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At the Limits of Legibility: Transatlantic Imperialism and the French Language

Ditter, Evan

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AT THE LIMITS OF LEGIBILITY:
TRANSATLANTIC IMPERIALISM AND THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

Evan Ditter

A DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the impact of transatlantic travel narratives on literary practices in 16th-century France. In particular, I argue that textual representations of the Americas shaped the development of the French language, as well as the greater construction of a national linguistic identity. Examining the works of French travel writers such as Jacques Cartier, Jean de Léry, and André Thevet, as well as early French translations of other European narratives, I trace the influence of travel writing on foundational texts for the transformation of the French language, such as those by Geoffroy Tory and Joachim Du Bellay. These authors sought to reinvent French with an eye to both the past and the present: they conceived of its relationship to ancient languages of learning, particularly Latin, as a colonial one, and evoked examples of France's recent colonial exploits in the Americas in order to reconceive the French vernacular as a newly dominant language. Using methodologies developed by scholars in the history of reading alongside those of decolonial theory, this project examines two histories which have traditionally been studied separately—French colonial history and the history of reading in France—in order to argue that the construction of a "French" linguistic identity cannot be separated from its imperial consequences.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my committee and to the entire department of French and Italian at Princeton for their continued support over the course of this project and my studies.

Portions of this dissertation were presented and published in other forms. Material from chapter 2 appeared in a conference presentation at the Renaissance Society of America in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 2023 and at the Northeast Modern Language Association in Baltimore, MD in 2022. Material from chapter 3 was published as in article in the journal *Exemplaria*, 34, no.4.

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Introduction

This dissertation argues that the dramatic transformation of the French language during the 16th century—the period which established French as the language of law and saw the first printed grammars and dictionaries—cannot be understood in isolation from the global European imperialism that took shape alongside it. In each of the chapters, I examine the impact of French colonial exploration, as represented in travel narratives, on the development of the French vernacular: a relationship that materialized in some of the first printed grammatical, lexicographic, and typographical works in the French language. The project can be distilled two interrelated questions. First, how are projects for the development and codification of the French language driven by imperialism? Second, how do the linguistic dimensions of encounters in the Americas as relayed through European travel narratives—particularly the study of Indigenous languages and the lexicons compiled by colonial explorers—change linguistic theories and hierarchies in France? Overall, this dissertation searches for avenues towards a history that not only points out the colonial underpinning of the paradigmatic changes in the early modern period, but that also emphasizes the impact of traditions and epistemologies of Indigenous North and South American civilizations—including Tupi and other cultures in coastal Brazil, and Haudenosaunee cultures in Canada—on French Renaissance thought. This project attempts to decenter a European national narrative and to place this critical moment for the French language in a global context, to reflect on the legacies of early modern European imperialism.

The following sections outline the key historical background underlying this project, the methodologies and theoretical frameworks employed, and the major arguments of the dissertation

as a whole. These sections, which synthesize material distributed throughout the chapters, will be followed by a brief chapter-by-chapter summary.

France and the development of European imperialism

As European geographic knowledge expanded through global colonial travel, the boundaries of ancient geography were not simply redrawn but indeed imbued with new imperialist implications. Distinctions between what were thought to be "inhabitable" and "uninhabitable" parts of the world—established by philosophers like Aristotle and transmitted and commented for centuries by scholars like Roman geographer Pomponius Mela or 13th-century astronomer Johannes de Sacrobosco—would be discredited by early modern navigators. As Anthony Grafton writes, "western thinkers ceased to believe that they could find all important truths in ancient books," as the "experience of travel contradicted the views of the greatest ancient philosophers."[1] In the place of these geographic divisions, new ideological dichotomies would be invented to justify European colonial expansion. Sylvia Wynter argues that distinctions between the European and the non-European, as well as between Christians and "Idolators," would be recast as a distinction between the "Man" of European humanism and the "irrational human others" beyond Europe; racial hierarchies would be mounted to justify the violent expropriation of vast territories from Indigenous American civilizations and the enslavement of peoples throughout Africa and the Americas.[2]

[1] Anthony Grafton with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi, *New worlds, ancient texts: the power of tradition and the shock of discovery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 1.
[2] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom", *The New Centennial Review*, Volume 3, Number 3, Fall 2003, (pp. 257-337), 266. See also Wynter's "1492: A New World View," in Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas, 5-57. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute, 1995).

The 1493 Treaty of Tordesillas split exclusive rights to colonial expansion to the East and West of Europe between Spain and Portugal, expanding and solidifying boundaries previously established in papal bulls issued by Pope Alexander.[3] The violent colonization of these regions was further rationalized by early modern Europeans through the doctrine of *terra nullius/lands of no one*—the idea that places unoccupied by Christians were justifiably appropriable by European Christians.[4] Although large-scale colonial endeavors would not be officially sponsored by the French monarchy until later in the century, Norman merchants from Honfleur and Dieppe mounted trading expeditions to Brazil as early as 1503 to import Brazilwood used to create red dyes, relying largely on the labor of the Tupinamba people to cut and transport these materials.[5] Accounts of the trade also report considerable amounts of leopard skins, monkeys, parrots and cotton imported in the 1530s, a source of conflict between French and Portuguese merchants—who claimed exclusive trade rights over Brazil—that prompted disputes between French monarch Louis XII and his Portuguese counterpart Don Joao III. At the same time, the regions of North America surrounding Newfoundland and Labrador were said to be well known to Basque Whalers and Norman fishermen, who reportedly sold fish from these regions at markets in Rouen as early as 1510.[6] A

[3] See Olive Patricia Dickason, *The myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas*, (The University of Alberta Press, 1984) 126-129. See also: Surekha Davies*, Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*, (Cambridge University Press: 2016) 47 and 111.

[4] See Olive Patricia Dickason "The Sixteenth-Century French Vision of Empire: The Other Side of Self-Determination," *Decentring the Renaissance : Canada and Europe in multidisciplinary perspective, 1500-1700*. (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 87-110, esp. 89.

[5] Michael Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror: Power Identity and Knowledge in Early Modern France*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 22-24. Olive Patricia Dickason "*The Brazilian connection. A look at the origin of French techniques for trading with Amerindians.*" *In: Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, tome 71, n°264-265, 3e et 4e trimestres 1984, 134-135

[6] Michel Bideaux, "Introduction," In *Jacques Cartier: Relations*, ed. Michel Bideaux, (Montreal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986), 13.

year prior, a number of texts described seven men abducted from Newfoundland being brought to Rouen.[7]

François I took the throne in 1515, and the early years of his reign were largely defined by a continuation of wars in Italy begun by his predecessors, a military defeat in Pavia, and an ongoing rivalry with Spanish monarch and Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV. He therefore envisioned French colonial exploration of North America as a means of regaining geopolitical influence. The king is said to have taken great interest in a 1524 expedition to the eastern coast of North America organized by Giovanni de Verrazzano, a Florentine navigator based in Rouen and belonging to a larger network of Italian merchants in France, who addressed an account of the journey to the monarch.[8] In 1532, François I commissioned Jacques Cartier, a navigator from Saint-Malo said to have previously participated in voyages to Brazil, to mount an expedition to the region in search of new trade passages, as well as gold reported to be there. Cartier led three voyages to present-day Canada; on the first, he abducted the sons of the leader of the village of Stadacona and forced them to serve as guides for further exploration. These voyages, as well as a later one associated with Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval, unsuccessfully attempted to mount French settlements in present-day Quebec—a project which was to be taken up again by Samuel Champlain in the early years of the following century.

In the second half of the century, the French monarchy also sponsored colonial expeditions to Brazil and Florida. In November of 1555, a group of French colonists led by admiral Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon landed in present-day Rio de Janeiro and established a French colony

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[7] "Anno MDIX Septem homines sylvestres, ex ea insula, quae terra nova dicitur, Rothomagi adducti sunt" *Eusebii Cæsariensis Episcopi Chronicon*, (Paris, 1512), 172. See on these reports Vincent Masse, *Newness and Discovery in Early-Modern France, The Invention of Discovery, 1500–1700*, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 177.
[8] Johnathan Hart, *Representing the New World: The English and French Uses of the Example of Spain*, (New York: Palagrave, 2000), 31. Carl Ortwin Sauer, *Sixteenth Century North America: The Land and the People as Seen by the Europeans*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971) 52.

initially intended to further French trading interests, but which eventually became a refuge for French protestants—a short-lived endeavor which was invaded and destroyed by a rival Portuguese colony in 1567.[9] The competing accounts of the voyage—authored by royal geographer André Thevet and protestant pastor Jean de Léry—become some of the most famous travel narratives of the century, providing detailed descriptions of the culture and language of the Tupinamba, who inhabited coastal Brazil. Jean Ribaut and René Goulaine de Laudonnière attempt to establish a similar colony in 1562 in present-day Florida, which will be destroyed by the Spanish in 1565. The narratives of this expedition highlight the reliance of the French on the Timucua, the Indigenous people who inhabited the region, for geographic information on the area and its natural resources. They also describe the creation of linguistic documents recording terms from the Timucua language—a late example of the tendency to document and study Indigenous languages that persists throughout the century, as we will see in later sections.[10]

Travel narratives and colonial imaginaries

Beyond outlining the scope and trajectory of these French colonial endeavors in North and South America, it is equally important to map out the development of what might be called a colonial imaginary: the ensemble of images, narratives, and ideas about imperialism in the Americas that was pervasive throughout Europe during the Renaissance, largely due to the circulation of written accounts of global travel. Even at the turn of the 15th century, the growth of Iberian empires did not escape the notice of French readers. Several editions of the Latin text of

[9] Lestringant, Frank. Le Huguenot et le sauvage : L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de Religion (1555-1589). Troisième édition revue et augmentée. Switzerland: Librairie Droz, 2004. Philip P. Boucher, "Revisioning The 'French Atlantic': Or, How To Think About The French Presence In The Atlantic, 1550–1625." In *The Atlantic World And Virginia*, 1550-1624, Edited By Peter C. Mancall, 274–306. University Of North Carolina Press, 2007, 280.

[10] Dominque de Gourges would return in 1568 to attack the Spanish in retaliation, relying on the military assistance of the Saturiwa chiefdom.

Columbus's letters to the Spanish monarchy would be produced in Paris by Guy Marchant in 1493. A short four-folio tract printed in a convenient and inexpensive quarto format, the *Epistola de insulis de nouo repertis* was likely marketable to university readers near Marchant's printshop.[11] Latin editions of numerous other European travel narratives circulated throughout France and other European countries beyond the Iberian Peninsula, and French translations of some of these narratives also suggest a persistent interest among vernacular readers. As early as 1517, a French translation of *Paesi Novamenti Retrovati,* a travel collection authored by Fracanzano Montalbodo and first published in Venice in 1507, was published under the title *Le nouveau monde et navigacions faictes par Emeric de Vespuce florentin* by Parisian printer Galliot Du Pré. This collection contained text associated with Amerigo Vespucci, Columbus, and Alvise Cadamosto, and thus made these foundational texts available to vernacular readers for the first time. The relative popularity of the publication is suggested by the fact that it was reedited several times in Paris by a number of other printers (Jehan Janot, Phillipe le Noir) within the decade and then again in 1534.[12]

Indeed, although scholars such as Atkinson have suggested a relative disinterest of French vernacular readers toward these transatlantic reports, readers' engagement with these materials was sufficient enough to sustain a sizeable—although somewhat "sporadic," as Gomez-Geraud suggests—production of French translations of travel narratives over the course of the 16th century.[13] In 1523, a French version of Cortez's letters would be published in Antwerp under the

[11] Willingham, Elizabeth Moore. *Mythical Indies and Columbus's Apocalyptic Letter: Imagining the Americas in the Late Middle Ages*. United Kingdom: Sussex Academic Press, 2015.
[12] W. Kemp, « Les éditions du Nouveau Monde et navigations de Vespuce (1517-v. 1534) : diffusion du premier récit de voyage américain imprimé en français », in *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 1994/2, 273-301.
[13] "Si l'entreprise démarre très tôt, les publications restent sporadiques," Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, "Chapitre xv: Récits de voyage," in *Histoire des traductions en langue française xve et xvie siècles (1470-1610)* (Paris: Verdier, 2019), 893. Geoffroy Atkinson, *Les Nouveaux horizons de la renaissance française* (Paris: Droz , 1935).

title *Des marches, iles et pays trouves et conquis par les capitaines du tres illustre Charles V*.[14] Two years later, Parisian printer Simone de Colines published a translation of Antonio de Pigafetta's account of Magellan's circumnavigation, and followed this edition with an excerpted translation of Milanese humanist Peter Martyr's *On the New World* in 1532—the same year that François Juste in Lyon published a translation of Francisco Pizarro's letters titled *Nouvelles certaines des isles du Peru*. This list of translations by notable French printers, in just the first three decades of the century, suggests that although the French monarchy was not yet officially invested in colonial expeditions, transatlantic reports indeed reached and interested vernacular readers, and gave way to an accumulation of colonial imagery and stereotypes that would persist throughout the century: for instance, reports of cannibalism in coastal Brazil, exoticizing descriptions of clothing and bodily adornment or "Edenic" nudity, and dramatized claims about sexual practices of Indigenous civilizations.

Of particular interest for the present study are the aspects of this widespread colonial imaginary related to the linguistic dimension of the colonial encounter. For instance, as will be outlined in greater detail in the third chapter, the narratives of Pigafetta and Cartier published in the first half of the century—along with numerous others published in the second half—will include small vocabulary lists documenting languages such as Tupi spoken in coastal Brazil, or the Haudenosaunee languages of the St. Lawrence Valley. The study of Indigenous languages was an integral part of the European colonial apparatus, sustaining imperialist ambitions by producing knowledge about encountered civilizations. Yet, many of these colonial phrasebooks also resembled, both superficially and in their underlying methodologies, traditional vernacular vocabulary lists which had been printed throughout Europe since the beginning of the century.

[14] Hernán Cortés, *Des marches, iles et pays trouves et conquis par les capitaines du tres illustre Charles V* (Anvers: Hillen van Hoostraten, 1523).

Indeed, despite serving a radically different purpose, transatlantic lexicons were organized by many of the same lexical categories and included similar preoccupations to these traditional genres, which took on a new power dynamic in the colonial context. For instance, colonial phrasebooks inherited not only practical, ready-made phrases for commercial exchanges from these vernacular phrasebooks, but also far less practical lexicographic tendencies deeply embedded in vernacular cultural traditions and ideologies. Among these tendencies was a peculiar obsession with bodily vocabulary, often enumerating terms associated with the body more than vocabulary for any other object, whether cultural, religious, commercial, or otherwise. This concern for the body was commonplace in vernacular wordlists and phrasebooks, which often prioritized bodily vocabulary of a scatological or sexual nature, enumerating corporeal insults in a way that calls to mind the Rabelaisian fascination with the "bas corporel" studied by Bakhtin. Transposed into the transatlantic context, this exposing bodily vocabulary is suggestive of the forms of sexual violence embedded in European colonial travel, and the tendencies of travel narratives to sexualize non-European peoples, relying on the underlying colonial power imbalances of this encounter. At the same time, by framing the body as a primary, essential, shared object between different global civilizations, these vocabulary lists also seem intent on mapping the categories of a universalizing "human" of European humanism onto a global scale—while also laying groundwork for racializing hierarchies by locating human differences within the body.

This view of the world centered on corporality was an essential part of vernacular language ideologies. The body existed at the center of a vernacular, quotidian view of the world: it was a traditional lexical object to begin language learning, and also the site from which emanated spoken language and its oral traditions. humanist authors in France will utilize the human figure to embody and symbolize complex notions of cultural and linguistic identity. For instance, royal typographer

Geoffroy Tory will map typographical designs onto human figures inspired by the Vitruvian man, in an elaborate project to assert the essential merits of the French language, as will be further examined in the first chapter. Similarly, as we will examine in the third chapter, an imaginary uncovering and covering of the body—nakedness, nudity, clothing, and bodily adornment—will serve as a metaphorical framework both for vernacular poets and midcentury spelling reformers to rethink the relationship between speech and writing, with writing often being conceived as obstructive clothing for the voice. Corporeal imagery, as the site of precultural identity, an essentializing identarian object, served a crucial symbolic function within the overall imaginary of vernacular reinvention.[15]

Moreover, the fact that this corporeal imaginary of language is transposed into colonial wordlists is just one example of an overarching imbrication of developing vernacular ideologies of language and the early history of French colonialism. Colonial phrasebooks placed the French vernacular in a new position of power, claiming a universalizing capacity to describe, define, and categorize civilizations beyond Europe. Within this context, bodily vocabulary seems to reveal the larger ideologies underpinning French colonial narratives and images: a preoccupation with what it means to be human, but also ideologies of human differences which precondition and underlie the history of a notion like race. Throughout the 16th century, the spread of humanism throughout Europe promulgated the return of classical models of learning: the *studia humanitatis* as a means of reimagining the place of humans within expanding knowledge of the world. The "darker side" of these intellectual changes (as Walter Mignolo puts it) was an underlying shift that began to

[15] See on this Timothy Hampton, *Literature and Nation in the Sixteenth Century: Inventing Renaissance France*. (Cornell University Press, 2018), 22-24.

reframe *European* culture, knowledge, and civilization as "*Human*" culture, knowledge, and civilization—a narrative of cultural superiority designed to rationalize global imperialism.[16]

Language, empire, and the prehistory of the nation

Global colonial encounters of the early modern period would also help consolidate cultural identities in Europe, which were, as Vanita Seth argues, "fraught, tenuous, and fractured."[17] At the dawn of the 16th century, the kingdom which spans much of what is present-day France was an assemblage of territories that spoke numerous regional languages, governed by a persistent tension between regional courts and the ambitions of a centralized monarchical power—dynamics which will remain present well into the following centuries. Throughout the early modern period, France was perpetually redefining itself politically, intellectually, and geographically. "Lacking the natural boundaries that set off the island state of England and the peninsulas of Iberia and Italy," writes Timothy Hampton, "the integrity and the definition of France had to be constantly addressed by the French throne."[18] As Hampton shows, literary production, alongside linguistic development, would play a crucial role in the prehistory of the French nation, as constitutive components of an early modern political apparatus designed to promote a cohesive political identity across vast spatial expanses, and to distinguish France from neighboring European countries.

The intellectual movements of the 15th and 16th centuries are often discussed as pivotal moments in the prehistory of European nationhood and nationalism, in which communities would be constructed through attempts at standardizing vernacular languages. If vernacular languages had already become increasingly important in law and literature in the 13th and 14th centuries, the

[16] Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995)
[17] Vanita Seth, *Europes Indians: Producing Racial Difference,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 28.
[18] Timothy Hampton, *Literature and Nation in the Sixteenth Century: Inventing Renaissance France*, 7.

humanist revival of classical antiquity brought a renewed interest not only in ancient languages, but also in vernacular grammar, lexicography, and poetics. Although the study of Latin and the production of neo-Latin texts remain important throughout Europe, this century will bring about a swell of celebrations of the vernacular languages throughout Europe—such as Du Bellay's *La Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse* which expanded the philosophies that already underpinned texts like Dante's 14th-century *De vulgari eloquentia*. Alongside these treatises, numerous vernacular grammars, dictionaries, and linguistic treatises circulate as printed books at an unprecedented scale.

The codification of French and other vernaculars is accelerated by the widespread expansion of printing throughout Europe, which will bring about increasing linguistic regularity––as much through technical innovation, Adrian Johns suggests, as through the careful and intentional efforts of printers.[19] Printing established new standards and methods for controlling and distributing the circulation of information in vernacular languages. Natalie Zemon Davis has shown that even during this period in which literacy rates remained low, printing offered the French urban populations "new networks of communication, facilitating new options for the people, and also providing new means of controlling the people."[20] Printing patents, or *Privilèges du Roi,* became increasingly linked to censorship over the course of the century, and the famous yet brief prohibition of printing proclaimed by François I after the *affaire des placards* in 1538 accelerated the expansion of monarchical oversight and censorship of printed material.[21]

[19] Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 36.
[20] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Printing and People," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis* (Stanford University Press, 1975), 190.
[21] Henri-Jean Martin, *The French Book: Religion, Absolutism and Readership, 1585-1715*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 34.

