic: Proceedings of the Working Groups held at the University College, Galway (Ireland), 1992 and the University of Göteborg (Sweden), 1993*. Walter de Gruyter. p. 14. ISBN 978-3-11-092965-2.
28. Enterline, James Robert (2003). *Erikson, Eskimos & Columbus: Medieval European Knowledge of America* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=bIJZYInNFkkC&pg=PT247>). Johns Hopkins University Press+ORM. p. 247. ISBN 978-0-8018-7547-2.
29. Paolucci, Anne; Paolucci, Henry (1992). *Columbus, America, and the World* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=AhwWAQAIAAJ&q=%221477%22>). Council on National Literatures. p. 140. ISBN 978-0-918680-33-4. "Many Columbists ... have doubted that Columbus could ever have gone to Iceland."
30. Kolodny, Annette (2012). *In Search of First Contact: The Vikings of Vinland, the Peoples of the Dawnland, and the Anglo-American Anxiety of Discovery* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=B2qpdOb8o4cC&pg=PA226>). Duke University Press. pp. 226–227. ISBN 978-0-8223-5286-0.
31. Freitas, Antonio Maria de; Maney, Regina (1893). *The Wife of Columbus: With Genealogical Tree of the Perestrello and Moniz Families* (<https://archive.org/details/wifeofcolumbus00frei/page/32/mode/1up>). New York City: Stettinger, Lambert & Co. p. 32.
32. Alessandrini, Nunziatella (1 January 2012). "Os Perestrello: uma família de Piacenza no Império Português (século XVI)" (<https://www.academia.edu/6148469>) [The Perestrellos: A Piacenza family in the Portuguese Empire (16th century)] (in Portuguese). Lisbon: Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. p. 90. "Finally, the most famous son of Filippone, Bartolomeu Perestrello (I), who participated in the rediscovery of the island of Madeira in 1418, and was *captain* and *feitor* [administrator] of Porto Santo until, by a letter of 1 November 1446 from Infante Henrique, he became the first donatary captain of the island, a privilege that continued until the 19th century, with the last donatary captain Manuel da Câmara Bettencourt Perestrello in 1814."
33. Suranyi, Anna (2015). *The Atlantic Connection: A History of the Atlantic World, 1450-1900* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=J6FhCQAAQBAJ&pg=PA17>). Routledge. p. 17. ISBN 978-1-317-50066-7.
34. Dyson 1991, p. 63.
35. Taviani, Paolo Emilio (1992). "Beatriz Arana". *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia*. Vol. 1. New York City: Simon and Schuster. p. 24. ISBN 0-13-142670-2.
36. Barry, J.J. (5 August 2019). *The Life of Christopher Columbus*. Los Angeles, California: HardPress Publishing. p. 20. ISBN 978-1318537600.
37. Taviani, "Beatriz Arana" in *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, pp. 24–25.
38. Morgan, Edmund S. (October 2009). "Columbus' Confusion About the New World" (<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/columbus-confusion-about-the-new-world-140132422/>). *Smithsonian Magazine*.
39. Davidann, Jon; Gilbert, Marc Jason (2019). *Cross-Cultural Encounters in Modern World History, 1453-Present* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=8f6GDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT39>). Routledge. p. 39. ISBN 978-0-429-75924-6.
40. Phillips, Jr & Phillips 1992, p. 108.
41. Boxer, Charles Ralph (1967). *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=2R4DA2lip9gC&pg=PA2>). University of California Press.
42. Phillips, Jr & Phillips 1992, p. 227.
43. Murphy & Coye 2013.



44. Sheehan, Kevin Joseph (2008). *Iberian Asia: the strategies of Spanish and Portuguese empire building, 1540–1700* (Thesis). OCLC 892835540 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/892835540>). ProQuest 304693901 (<https://search.proquest.com/docview/304693901>).
45. Delaney, Carol (8 March 2006). "Columbus's Ultimate Goal: Jerusalem" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20200226123645/https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/f671/e4f2cd4ba48c3d113fde22094738b87058aa.pdf>) (PDF). *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. 48 (2): 260–92. doi:10.1017/S0010417506000119 (<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417506000119>). JSTOR 3879352 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3879352>). S2CID 144148903 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:144148903>). Archived from the original (<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/f671/e4f2cd4ba48c3d113fde22094738b87058aa.pdf>) (PDF) on 26 February 2020.
46. Hamdani, Abbas (1979). "Columbus and the Recovery of Jerusalem". *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: American Oriental Society. 99 (1): 39–48. doi:10.2307/598947 (<https://doi.org/10.2307/598947>). JSTOR 598947 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/598947>).
47. Murphy & Coye 2013, p. 244.
48. Willoz-Egnor, Jeanne (2013). "Mariner's Astrolabe" ([https://www.ion.org/museum/item\\_view.cfm?cid=6&scid=13&iid=25](https://www.ion.org/museum/item_view.cfm?cid=6&scid=13&iid=25)). *Institute of Navigation*. Archived ([https://web.archive.org/web/20131029202740/http://www.ion.org/museum/item\\_view.cfm?cid=6&scid=13&iid=25](https://web.archive.org/web/20131029202740/http://www.ion.org/museum/item_view.cfm?cid=6&scid=13&iid=25)) from the original on 29 October 2013. Retrieved 5 July 2021.
49. Smith, Ben (1 January 2002). "An astrolabe from Passa Pau, Cape Verde Islands" (<https://www.academia.edu/31744402>). *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*. 31 (1): 99–107. doi:10.1006/ijna.2002.1021 (<https://doi.org/10.1006/ijna.2002.1021>).
50. Ridpath, Ian (2001). *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Universe*. New York: Watson-Guption. p. 31. ISBN 978-0-8230-2512-1.
51. Sagan, Carl (1980). *Cosmos*. New York City: Random House. pp. 8–9, 12. ISBN 0-394-50294-9.
52. Freely, John (2013). *Before Galileo: The Birth of Modern Science in Medieval Europe* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=QsWSDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT36>). New York City: Abrams Books. p. 36. ISBN 978-1-4683-0850-1.
53. "Marco Polo et le Livre des Merveilles", p. 37. ISBN 978-2-35404-007-9
54. Khairunnahar; Mahmud, Khandakar Hasan; Islam, Md Ariful (2017). "Error calculation of the selected maps used in the Great Voyage of Christopher Columbus" (<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348442261>). *The Jahangirnagar Review, Part II*. Jahangirnagar University. XLI: 67. ISSN 1682-7422 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/1682-7422>). Retrieved 9 January 2022.
55. McCormick, Douglas (9 October 2012). "Columbus's Geographical Miscalculations" (<https://spectrum.ieee.org/columbuss-geographical-miscalculations>). *IEEE Spectrum*. Retrieved 9 January 2022.
56. Gunn, Geoffrey C. (2018). *Overcoming Ptolemy: The Revelation of an Asian World Region* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=xCRyDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA77>). Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 77–78. ISBN 978-1-4985-9014-3. "Constructed on a framework of latitude and longitude, the Ptolemy-revival map projections revealed the extent of the known world in relation to the whole. Typically, they displayed a Eurasian landmass extending through 180° of longitude from a prime meridian in the west (variously the Canary Islands or Cape Verde) to a location in the "Far East.""
57. Dyson 1991, pp. 67–68.
58. Morison, Samuel Eliot (1974). *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages A.D. 1492-1616* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=r4sOAQAAMAAJ&q=%22%20Esdras%22>). Oxford University Press. p. 31. ISBN 978-0-19-501377-1.

59. Morison 1991.
60. Phillips, Jr & Phillips 1992, p. 110.
61. Jensen, De Lamar (1992). *Renaissance Europe* (2nd ed.). Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company. p. 341. ISBN 9780669200072.
62. Gómez, Nicolás Wey (2008). *The Tropics of Empire: Why Columbus Sailed South to the Indies* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=WLntAAAAMAAJ&q=%22northeastern%20trade%20winds%22>). MIT Press. p. 37. ISBN 978-0-262-23264-7. "It is also known that wind patterns and water currents in the Atlantic were crucial factors for launching an outward passage from the Canaries: Columbus understood that his chance of crossing the ocean was significantly greater just beyond the Canary calms, where he expected to catch the northeastern trade winds—although, as some authors have pointed out, simply "westing" from the Canaries, instead of dipping farther south, was hardly an optimal sailing choice, since Columbus's fleet was bound to lose, as soon it did, the northeasterlies in the mid-Atlantic."
63. Morison 1991, p. 132.
64. Morison 1991, p. 314.
65. Morison 1991, pp. 198–99.
66. Dyson 1991, pp. 67, 69.
67. Morison 1991, pp. 68–70.
68. Dyson 1991, pp. 84–85.
69. Dyson 1991, p. 84.
70. Durant, Will *The Story of Civilization* vol. vi, "The Reformation". Chapter XIII, p. 260.
71. Dyson 1991, pp. 86, 92.
72. Dyson 1991, p. 92.
73. Morrison, Geoffrey (15 October 2015). "Exploring The Alhambra Palace And Fortress In Granada, Spain" (<https://www.forbes.com/sites/geoffreymorrison/2015/10/15/exploring-the-alhambra-palace-granada-spain/>). *Forbes*. Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20151016073235/http://www.forbes.com/sites/geoffreymorrison/2015/10/15/exploring-the-alhambra-palace-granada-spain/>) from the original on 16 October 2015. Retrieved 24 May 2021.
74. Phillips, Jr & Phillips 1992, pp. 131–32.
75. Lantigua, David M. (2020). *Infidels and Empires in a New World Order: Early Modern Spanish Contributions to International Legal Thought* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=9RzhDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA53>). Cambridge University Press. p. 53. ISBN 978-1-108-49826-5. "The *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe* appointed Columbus as the official viceroy of the Crown, which entitled him, by virtue of royal concession, to all the honors and jurisdictions accorded the conquerors of the Canaries. Usage of the terms "to discover" (*descubrir*) and "to acquire" (*ganar*) were legal cues indicating the goals of Spanish possession through occupancy and conquest."
76. Morison 1991, p. 662.
77. González Sánchez, Carlos Alberto (2006). "Capitulations of Santa Fe" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=OMNoS-g1h8cC&pg=PA175>). In Kaufman, Will; Francis, John Michael (eds.). *Iberia and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History: a Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia*. ABC-CLIO. pp. 175–176. ISBN 978-1-85109-421-9.
78. Sánchez-Barba, Mario Hernández (2006). "Cristóbal Colón en presencia de la muerte (1505-1506)" (<https://armada.defensa.gob.es/archivo/mardigitalrevistas/cuadernosihcn/50cuaderno/cap02.pdf>) (PDF). *Cuadernos Monográficos del Instituto de Historia y Cultural Naval*. Madrid (50): 51.