Parallel to this increasing control over printing, this period also saw the rise of important legislation aimed at consolidating centralized monarchical power by means of language. As Katie Chenoweth suggests, "vernacular language and print come to act, in tandem, as cultural and political technologies for the exercise of sovereignty."[22] The famous 1539 Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts, which declared that all juridical proceedings "registres, enquestes, contractz, commissions, sente[n]ces, testamens et autres quelzconques actes & exploictz de iustice" be written and published "en langage maternel francoys" built upon prior ordinances instituted by Charles VIII and Louis XII, which had worked to establish regional vernaculars for juridical and legal proceedings while narrowing their scope to privilege the language of the king and the court.[23] Over the course of the century, printing will facilitate the standardization of vernacular languages alongside the centralization of political power, a process which continues into the ensuing centuries.

What remains understudied about these 16th-century developments so often framed as the foundations of the French vernacular and national identity is their inextricability from the European imperialist project. As Mignolo suggests, colonial travel and its narratives "helped to construct the idea of Europe in the process of inventing a New World."[24] The identarian discourse which seems to prefigure French national identity was, in some ways, redefined and shaped as its schemas were violently projected onto the Americas. For instance, humanists in France would persistently turn to classical texts—from Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (Commentary on the Gallic Wars) to the works of Lucian of Samosata—to situate ancestral French identity within

[22] Katie Chenoweth, *The Prosthetic Tongue: Printing Technology and the Rise of the French Language*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 241.
[23] François Ier, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le fait de la justice et abbreviation des proces,* (Paris: Denis Janot for Jean André, Jean Bonhomme and Galliot du Pré, 1539).
[24] Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, 264.

the trajectory of Roman imperialism, and find models and imaginaries for new forms of European imperialism precisely by conceptualizing France's shift from the position of dominated to dominant.[25] This dynamic will be a recurring preoccupation of this dissertation. Ancient linguistic imperialism will serve not only as a model for new vernacular language empires, but also as the point of articulation between domestic endeavors to regulate and control vernacular language within France, and the colonial ambitions directed outward towards the Americas. Peter Burke suggests that "the analogy or connection between language and empire had become a topos" in early modern Europe.[26] As we will see in chapter 1, humanist authors like Guillaume Budé will instrumentalize Roman history in attempts to convince François I of the political potential of literary and humanistic studies.[27] Other European humanists like Antonio de Nebrija had made similar claims for Castilian and the growth of the Spanish empire, inspired by the rhetoric of earlier humanists like Lorenzo Valla, who asserted that ancient empires were built more through words than war—claims echoed in Geoffroy Tory's 1529 *Champ fleury*.

The limits of legibility

For many humanist authors, enterprises of reading and writing were also practices of state building, inspired by ancient political trajectories and defined in opposition to medieval textual

[25] Alexander Lee, *Humanism and Empire: The Imperial Ideal in Fourteenth-century Italy*. (Oxford University Press, 2018). Scholars such as Sara Melzer and Michael Wintroub have suggested that new colonial dynamics in the Western hemisphere shifted France's underlying relationship to the ancient world, providing, for instance, a means of reimagining the historical interactions between the Gauls and the Roman Empire. Sara Melzer, *Colonizer or Colonized*: *The Hidden Stories of Early Modern French Culture*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press 2003), 149.

[26] Peter Burke, *Languages and communities in early modern Europe*. (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 22.

[27] Already in 1509, Claude de Seyssel had addressed a text to Louis XII explaining that the Romans, seeking to expand and solidify their empire, "n'ont trouue autre moyen plus certain ne plus seur que de magnifier, enrichir et submlimer leur langue latine, qui du commencement de leur empire estoit bien maigre et bien rude"—a linguistic instrument which could be subsequently turned outwards towards the "païs et prouinces et peuples par eux conquis." Claude de Seyssel, "Le Prologve de Messire Clavde de Seyssel," In *Les Histoires universelles de Trogue Pompée*, Paris: Vascosan, Michel, 1559, f. aaij [r]. Cited by Ferdinand Brunot, "Un Projet d' 'Enrichir, Magnifier et Publier' La Langue Française En 1509." *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de La France* 1, no. 1 (1894), 27.

models. For instance, as studied in more depth in the first chapter, the shape of letters—whether the ornate curves of gothic blackletter or the imposing lines of roman capitals—told the story of the rise and fall of states and civilizations. French authors like Geoffroy Tory, drew on the humanist narratives constructed by Valla and others, which claimed that the "Gothic" scripts of medieval manuscripts did not simply inhibit legibility, but that this obstruction was an indication of inferior civilizations—the scars of Visigoth invasions which threatened the transmission of classical Greco-Roman civilization. This narrative of civilizational decline and ascension will fuel calligraphic and typographical revolutions in France; by the second half of the sixteenth century, as France launched colonial expeditions and envisioned empires modeled after ancient Rome, Roman-style letters will be widely adopted in printed French books, in the place of ornamental "Gothic" scripts. In this sense, humanist aesthetics can be said to have redefined the terms and parameters of legibility, changing the European notion of what properly constituted the letter while imbuing it with specific political ideologies. The narratives and aesthetics that humanists associated with the term "Gothic" would not simply be rejected in Europe; the very ideology underlying this project—the idea that practices of reading and writing somehow constituted the markers of superior civilizations—would also be projected onto the civilizations of the Americas, by figures like Jacques Cartier and André Thevet, to craft justifications for imperial endeavors.

If typologies of letters contained narratives of political ascension and decline, the capacity for spelling to represent or misrepresent spoken language was similarly considered by some humanist authors as a political issue. For figures like Nebrjia, for instance, phonetic spelling—summarized in his famous axiom "to write as we pronounce and to pronounce as we write" ("escrivir como pronunciamos: y pronunciar como escrivimos")—was a means of controlling the voice and spoken traditions by means of the letter, which he saw as a key component of state

building and colonial expansion.[28] In France, a desire to clearly represent spoken patterns with letters phonetically, and a rejection of unintuitive and obstructive etymological spellings—such as the preservation of c in "dict" or "faict" to suggest the Latin *dictum* or *factum*—will be framed by linguistic reformers, such as Lyonnais translator Louis Meigret, not simply as an impediment to reading French, but as an obstacle to discerning a distinct French national identity from the backdrop of Roman history.[29] In this sense, the legibility of the French vernacular in its written form was not simply a technical or grammatical question, but a political dilemma with identarian stakes. If the phonetic spelling reforms outlined by Meigret and others do not receive nearly the same traction as similar attempts in other European countries like Spain, these projects can be nevertheless credited, as Chenoweth demonstrates, with the widespread adoption of many of the accents used in French today.[30]

As the limits of legibility were carefully redefined and shaped by French authors throughout the century, new linguistic practices were defined by contesting and rejecting existing practices of reading and writing, in many cases narrowing the range of possible practices to the restrictive confines of the humanist definition of the letter. This was, of course, not merely the case within the borders of Europe but also in the ways that these philosophies of language were projected onto the civilizations Europeans encountered in the Americas and elsewhere. Travel narratives demonstrate how humanist practices of reading served to narrow the lens through which humanist authors understood the cultural practices of non-European cultures, in particular for questions of language. As Walter Mignolo remarks, "the model of writing and the book embedded in the European Renaissance […] erased many of the possibilities for different writing systems

[28]Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana,* (Salamanca: Juan de Porras, 1492) f. c.i [r]. See Mignolo's analysis in *The Darker Side of the Renaissance,* 41.
[29] Louis Meigret, *Traité touchāt le commvn vsage de l'escritvre francoise,* (Paris: Denis Janot, 1542), f. Bviii
[30] Katie Chenoweth, *The Prosthetic Tongue,* esp. 149-150.

and sign carriers."[31] For instance, the narratives of Cartier's expeditions to Canada mention cultural practices such as Wampum—shell beads used for storytelling, to record treaties and historical events, and as currency—only in passing, without showing expansive interest in its use by the Haudenosaunee.[32] By contrast, the scribe draws particular, even peculiar, attention to the types of letters (Gothic and Roman capitals) used to inscribe the colonial monuments the French leave behind—a subtle indication that French interpretations of the Haudenosaunee were perhaps not simply conditioned by extractive economic interests or missionary ideologies, but by a humanist narrative of the links between letters and civilizations. In this sense, although some humanists may have actively criticized European colonial expansion, many of the overarching ideologies of humanism served to rationalize extractive commerce and colonial violence, and narrow the lens through which Europeans experienced the world—even as new geographic knowledge broadened the horizons of the world known to them.

Mapping spaces and language

The development of new cartographical techniques over the course of the century provided new avenues to imagine interconnectivity between vast spatial expanses, reframing the notion of Europe while drawing new colonial borders. Indeed, as Katharina N. Piechocki argues, "revisiting, translating, editing, and imitating ancient texts under the aegis of cartography became […] an opportunity to experience and design Europe anew."[33] Novel technologies for imagining the world—which, as we will see, would have a decisive impact in disciplines well beyond

[31] Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance,* 83.
[32] The narrative does not seem to imagine greater significance for Wampum beyond currency, remarking simply the Haudenosaunee "usent comme nous faisons d'or et d'argent et le tiennent la plus precieuse chose du monde" *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 153.
[33] Katharina N. Piechocki, Cartographic Humanism: The Making of Early Modern Europe, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 22.

cartography—developed in part out of the humanist revival of the texts of classical antiquity. Although Ptolemy's works circulated with maps since at least the thirteenth century, new manuscript and printed copies produced throughout the 15th and 16th centuries provided opportunities to expand ancient geographic methods to fit growing European knowledge of the globe. As John R. Short argues, "Ptolemy's *Geography* was a publishing genre that allowed scholars to work on an old theme while also developing new twists: new projections, new maps, new ways of looking at a new world."[34] For instance, one edition is produced in 1513 in Strasbourg, at the workshop associated with cartographers Martin Waldseemüller and Matthias Ringmann—this is also where, in 1507, the first printed globe to depict the Americas, the so-called Waldseemüller globe, was produced.[35] Ringmann had connections at the university of Paris, where he was taught by humanist scholar, translator, and theologian Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples. As Richard J. Oosterhoff has shown, Lefevre, along with students such as Charles de Bovelles and Josse Clichtove, would have a decisive impact on university curriculum by recentering it around mathematical thinking, which laid groundwork, in many respects, for cartographic developments in France and Europe. Lefevre produced new commentated editions of classic textbooks like Johannes de Sacrobosco's *Treatise on the Sphere.* Lefevre encouraged practical applications of Sacrobosco's work, reframing its theories in a way which significantly impact the genre of

[34] John R. Short, *Making space: revisioning the world, 1475-1600*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004), 23.
[35] Martin Waldseemüller and Matthias Ringmann, *Cosmographiae Introductio, cum quibusdam geometriae ac astronomiae principiis ad eam rem necessariis. Insuper quatuor Americi Vespucii navigationes* (St. Dié: [Gaulthier Ludd], 1507). On the printed wall map, globe and text see Ute Obhof, "The Terrestrial Globe That Named America: on Historical Preservation of Martin Waldseemüller's Gores." *Globe Studies*, no. 55/56 (2009): 13–21. The 1513 edition of Ptolemy's text would be followed by a series of other editions in 1520, 1522, 1525, and a 1535 edition published in Lyon which recycled material from one of these previous editions—followed by a Greek edition published by Parisian Christian Wechel in 1546. Patrick Gautier Dalché, "The Reception of Ptolemy's Geography (End of the Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)" In *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward, (University of Chicago Press, 2007), 361. (See Appendix 9.1 "Ptolemy's Geography, Editions from 1475 to 1650")

cosmography in France.[36] Lefevre's work would be particularly influential for a figure like humanist mathematician Oronce Fine, royal lecturer in mathematics at the university of Paris, who would several important maps of the world and an important textbook entitled *De Mundi Sphera sive Cosmographia* in 1542.[37]

Latin geographical texts and theoretical works were increasingly translated into French over the course of the century, in part as an attempt to build theoretical language in the French vernacular. Oronce Fine translated many of his own works into the vernacular, for instance his 1551 *Le sphere du monde,* which was based on his *Du Mundi Sphera.*[38] Already, in 1511, Charles de Bovelles published his *Geometrie en francoys*, one of the first printed scientific works in the vernacular, which outlined important geometric fundamentals for cosmography, and was reprinted in 1546 with explicit cosmographic details and illustrations produced by Fine. The works of other European geographers such as Peter Apian would also be translated into French in the middle of the century, printed in Paris by Vivant Gaulterot in 1551 and 1553 under the title *La cosmographie de Pierre Apian, libure tresutile, traictant de toutes les regions*: a text which included the 1529 additions of Dutch cartographer Gemma Frisius.

Normandy, an epicenter of global travel during the first half of the 16th century, was also an important locale for the manufacture of richly decorated manuscript atlases and maps. Surekha Davies points to the fact that these works—many of which were decorated with the royal coat of

[36] Oosterhoff argues that Lefevre's "commentary on Sacrobosco's *Sphere* invents the kind of cosmographical manual that would define the Renaissance, with a visual apparatus that could give readers the techniques needed to use ephemerides and maps." Richard J. Oosterhoff, Making Mathematical Culture: University and Print in the Circle of Lefèvre d'Étaples, (Oxford University Press, 2018), 24

[37] For a general account of cartographic developments in France over the course of the 16th century see Frank Lestringant and Monique Pelletier, "Maps and Descriptions of the World in Sixteenth Century France." in *The History of Cartography,* vol. 3, (esp. 1464-1466 on Oronce Fine). On Fine, see also John R. Short, *Making Space*, 42 and Tom Conley, *The self-made map: cartographic writing in early modern France*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 88-91.

[38] Oronce Fine, *Le Sphere du Monde , proprement ditte Cosmographie* (Paris: Michael de Vascosan, 1551)

Henri II—were likely gifts to the monarch and served as a "hint to a recipient the ways in which the donor could give them control over desirable regions."[39] As Davies demonstrates, early modern European maps not only "made arguments about the relationship of human societies, bodies and cultures to their environments" but also "contained visual codes that made claims about the civility/barbarism of the communities they mapped, claims that had implications for subsequent cultural encounters and, to an extent, for colonial administration."[40] More generally, Walter Mignolo provides the important reminder that these images of the totalized globe were deeply embedded in colonial power structures: "putting the Americas on the map from the European perspective was not necessarily a task devoted to finding the true shape of the earth; it was also related to controlling territories and colonizing the imagination of people on both sides of the Atlantic."[41]

The globalizing pretentions underlying this growing geographic knowledge ultimately produce new fantasies of building totalizing knowledge in other disciplines. Ayesha Ramachandran has pointed to an early modern preoccupation with what she calls "worldmaking," which she defines not only as "the methods by which early modern thinkers sought to imagine, shape, revise, control, and articulate the dimensions of the world" but also "the conceptual, imaginative, and metaphysical challenges posed by the task of envisioning an abstract totality."[42] New geographic methods, instruments and knowledge had a larger epistemological impact by providing new structures for imagining large and complex phenomena. Tom Conley has pointed to a "revery of totalization" provoked by cartography, as "writers borrow from a stock of geometric

[39] Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*, 116.
[40] Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*, 2 and 6.
[41] Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 281.
[42] Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe*, (University of Chicago Press, 2015), 6.

and cartographic commonplaces […] to map out creations that are totalities much greater than their authors' own appreciation or conscious knowledge of them."[43] Expanding knowledge of the world, in particular the Western Hemisphere, produces what Conley calls a "new relation to the unknown," in which the unknown "was to be conquered, or at least to become known insofar as the gain of knowledge would assure the discoverers founding illusion."[44] These illusions of totalizing knowledge and totalized visions of the globe look at earth, Phillip John Usher argues, "as if from nowhere," fueling extractive European colonial commerce and presenting earth as an object for European consumption—a vision which, as Usher shows, can be balanced against other humanist thinkers like Montaigne and Ronsard, who in some ways attempt to imagine the globe relationally, and, in doing so, seem to "counter the unrestrained European desire for huge scale extraction."[45]

As will be studied in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, these new frameworks for imagining the world would have a particular impact on linguistic study. David Paxman argues that "spatial ideas constantly informed linguistic thought" during the early modern period, in part because they were facing similar problems of visualizing and studying complex and immense realities.[46] Moreover, for French authors who were examining questions of language, such as Charles de Bovelles—who writes a sweeping examination of the diversity and instability of vernacular languages within the French territory in 1533—the development of language and differences between languages were conceived as intimately related to space. This was in some ways a legacy of the biblical anecdote of the Tower of Babel, which structured ideas about

[43] Tom Conley, *The self-made map*, 5 and 10.
[44] Tom Conley, *The self-made map*, 8.
[45] Phillip John Usher, *Exterranean: Extraction in the Humanist Anthropocene* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019), 71.
[46] David B. Paxman, *Voyage into Language: Space and the Linguistic Encounter, 1500–1800*. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 21.

linguistic diversity until at least the 18th century when, as Edward Gray argues, it was gradually replaced by ideologies of intrinsic linguistic inequalities and the evolution of languages.[47] The construction of the mythical tower is said to be driven by the threat of geographic dispersion as much as linguistic division. As the scene is recounted in Lefevre d'Etaples' 1530 translation of the Bible (as we will see, a controversial example of linguistic pluralism itself), the architects declare: "venez faisons pour nous une cité/et une tour de laquelle le couppeau touche iusques au ciel: et magnifions nostre nom devant que nous soyons divisez en toutes les terres."[48] And the eventual divine punishment for this act of hubris equally targets spatial dispersion: "*les divisa le Seigneur de ce lieu la en toutes les terres* et cesserent de edifier la cite."[49] Babel situated linguistic difference alongside geographic distance; for thinkers like Bovelles, these spatial expanses were the persistent barriers which create divisions of language.

In order to gain a systematic vision of the French vernacular, therefore, it was necessary to find a systematic way of thinking about language and space. Lefevre d'Etaples will seem to embody the impact of cartographic developments in the linguistic domain, with his innovative Latin grammar entitled *Grammatographia*, which depicted Latin grammar as a totality using visual diagrams inspired by maps. Although for both Bovelles and Lefevre, Latin remains the primary means of gaining such global insights into larger linguistic structures, Lefevre includes French translations throughout much of the *Grammatographia,* suggesting the vernacular, and indeed global, implications of its methods.

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[47] Edward G. Gray, *New World Babel: Languages and Nations in Early America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 5.
[48] *Traduction de la saincte Bible en francoys, translatée selon la pure et entiere traduction de Sainct Hierome, conferee et entierement revistee selon les plus anciens et plus correctz exemplaires du sus ung chascun chaptire est mis brief argument…* (Anvers: Martin Lempereur, 1530), f. iiii [v].
[49] *Traduction de la saincte Bible*, f. iiii [v]. Emphasis added.

In more ways than one, the early modern idea of the globe relied on the forces of translation. If globes translated vast spaces into small manipulable representations, and maps rendered the curved surface of the earth in flat printable paper, early modern translators saw themselves as producing similarly global visions, by facilitating the circulation of information into vernacular languages. Vernacular translations of geographic texts and travel narratives not only introduced new cartographic vocabulary into the French language, but also situated the French language within the context of larger global exchanges, comparing French to other languages both within and beyond Europe, providing new points of comparison beyond the languages of antiquity, and helping to reimagine the French vernacular as a coherent whole. This domestic consolidation of the French vernacular in turn allowed for the newly valorized language to be deployed as an instrument of empire abroad.