79. Márquez, Luis Arranz (1982). *Don Diego Colón, almirante, virrey y gobernador de las Indias* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=kRhygUNmg4UC&pg=PA175>) (in Spanish). Editorial CSIC - CSIC Press. p. 175, note 4. ISBN 978-84-00-05156-3.
80. McDonald, Mark P. (2005). *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector (1488-1539)* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=bCfrAAAAMAAJ&q=%221790%22>). British Museum Press. p. 41. ISBN 978-0-7141-2644-9.
81. Restall, Matthew (2021). *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest: Updated Edition* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=dXQjEAAAQBAJ&pg=PA4>). Oxford University Press. p. 4. ISBN 978-0-19-753729-9.
82. Specht, Joshua; Stockland, Etienne (2017). *The Columbian Exchange* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=wkkrdwAAQBAJ&pg=PA23>). CRC Press. p. 23. ISBN 978-1-351-35121-8.
83. Horodowich, Elizabeth (2017). "Italy and the New World" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=8q5CDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA23>). In Horodowich, Elizabeth; Markey, Lia (eds.). *The New World in Early Modern Italy, 1492–1750*. Cambridge University Press. p. 23. ISBN 978-1-108-50923-7.
84. Cohen, Jonathan. "The Naming of America" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20131029201227/http://www.umc.sunysb.edu/surgery/america.html>). Umc.sunysb.edu. Archived from the original (<http://www.umc.sunysb.edu/surgery/america.html>) on 29 October 2013. Retrieved 10 April 2011.
85. Fernández-Armesto, Felipe (2007). *Amerigo: The Man Who Gave His Name to America* (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/608082366>) (1st ed.). New York: Random House. pp. 143–44, 186–87. ISBN 978-1-4000-6281-2. OCLC 608082366 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/608082366>).
86. Pickering, Keith A. (August 1994). "Columbus's Plana landfall: Evidence for the Plana Cays as Columbus's 'San Salvador'" (<http://www.dioi.org/vols/w41.pdf>) (PDF). *DIO – the International Journal of Scientific History*. 4 (1): 13–32. Retrieved 16 March 2009.
87. Morison 1991, p. 228.
88. Dyson 1991, p. 102.
89. "The Original Niña" ([https://web.archive.org/web/20150526034248/http://www.thenina.com/the\\_original\\_nina.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20150526034248/http://www.thenina.com/the_original_nina.html)). *The Niña & Pinta*. British Virgin Islands: The Columbus Foundation. Archived from the original ([http://www.thenina.com/the\\_original\\_nina.html](http://www.thenina.com/the_original_nina.html)) on 26 May 2015. Retrieved 12 October 2013.
90. Phillips, Jr & Phillips 1992, pp. 146–47.
91. Nicholls, Steve (2009). *Paradise Found: Nature in America at the Time of Discovery* (<https://archive.org/details/paradisefoundnat00stev/page/103>). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 103–104 (<https://archive.org/details/paradisefoundnat00stev/page/103>). ISBN 978-0-226-58340-2.
92. Morison 1991, p. 226.
93. Lopez, (1990, p. 14 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=wyh9-rhsaQgC&pg=PT14>)); Columbus & Toscanelli (2010, p. 35 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=MI7dzFQZHOoC&pg=PA35>))
94. Lopez, (1990, p. 15 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=wyh9-rhsaQgC&pg=PT15>))
95. Bergreen 2011, p. 99.
96. William D. Phillips Jr., 'Columbus, Christopher', in David Buisseret (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to World Exploration*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, online edition 2012).
97. Dunn, Oliver; Kelley, Jr., James E. (1989). *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492-1493* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=nS6kRnXJgCEC&pg=PA67>). University of Oklahoma Press. pp. 67–69. ISBN 978-0-8061-2384-4.

98. Hoxie, Frederick (1996). *Encyclopedia of North American Indians* (<https://archive.org/details/encyclopediaofno00hoxi/page/568>). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. p. 568 (<https://archive.org/details/encyclopediaofno00hoxi/page/568>). ISBN 978-0-395-66921-1.
99. Keegan, William F. (1 January 2015). "Mobility and Disdain: Columbus and Cannibals in the Land of Cotton" (<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/273291078>). *Ethnohistory*. **62** (1): 1–15. doi:10.1215/00141801-2821644 (<https://doi.org/10.1215%2F00141801-2821644>).
100. Zinn 2003, pp. 1–22 (<https://archive.org/details/peopleshistoryof00howa/page/1>)
101. Columbus (1991, p. 87 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=OxbLxcS5uYgC&pg=PA87>)). Or "these people are very simple as regards the use of arms ... for with fifty men they can all be subjugated and made to do what is required of them." (Columbus & Toscanelli, 2010, p. 41 (<https://books.google.com/books?id=MI7dzFQZH0oC&pg=PA41>))
102. Hunter, Douglas (2012). *The Race to the New World: Christopher Columbus, John Cabot, and a Lost History of Discovery* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=fYrvCgAAQBAJ&pg=PA62>). Macmillan. p. 62. ISBN 978-0-230-34165-4.
103. Magasich-Airola, Jorge; Beer, Jean-Marc de (2007). *America Magica (2nd edition): When Renaissance Europe Thought It Had Conquered Paradise* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=SauW0UOVcp0C&pg=PA61>). Anthem Press. p. 61. ISBN 978-1-84331-292-5.
104. Anderson-Córdova, Karen F. (2017). *Surviving Spanish Conquest: Indian Fight, Flight, and Cultural Transformation in Hispaniola and Puerto Rico* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=RNoZDgAAQBAJ&pg=PA55>). University of Alabama Press. p. 55. ISBN 978-0-8173-1946-5.
105. Murphy & Coye 2013, pp. 31–32.
106. Morison 1991, p. 145.
107. Deagan, Kathleen; Cruxent, José Maria (1993). "From Contact to Criollos: The Archaeology of Spanish Colonization in Hispaniola" (<http://publications.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/pubs/proc/files/81p067.pdf>) (PDF). *Proceedings of the British Academy*, *81*, 67–104. **81**: 73.
108. Maclean, Frances (January 2008). "The Lost Fort of Columbus" (<http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-lost-fort-of-columbus-8026921/>). *Smithsonian Magazine*. Retrieved 24 January 2008.
109. Gužauskytė, Evelina (2014). *Christopher Columbus's Naming in the 'diarios' of the Four Voyages (1492-1504): A Discourse of Negotiation* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=UOSWAAQBAJ&pg=PA96>). University of Toronto Press. p. 96. ISBN 978-1-4426-6825-6.
110. Fuson, Robert. *The Log of Christopher Columbus* (Camden, International Marine, 1987) 173.
111. Yewell, John; Chris Dodge (1992). *Confronting Columbus: An Anthology* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=ITsLAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA33>). Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company. p. 33. ISBN 978-0-89950-696-8. Retrieved 28 February 2016.
112. Markham, Clements R. (1893). *The Journal of Christopher Columbus* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=XwI7AAAIAAJ&pg=PA159>). London: Hakluyt Society. pp. 159–160. Retrieved 28 February 2016.
113. Dunn, Oliver; Kelley, Jr., James E. (1989). *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492-1493* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=nS6kRnXJgCEC&pg=PA341>). University of Oklahoma Press. p. 341. ISBN 978-0-8061-2384-4.
114. Catz, Rebecca (1990). "Columbus in the Azores". *Portuguese Studies*. **6**: 19–21. JSTOR 41104900 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41104900>).
115. Dugard 2005, p. 58.

116. Ife, Barry (1992). "Early Modern Spain: Introduction to the Letters from America" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20210424100905/http://www.ems.kcl.ac.uk/content/pub/b002.html>). *King's College London*. Archived from the original (<http://www.ems.kcl.ac.uk/content/pub/b002.html>) on 24 April 2021. Retrieved 15 January 2022.
117. Morison 1991, p. 381.
118. Diffie, Bailey Wallys (1977). *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/3488742>). Winius, George D. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. p. 173. ISBN 0-8166-0782-6. OCLC 3488742 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/3488742>).
119. Morison 1991, pp. 498–501.
120. Deagan, Kathleen A.; Cruxent, José María (2008). *Archaeology at La Isabela: America's First European Town* ([https://books.google.com/books?id=rv4aeMw\\_PA4C&pg=PR39](https://books.google.com/books?id=rv4aeMw_PA4C&pg=PR39)). Yale University Press. p. xxxix. ISBN 978-0-300-13391-2.
121. Bedini, Silvio A. (2016). Bedini, Silvio A. (ed.). *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=gmmMCwAAQBAJ&pg=PA705>). Springer. p. 705. ISBN 978-1-349-12573-9.
122. Morison 1991, pp. 423–27.
123. Antonio de la Cova. "The Spanish Conquest of the Tainos" (<http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/taino/taino-conquest.htm>). *Latin American Studies*. Antonio Rafael de la Cova. Retrieved 10 July 2011.
124. "Teeth Of Columbus's Crew Flesh Out Tale Of New World Discovery (<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2009/03/090319132954.htm>)". *ScienceDaily*. 20 March 2009.
125. Austin Alchon, Suzanne (2003). *A Pest in the Land: New World Epidemics in a Global Perspective* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=YiHHnV08ebkC&pg=PA62>). University of New Mexico Press. p. 62. ISBN 978-0-8263-2871-7. Retrieved 28 February 2016.
126. Yeager, Timothy J. (3 March 2009). "Encomienda or Slavery? The Spanish Crown's Choice of Labor Organization in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America". *The Journal of Economic History*. **55** (4): 842–859. doi:10.1017/S0022050700042182 (<https://doi.org/10.1017%2FS0022050700042182>). JSTOR 2123819 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2123819>).
127. Lyle N. McAlister (1984). *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492–1700*. University of Minnesota Press. p. 164. ISBN 0-8166-1218-8.
128. Lane, Kris (8 October 2015). "Five myths about Christopher Columbus" ([https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about-christopher-columbus/2015/10/08/3e80f358-6d23-11e5-b31c-d80d62b53e28\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/five-myths-about-christopher-columbus/2015/10/08/3e80f358-6d23-11e5-b31c-d80d62b53e28_story.html)). *The Washington Post*. Retrieved 4 August 2018.
129. Morison 1991, pp. 482–85.
130. Olson, Julius E. and Edward G. Bourne (editors). "The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, 985–1503", in *The Voyages of the Northmen; The Voyages of Columbus and of John Cabot*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), pp. 369–383.
131. Stannard, David E. (1993). *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=uWhdMtGt5xUC&pg=PA69>). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press. p. 69. ISBN 978-0-19-983898-1.
132. Koning, Hans. *Columbus, His Enterprise: Exploding the Myth*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976: 83-83.
133. Deagan, Kathleen A.; Cruxent, José María (2008). *Columbus's Outpost Among the Taínos: Spain and America at La Isabela, 1493–1498* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=iWGZP0V8WroC&pg=PA62>). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. p. 62. ISBN 978-0-300-13389-9.
134. Dyson 1991, pp. 183, 190.

135. Cohen, Rhaina; Penman, Maggie; Boyle, Tara; Vedantam, Shankar (20 November 2017). "An American Secret: The Untold Story Of Native American Enslavement" (<https://www.npr.org/2017/11/20/565410514/an-american-secret-the-untold-story-of-native-american-enslavement>). *NPR*. Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20171121033940/https://www.npr.org/2017/11/20/565410514/an-american-secret-the-untold-story-of-native-american-enslavement>) from the original on 21 November 2017. Retrieved 25 May 2021.
136. Fernández-Armesto, Felipe (2007). *Amerigo: The Man Who Gave His Name to America* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=j9khjIWQPWUC&pg=PA54>). New York: Random House. pp. 54–55. ISBN 978-1-4000-6281-2.
137. Morison 1991, p. 497.
138. Cook, Noble David (1998). *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=dvjNyZTFrS4C&pg=PA36>). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. p. 36. ISBN 978-0-521-62730-6.
139. Saunders, Nicholas J. (2005). *The Peoples of the Caribbean: An Encyclopedia of Archaeology and Traditional Culture* ([https://books.google.com/books?id=XNbqUR\\_loOMC&pg=PA75](https://books.google.com/books?id=XNbqUR_loOMC&pg=PA75)). ABC-CLIO. pp. 75–76. ISBN 978-1-57607-701-6.
140. Flint, Valerie Irene Jane (2017). *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=65srDgAAQBAJ&pg=PA158>). Princeton University Press. p. 158. ISBN 978-1-4008-8717-0.
141. Fuson, Robert H. (1997). "The Columbian Voyages" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=7RGlz9a4wVYC&pg=PA180>). In Allen, John Logan (ed.). *North American Exploration*. U of Nebraska Press. pp. 180–181. ISBN 978-0-8032-1015-8.
142. Bergreen 2011, p. 249.
143. Zerubavel, Eviatar (2003). *Terra Cognita: The Mental Discovery of America* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=YkLCiKN0x4UC&pg=PA90>). Transaction Publishers. pp. 90–91. ISBN 978-0-7658-0987-2.
144. Cervantes, Fernando (2021). *Conquistadores: A New History of Spanish Discovery and Conquest* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=z7LQDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA41>). Penguin. p. 41. ISBN 978-1-101-98128-3.
145. Bergreen 2011, p. 258.
146. Morison, Samuel Eliot; Obregón, Mauricio (1964). *The Caribbean as Columbus Saw it* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=BcFkAAAAMAAJ&q=%2214%20August%22>). Little, Brown. p. 11.
147. Bergreen 2011, pp. 284–85.
148. Brink, Christopher. *Christopher Columbus: Controversial Explorer of the Americas* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=T9NoDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA78>). p. 78.
149. Hofmann, Heinz (1994). "Columbus in Neo-Latin Epic Poetry" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=I1LEmKPgJ8MC&pg=PA617>). In Haase, Wolfgang; Meyer, Reinhold (eds.). *The Classical Tradition and the Americas: European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition (2 pts.)*. Walter de Gruyter. ISBN 978-3-11-011572-7.
150. Phillips, Jr & Phillips 1992, p. 125.
151. Bergreen 2011, pp. 276–77.
152. Tremlett, Giles (7 August 2006). "Lost document reveals Columbus as tyrant of the Caribbean" (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/aug/07/books.spain>). *The Guardian*. Retrieved 16 May 2013.
153. Bergreen 2011, pp. 283.
154. "Columbus Controversy" (<http://www.history.com/topics/exploration/columbus-controversy>). A&E Television Networks. Retrieved 12 August 2013.

155. Hale, Edward Everett (1 January 2021). *The Life of Christopher Columbus* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=40vhDAAQBAJ>). Prabhat Prakashan.
156. Columbus, Christopher (2010). *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus : With Other Original Documents, Relating to his Four Voyages to the New World* (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/889952068>). Richard Henry Major, Diego Alvarez Chanca. Cambridge. ISBN 978-0-511-70808-4. OCLC 889952068 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/889952068>).
157. Felipe Fernández-Armesto (2010). *Columbus on himself* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=W4w8EAAAQBAJ&pg=PA46>). Christopher Columbus. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co. p. 186. ISBN 978-1-60384-317-1. OCLC 794493189 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/794493189>). "Bobadilla was prejudiced in advance by what he heard, or what the monarchs relayed, from Columbus detractors. His brief was to conduct a judicial inquiry into Columbus' conduct, an unjust proceeding, in the Admiral's submission, since Bobadilla had a vested interest in an outcome that would keep him in power. [...] Motivated by self-interest or excessive zeal, Bobadilla clapped Columbus in irons with his brothers, gathered depositions against them, and shipped them back to Spain."
158. "National Association of Scholars - Remembering Columbus: Blinded by Politics by Robert Carle" ([https://www.nas.org/academic-questions/32/1/rembering\\_columbus\\_blinded\\_by\\_politics](https://www.nas.org/academic-questions/32/1/rembering_columbus_blinded_by_politics)). *www.nas.org*. Retrieved 18 June 2020.
159. Cervantes, Fernando (2021). *Conquistadores: A New History of Spanish Discovery and Conquest* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=z7LQDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA41>). [New York, New York]: Penguin. pp. 46–47. ISBN 978-1-101-98128-3.
160. Bergreen 2011, p. 276.
161. Gužauskytė, Evelina (2014). *Christopher Columbus's Naming in the 'diarios' of the Four Voyages (1492-1504): A Discourse of Negotiation* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=UOSWAAQBAJ&pg=PA179>). University of Toronto Press. p. 179. ISBN 978-1-4426-6825-6.
162. Dugard, Martin (1 June 2005). *The Last Voyage of Columbus: Being the Epic Tale of the Great Captain's Fourth Expedition, Including Accounts of Swordfight, Mutiny, Shipwreck, Gold, War, Hurricane, and Discovery* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=lmDe4jszJScC>). Little, Brown. ISBN 978-0-7595-1378-5.
163. Cervantes, Fernando (2021). *Conquistadores : a new history of Spanish discovery and conquest* (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/1258043161>) (1 ed.). [New York, New York]. ISBN 978-1-101-98126-9. OCLC 1258043161 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/1258043161>).
164. Noble, David Cook. "Nicolás de Ovando" in *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture*, vol.4, p. 254. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1996.
165. Leon, Istvan Szaszdi (1 January 2012). "Castilian Justice and Columbian Injustice. The end of the Columbian Government in Hispaniola" (<https://www.academia.edu/42882992>). *Journal on European History of Law*. **3** (2): 9.
166. Varela, Consuelo; Aguirre, Isabel (2006). *La caída de Cristóbal Colón: el juicio de Bobadilla* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=SwtMUtesSDEC&pg=PA175>) (in Spanish). Marcial Pons Historia. p. 175. ISBN 978-84-96467-28-6.
167. Sauer, Carl Ortwin (2008). *The Early Spanish Main* ([https://books.google.com/books?id=plzS7SL\\_f0C&pg=PA121](https://books.google.com/books?id=plzS7SL_f0C&pg=PA121)). Cambridge University Press. pp. 121–122. ISBN 978-0-521-08848-0.
168. Cook, Noble David (1998). *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492-1650* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=dvjNyZTFrS4C&pg=PA46>). Cambridge University Press. p. 46. ISBN 978-0-521-62730-6.
169. Bergreen 2011, pp. 288–89, 302–3.
170. Gužauskytė, Evelina (2014). *Christopher Columbus's Naming in the 'diarios' of the Four Voyages (1492-1504): A Discourse of Negotiation* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=UOSWAAQBAJ&pg=PA185>). University of Toronto Press. p. 185. ISBN 978-1-4426-6825-6.