Methodological remarks

Early modern authors frequently compiled vast travel collections about places they had never visited and printed manuals for languages they mostly did not speak. In order to understand the development of French language and culture during this period of early imperialism and global travel, it becomes necessary to rely on, even while working to critique, these inherently biased and Eurocentric ways in which Indigenous languages and cultures were translated and mediated by early modern authors. As Eric Cheyfitz justly recalls, the "the early voyagers […] knew virtually nothing of the native languages of the Americas, even as they freely translated them," and it therefore remains crucial "to ask what 'translation' means under such circumstances."[50] There is no straightforward way to break free of the Eurocentric character of these historical materials. In

[50] Eric Cheyfitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), xxi.

many cases, a critique must be formulated within the language and constraints of these documents. The central claim of this project is that the development of the French language and culture during the 16th century is inextricably linked to the violence of early modern imperialism. For this reason, claims about Indigenous languages are persistently envisioned and interrogated from the Eurocentric perspective, more often than the perspective of Indigenous actors and frameworks. My hope, however, is that demonstrating the imbrication of these national and colonial histories will not only open avenues towards acknowledging the global violence of early modern European cultural developments, but also reveal how these European encounters with civilizations beyond Europe—whether the Tupi in Brazil or the Haudenosaunee in Canada—in fact deeply shaped and contributed to the intellectual changes which have been previously studied as simply French or European history.

Indeed, such linguistic encounters merit attention precisely because, as Sean P. Harvey and Sarah Rivett suggest, they "bear testimony to the ways Native languages shaped Euro-American intellectual, cultural, and religious history" while also "transform[ing] previous rubrics for understanding American Indian resistance to linguistic imperialism into a social fact with an archive and a material history."[51] Therefore, documents like transatlantic wordlists, studied in Chapter 3, serve to illustrate not only colonial attempts of erasure, but also what Gerald Vizenor has termed the *survivance* of the linguistic traditions they represent.[52] Indeed, for some time and particularly over the course of the past decade, historical documents such as dictionaries and wordlists have become important tools for linguistic revitalization work undertaken by a number of Indigenous nations and communities. To take an example, in just the past year, numerous online

[51] Sean P. Harvey and Sarah Rivett, "Colonial-Indigenous Language Encounters in North America and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World." *Early American Studies* 15 (no. 3), 2017, 446.
[52] Gerald Vizenor, *Native Liberty: Natural Reason and Cultural Survivance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

language resources have been developed for the Timucua language spoken in northern Florida and southern Georgia, drawing on the information provided by Indigenous actors recorded in 16th- and 17th-century colonial documents. Similar efforts have been undertaken for numerous other Indigenous languages long considered sleeping or dormant. Although this revitalization work has not been thematized within this dissertation, the analyses and future directions of this research remain sensitive to the resistance and survival of the cultures and languages within historical materials. The early narratives of French imperialism, by nature Eurocentric, often fail to provide clear or overt perspectives from Indigenous actors and informants, and thereby obscure these records of resistance; yet this dissertation remains invested in the survivance of Indigenous language and culture, by pointing to ambiguous ways through which colonial encounters challenge European attempts to categorize and dominate the civilizations encountered in the Western hemisphere.

Outline of chapters

Over the course of the 16th century, the colonial imaginaries constructed by transatlantic travel narratives, and shaped by global imperialism and humanist thought, would remain imbricated in language politics in France. Indeed, one of the major arguments of this dissertation is that these various historical trajectories cannot be understood independently of the others. For instance, the oft-repeated stereotypes of travel collections would become an integral part of the philosophies of language of figures like Louis Meigret and Jacques Pelletier du Mans in France. Likewise, the superficial remarks on Indigenous languages by colonial travelers would both reshape and be shaped by existing practices for studying European languages. Similarly, the

reinvention of the French vernacular outlined by figures from Geoffroy Tory to Joachim Du Bellay remains inseparable from its global imperialist ambitions.

Each chapter envisions these overlaps and imbrications from a different angle. In the first chapter, I show that inscriptions on French colonial monuments in Canada in the 1530s took inspiration from Geoffroy Tory's humanist typographical treatise, which sought to revive ancient imperial monumental letterforms for geopolitical power and influence. In the following chapter, I show that a growing fascination in France with the voice and spoken aspects of language (manifested concretely by the development of accents and phonetic spelling) drew on an imaginary inspired by reports of oral traditions of Indigenous American civilizations. The third chapter works within the domain of lexicography, and argues that shared methodologies between a tradition of vernacular phrasebooks and colonial linguistics in the Americas reveal previously understudied links between colonial exploration and European theories of language. Finally, I examine the way that changes in the European vision of the world, materialized on paper through maps and globes, provided a methodological basis for imagining another difficult-to-envision totality: the French language, as a coherent and self-same entity. Ultimately, each of these four chapters returns to the notion of legibility, in order to show that the European experience of reading was transformed by the colonial encounter with the civilizations of the Western hemisphere.

Chapter 1

The Untimely Letters of Empire:

Geoffroy Tory's "Attic" Letters in Colonial Canada

Upon arriving on the Gaspé Peninsula in Quebec on the 24th of July 1534, Jacques Cartier and his crew are said to have raised a landmark claiming the territory for France. An anonymous manuscript describes the monument in detail: a large wooden cross is erected in the presence of a large group of Haudenosaunee people of the village of Stadacona, engraved with the words "VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE" written, the author specifies, in a traditional, formal Gothic script ("grosse lettre de forme").[53] A similar monument will be constructed the following year, during Cartier's a second expedition. The anonymous account of Cartier's second voyage—which, unlike that of the first voyage, will be the object of a printed edition—describes the monument in equally striking detail.[54] This cross bears a coat of arms and another inscription, a dedication to the king in Latin: "PRIMUS, DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX, REGNAT" (François I, by the grace of God, King of the French, is sovereign).[55] The description again provides specifications about the lettering,

[53] *Relations*, ed. Michel Bideaux, (Montreal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986), 116. This edition reproduces the version of the anonymous text thought to be the oldest, from the manuscript Moreau 841, discovered at the Bibliothèque Nationale by librarian Henri-Victor Michelant, and first published in 1867. Prior to this edition, the narrative of the first voyage existed only in an Italian translation by geographer Giovanni Battista Ramusio which was translated back into French at the end of the century (1598) under the title *Discours du voyage fait par le capitaine Iacques Cartier* (Rouen: Raphael du Petit Val), 1598. The mention of the Gothic *lettre de forme* is absent from these other editions. Ramusio refers simply to majuscule letters: "scrittura intagliata nel legno in lettere maiuscule," which the edition by du Petit Val translates as: "ecrit en grosses lettres entaillees en du bois," Ramusio, 375, du Petit Val, 54.
[54] Anonymous, *Brief recit, & succincte narration, de la nauigation faicte es ysles de Canada, Hochelage & Saguenay & autres,* (Paris: Ponce Roffet, 1545).
[55] *Relations,* ed. Bideaux, 178. This edition reproduces the text of the second voyage from the 1545 edition entitled *Brief Recit* alonside variants from three manuscripts which exist in the BnF (MS "A" 5653, MS "B" 5589 , MS "C" 5644).

describing not Gothic *lettre de forme* but an inscription "escript en lettre attique," lettering a modern reader might simply call Roman capitals.[56]

Throughout the period of early European imperialism in the Americas, crosses were commonly used by navigators as a sign of a claim of title, or of territorial possession.[57] What is peculiar, however, in these two French accounts, is the unnamed author's insistence on the script used to inscribe the cross—though less peculiar, perhaps, when one considers the linguistic context in which the account is published. In the early years of the 16th century, typefaces often reflected the language, genre or intended audience of a printed or manuscript text. Before the widespread use of Roman typefaces in French printing, formal Gothics such as the *lettre de forme* (see figure 1) were often used for scholarly, theological, or philosophical texts, whereas vernacular texts were printed in a less formal Gothic *batârde* (see figure 2).[58] The term "lettre Attique" is found in a 1529 typographical treatise by humanist printer Geoffroy Tory entitled *Champ fleury*.[59] Tory's treatise provides instructions to produce these Roman capital letters, inspired by Roman lapidary inscriptions, which he nevertheless declines to call "Romaines,"

[56] Although I will primarily refer to Tory's spelling for "Attic" throughout my discussion, I would note in passing the distinction in orthography and capitalization between Tory's ("lettre *A*ttique") and Cartier's spelling ("lettre *a*tti*c*que"). *Relations,* ed. Bideaux,178.

[57] The practice of placing a cross on a territory to be seized by a European monarch was a common ritual of possession. These crosses often bore the coat of arms of the monarch. Leslie C. Green, "Claims to Territory in Colonial America", in *The Law of Nations and the New World*, (Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1993), 7. This was already famously the case with Columbus at the end of the 15th century. In a letter from Columbus to the Monarchs of Spain, the navigator writes, "in all the countries visited by your highnesses' ships, I have caused a high cross to be fixed upon every headland, and have proclaimed to every nation I have discovered, the lofty estate of your highnesses. Christopher Columbus, S*elect Letters of Christopher Columbus: with Other Original Documents, Relating to His Four Voyages to the New World*, (London: England Hakluyt Society, 1847), 247.

[58] Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance: Selected Papers on Sixteenth-century Typeface*s, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 12.

[59] Geoffroy Tory, *Champ fleury, Au quel est contenu Lart et Science de la deue et vraye Proportion des lettres Attiques, quon dit autrement Lettres antiques et vulgairement Lettres romaines, proportionnees selon le Corps et Visage humain*, Paris, Geoffroy Tory & Gilles de Gourmont, 1529.

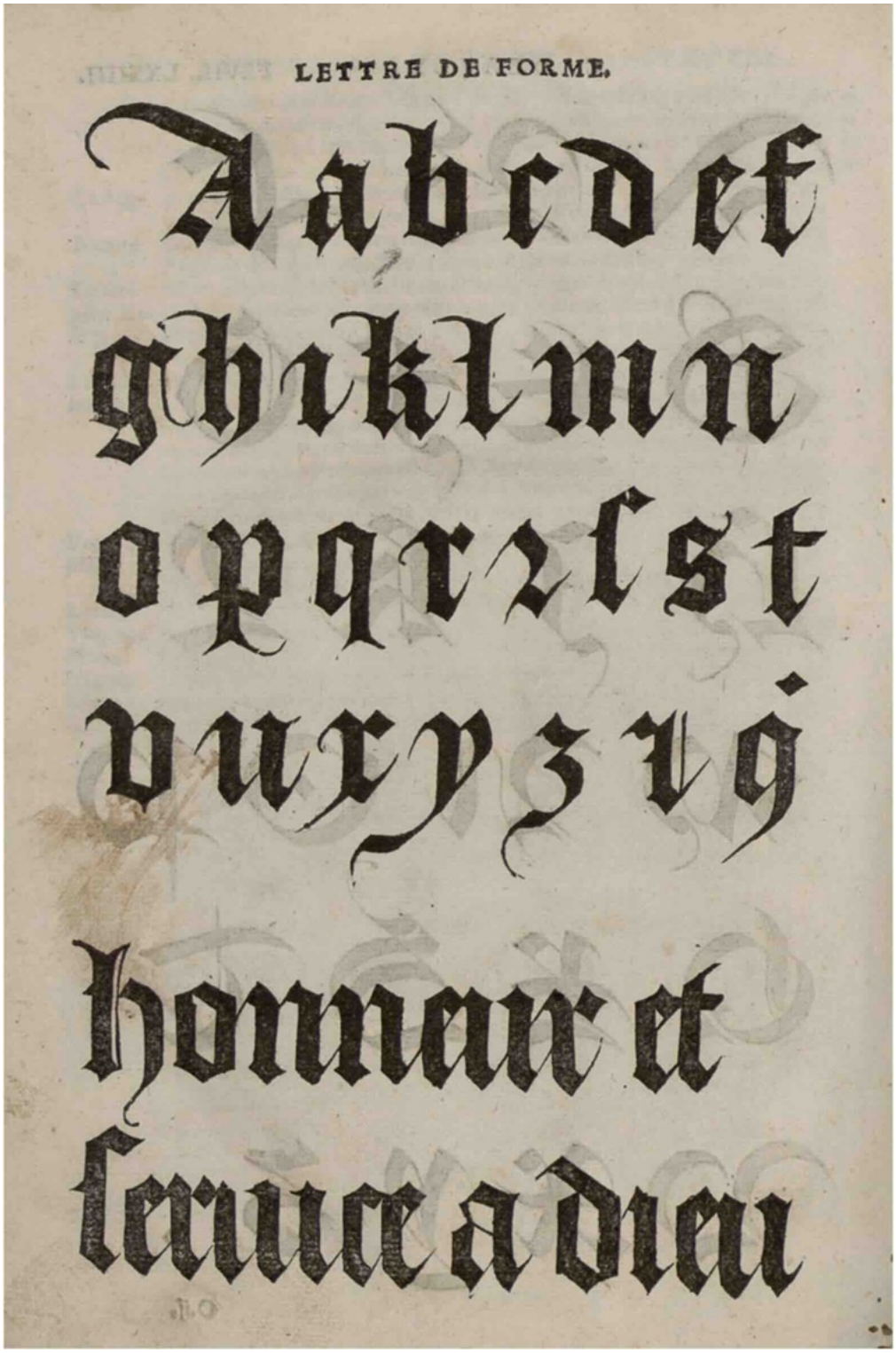

Figure 1: Examples of the *Lettre de Forme* provided in the "Declaration des lettres francoises" at the conclusion of Tory's *Champ Fleury*, f. LXXIIII. (verso) Bibliothèque municipale, Blois, France, Cote : I65. http://xtf.bvh.univ-tours.fr/xtf/view?docId=tei/B410186201_I65/B410186201_I65_tei.xml;doc.view=notice

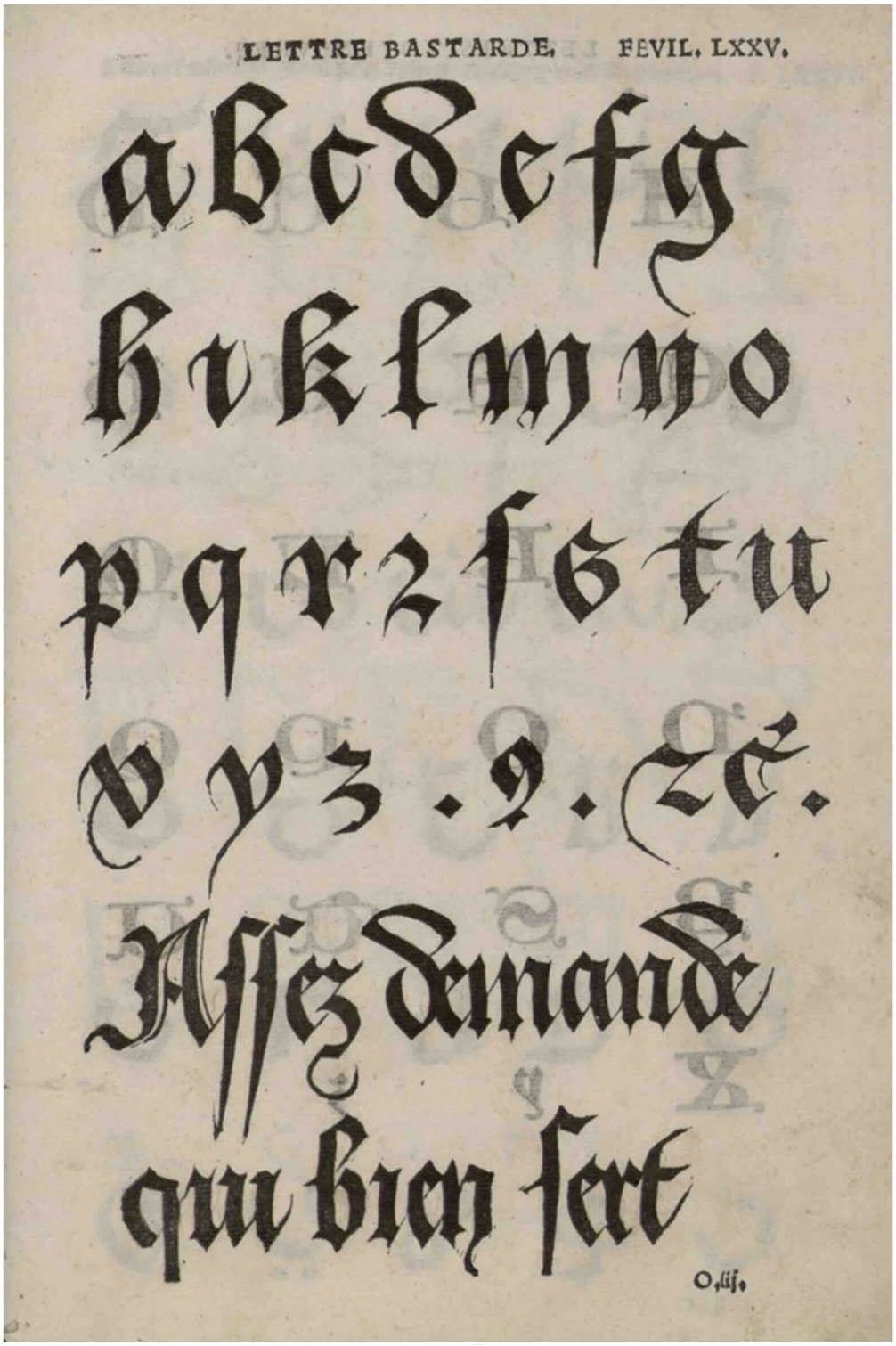

Figure 2: Examples of the *Lettre Bâtarde* provided in the "Declaration des francoises" at the conclusion of Tory's *Champ Fleury*, f. LXXV. (recto) Bibliothèque municipale, Blois, France, Cote : I65. http://xtf.bvh.univ-tours.fr/xtf/view?docId=tei/B410186201_I65/B410186201_I65_tei.xml;doc.view=notice

coining instead the term "lettres Attiques."[60] These typographical guidelines are one part of Tory's larger project for the valorization of the French vernacular language over Latin, the language of the church, science and learning. Tory proposes to "mettre & ordonner la Langue Francoise par certaine Reigle."[61] In 1531, the king, impressed by the project of *Champ fleury,* had appointed Tory as the official *imprimeur du roi*[62].

The anonymous accounts of Cartier's first two voyages, which were attuned to this typographical nomenclature, would not have been meant for, nor would have reached, a wide audience. In fact, these texts circulated in relative secrecy within the entourage of the French court, in order to avoid drawing the attention of the Spanish court, which was eager to protect its imperial presence in the Americas. [63] Therefore, the term "lettre Attique"—a term which could only refer to Tory's treatise—would have been meant for the attention of the king, who had been so impressed with *Champ fleury* years earlier.[64] Though Tory's treatise has long been considered part of a domestic narrative of the codification of the vernacular language, the evocation of these letters' inscription on a colonial monument in Canada suggests that Tory's project is linked to the larger imperial ambitions of France during the 16th century.

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[60] Vervliet describes Tory's "lettre attique" as "upright capitals in a classical lapidary style" comparing them to Aldus Manutius' Greek capitals. Vervliet, *Palaeotypography*, 385.
[61] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. a1v.
[62] Auguste Bernard, *Geofroy Tory, peintre et graveur, premier imprimeur royal, reformateur*, (Paris: Aubry, 1857), 55.
[63] Michel Bideaux, "Les récits de Cartier : une réception entravée", *Œuvres et Critiques*, XXXVI, 1 (2011) : "La circulations des récits en Europe et en Nouvelle-France (1492-1615)", Tübingen : Narr Francke Attempto, 2011, 77.
[64] Tom Conley identifies Tory as the "first humanist to offer a logical nomenclature for printed and manuscript types that had become increasingly standardized." *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 63. The narrative specifically uses Tory's nomenclature ("lettres attiques") despite the fact far more common alternatives existed. The confusion provoked by this lexical choice throughout the editorial history of the narrative, discussed later in the chapter, attest to the singularity of this terminology. The term will notably pose a problem for translators, who will propose a more common alternative "*littera antiqua*". Italian geographer Giovanni Battista Ramusio, in his 1556 translation of the narrative, will describe an inscription: "scritto in lettera antica." Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Delle Navigationi et viaggi, Vol. 3*, (Venice: Giunti, 1552), 384. Noted English translator John Florio will follow the same practice in his 1580 translation: "written in antique letters." *Navigations to Newe Fraunce*, tr. John Florio (London: Bynneman, 1580), 73.