171. Bedini, Silvio A. (2016). Bedini, Silvio A. (ed.). *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=gmmMCwAAQBAJ&pg=PA200>). Springer. p. 200. ISBN 978-1-349-12573-9.
172. Armas, Antonio Rumeu de (1985). *Nueva luz sobre las capitulaciones de Santa Fe de 1492 concertadas entre los Reyes Católicos y Cristóbal Colón: estudio institucional y diplomático* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=FgKarEsZWecC&pg=PA201>) (in Spanish). Editorial CSIC - CSIC Press. p. 201. ISBN 978-84-00-05961-3.
173. Colindres, Enrique Ortez (1975). *Integración Política de Centroamérica* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=-wYPAAAAYAAJ&q=%22Crist%C3%B3bal%20Col%C3%B3n%22%20%22Punta%20Caxinas%22>) (in Spanish). Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana. p. 20. "El 14 de agosto de 1502 Cristóbal Colón descubrió Punta Caxinas, hoy Punta Castilla o Cabo de Honduras."
174. Calvo, Alfredo Castellero (2004). *Historia general de Panamá: Tomo 1. Las sociedades originarias ; El orden colonial. Tomo 2. El orden colonial* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=XIVrAAAAMAAJ&q=%225%20de%20octubre%22>) (in Spanish). Comité Nacional del Centenario de la República. p. 86. ISBN 978-9962-02-581-8.
175. Bedini, Silvio A. (2016). Bedini, Silvio A. (ed.). *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=gmmMCwAAQBAJ&pg=PA724>). Springer. pp. 720, 724. ISBN 978-1-349-12573-9.
176. Stirling, Matthew Williams; Stirling, Marion (1964). *Archeological Notes on Almirante Bay, Bocas Del Toro, Panama* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=0UxIAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA260>). U.S. Government Printing Office.
177. Bergreen 2011, p. 330.
178. Bergreen 2011, p. 330–332.
179. Méndez, Diego (2020). "VIII: Shipwrecked by Worms, Saved by Canoe: The Last Voyage of Columbus". In Roorda, Paul (ed.). *The Ocean Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (<https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9781478007456-065/html>). Duke University Press. p. 300. doi:10.1515/9781478007456-065 (<https://doi.org/10.1515%2F9781478007456-065>). ISBN 978-1-4780-0745-6. S2CID 241132438 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:241132438>).
180. Vigneras, Louis André (1 November 1978). "Diego Méndez, Secretary of Christopher Columbus and Alguacil Mayor of Santo Domingo: A Biographical Sketch" (<https://read.dukeupress.edu/hahr/article/58/4/676/152812/>). *Hispanic American Historical Review*. **58** (4): 680. doi:10.1215/00182168-58.4.676 (<https://doi.org/10.1215%2F00182168-58.4.676>). ISSN 0018-2168 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0018-2168>). Retrieved 26 January 2022.
181. Hakim, Joy (2002). *The First Americans* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=bhIVOp-xrSsC&pg=PA85>). Oxford University Press. p. 85. ISBN 978-0-19-515319-4.
182. Clayton J., Drees, *The Late Medieval Age of Crisis and Renewal: 1300–1500 a Biographical Dictionary*, 2001, p. 511
183. Kadir, Djelal (1992). "IV: Charting the Conquest". *Columbus and the Ends of the Earth: Europe's Prophetic Rhetoric as Conquering Ideology* (<https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft1n39n7x0&chunk.id=d0e1397&toc.depth=1&toc.id=d0e1380>). Berkeley, California: University of California Press. p. 67.
184. Rivera, Luis N.; Pagán, Luis Rivera (1992). *A Violent Evangelism: The Political and Religious Conquest of the Americas* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=N2Y-wARCI7UC&pg=PA5>). Westminster John Knox Press. p. 5. ISBN 978-0-664-25367-7.



185. Watts, Pauline Moffitt (1985). "Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus's "Enterprise of the Indies" " (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1860749>). *The American Historical Review*. **90** (1): 92. doi:10.2307/1860749 (<https://doi.org/10.2307%2F1860749>). ISSN 0002-8762 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0002-8762>). JSTOR 1860749 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1860749>).
186. "Christopher Columbus Suffered From a Fatal Form of Arthritis" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20180123072824/http://www.nahfoundation.org/news-and-events/news-releases/2005/christopher-columbus-suffered-from-a-fatal-form-of-arthritis>) (Press release). University of Maryland School of Medicine. 6 May 2005. Archived from the original (<http://www.nahfoundation.org/news-and-events/news-releases/2005/christopher-columbus-suffered-from-a-fatal-form-of-arthritis>) on 23 January 2018.
187. Hoenig, Leonard J. (1 February 1992). "The Arthritis of Christopher Columbus". *Archives of Internal Medicine*. **152** (2): 274–277. doi:10.1001/archinte.1992.00400140028008 (<https://doi.org/10.1001%2Farchinte.1992.00400140028008>). PMID 1472175 (<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/1472175>).
188. Arnett, F.; Merrill, C.; Albardaner, Francesc; Mackowiak, P. (September 2006). "A Mariner with Crippling Arthritis and Bleeding Eyes" (<https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/A-mariner-with-crippling-arthritis-and-bleeding-Arnett-Merrill/6cfc613378f92f277853f49d9bd5983917232f2c>). *The American journal of the medical sciences*. **332** (3): 125. doi:10.1097/00000441-200609000-00005 (<https://doi.org/10.1097%2F00000441-200609000-00005>).
189. Tarver, H. Micheal; Slape, Emily (2016). Tarver, H. Micheal; Slape, Emily (eds.). *The Spanish Empire: A Historical Encyclopedia [2 volumes]: A Historical Encyclopedia* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=1LCJDAAQBAJ&pg=PA143>). ABC-CLIO. p. 143. ISBN 978-1-61069-422-3.
190. Staff (25 February 2007). "Esclarecen causas de muerte de Cristóbal Colón" (<https://archivo.eluniversal.com.mx/notas/408828.html>). *El Universal* (in Spanish). Retrieved 2 February 2022.
191. Scott, Ian C.; Galloway, James B.; Scott, David L. (2015). *Inflammatory Arthritis in Clinical Practice* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=gC-TBgAAQBAJ&pg=PA4>). Springer. p. 4. ISBN 978-1-4471-6648-1.
192. Ritchlin, Christopher T.; FitzGerald, Oliver (2007). *Psoriatic and Reactive Arthritis: A Companion to Rheumatology* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=RN-B2g2YjmAC&pg=PA132>). Elsevier Health Sciences. p. 132. ISBN 978-0-323-03622-1.
193. Cuartero y Huerta 1988, p. 74.
194. Kadir, Djelal (1992). "Chapter VII Making Ends Meet: The Dire Unction of Prophecy". *Columbus and the Ends of the Earth: Europe's Prophetic Rhetoric as Conquering Ideology* (<https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft1n39n7x0&chunk.id=d0e1397&toC.depth=1&toc.id=d0e1380>). Berkeley, California: University of California Press. pp. 193–194.
195. Cuartero y Huerta, Baltasar (1988). "Los Colón en la Cartuja" ([http://institucional.us.es/revistas/rasbl/16/art\\_9.pdf](http://institucional.us.es/revistas/rasbl/16/art_9.pdf)) (PDF). *Boletín de la Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras: Minervae Baeticae*. **16**: 74.
196. Dyson 1991, p. 194.
197. Dyson 1991, p. 196.
198. Nash, Elizabeth (2005). *Seville, Cordoba, and Granada: A Cultural History* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=vVA1reAI7w0C&pg=PA73>). Oxford University Press, USA. p. 73. ISBN 978-0-19-518204-0.
199. Olaya, Vicente G. (24 May 2021). "Study of Christopher Columbus' DNA set to reveal his true origins" (<https://english.elpais.com/arts/2021-05-24/study-of-christopher-columbus-dna-set-to-reveal-his-true-origins.html>). *El País*. Retrieved 3 February 2022.

200. Staff, Reuters in Seville (3 June 2003). "'Columbus bones' for DNA tests" (<http://web.archive.org/web/20130827041628/http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/jun/03/spain>). *The Guardian*. Archived from the original (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/jun/03/spain>) on 27 August 2013.
201. Tremlett, Giles (11 August 2004). "Young bones lay Columbus myth to rest" (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/aug/11/spain.science>). *The Guardian*. Retrieved 26 October 2014.
202. "DNA verifies Columbus' remains in Spain" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20131031014325/http://www.nbcnews.com/id/12871458/>). *MSNBC*. Associated Press. 20 May 2006. Archived from the original (<http://www.nbcnews.com/id/12871458/>) on 31 October 2013. Retrieved 15 August 2020.
203. Álvarez-Cubero, M.J.; Martínez-González, L.J.; Saiz, M.; Álvarez, J.C.; Lorente, J.A. (June 2010). "Nuevas aplicaciones en identificación genética" (<https://doi.org/10.4321%2FS1135-76062010000100002>) [New applications in genetic identification]. *Cuadernos de Medicina Forense* (in Spanish). **16** (1–2). doi:10.4321/S1135-76062010000100002 (<https://doi.org/10.4321%2FS1135-76062010000100002>).
204. "Countdown begins to discover where Columbus came from" (<https://apnews.com/article/europe-science-0c320f8e80478206df0515c8047adce5>). *AP News*. 19 May 2021. Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20210519095238/https://apnews.com/article/europe-science-0c320f8e80478206df0515c8047adce5>) from the original on 19 May 2021. Retrieved 21 May 2021.
205. Bergreen 2011, pp. 363–64.
206. Thacher, John Boyd (1904). *Christopher Columbus: his life, his works, his remains: as revealed by original printed and manuscript records, together with an essay on Peter Martyr of Anghera and Bartolomé de las Casas, the first historians of America* (<https://archive.org/details/christophercolu01thacgoog>). New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. pp. 570–73 (<https://archive.org/details/christophercolu01thacgoog/page/n602>).
207. "Columbus Buried In San Domingo?" ([https://www.newspapers.com/image/?clipping\\_id=41508800](https://www.newspapers.com/image/?clipping_id=41508800)). *Evening Star*. 17 July 1913. p. 11. Archived ([https://web.archive.org/web/20200102035715/https://www.newspapers.com/clip/41508800/evening\\_star/](https://web.archive.org/web/20200102035715/https://www.newspapers.com/clip/41508800/evening_star/)) from the original on 2 January 2020. Retrieved 15 August 2020 – via [Newspapers.com](https://www.newspapers.com/).
208. Álvarez-Cubero, M.J.; Martínez-González, L.J.; Saiz, M.; Álvarez, J.C.; Lorente, J.A. (June 2010). "Nuevas aplicaciones en identificación genética" (<https://doi.org/10.4321%2FS1135-76062010000100002>) [New applications in genetic identification]. *Cuadernos de Medicina Forense* (in Spanish). **16** (1–2). doi:10.4321/S1135-76062010000100002 (<https://doi.org/10.4321%2FS1135-76062010000100002>).
209. Horwitz 2008, pp. 89–90, 92.
210. Schlereth, Thomas J. (1992). "Columbia, Columbus, and Columbianism". *The Journal of American History*. **79** (3): 937–968. doi:10.2307/2080794 (<https://doi.org/10.2307%2F2080794>). JSTOR 2080794 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2080794>).
211. Bushman, Claudia L. (1992). *America Discovers Columbus: How an Italian Explorer Became an American Hero* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=eNB1AAAAMAAJ&q=%22bypassed%20England.%22>). University Press of New England. p. 41. ISBN 978-0-87451-576-3.
212. Bartosik-Vélez, Elise (2014). "The Incorporation of Columbus into the Story of Western Empire". *The Legacy of Christopher Columbus in the Americas. New Nations and a Transatlantic Discourse of Empire* ([https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/id/fbb06e57-759f-43c2-bf3b-792cee697ee2/external\\_content.pdf](https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/id/fbb06e57-759f-43c2-bf3b-792cee697ee2/external_content.pdf)) (PDF). Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. p. 2. ISBN 978-0-8265-1953-5.

213. Burmila, Edward (9 October 2017). "The Invention of Christopher Columbus, American Hero" (<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/the-invention-of-christopher-columbus-american-hero/>). *The Nation*.
214. Dewey, Donald (2007). *The Art of Ill Will: The Story of American Political Cartoons* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=vNI9046BaRAC&pg=PA13>). NYU Press. pp. 12–13. ISBN 978-0-8147-1985-5.
215. Stanford, Jack A.; Hauer, F. Richard; Gregory, Stanley V.; Snyder, Eric B. (2011). "Columbia River Basin". In Benke, Arthur C.; Cushing, Colbert E. (eds.). *Rivers of North America* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=faOU1wkiYFIC&pg=PA591>). Elsevier. p. 501. ISBN 978-0-08-045418-4.
216. Zeuske, Michael; Otálvaro, Andrés (2017). "La construcción de Colombeia: Francisco de Miranda y su paso por el Sacro Imperio Romano Germánico, 1785-1789" (<https://www.redalyc.org/journal/1271/127149937006/html/>). *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*. 44: 178, 192. doi:10.15446/achsc.v44n1.61224 (<https://doi.org/10.15446%2Fachsc.v44n1.61224>). ISSN 0120-2456 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0120-2456>).
217. "Bird's-Eye View of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893" (<http://www.wdl.org/en/item/11369/>). *World Digital Library*. 1893. Retrieved 17 July 2013.
218. Bolotin, Norm; Laing, Christine (2002). *The World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago World's Fair of 1893* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=vfsw96Eqko8C&pg=PR7>). University of Illinois Press. p. 7. ISBN 978-0-252-07081-5.
219. Handler, Richard (June 2016). "Mining the time-space matrix: Commemorative postage stamps and US world's fairs, 1893–1915". *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*. 6 (1): 296–300. doi:10.14318/hau6.1.017 (<https://doi.org/10.14318%2Fhau6.1.017>).
220. West, Chris (2014). *A History of America in Thirty-six Postage Stamps* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=RACEBAAQBAJ&pg=PA89>). Macmillan. p. 89. ISBN 978-1-250-04368-9.
221. *Marcilhacy 2011*, pp. 135–138.
222. Marcilhacy, David (2011). "Las fiestas del 12 de octubre y las conmemoraciones americanistas bajo la restauración borbónica: España frente a su pasado colonial" (<https://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/31/87/09marcilhacy.pdf>) (PDF). *Jerónimo Zurita*. 86: 135–138. ISSN 0044-5517 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0044-5517>).
223. "Columbian Exposition Souvenir Sheets", Arago: people, postage & the post, National Postal Museum online, viewed 18 April 2014.
224. Bedini, Silvio A. (2016). Bedini, Silvio A. (ed.). *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=gmmMCwAAQBAJ&pg=PR8>). Springer. p. 489. ISBN 978-1-349-12573-9.
225. Bello, Manuel; Shaver, Annis N. (2011). "Representation of Columbus in History Textbooks" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=fxasAgAAQBAJ&pg=PA152>). In Provenzo Jr, Eugene F.; Shaver, Annis N; Bello, Manuel (eds.). *The Textbook as Discourse: Sociocultural Dimensions of American Schoolbooks*. Routledge. p. 152. ISBN 978-1-136-86063-8.
226. Boivin, Nicole; Fuller, Dorian Q; Crowther, Alison (September 2012). "Old World globalization and the Columbian exchange: comparison and contrast". *World Archaeology*. 44 (3): 452–469. doi:10.1080/00438243.2012.729404 (<https://doi.org/10.1080%2F00438243.2012.729404>). JSTOR 42003541 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/42003541>). S2CID 3285807 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:3285807>).
227. McFarlane (2004). "Pre-Columbian and colonial Latin America". In King, John (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Latin American Culture* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=BE30cHBvjM8C&pg=PA9>). Cambridge University Press. p. 9. ISBN 978-0-521-63651-3.