What precisely does this typographical treatise have to offer France's first colonial endeavor in the Americas? In this chapter, I will argue that the movement from *lettre de forme* to "lettre Attique" in these colonial Canadian inscriptions is in fact, a colonial trajectory outlined in Tory's treatise. As we will see, the typographical details reported by the unnamed author of the Canadian travel narrative mirror the radical changes taking place in printing in France at precisely this moment. This includes the shift away from Gothic typefaces towards "Roman"-style lettering, but also the development of a new humanist notion of the "letter," which played a central role in a narrative of European cultural superiority. Tory's language project, as well as a number of other humanist texts, are troubled by a certain reflection on imperialism, inviting the reader to reimagine the place of France within the "rise" and "fall" of ancient empires. I will argue that these ancient colonial trajectories provide the framework to envision a French linguistic empire, modeled after ancient empires—which are both reconstructed and reimagined by this colonial project. The "lettre Attique" will come to symbolize an image of empire founded upon ideas about antiquity—their inscription in Canada will seem to project an "old" vision of empire onto the so-called "New World"—and attempt to resolve France's domestic problems in respect to antiquity through new colonial endeavors. In this sense, the fact that the unknown writer of this account of France's first transatlantic colonial endeavor includes these typographical designations is not arbitrary at all. *Champ fleury*, a printing manual which sought the redefinition of French letters, is in fact already invested in a similar colonial project.

1. Letters to accompany an empire

> "No people has ever been powerful without the mastery of letters and sciences."
> Guillaume Budé, *De Asse*[65]

In 1532, Jacques Cartier receives a commission from the king to "faire le voiage de ce royaume és terres neufves pour descouvrir certaines ysles et pays ou l'on dit qu'il se doibt trouver grant quantité d'or et autres riches choses."[66] Behind this mission is a political rivalry between the French monarchy and other monarchies in Europe, vying for power and influence in the Western Hemisphere. In order to understand the colonial politics of France, and how these seemingly anodyne typographical details will come to symbolize these policies, it is first necessary to understand the political context from which they originate.

The reign of François I, the monarch who will, at his death, receive the epithet "*père et restaurateur de lettres*," began with a particularly successful military career. In September of 1515, mere months after taking the throne, François I regained possession of Milan in a victory against the Swiss Confederacy in the Battle of Marignan, reviving the Italian wars, which had famously begun with one his predecessors, Charles VIII.[67] In celebration of the victory, the king's childhood tutor turned royal chaplain, François de Moulins de Rochefort, produces a new version of Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, presenting François I as the "secund Cæsar victeur et domateur

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[65] "ita sine sapientiae et literarum perritia contendere et asserere non dubitauerim nullos umquam populos rerum potitos esse." Guillaume Budé, De Asse et partibus eius / L'As et ses fractions, tr. Luigi-Alberto Sanchi, (Geneva: Droz: 2018), 142. (Sanchi's Translation: "Nul peuple n'a jamais été puissant sans matriser les sciences et les lettres.")

[66] Arret de la Cour de Saint-Malo, March 19th 1534, Archives departementales d'Ille-et Vilaine, B series, Juridiction ordinaire et commune de Saint-Malo, 1533-1535 registre, f. 157v-158r, reproduced in Henry Percival Biggar, *A Collection of Documents relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval*, (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1930), 43-44. Cited by Bideaux, *Relations,* 18.

[67] Charles VIII invades Naples in 1494, with important consequences for intellectual and literary production in France. As Henri-Jean Martin argues: "La découverte, au cours de guerres d'Italie, de l'art et de la culture de la Péninsule que firent la noblesse française les officiers chargés d'administrer les régions conquises marque le départ d'un renouvellement intellectuel et esthétique et d'une entreprise de réforme du langage, qui allèrent jusqu'à provoquer l'adoption en France d'une écriture étrangère." Henri-Jean Martin, "Politique et Typographie" in *La Naissance du livre moderne*, (Paris: Cercle de la Librairie, 2000), 164.

des Souyces" succeeding the Roman emperor and "premyer subjugateur" of the Helvetii, the Ancient Celtic people who occupied the Swiss plateau.[68] The *Commentaries* (*Commentarii de Bello Gallico*) are Caesar's account of the Roman conquest of Gaul—the region of Western Europe which included France, Belgium, parts of Germany, and northern Italy. Caesar describes battles and conquests, alongside "ethnographic" descriptions of the peoples of Gaul, ultimately crafting a narrative which both justifies the conquest and celebrates the Roman army and the Roman general himself.[69] De Moulins de Rochefort creates a new version of the commentary styled as a dialogue between the French sovereign and the Roman emperor. The text of the manuscript is calligraphed in serifed "humanistic" script, inspired by the typographical characters of Venetian printer Aldus Manutius, a lettering style which will come to be called Roman-style lettering—a rarity for its time, when the majority of French manuscripts, particularly those in the vernacular language, were produced in "Gothic"-style letters.[70] Roman political, and indeed imperial, models were therefore transmitted in "Roman" letters.

In one passage of the *Commentaires,* the French monarch, riding on horseback through the forest of Fontainebleau in pursuit of a stag, veers from the trail, riding unintentionally into the shadows of the forest. In the obscurity, the king spots the timeworn yet imposing silhouette of an aging man ("ung ancian homme de venerable stature"), hardly recognizable in the darkness.

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[68] The cited passages refer to the second volume of the three-volume work: François de Moulins de Rochefort, *Commentaires de la Guerre Gallique*, Volume 2, Bibliotheque Nationale, Ms Francais 13429. The other two volumes of the work are separated in different libraries: British Library Ms. Harleian 6205, Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms 1139. For more about these manuscripts see Anne Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire: symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française*, (Paris: Macula, 1987), particularly chapter VII entitled "Le second César 'subjugateur des hevétiens,'" 216-257.

[69] Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War*, Translated by H. J. Edwards. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917), 72.

[70] Henri-Jean Martin points to the "lettres romaines manifestement inspirées de celles d'Alduce Manuce," which adorn a number of pedagogical texts attributed to De Moulins de Rochefort. As Martin argues, "c'est donc pour imiter un carectère typographique et non point en s'inspirant du modele humanistique manuscrit que des Francais s'essaient au nouveau style graphique." Henri-Jean Martin, "Typographie et Politique," 185-188.

Approaching the figure, François I suddenly recognizes the face of Julius Caesar; the two men converse amicably as if old friends, having met previously, in the first volume, in the Saint-Germain-en Laye forest. The French sovereign asks the Roman conqueror his impressions on the time: "Invincible Cæsar, dictez moy verite, que vous semble de nostre temps?"[71] Caesar responds, with the simplicity and directness long attributed to his prose, "Il est imperial."[72] Pleased, the king inquires "quellez condicions sont requisez a ung bon empereur." The Roman conqueror responds "celle[s] que javoys."[73] In the pages which follow, De Moulins de Rochefort's Caesar outlines his own political career as a model for the French monarchy. Caesar provided a particularly fitting political model at a moment of high aspirations that François I would gain possession of Holy Roman Empire—the conglomeration of territories which included parts of Modern-day France, Italy, and Germany.[74] Since its beginnings with Charlemagne, the Holy Roman Empire had been imagined as existing in continuation of the ancient Roman Empire.[75] But by depicting Caesar, rather than medieval Carolingian emperors, De Moulins de Rochefort presented the king with a pagan, humanist political model, though he used it to reimagine the decidedly Christian Holy

[71] François de Moulins de Rochefort, *Commentaires de la Guerre Gallique*, f. 6r.
[72] Moulins de Rochefort, *Commentaires*, 6r.
[73] Moulins de Rochefort, *Commentaires*, 6r.
[74] Margaret M. McGowan, *The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 292.
[75] It was in the 14th century that Petrarch, sensing a rupture between the Ancient Empire and that of his day, had first enjoined the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles IV, to follow the model of Julius Caesar. Thomas James Dandelet, *The Renaissance of Empire*, (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2014), 206-207.

Roman empire.[76] Desmoulins sought to reconcile Caesar's military and political feats with Christian values.[77]

François I's imperial ambitions, however, are frustrated later that year, in July of 1519, when he loses the bidding war for title of Holy Roman Emperor to his historic rival, Charles V. This imperial rival subsequently defeats François I in a series of military campaigns, culminating in the capture of the French sovereign and his imprisonment in Pavia in 1525—decidedly upsetting any claim to the title of "second Caesar." Meanwhile, Tenochtitlan falls to Cortés in 1521; Magellan completes the first circumnavigation of the globe in 1522. Charles V had incorporated the crown of Castile and its colonial territories in the Americas into the Holy Roman Empire, claiming an empire upon which "the sun never set."[78] In 1526, when François I is liberated and returns to France after the signing of the Treaty of Madrid, it is not only with the recognition of a political and military defeat, but also a cultural and intellectual one. Having visited places such as the University of Alcala in Spain, François I recognizes that his own kingdom has fallen behind in the development of arts and letters, something that humanists close to the French court, such as Royal secretary Guillaume Budé and François de Moulins de Rochefort, had long sought to bring

[76] François I was not the first French monarch to be styled "secund Cæsar," nor to receive Caesar's *Commentaries* presented as a pedagogical text. In 1485, humanist historian Robert Gaguin presented Charles VIII with a French translation of Caesar's Commentaries, arguing for the practical application of the *Commentaries* and the important information provided concerning how to "conduire et gouverner chacune nacion selon l'inclinacion naturelle et coustume ancienne." Thomas James Dandelet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe*, 24. Robert Gaguin (tr.), "[Opening epistle to] *Les commentaires de Iulius Cesar*" in *Epistole et orationes Gaguini*, ed. Louis Thuasne (Geneva: Slatkine, 1977), t. 2, 299-308.

[77] De Moulins de Rochefort's *Commentaires* are engaged in some process of reckoning with Caesar's paganism and reconciling him with Christian values. Caesar speaks to his "vaine & inutile religion de plusieurs dieux" which, he says, "estoit souuant en mon cueur, et en ma bouche," during the Gallic wars. (f. 21r) Caesar nevertheless praises "Iesuschrist" as "[ce]luy qui est formateur, informateur et reformateur de tout le munde" and praises the Christians "qui ont este par luy esleuz & predestinez a viure soubz sa loy, pour estre participans de son empire & sa gloire īperiale." (f. 20r) Thus through the voice of Caesar, De Moulins de Rochefort makes his new model of empire compatible with Christianity.

[78] The image is notably used by Ludovico Ariosto, inspired by Virgil, in *Orlando Furioso* (1516). See Marcel Batillon, *Etudes sur Bartolomé de las Casas,* (Paris: 1965), 113. See also John Lynch, *Spain Under the Hasburgs,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969)*,* 38.

to the King's attention.[79] The years in which resources had been poured into military campaigns and the imperial election had left little for cultural development. However, it is in the wake of this humiliating military defeat that François I is to recognize the potential for a new imperial strategy, one based precisely in cultural and intellectual development.

An early leader of humanism in France, Guillaume Budé—who will receive the epithet "diamant des nobles et studieux Pharrisiens" from Geoffroy Tory in *Champ fleury*—outlines the political stakes of the development of humanist studies early in the 16th century. His antiquitarian numismatic study, *De Asse*, which will earn him scholarly prestige throughout Europe, seeks to provide a sweeping vision of antiquity through the philological investigation of Roman coinage and economic history. Budé draws concrete political advice for contemporary France from his historical study—in particular, the promotion of the humanist development of letters and sciences. Budé argues than the Greek and Roman empires "were acquired and retained no less by the education of the mind then by the exercise of the body."[80] Budé's humanist project sought the development of letters (*literae*): a term which among humanists encompassed a wide of written genres, as perhaps demonstrated by the eclectic (philological, numismatic, political) methodology of Budé's *De Asse*. But above all, humanist letters emphasized the careful philological study of texts, placing the development of language at the center of all intellectual pursuits[81] It was precisely in the development of language, and even more specifically the development of the *letter*, the graphic alphabetic unit, that humanist philologists located a specific instrument of empire.

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[79] Gilbert Gadoffre, *La révolution culturelle dans la France des Humanistes : Guillaume Budé et François Ier (*Geneva : Droz, 1997), 214.

[80] "Utrum autem imperium non minus animis excolendis quam corporibus exercendis quaesitum est et retentum." Guillaume Budé, De Asse et partibus eius, 138. (Sanchi's Translation: "chacun de ces empires a ete obtenu et maintenu grace à l'education des esprits non moins qu'à l'exercice des corps.")

[81] "Par *litteræ* les humanistes entendent tout ce que releve de la communication ecrite par opposition a la communication qui se fait de bouche a oreille." Gadoffre, *La révolution culturelle,* 275.

Tory's *Champ fleury* represents a powerful intensification of this linguistic project in France. Tory's text is a project of revalorization of the French language, formed after the model of classical antiquity, one which draws out the imperial implications of language development. Tory explains Latin was once, like French, "sans Reigle de Grammaire" until the Romans "la polyrent & mirent en si bonne ordre."[82] This formalization of the Latin language was accompanied by conquest. The Romans were able to conquer "la plusgrande partie du monde," having "prospere, & plus obtenu de victoires par leur langue que par leur lance." Tory suggests that France might follow a similar model ("pleust a Dieu que peussions ainsi faire"), disavowing, however, any immediate colonial aspirations. Indeed, Tory argues that the French must "reigler" their language "non pas pour estre Tyrans & Roys sus tous" but rather in order to "rediger & mettre bonne Sciences & Arts en memoire & par escript."[83] Tory, this humanist printer who had gained the attention of the king, cites conquest as one of the *potential* advantages of formalizing the French language. *Champ fleury*, Tory seems to suggest, is a domestic cultural project, not a colonial one. And yet the typographer unmistakably outlines for readers the "soft power" of cultural wealth in empire building.[84] Extending an open invitation to all "amateurs de bonne lettres" to "mettre et ordonner la Langue Francoise," Tory mentions—as if only incidentally—that it is through precisely this measured eloquence that empires are built.

Clearly, in *Champ fleury*, Tory does not envision a French empire as an eminent possibility, but he nevertheless outlined the imperial stakes of language building. Throughout Europe, a similar relationship between language and imperialism was cited by a number of foundational texts of vernacular grammars. "Language has always been the companion of empire," famously wrote the

[82] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 4v.
[83] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 4v.
[84] Sara Melzer traces the trajectory of this soft power of culture from Tory's *Champ fleury* to the more explicit empire building of 17th century France. *Colonizer or Colonized*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press 2003), 149.

Spanish grammarian Antonio de Nebrija, who could not have foreseen the acceleration of the Spanish imperialism that began the very year (1492) his *Gramática Castellana* was published.[85] When Tory publishes *Champ fleury*, the imperial aspirations of the French monarchy—plagued by bad finances and European wars—have been all but abandoned. Tory's tenure as royal printer is cut short by his death in 1533. But the remainder of that decade opens up a period of radical change in France. First of all, the 1530s bring the linguistic change which Tory had called for in *Champ fleury*: the publication of the first French grammars, orthographic manuals, and, of course, François I's Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts, which made French the official language of legal and administrative matters.[86] But the 1530s also brought new imperial projects. In 1534, Jacques Cartier arrives in Canada, and although he returns having met neither of the goals he had been commissioned with—namely, finding a northwest passage and "grant quantité d'or et autres riches choses"—the narratives presented to the king describe a monument celebrating the French monarchy constructed on Canadian soil, with a second monument constructed a year later upon Cartier's return to Canada. In the words of Tory, the French were not only beginning to "reigler et mettre en bonne ordre" their language, as the Romans had done; they were also beginning to imagine having dominion over a "plusgrande partie du monde." These two projects coincide in the monumental inscriptions which are said to be left in Canada. The first Canadian monument is

[85] "siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio," *Gramática castellana*, (Salamanca : Juan de Porras, 1492) f. np. aii

[86] "Pleust a dieu que quelque noble cueur s'employast a mettre & ordonner par regle nostre language Francois" Tory remarks in his "Aux lecteurs." *Champ fleury,* np. The first French grammars are written in English (John Palsgrave's 1530 *L'eclaircissement de la langue francoise*) and Latin (Jacque Dubois 1531 *In linguam gallicam isagoge, una cum ejusdem grammatica latino-gallica, ex hebraeis gaecis et latinis authoribus*). A number of these early linguistic works seek to systematize French on the model of Latin. This is the case of an anonymous orthographic treatise is published around the same time as Tory's *Champ fleury,* entitled *Tres utile et compendieulx traicte de l'art et science d'orthographie gallicane*. As well as Robert Estienne's *La maniere de tourner toutes especes de noms latins en nostre langue francoyse* published in 1537. Estienne lexicographic works are French-Latin, published in 1538 (*Dictionarium Latinogallicum*) and 1539 (*Dictionnaire francois-latin*).

inscribed with a traditional Gothic letter, but the second is adorned with precisely the imposing capitals associated with the Roman empire.

Furthermore, the shift which takes place between these two colonial inscriptions mirrors those taking place in the printed book in France. For alongside linguistic and political changes came a typographical change, one which was, incidentally, no less modeled after the Roman empire. The 1530s mark the period which Nicolas Barker has called the "Aldine Revolution" in Parisian typography: Roman typefaces, specifically those inspired by those of Venetian printer Aldus Manutius, come to dominate printed books in France, not simply for texts in Latin (which had been the case for some time), but also for vernacular texts.[87] Whereas Roman typefaces had long been the norm among Italian printers, Gothic typefaces were most common in Germany and France, particularly for vernacular texts. The codification of the French language, inspired by the model of the ancients, coincides with the printing of the French language in a typeface inspired by the ancients. Tory's project for the vernacular language is at the forefront of this change. The text of *Champ fleury* is set in one of the many Roman-style typefaces used by Parisian printers since the beginning of the century, usually used to print scholarly texts in Latin rather than vernacular texts.[88] Tory prints his project for the French language not with one of typefaces that he will later in the treatise categorize among the established "lettres Francoises"—this is to say, the traditional Gothic *bâtarde*, which Tory himself remarks "on a tousiours par cy devant Imprime livres en Francois"—but in a typeface whose authoritative serif remains, to this day, associated with the Romans.

Tory's *Champ fleury* was not the first vernacular text to be printed in Roman typeface. In 1519, a French translation of Platina's *Vitae Pontificum*—a history of the papacy which delivered

[87] See Nicolas Barker, "The Aldine Roman in. Paris, 1530-1534" in *The Library*, 5th ser., 29 (1974)
[88] The text is printed in what Vervliet calls the "Tholoze" Pica Roman, *Paleotypography*, 25.

a considerable amount of Roman history—was printed in Roman typeface, by Pierre Vidoue for bookseller Gaillot du Pré.[89] In 1523, Vidoue prints another vernacular text in Roman characters, a text no less dedicated Roman history: a French translation of Budé's *De Asse*.[90] These two texts were involved in the process of translating a certain vision of Rome, a fact the typographical characters only served to emphasize. The prologue of Platina's *Vitae Pontificum* extols the political importance of historical knowledge. Ancient emperors, kings and princes often placed "statues & images a la semblance de leurs predecesseurs" in "lieux publiques" to serve as models for the "prouffit &vtillite des hommes.[91] A similar function might be envisioned for typography. If the carved features of ancient victors could inspire and guide contemporary rulers when depicted in statues and images, might a new political program for the French language be found in the time-honored and imposing contours of a Roman typeface?

Tory may not have been the first figure of this typographical revolution in France, but he played an instrumental role in creating a place for Roman letters in the French national narrative. And this is perhaps precisely because he does not associate these letters with Rome—a fact alluded to by the novel terminology of "lettre Attique" used throughout *Champ fleury.* Tory argues that if the Romans were able to conquer most of the world with their language, providing a model to imitate, it was because they themselves recognized the capacity of these letters when they imitated the Greeks. As Tory indicates in *Declaration de Lettres Latines* toward the end of *Champ fleury*: "la plusgrande partie des lettres qu'on dit vulgairement Lettres Romaines sont en valleur & Figure purement Grecques."[92] The source of characters which are "vulgairement" known as "Romaines"

[89] Incidentally, the privilege, which provided Du Pré a four-year monopoly on the publication, is signed by that early advocate for the use of Roman-style lettering for vernacular texts, François de Moulins de Rochefort.
[90] Guillaume Budé, *Summaire ou Epitome du livre de Asse*, (Pierre Vidoue for Gaillot du Pré, 1523).
[91] Platina (Bartolomeo Sacchi), *Les Genealogies faitz et gestes des sainctz Peres, Papes, Empereurs & Roys de France* (Paris: Pierre Vidoue pour Galliot Du Pré, 1519) f. "aaii."
[92] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 71v

therefore, is not Rome, but rather Athens: as Tory explains,"lesdictes lettres Attiques sont deuement nommees Attiques, & non Antiques, ne Romaines: pource que les Atheniens en ont use avant que les Romains, ne homme de leur Italie."[93] This is despite the fact that the Romans inscribed these letters in "sumptuex Palaix, & Arcs tiumphans" which can still be seen in Roman "ruynes quon voit par cy & par enuyronnees de Canetieres."[94]

Imitation of the Romans, when traced to the source, is therefore truly imitating the Greeks, and specifically their "seigneurs & dominateurs," the Athenians. Although the "lettre Attique" was "inventee en ung pais de Grece nomme Ionie," Tory indicates that it was Athenians who "l'ont mise en usage & honneur si bien qu'elle a & retient encore le nom."[95] Tory's concern for terminology—his desire to rechristen what have "vulgairement" been called "lettres Romaines" with the title "lettres Attiques"—translates a concern with how scriptural practices signify and bear traces of identity and a political sovereignty. Turning Athens for a model of linguistic imperialism, had the added benefit of decentering Rome at a moment when, in the wake of the defeats by Charles V and the Holy Roman empire, explicit comparisons between France and the ancient Roman empire would seem particularly problematic. Tory can be credited with cleverly repackaging a relatively old imaginary of empire, in such a way to make it more palatable for the ruling elite of his time.

Champ fleury represents the transformation of a political, and perhaps eventually imperial, model for the French monarchy, one which celebrated written language as a means of empire building. This was, for Tory, a very different model than previously prescribed Caesar, who is explicitly condemned in *Champ fleury*.[96] In 1519, when De Moulins de Rochefort had promoted

[93] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 7.
[94] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 7.
[95] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 7.
[96] "Jules Cesar [et] les Rommains estoient si gormans & grans abrasseurs de gloire" (Tory, Champ fleury, f. 5 v)

Caesar as a model for the young French monarch, he had commissioned the Dutch illuminator close to French court, Godefroy le Batave (Godofredus Batavus) to produce lush illustrations of the exchange between the Roman emperor and the French monarch. This would become a familiar subject for this illuminator. Around 1524, Godefroy produced elaborate miniatures for Symon Bourgouyn's translation of Petrarch's *Triumphs*, which depicted Caesar majestically crowned in laurel and decked out in gold armor (figure 3). But by 1529, Godefroy is commissioned to depict a remarkably different political model—and in a different medium, the printed book rather than the illuminated manuscript: Tory's *Champ fleury*. More specifically, he is commissioned to illustrate the woodcut at the center of Tory's treatise, the Gallic Hercules (figure 4). In the Gallic Hercules myth—which originates in the work of the second-century Syrian-Greek satirist Lucian of Samasota—Hercules is depicted as "vieillard chauve" who, by means of delicate gold chains which emanate from his tongue, "tire apres luy apres luy une merveilleusement grand multitude d'homme & femmes." The "petites chaines d'or & d'ambre" which connect Hercules' tongue to the ears are said to represent a "langage aorne," which entices the listeners, to follow Hercules willingly: "tous de leur plain gre se hastent de le suyvre."[97] Katie Chenoweth argues that these chains depict the "coincidence of the alphabet with the apparatus of monarchic sovereignty."[98] And indeed, in the years which follow, not only François I but a number of his successors will be envisioned under this model.[99] The Gallic Hercules provides an image of the force of eloquence,

[97] Tory, *Champ fleury,* f. 2v.
[98] Katie Chenoweth, *Prosthetic Tongue*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 213. Sara Melzer has argued that the "chains attached to the Gallic Hercules tongue suggest a colonial context for his eloquence." *Colonizer or Colonized*, 148.
[99] See Michael Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror: Power Identity and Knowledge in Early Modern France*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 58. Wintroub sees Tory within a project of the "transformation of Hercules from the image of barbarian to avatar of humanist values," and links this to a "narrative of civilization" which, later in the century (1551) will be dramatized and projected onto Tupinamba people abducted from Brazil for the occasion of a royal entry festival. See also Robert E. Hallowell, "Ronsard and the Gallic Hercules Myth." Studies in the Renaissance, vol. 9, 1962, 242–55, https://doi.org/10.2307/2857119. Accessed 13 Apr. 2022.

one which stands in contrast to the illustrations of the Roman emperor depicted in battles. And yet despite the different political models these two figures are supposed to represent, the Gallic Hercules will bear a striking physical resemblance to those Godefroy had previously completed of the Roman conqueror. In fact, it is by drawing on the similarities between these two illustrations that multiple scholars have suggested that it was Godefroy who produced the unsigned woodcut of the Gallic Hercules at the center of Geoffroy Tory's *Champ fleury*.[100] Perhaps these two distinct symbols for the French monarchy, Caesar and the Gallic Hercules, despite the differences of their methods, share a common goal.

[100] This has long been suggested by Myra Orth, see in particular "François du Moulin and Albert Pigghe, Les Commentaires de la guerre gallique", in T. Kren, Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts, (New York: Hudson Hill Press, 1983), 181-6. and Myra Orth, "The Triumphs of Petrarch illuminated by Godefroy le Batave", *Gazette des beaux-arts* (Dec.), 1984, 197-206. Olivier Halévy also questions the authorship of several "gravures a l'antique" in editions by Tory—particularly those "exigeant une veritable competence technique, comme le Triomphe d'Apollon ou l'Hercule Gaulois." Halévy argues: "Mariquees d'un croix de Lorraine signalant sans doute l'intervention d'un graveur ou d'atelier, elles [les gravures] sont probablement dues a Godrefory le Batave. Outre la pierre datee "1526" qui apparait dans l'Hercule Gaulois, et qui evoque irrestiblement celles des Commentaires de la guerre gallique de Francois Demoulins, le profil anguleux d'Hercule ressemble a celui du Cesar des Triomphes de Petrarques de Symon Bourgouyn. Avant de dessiner les scenes des heures de 1529 et 1530, Godefroy a du participer au Champ fleury. Olivier Halévy, "A travers Champ fleury." In *Geoffroy Tory: Imprimeur de François Ier, graphiste avant la lettre,* eds. Stephanie Deprouw, Olivier Halévy and Theirry Crépin-Leblond, (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2011), 72.



Figure 3: Godefroy le Batave, Triumph of Love, illumination for fol. 1-2 of Petrarch's *Triumphs*, Paris, Arsenal (Ms. 6480). https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b550089019/f8.item.r=arsenal%206480)



Figure 4: Anonymous, "Hercules Gallicus/Le Hercule Francois", *Champ fleury*, f. 3v. Bibliothèque municipale, Blois, France, Cote : I65. http://xtf.bvh.univ-tours.fr/xtf/view?docId=tei/B410186201_I65/B410186201_I65_tei.xml;doc.view=notice

But can Tory's project, this Gallic Hercules, that has every indication of a national or proto-national endeavor, truly be said to have global implications? Around the time that Tory conceives the idea for *Champ fleury*—which by his own account was upon waking one morning in January of 1523—he resumes his publishing activity at the press of Simon de Colines, the Parisian printer who, in the words of Nicolas Barker, "led the revolution in the design of the Roman letter."[101] While working at the print house of Simon de Colines, Tory not only put into practice the typeface which he associated with empire, but also might have done so while reading about the growth of other European empires. In the first half of the 16th century, relatively little was published in France about the exploration of the Americas, even less written in the vernacular.[102] It is all the more significant, then, that one of the French translations of Spanish exploration appeared from the press of Simon de Colines during Tory's employment. In 1526, a year after Tory published a book of hours on Colines' press, a vernacular translation of Antonio Pigafetta's account of

[101] Nicolas Barker, "The Aldine Roman in Paris, 1530–1534," 8. Kay Amert outlines the much of the relationship between Tory and Colines in her article "Stanley Morison's Aldine Hypothesis Revisited." Design Issues 24, no. 2 (2008): 53–71. (see in particular, 64) http://www.jstor.org/stable/25224167. Colines began cutting Roman-style type for humanist printer Henri Estienne around 1518. Yet, in the interval between his association with Tory (at least 1524) and the publication of *Champ fleury* (in 1529), an important change occurs in the large Roman Capitals which to adorn the cover pages of scholarly editions from Colines press—first visible in an edition of Aristotle's *Problemata,* (Simon de Colines: Paris, 1524). (Cited by Vervliet, *Paleotypography*, 48.) These capitals are strikingly different than the numerous Roman typefaces circulating among Parisian printers which had been imported from Basle since the beginning of the sixteenth century. The distinctions are minute but unmistakable: serifs become less rounded and more defined; the lines lose weight, assuming lighter forms. Colines' Roman capitals—which Vervliet calls "the first proper typographical rending, North of the Alps, of the classical *capitalis monumentalis*"—progressively begin to demonstrate the influence of the classical proportions of the styles popularized by Aldus Manutius and Nicolas Jenson, the style of Roman capital, which Tory, only years later, will insist on calling "lettre Attique." Vervliet, *Paleotypography*, 66. Amert nuances the traditional narrative of the Tory-Colines partnership stating that Colines decorative initials are "related to but by no means identical with" Tory's Attic letter, nevertheless conceding that their similarities are a testament to the collaborative relationship between these two figures. See Kay Amert, *The Scythe and the Rabbit*, (Rochester: Cary Graphic Arts Press, 2012), 48.

[102] Three Latin editions of Columbus's first letter were printed in Paris by the Parisian printer Guy Marchant under the title *Epistola de insulis de nouo repertis*. Vespucci's *Mundus Novus* was printed first by Gilles de Gourmont in 1503 then by a number of other Parisian printers. In 1515, a certain Mathurin du Redouer translates Fracanzano Montalbodo's *Paesi Novamenti Retrovati*—the first best-selling travel narrative published originally in Venice in 1507—which is published under the title *Sensuyt le Nouveau Monde & Navigations: Faites par Emeric de Vespuce Florentin*. This volume made a number of travel texts available to a vernacular readership for the first time, including those associated with (and possibly authored by) Vespucci, Columbus, as well as Alvise Cadamosto.

Magellan's circumnavigation is published under the title *Le voyage et nauigation, faict par les Espaignolz es Isles de Mollucques*.[103]

The narration of Magellan's circumnavigation included passages about each landing, from West Africa to South America and finally to the Philippines; it promised, on the title page, to describe "des isles quilz ont trouue audict voyage, des roys dicelles, de leur gouuernement & maniere de viure." Translations of travel narratives such as Pigafetta's had begun to construct a cultural imaginary in France of the distant destinations of European exploration. The Moluccas, known for the spices sought after by Europeans, became a symbol within the European cultural imaginary of some of the furthest, most difficult to reach portions of the known world. Tory, in his acquaintance with Magellan's voyage, must have been struck by the feat of reaching the islands, for the Moluccas become the object of a startling image figure at the outset of *Champ fleury*. In the preamble to the text, Tory promises that each letter will be described "par Nombre & Mesure" so that the letters can be recreated "tant Grandes & tant Petites" as the reader so desires, by adjusting the proportions.[104] However, Tory warns those attempting to write "Attic" letters to do so on sheets and writing tablets, as opposed to scrolls, which he describes as excessively cumbersome. Tory hyperbolizes the inefficiency of scrolls with a reference to the distant islands,

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[103] Another important vernacular translation is published by Colines in 1532, a year before Tory's death—and incidentally, the year that Cartier receives his commission: an abridged translation of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's *De Orbe Novo* (*On the New World*), which Colines, appending translations of Cortez letters to the Spanish monarch, publishes under the title *Extraict ou Recueil des Isles nouvellement trouvees dans la grand mer Oceane*. These translations, the very first to appear in French, undoubtably disseminated knowledge of Spanish colonization of the Americas to a degree hitherto impossible, among a much larger audience. Moreover, these two publications on the press of Colines seem to bookend the publication of *Champ fleury,* and the typographical changes which follow in its wake. *Le Voyage et nauigation* is printed in the Gothic *lettre bâtarde* standard for vernacular texts of its time; the *Extraict ou Recueil des Isles* in one of the Roman typefaces which Colines had introduced in the years which he was associated with Tory: the typeface Vervliet calls Colines' "Second Small Pica Roman" introduced in 1525, *Paleotypography,* 50.

[104] If one were to take Tory's concern for scale quite literally, one might note, as does Kay Amert, the "dramatic expansion in the range of roman type sizes" in the period in which Tory writes. Ambert observes: "Very tiny romans, as small as anything used to this day were first cut at this time, as were very large romans. Expansions in the range of sizes lent the roman new range in its expressive capability on the page, permitting printers to communicate at a glance what was of primary, secondary or tertiary importance." Amert, *The Scythe and the Rabbit*, 47.

remarking that writing even three or four verses, especially if the letters were large, would require a scroll "plus long qu'il n'y a d'espace d'icy aux Isles des Molucques."[105] This reference not only suggests Tory's knowledge of Magellan's voyage "en Isles de Mollucques," revealing, as Katherina Piechocki argues, Tory's "keen interest in contemporary cartographic developments."[106] Indeed, this vision of the "Attic" letter spreading its serifed arms across the globe, even as it is undoubtably used to dramatically condemn practice of writing in scrolls, opens the treatise with a suggestion of the monumental proportions to which the "Attic" letter invites itself to be extended—proportions which seem to foreshadow or even rival those of Roman dominion over the "plusgrande partie du monde," both admired and detested by Tory throughout *Champ fleury.* It is precisely these proportions that Attic letters seem to achieve, when an anonymous author reports their inscription on a monument in colonial Canada.

2. Monumental letters

> Rome is reported to have had so many statues that it was said to contain a second population, made of stone.
> Alberti, *On the Art of Building*[107]

This specific type of letter which Tory calls the "Attic" letter, is a classical inscriptional style, which modern paleography calls the Roman square capital, *Capitalis Monumentalis*, or Imperial Roman capitals, for its association with Roman, specifically imperial, monuments, with

[105] Tory, *Champ fleury,* f. np. (Aiij)
[106] Katharina N. Piechocki, Cartographic Humanism: The Making of Early Modern Europe, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 129.
[107] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, (Cambridge: MIT Press 1992), 240.

the most famous example being the triumphal Trajan's column in Rome.[108] The letters which Tory diagrams can be therefore distinguished from the Roman-style letters used in the body of his printed text, as they depict only those letters, capital letters, which would have properly existed for the ancients, excluding the lowercase based on the Carolingian minuscule of manuscripts of the 9th to 13th centuries. The history of this particular style of letter is worth citing. The period of the transformation of Republican Rome to Imperial Rome is often also cited as a moment of change in the style of inscriptions on Roman monuments. Imperial Roman capitals are often distinguished from earlier Republican Roman capitals, according to Paul Shaw, by a "variation in the thickness of the strokes" with a "greater variety of widths" along with serifs which are "longer and more fully bracketed."[109] Not only did inscriptional capitals persist in ruins throughout the European territory once dominated by the Romans, but their revivals also seem to trace the resurgences of empire. Charlemagne placed the Holy Roman Empire in the continuity of the Ancient Roman empire and is often cited as having overseen the "revival" of the Roman capital among the scribes of his time. Carolingian script placed the Roman capital alongside the more recent innovation of

[108] Edward M. Catich, *The Origin of the Serif: Brush Writing & Roman letters*, (Catfish 1968, St Amrboise, 1992). James Mosley provides an account of the importance of the Trajan column for the history of styling Roman Capitals from the Renaissance to the contemporary period in his article "Trajan Revived," *Alphabet 1964: international annual of* letterforms, vol. 1 (London: James Moran Ltd. for The Kynoch Press, 1964), 17–48. The term *capitalis* or *scriptura monumentalis*—often attributed to the 19th-century Prussian epigrapher Ernst Willibald Emil Hübner —seems to hold more ground among design historians or paleographers of Early Modern Europe than among classicists in Latin paleography; Gordon and Gordon suggest "that although the idea of a 'monumental style' can be meaningful […] the adjective seems more suitable for describing a style than a specific script or type of lettering. Precisely what makes a script 'monumental'?" Joyce and Arthur Gordon, *Contributions to the paleography of Latin inscriptions*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957), 67.

[109] Paul Shaw, *The Eternal Letter: Two Millenia of the Classical Roman Capital* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015), 1. Johnathan Edmondson argues that the variation in the thickness of forms is a "feature that distinguishes republican from later imperial lettering." "Inscribing Roman Texts" in *Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 122. Olli Salomies provides the following caveat: "It is only from the Augustan period that one commonly finds the elegant letters that are normally taken to represent "classical" Latin epigraphic capitals. Although some examples of very elegant letters in the "classical" style are known from the late Republic […] crude and unadorned lettering is often an indication of a republican date." See "Roman Republic" in *Oxford Handbook*, 169.

the minuscule, creating what would become, centuries later, the prototype for another revival: the "humanistic" writing which inspired early Roman typographical characters.[110]

Yet, the first imperial monument constructed by the French in colonial Canada is inscribed not with these ancient capitals but with a traditional French Gothic script—one not associated with monuments but rather with manuscripts.[111] As the words "VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE" are inscribed in "grosse lettre de forme" onto "ung escripteau en boys" to be affixed on a thirty foot cross, the people of the Haudenosaunee village of Stadacona, in present-day Quebec City, are described as gathering around the monument "tournant et regardant icelle croix."[112] The wooden monument becomes the physical symbol of the French territorial claim. Once the monument is erected, Donnacona, the chief of Stadacona, calls out to the Frenchmen, gesturing towards the cross, having unmistakably understood the intentions of the French: "monstrant ladite croix et faisant le signe de la croix avec deux doydz et puis nous monstroit la terre tout alentour de nous comme s'il eust voullu dire que toute la terre estoit à luy et que nous ne devyons pas planter ladite croix sans son congé."[113] In this scene, Donnacona sees this monument for what it reasonably appears to be: a stake of claim. The monument, identified by Donnacona by hand gestures, functions as the sign through which territorial claim is both affirmed and contested. In response, Cartier provides assurances of the marker's purely navigational purpose: "nous [leur] monstrasmes par signe que ladite croix avoit este plantee pour faire merche et ballise pour entrer dedans le

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[110] Berthold Louis Ulman, The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script, (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1960), 18. Martin Davies, "Humanism in Script and Print" in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 48. Roberta Ricci, "The Revolution of the Hand: Scripts and Manuscripts in Poggio Bracciolini's Florence." *Mln* 134, (09, 2019): S-193-S-214. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/mln.2019.0067.

[111] The "Lettre de Torneure," rather than the "Lettre de Forme," is the French 'Gothic' style most associated with monumental inscription, according to *Champ fleury*: "Nous auons davantage Lettres de Torneure desquelles les Anciens escripvoient Epitaphes sus les Tumbes de trespasses" as well as "en vistres, [et] en tapisseries, comme on peut veoir en beaucoup de vieulx Monasteres." Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 72v

[112] *Relations,* ed. Bideaux, 116.