228. Nunn, Nathan; Qian, Nancy (Spring 2010), "The Columbian Exchange: A History of Disease, Food, and Ideas" ([https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/nunn/files/nunn\\_qian\\_jep\\_2010.pdf](https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/nunn/files/nunn_qian_jep_2010.pdf)) (PDF), *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, **24** (2): 163–188, doi:10.1257/jep.24.2.163 (<https://doi.org/10.1257%2Fjep.24.2.163>)
229. Wilford, John Noble (1991). "Columbus and the Labyrinth of History" ([http://archive.wilsonquarterly.com/sites/default/files/articles/WQ\\_VOL15\\_A\\_1991\\_Article\\_03.pdf](http://archive.wilsonquarterly.com/sites/default/files/articles/WQ_VOL15_A_1991_Article_03.pdf)) (PDF). *The Wilson Quarterly*. **15** (4): 79–80.
230. Bartosik-Vélez, Elise (2014). "The Incorporation of Columbus into the Story of Western Empire". *The Legacy of Christopher Columbus in the Americas. New Nations and a Transatlantic Discourse of Empire* ([https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/id/fbb06e57-759f-43c2-bf3b-792cee697ee2/external\\_content.pdf](https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/id/fbb06e57-759f-43c2-bf3b-792cee697ee2/external_content.pdf)) (PDF). Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. p. 45. ISBN 978-0-8265-1953-5.
231. Paul, Heike (2014). "Christopher Columbus and the Myth of Discovery' ". *The Myths That Made America* (<http://oaresource.library.carleton.ca/oa-America9783839414859.pdf>) (PDF). pp. 53, 59. ISBN 978-3-8394-1485-9.
232. Paul 2014, pp. 58, 60.
233. Paul 2014, pp. 63–64.
234. Dennis, Matthew (2018). *Red, White, and Blue Letter Days: An American Calendar* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=a6JhDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA119>). Cornell University Press. pp. 119–120. ISBN 978-1-5017-2370-4.
235. Wilford 1991, p. 80.
236. Connell, William J. (2013). "Who's Afraid of Columbus?". *Italian Americana*. **31** (2): 136–147. JSTOR 41933001 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41933001>).
237. Armitage, David (1992). "Christopher Columbus" (<https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/armitage/files/columbus.pdf>) (PDF). *History Today*. **42** (5): 55.
238. Axtell, James (1992). "Moral Reflections on the Columbian Legacy" (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/494350>). *The History Teacher*. **25** (4): 407–425. doi:10.2307/494350 (<https://doi.org/10.2307%2F494350>). ISSN 0018-2745 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0018-2745>). JSTOR 494350 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/494350>). "... Alfred Crosby, a scholar with the mind of a scientist and the heart of a humanist. He writes that "the major initial effect of the Columbian voyages was the transformation of America into a charnel house." The cataclysmic loss of native life, largely to imported diseases, "was surely the greatest tragedy in the history of the human species."
239. Houbert, Jean (2003). "Creolisation and Decolonisation" ([https://books.google.com/books?id=mdpcgy\\_aopwC&pg=PA176](https://books.google.com/books?id=mdpcgy_aopwC&pg=PA176)). In Jayasuriya, Shihan de S.; Pankhurst, Richard (eds.). *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean*. Africa World Press. p. 176. ISBN 978-0-86543-980-1.
240. Phillips, William D. (2000). *Testimonies from the Columbian Lawsuits* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=cz0LAAAAYAAJ&q=%22nuance%20of%20semantics%22>). Brepols. p. 25. ISBN 978-2-503-51028-6. "When we speak today of the "legacy" of Christopher Columbus, we usually refer to the broadly historic consequences of his famous voyages, meaning the subsequent European conquest and colonization of the Americas."
241. Nedkvitne, Arnved (2018). *Norse Greenland: Viking Peasants in the Arctic* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=Xs5wDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT13>). Routledge. p. 13. ISBN 978-1-351-25958-3.
242. Little, Becky (11 October 2015). "Why Do We Celebrate Columbus Day and Not Leif Erikson Day?" (<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2015/10/151011-columbus-day-leif-erikson-italian-americans-holiday-history/>). *National Geographic*. Retrieved 12 October 2015.
243. "History – Leif Erikson (11th century)" ([http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic\\_figures/erikson\\_leif.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/erikson_leif.shtml)). BBC. Retrieved 12 October 2015.

244. Berkhofer, Robert F. (1979). *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian, from Columbus to the Present* (<https://books.google.com/books/?id=HcGGDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA34>). Vintage Books. p. 34. ISBN 978-0-394-72794-3.
245. Coronil, Fernando (1989). "Discovering America Again: The Politics of Selfhood in the Age of Post-Colonial Empires" (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41491365>). *Dispositio*. Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. 14 (36/38): 315. ISSN 0734-0591 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0734-0591>). "When referring to the conquest, Venezuelans tend to side with the original "Indians" inhabiting the territory, even though "we" are generally careful to distinguish ourselves from them, and above all from their contemporary descendants. This tactical identification suggests that the force of this rejoinder comes not just from the hold of the familiar — Columbus already discovered America, so what's new — but from the appeal of a more exclusive familiarity evoked by a shift of location — he only "discovered" it for Europe, not for "us". It is as if we viewed Columbus's arrival from two perspectives, his own, and that of the natives. When we want to privilege "our" special viewpoint, we claim as ours the standpoint of the original Americans, the view not from the foreign ship but from our "native" land."
246. Fernández-Shaw, Félix (May 1992). "Five hundred years from now | From Discovery to Encounter" (<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000091221>). *The UNESCO Courier*. UNESCO Digital Library. 45 (5, Rediscovering 1492): 45. Retrieved 8 February 2022. "The encounter between two worlds is a fact that cannot be denied... The word *discovery* gives prominence to the heroes of the enterprise; the word *encounter* gives more emphasis to the peoples who actually "encountered" each other and gave substance to a New World. Whereas *discovery* marks a happening, an event, *encounter* conveys better the idea of the political journey that has brought us to the reality of today, spanning the five hundred years since 1492... These historical and political milestones are valuable because they relate the present to both the past and the future. It was inevitable that history written from a Eurocentric standpoint should speak in terms of discovery and it is equally inevitable that, as history has now come to be seen in universal terms, we should have adopted so evocative a term as encounter."
247. Thomas F. McIlwraith; Edward K. Muller (2001). *North America: The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=8NS0OTXRITMC&pg=PA35>). Rowman & Littlefield. p. 35. ISBN 978-0-7425-0019-8.
248. Sale, Kirkpatrick (1991) [1990]. *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (<https://archive.org/details/conquestofparadi00sale/page/204/mode/2up>). New York: Plume. pp. 204–209. ISBN 0-452-26669-6. OCLC 23940970 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/23940970>).
249. Boller, Paul F. (1995). *Not So!: Popular Myths about America from Columbus to Clinton* (<https://archive.org/details/notsopopularmyth00boll>). New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN 978-0-19-509186-1.
250. Hannam, James (18 May 2010). "Science Versus Christianity?" (<https://www.patheos.com/resources/additional-resources/2010/05/science-versus-christianity>). *Patheos.com*. Retrieved 5 September 2020.
251. Bergreen 2011, p. 244.
252. Tyson, Neil deGrasse (2014) [2007]. *Death By Black Hole: And Other Cosmic Quandaries* (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/70265574>) (1st ed.). New York: W. W. Norton. p. 52. ISBN 978-0-393-06224-3. OCLC 70265574 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/70265574>).
253. Russell, Jeffrey Burton (1991). *Inventing the Flat Earth: Columbus and modern historians*. New York City: Praeger. ISBN 978-0-275-95904-3.

254. Tinker, George E.; Freeland, Mark (2008). "Thief, Slave Trader, Murderer: Christopher Columbus and Caribbean Population Decline" (<https://cpb-us-w2.wpmucdn.com/u.osu.edu/dist/e/58600/files/2018/02/Tinker-Tink-Source-12j35s4.pdf>) (PDF). *Wicazo Sa Review*. **23** (1): 37. doi:10.1353/wic.2008.0002 (<https://doi.org/10.1353%2Fwic.2008.0002>). S2CID 159481939 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:159481939>). "Colón was directly responsible for instituting this cycle of violence, murder, and slavery... This cycle of violence, intentionally created to maximize the extraction of wealth from the islands, in combination with the epidemic diseases that were running rampant through the Taino population, together promoted the genocide of the Taino people... Disease, only in combination with this cycle of brutal colonial violence, could produce the death toll that we see on the island of Española. Therefore, at best, the theory that disease did the business of killing and not the invaders can only be seen as a gratuitous colonizer apologetic designed to absolve the guilt of the continued occupation and exploitation of the indigenous people of this continent. However, the truth of the matter is much worse and should be called by its appropriate name: American holocaust denial."
255. Brito, Christopher (25 September 2020). "Dozens of Christopher Columbus statues have been removed since June" (<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/christopher-columbus-statue-removed-cities/>). *CBS News*. Retrieved 26 September 2020.
256. Bigelow, Bill (1992). "Once upon a Genocide: Christopher Columbus in Children's Literature" (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/29766680>). *Social Justice*. **19** (2): 106–121. JSTOR 29766680 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/29766680>).
257. Weatherford, Jack (20 April 2001). "Examining the reputation of Christopher Columbus" (<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/Taino/docs/columbus.html>). *Hartford-hwp.com*. Retrieved 29 July 2009.
258. "Pre-Columbian Hispaniola – Arawak/Taino Indians" (<http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/43a/100.html>). *Hartford-hwp.com*. 15 September 2001. Retrieved 29 July 2009.
259. Morison 1991, p. 417.
260. Cohen, J.M. (1969). *The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus*. NY: Penguin. p. 139. ISBN 978-0-14-044217-5.
261. Horwitz 2008, p. 69.
262. Deagan, Kathleen A.; Cruxent, José María (2002). *Archaeology at La Isabela: America's First European Town* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=twI0PjfqdGYC&pg=PA201>). Yale University Press. p. 201. ISBN 978-0-300-09041-3.
263. Koning, Hans (1976). *Columbus* ([https://books.google.com/books?id=Oxa-SjBh\\_cYC](https://books.google.com/books?id=Oxa-SjBh_cYC)). Monthly Review Press. p. 86. ISBN 978-0-85345-600-1. Retrieved 1 May 2015.
264. Varela, Consuelo; Aguirre, Isabel (2006). "La venta de esclavos" (<https://books.google.com/books?id=SwtMUTesSDEC&pg=PA111>) [The sale of slaves]. *La caída de Cristóbal Colón: el juicio de Bobadilla* [The fall of Christopher Columbus: the Bobadilla trial] (in Spanish). Marcial Pons Historia. pp. 111–118. ISBN 978-84-96467-28-6.
265. Hanke, Lewis (1 February 1971). "A Modest Proposal for a Moratorium on Grand Generalizations: Some Thoughts on the Black Legend" (<https://doi.org/10.1215%2F00182168-8-51.1.112>). *Hispanic American Historical Review*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. **51** (1): 112–127. doi:10.1215/00182168-8-51.1.112 (<https://doi.org/10.1215%2F00182168-8-51.1.112>). JSTOR 2512616 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2512616>).
266. Keen, Benjamin (1 November 1969). "The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities" (<https://doi.org/10.1215%2F00182168-49.4.703>). *Hispanic American Historical Review*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. **49** (4): 703–719. doi:10.1215/00182168-49.4.703 (<https://doi.org/10.1215%2F00182168-49.4.703>). JSTOR 2511162 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2511162>).