[113] *Relations,* ed. Bideaux, 116.

hable."[114] By this time, Donncona and his companion have been strongarmed onto Cartier's ship, where the mariners attempt to assure the Haudenosaunee of their good intentions with "grant signe d'amour" and celebratory banqueting ("boyre et manger et faire grant chere").[115] This physical intimidation ostensibly dissuades the Haudenosaunee from dismantling the cross. The narrative carefully specifies that before leaving Cartier's vessel, the Haudenosaunee indicate that they will not take down the monument: "firent signe qu'ilz ne habbatroyent ladite croix en nous faisant plusieurs harengues que n'entendions."[116] The narrative, in this sense, becomes a textual confirmation of the monument's persistence, and relays this confirmation back to France.

In order to better understand the way this colonial monument functions, it is necessary to examine the way monuments were conceived more generally at the beginning of the 16th century. If wooden crosses were commonly used by European navigators such as Columbus or Magellan for staking claim of territories, this sort of colonial construction was also what certain early modern thinkers considered to be essential and original function of monuments in general.[117] For example, Leon Battista Alberti identified this form of imperial mark making as the primary function of the monument in his major Renaissance architectural manual *On the Art of Building* (*De re aedificatoria*).[118] This was a manual that Tory—who edited the text for its first edition in France by printer Berthold Rembolt in 1512—would have known well.[119] As Alberti explains: "when our ancestors drove back their enemies and extended the boundaries of their empire with armed force, they would set up markers to record their victorious progress and to brand territory gained in battle

[114] *Relations,* ed. Bideaux, 117.
[115] *Relations,* ed. Bideaux, 117.
[116] *Relations,* ed. Bideaux, 117.
[117] Incidentally, French readers could have read about this colonial practice of cross raising at numerous occasions in Colines' French edition of Pigafetta's account. *Le voyage et nauigation* describes how the mariners, after arriving in present day Patagonia, Argentina, at the summit of Monte Wood, "dresserent une croix grande au sommet dune haulte montaigne en signe que ceste terre est au roy Despaigne. Et appellerent ce lieu a montaigne de Christ.," 11.
[118] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, xvi.
[119] Leonis Baptistae *Alberti florentini viri clarissimi libri De re aedificatoria decem*, (Paris: Berthold Rembolt, 1512)

and distinguish it from that of their neighbors."[120] In this sense, Alberti argues that "the original purpose of posts, columns and other such objects was to serve as boundary markers."[121] And out of this original function develops the more familiar commemorative function, when ancient civilizations "decided to take their future reputation into account" and "make their appearance and virtues known to all mankind."[122] The two functions outlined by Alberti can perhaps not be entirely disentangled. For it is, of course, this commemorative function—the way ancients used monuments to "preserve for posterity their names or those of their families"— which opens the possibility for inheritance, the grounds on which Alberti imagines an "original purpose" in the first place. In this sense, the monument in Alberti's treatise marks not only the spatial boundaries, but also the historical boundaries, of a geopolitical entity; if the physical monument geographically marks the territory of an empire, its material persistence on the landscape marks the enduring legacy of imperial civilizations across time.[123]

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[120] Alberti, *On the Art of Building,* 238.

[121] "Hinc metae columnaeque et eiusmodi rerum dinoscendarum notae ortae sunt." Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 238. From this "original purpose" a trajectory of additional functions develops; these boundary markers become sites of "thanksgiving" where the civilizations "use religious ceremony as a public method of expressing their joy"—a function, I would add which is not without parallel in Cartier's narrative, where prayer follows the erection of the second cross.

[122] It is the commemorative, or memorial function of the monument which is emphasized in Varro's definition of the monument in *De Lingua Latina* (*On the Latin Language*), an edition of which was printed by Simon de Colines the same year as *Champ fleury*. Varro's etymological explanation, inserted within his definition of *meminisse* (to remember), links the *monumentum* with both *manere* (to remain) and *monere* (to remind). In its capacity to *remain*, to materially persist, the monument *reminds*, producing, calling the present back to the past in view of the future. Monuments, then, have this programmed capacity for producing anachronism, conflating old and new, placing new civilizations in the lineage of ancient ones. Referencing this commemorative function, Varro associates the monument with other objects which perform the same task, writing in particular: "From this use other things that are written or produced for the sake of memory are called monimenta." Marcus Terentius Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, tr. Roland Kent, Cambridge Harvard University Press, 2014), 217 (V, 45)

[123] During revival of classical antiquity in Western Europe, the monuments of ancient Rome could only be understood as ruins, providing a tangible reminder of the past in both its persistence and its decay. It was among the ruins of Rome, argues Thomas Greene, that poets like Petrarch found the profound sense of rupture between classical antiquity and the medieval world, ultimately allowing him to imagine the possibility of a resurrection of that past. Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 90-91. The Roman Renaissance was not only about the conceptual reestablishment of the legacy of antiquity, but the material restauration of this legacy. The architectural restauration of Rome, under Pope Nicolas V, was designed to highlight the power of the papacy by establishing a lineage between the Roman Empire and Christian Rome. It was to this pope who sought to rebuild Rome that Leon Battista Alberti would present his *On the Art of Building* (*De re aedificatoria*).[123]

Whereas the monumental cross seems to provide an outward referent of colonial intent, towards which Donnacona gestures to contest the territorial claim, its inscription celebrating the French monarch—arguably a much more explicit colonial message—is, in its absence from the dialogue between the French and the Haudenosaunee, assumed by the reader to remain unbeknownst to the Haudenosaunee. The narrator emphasizes the outward visibility of the monument for all interlocuters ("tournant et regardant icelle croix"), but implies at the same time that the inscription is legible to only a select few, including the reader. This same contrast is rendered narratological: one might contrast the intense discussion of the monument which has been referenced by name ("icelle croix," "ladite croix") eight times by the conclusion of the chapter, with the cross's Gothic inscription, ("VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE") which is mentioned only once, and never discussed. This scene contains an implicit reflection on outward and inward signs, the visible and the legible, and the way these tensions collide in the monument.

Cartier returns to Stadacona in 1535 with two Indigenous interpreters, Donnacona's sons—Domagaya and Taignoagny—whom he had abducted, just before departing, the previous year. The second French colonial monument that is left behind in Canada, this time written in Latin—perhaps to conceal its meaning from Domagaya and Taignoagny—and in Roman letters, invokes a number of the same questions as the first. The narrative account indicates that this second monument is constructed within the confines of a newly built French fort at the confluence of the Saint Charles and Lairet rivers ("le cappitaine fict planter une croix *dedans* nostre fort").[124] This second monument, in contrast to the first, is constructed in the absence of the Haudenosaunee, and concealed by the fort—which, incidentally, seems to mark the possibility of an enduring French presence in Canada. The second monument is erected without the conflict and discussion which

[124] *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 178

had characterized the construction of the first. And yet, it nevertheless seems to invite reflection on many of the same questions which existed for the first monument, in particular the relationship between the monument and the inscription, the visible and the legible.

It is the graphic identification of the inscription ("Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum") described as "escript en lettre atticque," which invites a number of questions about the particular modalities of monumental inscription.[125] By noting the style of the inscriptional lettering—in particular when considered alongside the identification of "lettre de forme" a year prior—the anonymous text seems to draw the reader's attention away from the message, what the letters say, and instead arrests the gaze at the shape of the letters, as if a portion of the message were contained within this graphic form. Indeed, the stylistic identification seems to blur the distinction between a purely ornamental detail and an instrumental signifying purpose, questions essential to letters as well as monuments. By identifying so precisely these two letterforms, the anonymous author seems, if only momentarily, to draw attention away from the colonial moment itself, and towards the typology of letters. In doing so, the second narrative seems to call attention to its intertextuality, and to the texts from which it takes these typographical designations: books such as *Champ fleury*, as well as the larger narrative Tory constructs about these letters.

By calling attention to the shapes of these letters, and in particular the Attic letter, the narrator also draws attention to the historical specificity of these letterforms. A text like *Champ fleury* is preoccupied with the letter insofar as it is a relic or artifact associated with a particular historical moment. Much of Tory's distinction between the "lettre Attique" and the "lettre Romaine" or "Latine," alongside his attempt to redefine and historicize the "lettres Francoises," is an attempt to historicize the letter, to associate letterforms with specific historical civilizations.

[125] *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 178

Graphic identification of the letter in *Champ fleury*—or in the narratives of Cartier's voyages for that matter—provides an invitation not simply to read the letter, but to consider the letter as an artifact of the moment of inscription, to inspect the letter as if it constituted a monument in and of itself, commemorating self-referentially its own inscription. Both the typographical identifications of the *lettre de forme* and the Attic letter seem engaged in a process of historicizing the inscription. Yet whereas the traditional *lettre de forme* simply inscribe this colonial moment in a national narrative, comfortably situated within its time, the Attic letter gestures beyond the particular colonial moment. Indeed, the classicizing, archaizing Attic letters produce an anachronism, drawing attention away from the moment of colonization, and away from the national narrative in that they seem to inscribe the moment in a larger historical context, or, indeed, *within* History. In this sense, this second colonial monument, even as it remains a boundary marker, seems to gesture towards the anachronism of commemorative monumentality in Alberti's treatise; in fact, the inscription seems to conflate these two monumental functions, using ancient letters to recall ancient empires. These Attic letters thus situate early modern French colonialism within the trajectory of ancient imperialism.

As Tory explains again and again in *Champ fleury*, despite the fact that the Romans inscribed Attic letters in "sumptuex Palaix, & Arcs tiumphans" which can still be seen in the ruins in the city of Rome, these Roman monuments and "Roman letters preserve the only the *ruins* of Greek, a language which was once "sans comparaison plus fertile, abundante, & florissante" with its "lettres myeulx ordonees."[126] Yet, Tory's juxtaposition of these majestic ruins to the duck ponds which surround and overwhelm them ("ruynes quon voit par cy & par enuyronnees de Canetieres") seems to emphasize the monuments' capacity to resist and endure nature.[127] Tory's mention of

[126] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 6.
[127] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 7.

these inscriptions on lasting ancient monuments seems to provide and confer upon the letterforms of their inscriptions, Attic letters, a particular capacity to *endure*, to *persist* beyond the death of the inscriber, and even beyond the civilization from which they originate. In the technical instructions of the third book of *Champ fleury*, Tory's discussion of the Roman appropriation of the Attic letter X is again supported by eyewitness accounts of Roman inscriptions ("comme iay veu en Romme en daucuns Epitaphes Anciens").[128] These monumental letters assume the stony endurance of the material with which they are associated. Even if carved in wood—as must have been initially for Tory's woodblock engravings as much as for Cartier's wooden cross—the Attic letter has the remarkable capacity to persist. From the woodblock to the printed page, paper seems to replace marble, and printing becomes a new form of monumental inscription.

In some sense, Tory seems to take on the responsibility for reporting and perpetuating the legacy of these monumental inscriptions. Tory's conjectures that the Hebrew script existed in France are supported by his reports of the vestiges of "ancient" Hebrew inscriptions spotted within Paris.[129] Tory recounts seeing "une grande pierre en l'hostel de Fescamp situe en l'universite de Paris, ou sont gravees maintes bonnes lettres Hebraicques."[130] Tory enumerates a number of monuments he observed in Paris, describing "pierres aussi gravees en Hebreu" which can be found "en la rue de la Harpe, droit devant le bout de la rue de foing."[131] Tory describes the inscriptions becoming absorbed into modern architecture; one inscription is to be found partly concealed by a new construction, buried now "ou est de present edifiee une maison neufve." A portion of the carved stone, its inscription now only "demy escripte" can be found upon a stone repurposed as a

[128] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 60v.
[129] Richard Cooper situates Tory in the larger project of fabricating Gallic antiquities in 16th-century France. As Cooper argues, "Tory transcribes some Hebrew lettering, which obviously comes from Jewish tombs, but which his contemporaries could interpret as ancient druidical texts." "Inventing Gallic Antiquities in Renaissance France", *Literary Forgery In Early Modern Europe 1450-1800*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 207.
[130] Tory, *Champ fleury,* f. 5v.
[131] Tory, *Champ fleury,* f. 5v

gutter: "la faict on servir soubz ung esgout."[132] These ancient Hebrew inscriptions are even to be found alongside a modern printer's sign: "en la muraille de la court de la maison ou pend l'enseigne de trois boittes."[133] Letters produce juxtaposition between past and present, allowing the printer to imagine the reproduction and reconstruction of past civilizations via the new technology of printing.[134]

And yet within these ruins, the origins of script in France are haunted by erasure. For example, Tory must abandon entirely the prospect of providing any history of the original alphabetic scripts used in France (whether "Hebraiques, en Grecques, Latines, ou Francoises") or even "qui les inventa [et] aporta en France," because of overwhelming absence of written sources. The author confesses: "nous sommes si pouvres historiens & executeurs de bonnes lettres, que je ne puis cognoistre assez bon autheur qui en aye suffisamment laisse memoire."[135] *Champ fleury* is particularly haunted by the absence of traditional "lettres francoises," which despite being "native et domestiques" to France, seem to have left remarkably few lasting traces.[136] Whereas, by Tory's account, the Attic letter can be traced through the millennia, the Gothic letters traditional in France are difficult to trace through a couple centuries. Concerning the Gothic "lettres francoises," Tory claims that he can't discuss them because he can't find any written mention of them: "si j'eusse peu trouver mention par escript de noz susdictes lettres de Forme et Bastarde, ou comme j'ay cy devant dict, si j'en eusse peu trouver homme qui m'en eust voulu & peu enseigner, je les eusse mises en ordre selon leur deue proportion."[137] Tory mentions their absence twice, and in some sense, this repeated mention of their absence seems to call attention to their fleeting place in the shadow of

[132] Tory, *Champ fleury,* f. 5v
[133] Tory, *Champ fleury,* f. 5v
[134] "Printing" observes Katie Chenoweth in a key argument of *The Prosthetic Tongue*, "mobilizes the uncanny *rebirth* of an ancient alphabet.", 166.
[135] Tory, *Champ fleury,* f. 5v
[136] Tory, *Champ fleury,* f. 71v
[137] Tory, *Champ fleury,* 7v.

the enduring Attic letter at the center of *Champ fleury*.[138] These traditional letter forms seem to index the loss of history, precisely the opposite of monumentality: ephemerality. Much like the French language which Tory fears will be "changee & pervertie" in only "Cinquante ans" if some durable attempt is not made to regulate it ("s'il n'y est mys & ordonne"), the ornamental curves of the "lettre francoises" seem to lack the lasting durability of the rigid lines of Tory's Attic letters.[139]

Guillaume Budé's *De Asse*—which Tory celebrates so frequently in *Champ fleury*—had extolled this monumental function of letters, persistently referring to "the eternal monuments of writers" (monumentisque aeternis scriptorum).[140] Budé's treatise, drawing on ancient political models, implores contemporaneous leaders to recognize the importance of monumentalizing power, rather than simply exerting it in the present—indeed, he asks what becomes of power, "if those who hold it do not want to use it to maintain their memory for posterity" (nisi principes ipsi sibi memoriæ posteritatis inseruiendum esse censeant.")[141] For Budé, previous leaders have been innattentive to their legacy, when they should have "supported it and stabilized it everywhere by prestigous monuments" ("monumentis utique praeclare rerum gestarum eam fulcire debebat et stabilire.")[142] Even worse, these leaders, in their "ignorance of the liberal arts," also failed to recognize that "the building of such monuments require the hands of architects" ("monumenta condenda architectorum manus.")[143] Perhaps Tory might be considered one such architect,

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[138] In the opening pages Tory remarks "je traicterois aussi de la lettre de Frome & de la Bastarde, mais pour ceste foi aidāt nostre seigneur ie designeray la dicte lettre Attique seullemēt." Geoffory Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 1r.
[139] Tory, *Champ fleury,* "Aux Lecteurs de ce Present Livre," np.
[140] Guillaume Budé, *De Asse,* 112. (Sanchi's translation: "les monuments éternels des écrivains").
[141] Guillaume Budé, *De Asse,* 116. (Sanchi's translation: "Ce pouvoir même que, paré de tous les genres de bonheurs, nous admirons tant, que devient-il si ceux mêmes qui le détiennent ne veut point s'en servir pour entretenir leur mémoire auprès de la postérité?")
[142]Guillaume Budé, *De Asse,* 116. (Sanchi: aurait dû la soutenir et la consolider partout par des monuments prestigeux célébrant sa geste.") In a long digression, Budé discusses three political figures of his time, (identified by Louis Delaruelle, as Guy de Rochefort, Georges d'Amboise, and Jean de Ganay) in order to outline more general advice for political figures in France. See Delaruelle, *Guillaume Budé; Les Origines, Les Débuts, Les Idées Maîtresses,* (Paris: Champion, 1907) 168.
[143] Guillaume Budé, *De Asse,* 116. (Sanchi: "Pour bâtir de tels monuments il fallait la main des architectes")

providing the precise instructions to create enduring monumental letters, ones which Cartier follows in his attempt to create an enduring French empire in Canada.

Cartier's precise typographical references must be considered in light of the narrative that Tory outlines for them in *Champ fleury*. Whereas the *lettre de forme* perhaps embodied a traditional, proto-nationalist "Frenchness," this domestic lettering lacked the promise of durability associated with the letters of ancient empires. The Attic letter is inscribed when the physical construction of a fort in Stadacona marks a concrete French attempt of colonial occupation. In using the Attic letter, Cartier confers upon this French claim of Canada a lasting monumentality, one which seems to confront the past as much as posterity.[144] Yet, if Attic letters seem undoubtably linked to a narrative which seeks to imitate the models of the past, situating French territorial claim in the lineage of ancient empires, there is also a sense in which their inscription must be read as a defiantly "modern" attempt to exceed the model of the ancient past. After all, as the author of the second narrative indicates in the opening epistle of the text—providing a requisite reminder which opens most transatlantic travel narratives—Canada belongs to those parts of the world believed to be "inhabitees" by those "saiges philosophes du temps passé."[145] The anachronism produced by the ancient letters in the so-called "New World" must not be conceived of as simply an espousal of the model of the ancient past, but an active renegotiation of this past, and a reflection on the very possibility of a history.

[144] The inscription in Latin—while somewhat puzzling given the French language project inaugurated by Tory in *Champ fleury* and in the ensuing years with the notably officialized in the 1539 Ordonnance Villiers Cottrets—declared French territorial claim in a language which, in the words of Mirelle Huchon, could be "dechiffrée par tout Européen de passage" but also one which inscribed French territorial claim in the lineage of ancient empires. Mireille Huchon, *Le Francais au temps de Jacques Cartier*, (Rimouski: Tagence, 2006) 32.
[145] *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 126.

3. Typographical humanism

> "Legibility was not the chief aim of the medieval scribe."[146]
> Allen Forbes Johnson

In the first narrative of Cartier's voyage to Canada, when the monument is erected in the presence of the Haudenosaunee, the inscription "VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE" is assumed to remain illegible to the group gathered around the monument. Indeed, Cartier must rely on what he presumes to be the illegibility of the incriminating inscription vis-a-vis the Haudenosaunee in order to misrepresent the monument as a benign navigational marker, "plantee pour faire merche et ballise pour entrer dedans le hable."[147] Underlying this scene is the idea that European alphabetic writing represents a particularly powerful colonial weapon, which can be wielded against other civilizations perceived to exist outside of this legacy. And yet at the same time that this scene suggests that the superior civilization is the one capable of wielding this colonial tool, it provides the means to undermine this superiority, by demonstrating it as a fiction. The inscription never truly seems to conceal anything from the Haudenosaunee; Donnacona, as the narrative indicates, immediately recognizes Cartier's intentions, and must be coerced into accepting Cartier's explanation. In this sense, the inscription exists simply as an accessory to the physical intimidation which closes this first narrative. And yet the description of this first inscription on a colonial monument in Canada in *lettre de forme*, seems, nevertheless, to textually reenact and retell the tensions at the heart of "Gothic" letters. Indeed, the movement from Gothic *lettre de forme* to the Attic letter is not simply a question of durable imperial presence, but also what these letters indicate about the civilizations that use them.