267. Keen, Benjamin (1 May 1971). "The White Legend Revisited: A Reply to Professor Hanke's 'Modest Proposal'" (<https://doi.org/10.1215%2F00182168-51.2.336>). *Hispanic American Historical Review*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. **51** (2): 336–355. doi:10.1215/00182168-51.2.336 (<https://doi.org/10.1215%2F00182168-51.2.336>). JSTOR 2512479 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2512479>).
268. Fusco, Mary Ann Castronovo (8 October 2000). "In Person; In Defense Of Columbus" (<https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/08/nyregion/in-person-in-defense-of-columbus.html>). *The New York Times*. Retrieved 9 August 2018.
269. Horwitz 2008, p. 84.
270. Davidson, Basil (January 1992). "Columbus: the bones and blood of racism". *Race & Class*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publishers. **33** (3): 17–25. doi:10.1177/030639689203300303 (<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F030639689203300303>). S2CID 145462012 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:145462012>).
271. Bigelow, Bill (10 October 2015). "Columbus Day must be abolished" (<https://www.ottawaherald.com/article/20151010/OPINION/310109846>). *The Ottawa Herald*. Retrieved 16 July 2021.
272. Zinn 2003, p. 5.
273. Keegan, William F., "Destruction of the Taino" in *Archaeology*. January/February 1992, pp. 51–56.
274. Fernandes, D.M.; Sirak, K.A.; Ringbauer, H.; et al. (23 December 2020). "A genetic history of the pre-contact Caribbean" (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7864882>). *Nature*. **590** (7844): 103–110. doi:10.1038/s41586-020-03053-2 (<https://doi.org/10.1038%2Fs41586-020-03053-2>). PMC 7864882 (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7864882>). PMID 33361817 (<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/33361817>).
275. Dutchen, Stephanie (23 December 2020). "Ancient DNA shines light on Caribbean history, prehistory" (<https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2020/12/ancient-dna-shines-light-on-caribbean-history-prehistory/>). *Harvard Gazette*. Archived (<https://web.archive.org/web/20201223163004/https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2020/12/ancient-dna-shines-light-on-caribbean-history-prehistory/>) from the original on 23 December 2020. Retrieved 27 May 2021.
276. Horwitz 2008.
277. Crosby, Alfred W. (1972). *The Columbian Exchange*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group. p. 47. ISBN 978-0837172286.
278. Mann, Charles C. (2011). *1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created*. New York City: Alfred A. Knopf. p. 12. ISBN 978-0307278241.
279. Hickel, Jason (2018). *The Divide: A Brief Guide to Global Inequality and its Solutions*. London, England: Windmill Books. p. 70. ISBN 978-1-78609-003-4.
280. Treuer, David (13 May 2016). "The new book 'The Other Slavery' will make you rethink American history" (<https://latimes.com/books/jacketcopy/la-ca-jc-native-american-slavery-20160505-snap-story.html>). *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved 21 June 2019.
281. Crosby (1972) p. 45.
282. Koch, Alexander; Brierley, Chris; Maslin, Mark; Lewis, Simon (1 March 2019). "Earth system impacts of the European arrival and Great Dying in the Americas after 1492" (<https://doi.org/10.1016%2Fj.quascirev.2018.12.004>). *Quaternary Science Reviews*. **207**: 13–36. Bibcode:2019QSRv..207...13K (<https://ui.adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/2019QSRv..207...13K>). doi:10.1016/j.quascirev.2018.12.004 (<https://doi.org/10.1016%2Fj.quascirev.2018.12.004>).

283. Schuman, H.; Schwartz, B.; D'Arcy, H. (28 February 2005). "Elite Revisionists and Popular Beliefs: Christopher Columbus, Hero or Villain?" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20200226064041/https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/c45b/6dae70b6f92891b09a99a0337cbf0235eb97.pdf>) (PDF). *Public Opinion Quarterly*. **69** (1): 2–29. doi:10.1093/poq/nfi001 (<https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfi001>). S2CID 145447081 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:145447081>). Archived from the original (<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/c45b/6dae70b6f92891b09a99a0337cbf0235eb97.pdf>) (PDF) on 26 February 2020.
284. Morison, Samuel Eliot (1955). *Christopher Columbus, Mariner* (<https://archive.org/details/christophercolum00mori>). New York City: Little Brown & Co (T); First edition. ISBN 978-0-316-58356-5.
285. Cook, Noble David (1998). *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=dvjNyZTFrS4C&pg=PA9>). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. pp. 9–14. ISBN 978-0-521-62730-6.
286. Fenner F, Henderson DA, Arita I, Ježek Z, Ladnyi ID (1988). "The History of Smallpox and its Spread Around the World" ([https://biotech.law.lsu.edu/blaw/bt/smallpox/who/red-book/9241561106\\_chp5.pdf](https://biotech.law.lsu.edu/blaw/bt/smallpox/who/red-book/9241561106_chp5.pdf)) (PDF). *Smallpox and its eradication*. History of International Public Health. Vol. 6. Geneva: World Health Organization. p. 236. hdl:10665/39485 (<https://hdl.handle.net/10665/39485>). ISBN 978-92-4-156110-5. Retrieved 29 April 2021.
287. Oliver, José R. (2009). *Caciques and Cemí idols: the web spun by Taíno rulers between Hispaniola and Puerto Rico* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=nkYAMSusYKkC&q=hispaniola+pandemic+1519&pg=PA192>) ([Online-Ausg.]. ed.). Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. p. 192. ISBN 978-0-8173-5515-9. Retrieved 25 December 2017.
288. "Deadly Diseases: Epidemics throughout history" (<https://www.cnn.com/interactive/2014/10/health/epidemics-through-history/>). CNN. Retrieved 25 December 2017.
289. Aufderheide, Arthur C.; Rodríguez-Martín, Conrado; Langsjoen, Odin (1998). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of human paleopathology* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=quBtdDk1H3IC&pg=PA205>). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. p. 205. ISBN 0-521-55203-6.
290. Crosby (1972) pp. 39, 47
291. Martin, Debra L.; Goodman, Alan H. (2002). "Health conditions before Columbus: paleopathology of native North Americans" (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1071659>). *Western Journal of Medicine*. London, England: BMJ. **176** (1): 65–68. doi:10.1136/ewjm.176.1.65 (<https://doi.org/10.1136/ewjm.176.1.65>). PMC 1071659 (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1071659>). PMID 11788545 (<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/11788545>).
292. Reséndez, Andrés (2016). *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=Z2gpCgAAQBAJ&pg=PA17>). Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. p. 17. ISBN 978-0-547-64098-3.
293. Stannard, David E. (1993). *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=RzFsODcGjfcC&pg=PR12>). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press. p. xii. ISBN 978-0-19-983898-1.