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[146] Allen Forbes Johnson, *Type Designs*, 1934, 6.
[147] *Relations,* ed. Bideaux, 116.

Each of these lettering styles is associated, for many early modern authors, with a specific narrative of civilizational development and decline. For example, the term *Gothic* was used pejoratively by the humanists who sought the revival of classical antiquity to dismiss medieval aesthetic and intellectual traditions. This epithet conflated the destruction of ancient Roman culture that followed the Gothic invasions of Rome in the third century with what humanists perceived to be the more recent cultural failure of the medieval past. This terminology took the supposed capacity for letters to *index* specific historical moments and exploited it to *conflate* distant historical moments: producing ancient history out of recent past. For example, in *Champ fleury*, Tory argues that Gothic letters are aptly named, "pource quelles demorerent en Rōme du temps que les Goths la subuertisent & misent en centre avec toutes bonnes Sciēces & Lettres."[148] Gothic letters, Tory suggests, paradoxically symbolize the destruction of letters. The term Gothic, Tory explains, has come to generally describe "chose lourde & mal seyante."[149] Gothic typefaces come to represent, therefore, the unrefined barbarism attributed to the Gothic invaders. Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla in his influential Latin manual *The Elegances of the Latin Language* (*Elegentiae lingua latina*) wrote that numerous codices written in Gothic script ("codices gothice scriptos,") which preserve the body of ancient Roman legal texts, the *Corpus iuris civilis*, provide material evidence of the "Gothic" textual corruption of Roman law and culture.[150] Valla uses the term Gothic ("gothice") adverbially—literally "codices written Gothically"—as if Gothic might refer to any poorly executed writing rather than a codified, objectifiable genre of script. The term "Gothic"

[148] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 73r.
[149] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 73r.
[150]Lorenzo Valla, Eugenio Garin (ed.), *Prosatori latini del quattrocento*, "Prefazione al terzo libro delle elleganze" (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1952) 610. Valla's *Elegentiae* was printed in Paris by German craftsman recruited by scholars at the Sorbonne, Guillaume Fichet and Joannes Heynlin, on the first printing press established in France. Influenced by Italian, rather than German, type design, the printers composed Valla's text in the only typeface they possessed, one particularly apt for the *Elegentiae*: a Roman-style typeface. Anthony Levi, *Renaissance and Reformation: The Intellectual Genesis*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 110 and Vervliet, *Paleotypography,* 11.

seems to translate the humanist reader's visceral rejection of the forms of textuality which confront the eye—a rejection which is framed as much as a material, archival critique as a conceptual one.[151] If the Goths were able to "corrupt the Roman script" ("pravare scripturam romanam"), how much more, Valla asks, might they have corrupted the Roman language and ideas?[152] Valla's rejection of Gothic script was founded upon placing into doubt its capacity to transmit and preserve cultural information.

If humanism has long been associated new kinds of reading, among them the growth of "silent reading," these new reading practices came alongside a sense of what reading *was not*: that is, certain textual practices, such as lettering and layout, were to be rejected as difficult to read, or perhaps not readable at all.[153] Indeed, the redefinition of the letter among major figures of humanism was also a reinvention of the concept of legibility. In his correspondence with Boccaccio, Petrarch deplores "the vague and luxuriant" script used by scribes of his day, who, as if painting rather than writing, design letters which seem invented for anything but reading. Petrarch cites Priscian's etymology of *littera* which compares the letter to a path [iter] for guiding the one who reads [legere].[154] Petrarch's condemnation of his contemporaries and medieval predecessors was a conceptual rejection founded upon a graphic and aesthetic critique.[155] For the humanist, medieval scholasticism had forgotten or corrupted not only the learning of classical

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[151] Anthony Grafton argues that "from the start, the humanists saw Gothic script as the outward and visible sign of Gothic ignorance: ugly, stupid, impenetrable." See "The Humanist as Reader" in *A History of Reading in the West*, 184. For Christopher S. Celenza, Valla can be observed "highlighting a link between texts as bodies of learning and the material form in which they are expressed," *The Intellectual World of the Italian* Renaissance, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018) 190.

[152] Garin (ed.), *Prosatori*, 610.

[153] In the words of Paul Saegner, "humanistic textual script" was a lettering "highly suitable for private, silent reading". *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*, 272

[154] "Non vaga quidem ac luxurianti litera—qualis est scriptorum seu verius pictorm nostri temporis, longe oculus mulcens, prope autem afficiens ac fatigans quasi ad aliud quam ad legendum sit inventa, et non, ut grammaticorum princeps ait litera "quasi legitera" dicta sit" Petrarch, *Epistolae familiares*, XXIII, 19, 8 (1366), cited by Berthold Louis Ullman, *The Origin and Developement of Humanistic Script,* 13.

[155] H. Wayne Storey, Transcription and Visual Poetics in the Early Italian Lyric, New York Garland Press, 1993 201-224

antiquity, but also some "original" function of the letter; Gothic letters were so ornamental that they were in fact hardly fit to be called letters at all. In this sense, new humanist textual practices were proposed on the foundation that the prior forms bordered on the illegible. At its core, the term *Gothic* was a pejorative amalgam which conflated a number of graphically distinct lettering traditions, preemptively rejecting under the pretext of "illegibility" any number of deviations from a specific set of calligraphic and (subsequently) typographical conventions.[156] The Gothic epithet described not simply inept or clumsy medieval Latin, but—at its foundation—the inability *to write*, or at least write adeptly, in both a conceptual and material sense.[157] In this sense, the humanist dismissal of "Gothic" literary traditions as *illegible* sought to strip these traditions of the statute of *letters*, and with it, all of the intellectual traditions associated with letters—perhaps above all, as explored in the previous section, history. Indeed, the dismissal as illegible strips "Gothic" traditions of letters, which constitute the possibility of history, therefore placing the entire age outside of history, a "middle" age caught between two historical moments: classical antiquity and its "revival" during the Renaissance. The rejection of Gothic scripts central to a number of humanist texts must be understood not simply as the iconoclast denunciation of the medieval past which preconditioned the "Renaissance," but also as a profound narrowing of vision, which lays the foundation for a hegemonic redefinition of the letter.

An important part of the early modern definition of barbarism concerned the supposed inability to write. Thus, as Gothic letters become increasingly linked to illegibility, they become an unmistakable sign of barbarism. Guillaume Budé—whose works, even early in the century,

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[156] Roberta Ricci argues that the translation from Gothic to humanistic style calligraphy in 15th-century Florence represents the emergence of a new "grammar of legibility," which she defines, drawing on the Medieval paleographer Malcolm Parkes, as "the decorum to ensure that the message of a text [is] conveyed in the written medium." *The Revolution of the Hand*, 194.

[157] François Rabelais famously parodies Gothic scholastic education in *Gargantua*, depicting a "grand docteur en theologie," who takes "treize ans six mois et deux sepmaines" to teach his pupil the alphabet, teaching him to "escrire gothiquement." Rabelais, *Gargantua, Oeuvres*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 43.

were published in the Roman typeface used by humanist printer Josse Bade—referred, much like Valla, to the language of the medieval glosses of Roman Law as "gotthica et barbara."[158] In a narrative which linked writing to civilization, the illegibility of Gothic letters, which are unrecognizable as writing, are unrecognizable as culture. This terminology sought to bridge distant historical moments to produce an overarching narrative that linked culture to writing, as if a trajectory of cultural development and civilizational decline could be observed in the graphic shape of letters. Indeed, as it will become clear, this humanist rejection of so-called Gothic writing was bound up with a pronounced redefinition not only of what it means to write and read, but also of what these activities indicated about those who perform them.[159]

In much of the humanist cultural imaginary, the "Gothic" letter symbolizes the degradation of the great gifts of ancient civilization—letters—and thus an uncertain claim to civilization. Gothic letters provided for humanists a haunting reminder of the supposed barbarism which existed in Europe and elsewhere before the introduction of letters. "It was the language of Rome," writes Valla, "that taught the liberal arts to nations and peoples everywhere."[160] And for Valla, the Roman letter provided the path not to *Roman* culture, but to culture *in general*: "it was Latin that taught [these nations] their best laws and showed them the path to all forms of knowledge. It was Latin that finally liberated them from their barbarous way." Within this humanist narrative, a highly

[158] Guillaume Budé, *Annotationes Gulielmi Budaei Parisiensis secretarii regii in quatuor et uginti Pandectarum libros ad Ioannem Deganaiun Cancellarium Franciae*, (Paris: Badius Ascenius, 1508) f. 10.

[159] This barbarity was supposedly visible in the shapes of the letters themselves. Italian humanist Flavio Biondo, in *Italia Illustrata* (1474), wrote that the Germanic Roman invaders, the Lombards, "entirely disregarded the Roman characters [charactere litterarum]" and in their place "invented new symbols [cifras] in the place of letters, showing their primitive barbarian [barbariem] incompetence." Biondo Flavio, Catherine J. Castne (ed. and tr.), *Biondo Flavio's "Italia illustrata,"* (New York: Global Academic Publishing, 2005). Biondo denies the status of letters (littera) to the scribal practices of the Lombards, instead referring to symbols used in place of letters: "cifras pro litteris.", 169 The barbarity of the Lombards is for Biondo demonstrated precisely by this lack of proper "letters."

[160] haec [lingua latina] enim gentes illas, populosque omnes omnibus artibus quae liberales vocantur instituit; haec optimas leges edocuit; haec viam eisdem ad omnem sapientiam munivit; haec denique praestitit ne barbari amplius dici possent" Garin, *Prosatori*, 594.

restrictive sense of the letter is co-opted by a highly restrictive sense of human culture. Roman-style letters stand in for letters in general, just as Roman culture—as well as the Greek cultural and literary forms that the Romans prized—stands in for *human* culture.[161]

In this way, Valla represents Roman imperial expansion as the spread of universal culture among otherwise barbarian peoples.[162] This expansionist narrative, which used lettered culture to defend imperialism, was of course not simply an integral part of early modern humanism, but one to be found among Roman authors. The classical notion of *humanitas*, for authors like Cicero, described Roman civilization and its lettered education not simply as the fulfillment of what it meant to be Roman, but of what it meant to be human.[163] It is in this sense that Pliny the Elder wrote that Rome gave civilization to mankind ("humanitatem homini daret"), Valla, celebrating this ancient expansion of the *humanitas* of the Roman empire, promoted a return to what he called the *studia humanitatis* as a means to eliminate Gothic barbarism. In this sense, the humanist's rejection of the medieval past was organized under an imaginary which celebrated the spread of the Roman empire, and provided a roadmap to emulate this ancient expansionism.

If this humanist rejection of Gothic lettering has long figured as a requisite part of any study of European literary history, it has rarely been linked to the distinct colonial application of the association between writing practices and culture. Of course, the rejection of the "Gothic"

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[161] While Valla celebrates the fact that Romans used to mix their language with that of the Greeks ("veteres admiscebant linguae suae graecam,") he deplores the fact that modern languages have become mixed with that of the Goths ("isti admiscent gothicam.") Garin, *Prosatori*, 610.

[162] This vision of linguistic imperialism becomes influential throughout Europe. As Walter Mignolo explains, Nebrija is inspired by Valla for his own imperial grammatical projects: "When he was in Italy, Nebrija became aquainted with Valla's revaluation of letters as a means to save the Holy Roman Empire from total ruin. Valla realized that rebuilding an empire could not be accomplished solely by means of arms. He intended, instead to achieve his goals by the expedient of letters". Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003) 41.

[163]Sara Melzer argues that the Renaissance inherited a vision of humanitas as "the condition for human beings to realize their full potential as humans by becoming civilized" and celebrated the way "the Romans used their civilization as an instrument of colonization, spreading humanitas throughout their empire." Sara Melzer, *Colonizer or Colonized*, 47.

medieval past appears on the surface to be a domestic narrative, distinct from any global colonial implications. However, the hegemonic cultural model which underlies the rejection of Gothic textual traditions is just one manifestation of a larger movement: a narrowing redefinition of culture, linked to a narrowing redefinition of writing. For example, scholars have long emphasized the fact that European colonists frequently cited the larger cultural implications of what they perceived to be a "lack" of writing among Indigenous American civilizations. This had an ostensibly positive valence for Peter Martyr in *On the New World* (*De Orbe Novo*) which depicted the Indigenous Taino of Cuba as living in a golden age of natural justice without laws and *without books* ("sans loix, sans livres, sans iuges: mais de leur nature suyans ce que est iuste.")[164] Yet, this presumed lack of books, which for Martyr had every indication of the classical golden age, would be precisely the same aspects which would later be used to defend the Spanish colonial project. Thomas Aquinas' claim that "the fact that some peoples have no literary practices are signs that appropriately manifest barbarism," from his commentary on Aristotle's *Politics*, was frequently cited in colonial contexts.[165] For example, later in the century, it was precisely this conception which was referenced by figures like humanist theologian Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, to defend the Spanish colonial activity in the Americas. Sepúlveda remarks that the Indigenous people "lack all written laws" and concludes that they have "barbarous customs and institutions."[166] When French imperialism in the Americas accelerates later in the century, precisely these same ideas will be reported by figures like André Thevet and Jean de Léry, and idealized by those like Ronsard or Montaigne—figures who will be examined in greater detail in later chapters.

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[164] Peter Martyr d'Anghiera*, Extraict ou Recueil des isles nouvellement trouvees en la grand mer Oceane*, (Paris: Colines, 1532), 23.
[165] Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnography*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)**,** 131. Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Aristotle's Politics,* tr. Richard Regan, (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2007), 21.
[166] Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Democrates Segundo o De las justas causas de la guerra contra los indios*, (Madrid : Instituto Francisco de Vitoria, 1951), 35. (Cited by Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, 235 n. 41.)

The representation of the interactions between the French and the Saint Lawrence Haudenosaunee in the 1530s between the must be considered within the context of these codified forms of representation in other European travel narratives that emphasize the place of writing, but also within the domestic humanist narratives about the place of letters in French culture. For instance, the second narrative contains another scene which dramatizes the place of writing in the French colonial project. The French, traveling further down the Saint Lawrence River in search of a northwest passage, arrive at the village of Hochelaga, in the area of present-day Montreal, where they are received by "mil personnes tant hommes femmes que enffans."[167] The narrative recounts the marvels of a city "toute ronde et cloze de boy a troys rancqs en facon d'un piramyde croizee par le haut," describing architectural details alongside alimentary and vestimentary practices of the people of Hochelaga.[168] But this French excursion at Hochelaga culminates in a highly dramatized scene of reading. The narrative describes Cartier reading aloud a book of hours, the traditional Catholic book of prayers, to a large group of listening Haudenosaunee people. As the narrator recounts:

> Puis print ledict capitaine vne paire d'heures et tout haultement leut de mot a mot la passion de Nostre Seigneur, si que tous les assistans la peurent ouyr, ou tout ce pouvre people fist vne grande sillance, et feurent mervilleusement bien entendibles regardant le ciel et faisant pareilles serimonyes qu'ilz nous voyent faire.[169]

The marked insistence on the text being read *word for word* ("mot a mot") seems to dramatize the process of reading. The scene sets up a stark contrast between the reader and the captive audience, at first reduced to "sillance" and then suddenly "merveilleusement bien entendibles" to the "serimonyes" of the French.

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[167] *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 150.
[168] *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 151.
[169] *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 166.

There are a number of troubling and curious aspects in this scenography—and, parenthetically, I will analyze this passage as just that, a highly constructed *mise-en-scene*, which may or may not have had a factual ritual at its origin: a representation ostensibly intended to reproduce similar scenes in other travel narratives and emphasize the receptivity of the Haudenosaunee of Hochelaga to Christianity. However, the narrator's attention to the book of hours, the "paire d'heures" supposedly used by Cartier merits further attention, particularly given the narrator's attention to precise typographical nomenclature in the scene which follows shortly after, the Attic letter used to inscribe wooden cross. In some sense, when examined more closely, the book of hours is a logical choice; this traditional French devotional central to European book culture was the most widely produced manuscript types of the medieval period. Between the 13th and 16th centuries no book was more "commissioned and produced, bought, and sold, bequeathed, and inherited, [and eventually] printed and reprinted."[170] This devotional—which receives its name from the prayers it contained, intended to be recited regularly throughout the hours of the day—was not merely a central object of religious life; its customized illuminations were a means to express wealth and individuality. Early printed editions, for which Paris would become a center, sought to reproduce the characteristics of the traditional genre by imitating, for example, the Gothic *textura* of manuscripts, with typographical characters of the same type. However, in 1525, Geoffroy Tory revolutionized this traditional genre by publishing his *Heures selon lusage de Rome*, which set aside the "dense, gothic style" of the traditional *Heures* in favor of the "innovations of the Italian Renaissance."[171] (Figure 5) Among these innovations was the use of a Roman typeface throughout the text, but also large inline Roman capitals, that display all the

[170]Roger Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, (New York: George Braziller, 1997), 9.
[171]Hilary Maddocks, 'Geofroy Tory's 1531 Books of Hours,' *Latrobe Journal*, no. 79, Autumn 2007, 45.

"classical variations in width and other features" that characterize the Attic letter which will be outlined only years later in *Champ fleury*.[172]

Given the proximity within the narration between this scene and monumental inscription "en lettre atticque" a few pages later, it is difficult not to imagine the centrality of this "paire d'heures" as a conscious choice, written by an author profoundly conscious of the way that the 1530s brought about remarkable humanist transformation of this traditional genre in France. Tory's refashioning of this medieval tradition came with important consequences. Much like François de Moulins de Rochefort's attempts to symbolize the French monarch's aspirations to the Holy Roman Empire under the symbol of a "secund Cæsar," Tory and other humanists sought to make distinctively Christian traditions compatible with new humanist values, with

[172] In fact, Amert has suggests that it was perhaps the preparation of these large ornamental capitals for the *Heures* in 1524 which provided the "working point of origin" for the inspiration of *Champ fleury* that same year. Kay Amert, The Rabbit and the Scythe, 161-162.