294. Koch, Alexander; Brierley, Chris; Maslin, Mark; Lewis, Simon (1 March 2019). "Earth system impacts of the European arrival and Great Dying in the Americas after 1492" (<https://doi.org/10.1016%2Fj.quascirev.2018.12.004>). *Quaternary Science Reviews*. Wollongong, New South Wales: Elsevier. 207: 13–36. Bibcode:2019QSRv..207...13K (<https://ui.adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/2019QSRv..207...13K>). doi:10.1016/j.quascirev.2018.12.004 (<https://doi.org/10.1016%2Fj.quascirev.2018.12.004>). "While most of the other epidemics in history however were confined to a single pathogen and typically lasted for less than a decade, the Americas differed in that multiple pathogens caused multiple waves of virgin soil epidemics over more than a century. Those who survived influenza, may later have succumbed to smallpox, while those who survived both, may then have caught a later wave of measles. Hence, there were documented disease outbreaks in the Americas that killed 30% of the remaining indigenous population over 50 years after initial contact, i.e. between 1568 CE and 1605 CE"
295. Peck, Douglas T. (2009). "The Controversial Skill of Columbus as a Navigator: An Enduring Historical Enigma" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20200705003711/https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/3bcb/6e3fb8c43f27099b9b0cbab75585ac12cdc5.pdf>) (PDF). *The Journal of Navigation*. 62 (3): 417–425. Bibcode:2009JNav...62..417P (<https://ui.adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/2009JNav...62..417P>). doi:10.1017/S0373463309005359 (<https://doi.org/10.1017%2FS0373463309005359>). S2CID 59570444 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:59570444>). Archived from the original (<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/3bcb/6e3fb8c43f27099b9b0cbab75585ac12cdc5.pdf>) (PDF) on 5 July 2020. Retrieved 4 July 2020.
296. Morison 1991, pp. 59, 198–199.
297. Morison 1991, pp. 43–45.
298. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo, 3 vols. (Mexico City, 1951), book 1, chapter 2, 1:29.
299. Phillips, Jr & Phillips 1992, pp. 85–86.
300. Wilson, Ian (1991). *The Columbus Myth: Did Men of Bristol Reach America Before Columbus?* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=DHoLAAAAYAAJ&q=%22made%20in%20his%20lifetime%22>). Simon & Schuster. p. 151. ISBN 978-0-671-71067-5. "Of Columbus, too, none of the familiarly reproduced portraits is thought to have been made in his lifetime."
301. "Portrait of a Man, Said to be Christopher Columbus (born about 1446, died 1506)" (<http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/437645>), Metropolitan Museum of Art
302. Hall, Linda B. (2004). *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas*. University of Texas Press. p. 46. ISBN 978-0-292-70595-1.
303. Phillips, Carla Rahn (20 November 2018). "Visualizing Imperium: The Virgin of the Seafarers and Spain's Self-Image in the Early Sixteenth Century \*". *Renaissance Quarterly*. 58 (3): 816. doi:10.1353/ren.2008.0864 (<https://doi.org/10.1353%2Fren.2008.0864>). ISSN 0034-4338 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0034-4338>). S2CID 233339652 (<https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:233339652>).
304. Morison 1991, pp. 47–48.

## Sources

- Bergreen, Lawrence (2011). *Columbus: The Four Voyages, 1493–1504* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=KbxvDwAAQBAJ>). Penguin Group US. ISBN 978-1-101-54432-7.
- Columbus, Christopher (1847). Major, Richard Henry (ed.). *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus: With Other Original Documents, Relating to His Four Voyages to the New World* (<https://archive.org/details/selectlettersch00colugoog>). London: The Hakluyt Society.

- Columbus, Christopher; Toscanelli, Paolo (2010) [1893]. Markham, Clements R. (ed.). *The Journal of Christopher Columbus (During His First Voyage)* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=MI7dzFQZH0oC>). Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-1-108-01284-3.
- Columbus, Christopher (1991) [1938]. *First Voyage to America: From the log of the "Santa Maria"* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=OxBLxcS5uYgC>). Dover. ISBN 978-0-486-26844-6.
- Columbus, Ferdinand (1571). *A History of the Life and Actions of Adm. Christopher Columbus*. in Churchill, Awnsham (1732). *A Collection of voyages and travels* ([https://archive.org/details/cihm\\_33298](https://archive.org/details/cihm_33298)). Vol. 2. London : Printed by assignment from Messrs. Churchill for John Walthoe ..., Tho. Wotton ..., Samuel Birt ..., Daniel Browne ..., Thomas Osborn ..., John Shuckburgh ... and Henry Lintot ... pp. 501–624.
- Crosby, A.W. (1987) *The Columbian Voyages: the Columbian Exchange, and their Historians*. Washington, DC: American Historical Association.
- Davidson, Miles H. (1997). *Columbus then and now: a life reexamined* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=BR6Ek48GgzEC>). Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press. ISBN 978-0-8061-2934-1.
- Dugard, Martin (2005). *The Last Voyage of Columbus: Being the Epic Tale of the Great Captain's Fourth Expedition, Including Accounts of Swordfight, Mutiny, Shipwreck, Gold, War, Hurricane, and Discovery* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=ImDe4jszJScC>). Little, Brown. ISBN 978-0-7595-1378-5.
- Dyson, John (1991). *Columbus: For Gold, God and Glory* ([https://archive.org/details/columbusforgoldg00dyso\\_0/](https://archive.org/details/columbusforgoldg00dyso_0/)). Madison Press Books. ISBN 978-0-670-83725-0.
- Fuson, Robert H. (1992) *The Log of Christopher Columbus*. International Marine Publishing
- Horwitz, Tony (2008). *A Voyage Long and Strange: Rediscovering the New World* (1st ed.). New York: Henry Holt and Co. ISBN 978-0-8050-7603-5. OCLC 180989602 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/180989602>).
- Joseph, Edward Lanzar (1838). *History of Trinidad* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=3GNZAAAaAAJ>). A.K. Newman & Co.
- Lopez, Barry (1990). *The Rediscovery of North America* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=w9yh9-rhsaQgC>). Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky. ISBN 978-0-8131-1742-3.
- Morison, Samuel Eliot (1991) [1942]. *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. ISBN 978-0-316-58478-4. OCLC 1154365097 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/1154365097>).
- Murphy, Patrick J.; Coye, Ray W. (2013). *Mutiny and Its Bounty: Leadership Lessons from the Age of Discovery* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=yHENYeBsYKEC>). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. ISBN 978-0-300-17028-3.
- Phillips, Jr, William D.; Phillips, Carla Rahn (1992). *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus* (<https://books.google.com/books?id=8jhtzmzLIX70C>). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-0-521-35097-6.
- Zinn, Howard (2003) [1980]. *A People's History of the United States* (<https://archive.org/details/peopleshistoryof00howa/page/1>). New York: HarperCollins. ISBN 978-0-06-052837-9.

## Further reading


---

- *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by His Son Ferdinand*. Translated by Keen, Benjamin. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 1978 [1959]. ISBN 978-0-313-20175-2.
- Smith, Walter George (1906). "Christopher Columbus: An Address Delivered Before the American Catholic Historical Society". *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*. **17** (4): 374–398. JSTOR 44208924 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/44208924>).

- Wey, Gómez Nicolás (2008). *The tropics of empire: Why Columbus sailed south to the Indies* (<http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/137222779>). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. ISBN 978-0-262-23264-7
- Wilford, John Noble (1991), *The Mysterious History of Columbus: An Exploration of the Man, the Myth, the Legacy*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Winsor, Justin (1891). *Christopher Columbus and How He Received and imparted the Spirit of Discovery* (<https://archive.org/stream/christophercolum00winsrich#page/n7/mode/2up>). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

## External links

---

- [Works by Christopher Columbus](https://www.gutenberg.org/author/Columbus,+Christopher) (<https://www.gutenberg.org/author/Columbus,+Christopher>) at Project Gutenberg
- [Works by or about Christopher Columbus](https://archive.org/search.php?query=%28%28subject%3A%22Columbus%2C%20Christopher%22%20OR%20subject%3A%22Christopher%20Columbus%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22Columbus%2C%20Christopher%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22Christopher%20Columbus%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22Columbus%2C%20C%2E%22%20OR%20title%3A%22Christopher%20Columbus%22%20OR%20description%3A%22Columbus%2C%20Christopher%22%20OR%20description%3A%22Christopher%20Columbus%22%29%20OR%20%28%221451-1506%22%20AND%20Columbus%29%29%20AND%20%28-mediatype:software%29) (<https://archive.org/search.php?query=%28%28subject%3A%22Columbus%2C%20Christopher%22%20OR%20subject%3A%22Christopher%20Columbus%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22Columbus%2C%20Christopher%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22Christopher%20Columbus%22%20OR%20creator%3A%22Columbus%2C%20C%2E%22%20OR%20title%3A%22Christopher%20Columbus%22%20OR%20description%3A%22Columbus%2C%20Christopher%22%20OR%20description%3A%22Christopher%20Columbus%22%29%20OR%20%28%221451-1506%22%20AND%20Columbus%29%29%20AND%20%28-mediatype:software%29>) at Internet Archive
- [Works by Christopher Columbus](https://librivox.org/author/348) (<https://librivox.org/author/348>) at LibriVox (public domain audiobooks) 
- [Excerpts from the log of Christopher Columbus's first voyage](http://www.franciscan-archive.org/columbus/opera/excerpts.html) (<http://www.franciscan-archive.org/columbus/opera/excerpts.html>)
- [The Letter of Columbus to Luis de Sant Angel Announcing His Discovery](https://www.bartleby.com/43/2.html) (<https://www.bartleby.com/43/2.html>)
- [Columbus Monuments Pages](http://columbus.vanderkrogt.net/) (overview of monuments for Columbus all over the world) (<http://columbus.vanderkrogt.net/>)
- "But for Columbus There Would Be No America", Tiziano Thomas Dossena, *Bridgepugliausa.it*, 2012 ([http://www.bridgepugliausa.it/articolo.asp?id\\_sez=2&id\\_cat=37&id\\_art=3554](http://www.bridgepugliausa.it/articolo.asp?id_sez=2&id_cat=37&id_art=3554))

---

Retrieved from "[https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Christopher\\_Columbus&oldid=1070705941](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Christopher_Columbus&oldid=1070705941)"

---

This page was last edited on 8 February 2022, at 21:07 (UTC).

Text is available under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike License; additional terms may apply. By using this site, you agree to the Terms of Use and Privacy Policy. Wikipedia® is a registered trademark of the Wikimedia Foundation, Inc., a non-profit organization.