Figure 3: An illustration from the 1525 *Heures* depicting the Virgin Mary alongside classicizing architecture, featuring the large decorative initial D styled after Tory's "Attic" letter. *Heures, a la louange de la vierge Marie, selon lusage de Rome,* ed. Tory (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1524) f. diiij. Bibliothèque nationale de France https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8427282b/f63.image#

imperial consequences. It was Tory who demonstrates the compatibility of this traditional genre with a new *humanist* aesthetic tradition, and indeed, perhaps the sort of humanist narratives which idolized ancient imperialism. A new vision of the letter comes to unite the Roman imperial imaginary with an evangelical proselyting mission, joining the imperial violence of the classical notion of *humanitas* with a Christian missionary project—or perhaps simply the appearances of such a project—a union perhaps no better epitomized than by a wooden crucifix inscribed with classicizing calligraphy.[173]

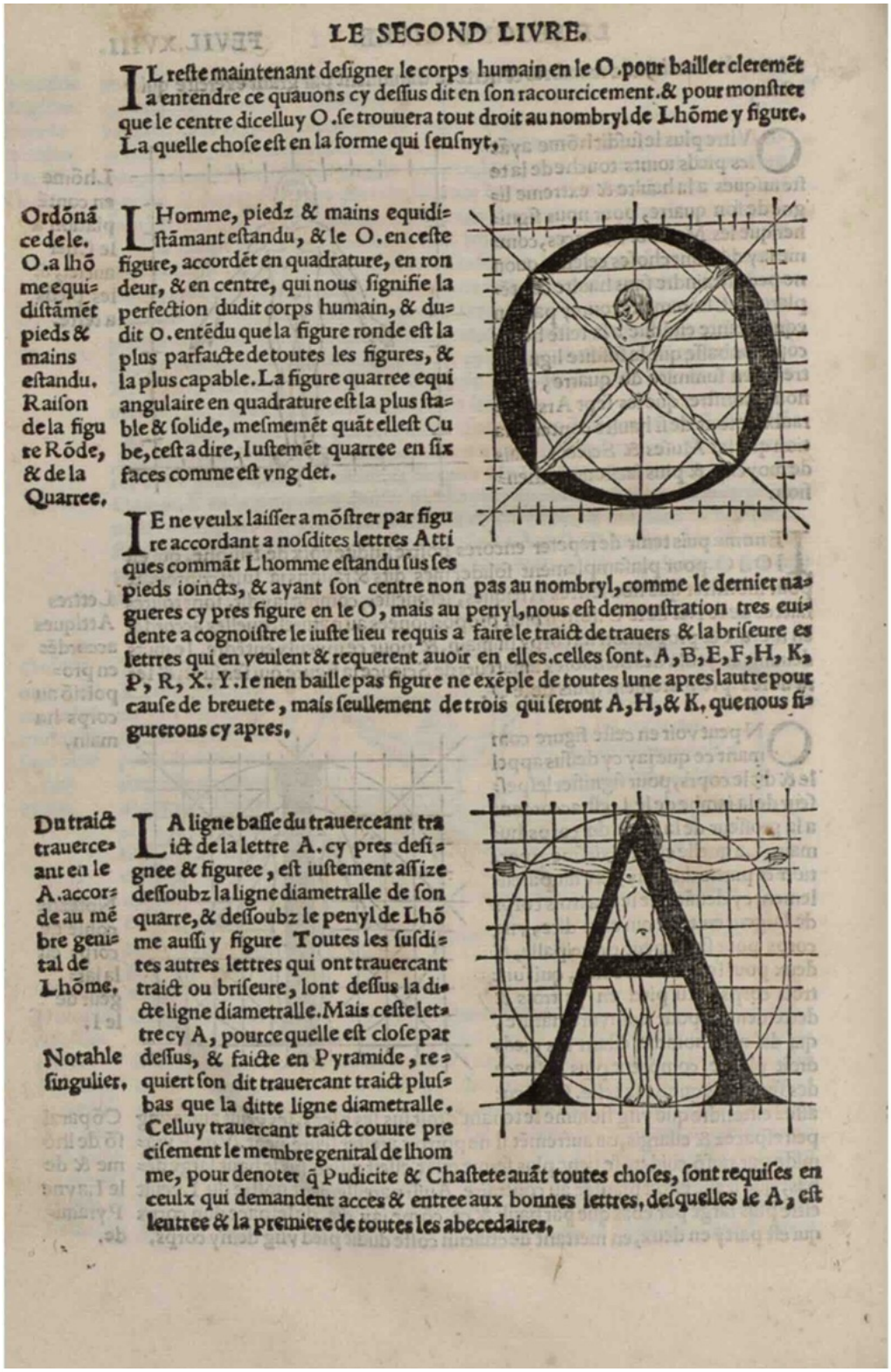
The narratives of French imperialism in Canada frame global imperialism in similar terms. The second narrative opens with a familiar image of global expansion, that of the empire upon which "the sun never sets."[174] The anonymous author describes the sun circling the globe: "le soleil qui chacun jour se lieue à l'orient et se reconce à l'occident faict le tour & circuit de la terre donnant lumiere et chaleur à tout le monde."[175] Yet, the text introduces a Christian modification of this familiar image. The author observes that "toutes humaines creatures estans & habitans soubz le globe" have knowledge of the sun as it moves on its preordained course across the globe—even those who inhabit those regions thought by the "saiges philosophes du temps paßé" to be inhabited.[176] In the same way, the author foresees that in "le temps aduenir" all of these "humaines creatures" will have "congoissance & creance de nostre saincte foy."[177] The author of the first narrative had already claimed that "les gens seroint facilles à convertir a nostre saincte foy."[178] The opening pages of the second narrative describe this proselyting fantasy on a global scale. This solar

[173] Cartier's original commissions for the first two voyages contain little suggestion of missionary activity. It is not until after the voyage that the Cartier's exploration of Canada will to be framed as a missionary endeavor. This is discussed briefly by Alan Gordon, *The Hero and the Historians: Historiography and the Uses of Jacques Cartier*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 18
[174] See above note 26.
[175] *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 126
[176] *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 127, 126.
[177] *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 127.
[178] *Relations*, Bideaux, 113

circuit describes what is conceived as an unalterable, predetermined trajectory of "nostre saincte foy" targeting every "creature humaine." The human in general, indeed all of humanity, is defined not simply by its *capacity* but its *destiny* to be brought to European Christianity ("reduict a notre tres saincte foy)."[179] The second narrative lauds the "Catholicque Roy d'Espaigne" for expansion of Christendom and tells the French monarch that the same is being done in Canada, suddenly referred to with a possessive adjective "vosditz pays et terres."[180]

The Attic letter has a particular relationship to this restrictive notion of the human. Indeed, one of the more memorable ways that Tory will demonstrate the "perfection" of Attic letters is by superimposing them upon the "Corps & Visage naturel de l'Homme parfaict" in order to demonstrate their "conference proportionnalle."[181] (Figure 6) Each of these demonstrations is said to prove both the perfection "tant dudit corps humains que de noz divine lettres attiques," establishing what Erika Mary Boeckeler has called a "symbiotic relationship" between the human and the letter.[182] The mystical mathematical relationship which Tory seeks to demonstrate between the human body and the alphabet is, of course, inscribed in a longer tradition; this tradition, influenced in part by the rediscovery of Vitruvian architectural principles, can be seen in the Pacioli's *De divina proportione*, a text cited and criticized in *Champ fleury*. These nude male figures are described generally as embodying the "corps humain" and later in the treatise as

[179] *Relations*, Bideaux, 127
[180] *Relations*, Bideaux, 128
[181] As Tory announces in the table of contents, "au segond [livre] est traicte de Linvention des Lettres Attiques, & de la conference proportionnalle dicelles au Corps & Visage naturel de Lhomme parfaict. Avec plusieurs belles inuentions & moralitez sus lesdittes Lettres Attiques." np. f. ai v.
[182] Tory *Champ fleury*, f. 17v. Erika Mary Boeckeler, *Playful Letters: A Study in Early Modern Alphabetics*, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017) 28.



LE SEGOND LIVRE.

IL reſte maintenant deſigner le corps humain en le O. pour bailler cleremẽt a entendre ce quauons cy deſſus dit en ſon racourcicement. & pour monſtrer que le centre dicelluy O. ſe trouuera tout droit au nombryl de Lhõme y figure. La quelle choſe eſt en la forme qui ſenſnyt,

Ordõnãce de le. O. a lhõme equidiſtãmẽt pieds & mains eſtandu. Raiſon de la figure Rõde, & de la Quarree.

LHomme, piedz & mains equidiſtãmant eſtandu, & le O. en ceſte figure, accordẽt en quadrature, en rondeur, & en centre, qui nous ſignifie la perfection dudit corps humain, & dudit O. entẽdu que la figure ronde eſt la plus parfaicte de toutes les figures, & la plus capable. La figure quarree equiangulaire en quadrature eſt la plus ſtable & ſolide, meſmemẽt quãt elleſt Cube, ceſt a dire, Iuſtemẽt quarree en ſix faces comme eſt vng det.

IE ne veulx laiſſer a mõſtrer par figure accordant a noſdites lettres Attiques commãt Lhomme eſtandu ſus ſes pieds ioincts, & ayant ſon centre non pas au nombryl, comme le dernier nagueres cy pres figure en le O, mais au penyl, nous eſt demonſtration tres euidente a cognoiſtre le iuſte lieu requis a faire le traict de trauers & la briſeure es lettres qui en veulent & requerent auoir en elles. celles ſont. A, B, E, F, H, K, P, R, X. Y. Ie nen baille pas figure ne exẽple de toutes lune apres lautre pour cauſe de breuete, mais ſeullement de trois qui ſeront A, H, & K, que nous figurerons cy apres,

Du traict trauerceant en le A. accorde au mẽbre genital de Lhõme.

LA ligne baſſe du trauerceant traict de la lettre A. cy pres deſignee & figuree, eſt iuſtement aſſize deſſoubz la ligne diametralle de ſon quarre, & deſſoubz le penyl de Lhõme auſſi y figure Toutes les ſuſdites autres lettres qui ont trauercant traict ou briſeure, lont deſſus la dicte ligne diametralle. Mais ceſte lettre cy A, pource quelle eſt cloſe par deſſus, & faicte en Pyramide, requiert ſon dit trauercant traict pluſbas que la ditte ligne diametralle. Celluy trauercant traict couure preciſement le membre genital de lhomme, pour denoter q̃ Pudicite & Chaſtete auãt toutes choſes, ſont requiſes en ceulx qui demandent acces & entree aux bonnes lettres, deſquelles le A, eſt lentree & la premiere de toutes les abecedaires,

Notable ſingulier.

Figure 4*:* "Ordonnance de le. O. a l'homme equidistamment pieds & mains estandus." Tory, *Champ fleury,* f. 28v. Bibliothèque municipale, Blois, France, Cote : I65. http://xtf.bvh.univtours.fr/xtf/view?docId=tei/B410186201_I65/B410186201_I65_tei.xml;doc.view=notice

the body of "l'Homme parfaict."[183] The human is for Tory *marked* by possession of the Attic letter.

The illustrations which make up the central portion of Tory's *Champ fleury* seem to suggest what Tory does not say to say outright, that in much of the humanist narrative—insofar as it is possible to ascribe such uniformity to a 'humanist' discourse—the mark of humanity comes in the letterform closely associated with the revival of the ancients: the Roman capital Tory calls the Attic letter. As Walter Mignolo argues:

> Leonardo da Vinci's Vitruvian Man translated into visual language what humanists were portraying in words. Man and humanitas became the frame of reference allowing the enunciator inscribed in Greco-Latin genealogy of thoughts to decide who belonged—not just to Christianity—but to humanity. During the European Renaissance, he who spoke for the human was the humanist.[184]

In *Champ fleury*, the classicizing proportions of the "human" figure, which are made to coincide with classicizing proportions of the Roman capital, seem to "embody" a humanist narrative, in which a highly restrictive sense of the letter is co-opted by a highly restrictive sense of the human

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[183] Given Tory's professed admiration for the French geometer "messire Charles Bouille," it is worthwhile mentioning that Tory's allusion to the "homme parfaict" is likely not a casually improvised locution, but a precise reference to a philosophical concept developed in the work of Bovelles: the "homo perfectus" that the geometer discusses in his *Liber de Sapientiae*. Perfection in Bovelles' philosophical system refers—in the etymological sense (Latin: perficere)— to completion, accomplishment of full human potential. Bovelles opposes this fulfillment of human potential, which takes place through learning, to the human in its 'natural' state. Bovelles explains, "bien que l'homme fut homme par nature, il n'a cependant pas su qu'il etait homme, ni n'a compris, oublieux de sa dignité, qu'il etait doue de raison." Charles de Bovelles, *Le Livre du Sage,* (ed., tr.) Pierre Magnard, (Paris: Vrin, 1982), 53. "*Naturalis homo*", as Bovelles explains, "mene une vie indigne de l'homme" and therefore "semble plutot qu'un homme une bete sauvage [fera potius quam homo]." Bovelles, *Le Livre du Sage*, 53-55. Wisdom is the "sole virtue" capable of providing this humanity. Bovelles cites Pico's *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, arguing that "man attains his purpose as man only when he gives it to himself." In the philosophy of Bovelles or Pico, the *homo naturalis* functions as a figure of potentiality, an intermediary stage which must be completed, fulfilled through intellectual formation. Bovelles, both in the *Sapientiae* and elsewhere, provides greater detail about this intellectual accomplishment; it is only through an intellectual formation, in which writing plays a fundamental and necessary role, that the "*homo naturalis*" becomes "*perfectus*". As Bovelles explains in another work, entitled *De Sensu*, "l'homme qui est soumis a une education et qui est enseigne par un autre homme, commence par ecrire; de l'ecriture il est conduit à la parole." Charles de Bovelles, *De Sensu*, (ed. tr. Anne-Hélène Klinger-Dollé), Geneva: Droz, 2016), 77. Writing is, for a thinker like Bovelles, the foundation and beginning of the intellectual formation of human potential: "tel est donc le veritable, tres puissant et intellectuel accomplissement de l'homme: de l'ecriture à la parole, de la parole à la notion, de la notion à l'intelligence. *De Sensu*, 77.

[184] Walter Mignolo, "Who Speaks for the Human in Human Rights?" in *Human Rights from a Third World Perspective: Critique, History and International Law*, ed. José Manuel Barreto, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 47.

culture. Roman-style letters stand in for letters in general, as Greco-Roman culture stands in for *human* culture. In this sense, abandoning the barbarism of "Gothic" letterforms in favor of the Roman style letters is not simply claiming a place in the revival of classical antiquity; it is claiming a place within the restrictive confines of its sense of humanity, and perhaps, by extension, the justification it constructed for global imperialism.

When François I commissions a third voyage, this time with the explicit intention to occupy Canada, he refers to "plusieurs pays que on dict inhabitez, et aultres estre pocedez par gens sauvaiges vivans sans congnoissance de Dieu et sans usage de raison."[185] A part of the epistemological foundation for this form of imperial project—one predicated on dehumanization of the Haudenosaunee—was the negation of culture (*without God* and *without Reason*), which was not only modeled after the discourse circulating in other European colonial projects, but already contained in some of the humanist discourse circulating throughout Europe. Sylvia Wynter has pointed to European arrival in the Western Hemisphere as producing a "paradigm shift" which amounted to the construction of a "new 'sense of the self' of Man" in Europe: one defined by discursively constructed "irrational human others."[186] For Wynter, it is this "sense of the self of Man" which will be "rhetorically over-represented as if it were isomorphic with the being of being human, and thereby necessarily definable as the human-as-a-species itself."[187] This *human* of humanism, as *Champ fleury* demonstrates, is stamped—marked—with the *letters* of humanism, which are undoubtably complicit in this colonial project.

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[185]"Charge de cappitaine et pillotte general des navires que le Roy envoie au Saguenay," Biggar, *Documents*, 215. Biggar reproduces the text from MS Français 5503, f. 190-191. alongside variants from another manuscript copy at the Archives communales de Saint-Malo.

[186] Sylvia Wynter, "1492: A New World View," in *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas* (Washington: Smithsonian, 1995), 50. "Towards the Sociogenic Principle", in *National Identity and Sociopolitical Change* (New York: Garland, 2000), 43.

[187] Sylvia Wynter, "The Ceremony Must Be Found: After Humanism," Boundary 2, vol. 12, no. 3 (1984), 232.

4. Carving out a lettered ancestry

> Chacun sçait assez que ces peuples Occidentaux n'ont point l'vsage des lettres […] mais ne se faut tant emerveiller de cela si nous considerons qu'au temps des Empereurs Romains plusieurs nations de deçà ignoroient les secrets des lettres.[188]
> Marc Lescarbot, *L'histoire de la Nouvelle France*

There are, undoubtably, a number of important differences between the way humanist authors represented the "barbarous" writing of the Goths and the way that European colonists represented Indigenous peoples as "lacking writing"—most importantly, the factual physical violence and destruction which was rationalized in the Americas by means of this narrative. Without conflating these two distinct representations and their very different implications, it seems important to underline that these two distinct narratives rely on the same underlying principle: a particular cultural superiority assigned to specific European writing practices, namely the classicizing humanistic letters, at the detriment of both non-European and European intellectual traditions —namely those dismissed as "Gothic".

In the beginning of the 17th century, Canada's first historian, Marc Lescarbot, combined in a single chapter of his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, entitled simply "Des Lettres," the "absence" of letters among the ensemble of "peuples Occidentaux" and the history of letters among "noz Gaullois." Lescarbot's swift movement from Indigenous cultures of the Western Hemisphere—conceived, one might add, in dizzyingly sweeping generality—is characteristic of much of the discourse on the Americas in the 17th century, which drew heavily upon depictions codified in the 16th century. European colonial observers often constructed the difference of Indigenous American cultures through a shifting temporal lens, constructing representations of *cultural*

[188] Marc Lescarbot, *L'histoire de la nouvelle France,* (Paris: Jean Millot, 1612), 697.

alterity as *temporal* alterity, conflating contemporaneous civilizations with ancient ones in order to produce reflections of domestic, or national, historiographic concerns. In doing so, they already demonstrate what Johannes Fabian will identify as "denial of coevalness" at the foundation of much later ethnographic method: that is, "the tendency to place the referents of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse."[189]

If previous sections have analyzed the capacity for monuments—and in particular, letters conceived as monuments—to both produce and rupture history, these ruptures are also mobilized by Cartier, and Tory before him, to redefine their own historical moment, as if it is within the specific temporality of monumentality that tensions produced by anachronism can be resolved. These French monumental inscriptions in Canada are involved not simply in creating new colonial tensions, but also in resolving traditional historiographic tensions in a proto-national French narrative. More specifically, the movement from the Gothic *lettre de forme* to the Attic letter in these monumental inscriptions resolves a tension in France's own history. The way these two travel accounts self-consciously recount these textual practices (the initial use of the Gothic letter and its prompt abandonment) seems to dramatize, reenact, and replay a domestic historiographic problem: the "lack" of letters and the profound *illegibility* of France's own past. An important domestic cultural narrative and a larger historiographic problem are thus bound up in the term "Gothic."

As Lescarbot recalls, the Goths are not the only figure mobilized in France's past "au temps des Empereurs Romains"—the Gauls are another historical adversary of Roman empire constructed as a "barbarous" other. In Valla's *Elegentiae* the Latin language (*Latinitas*) and the legacy of Rome are assailed both by Goths and by "the arms and assaults of the Gauls" ("*ab armis*

[189] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 34.

Gallorum atque insidiis").[190] In this way, Valla not only posits a continuity between the Roman empire and the Rome of his contemporaries, but he also conflates contemporary France with ancient Gaul. While Valla's most obvious target is the scholastic philosophers of the Sorbonne, his conflation of France and Gaul is situated within a longer tradition of rivalry between French and Italian authors.[191] The trope of barbarian Gaul was used by Early Italian humanists to evoke an innate cultural inferiority of France. "By nature," wrote Petrarch, "the Gauls are unteachable."[192] The place of "nature" here is important, because it constructs a narrative of "innate" and "natural" cultural inferiority in which an imagined Gallic history is used to build an enduring legacy of cultural inferiority for the French. In 1528, Italian humanist Baldassare Castiglione described this common perception of the French in his dialogue *Il cortegiano*: "the French recognize only the nobility of arms […] they not only do not appreciate learning but detest it, regarding men of letters as inferior."[193]

This long legacy of presumed Gallic cultural inferiority explains why a great number of French manifestoes for the humanist development of letters consistently "return" to Gaul and attempt to revalorize the Gallic past. Guillaume Budé's humanist program in *De Asse* alludes to the Greek gymnasium in Marseilles and cites Strabo's remarks about the Gallic ability for learning, in order to dispute the claims of critics who cite France's Gallic past as an obstacle to humanist

[190] Lorenzo Valla, *Prosatori*, ed. Garin, 612. In an exhortation resembling a call to arms, Valla asks his reader: "how long will you permit your city, not merely the capital of the empire but the source of literature and science, to be occupied by the Gauls?" "Quousque, inquam, urbem nostram, non dico domicilium imperii, sed parentem litterarum a Gallis captam esse patiemini? id est latinatem a barbaria opressam" *Prosatori*, ed. Garin, 600.
[191] Ann Moss argues that "later remarks in the prefaces make it fairly clear that the Goths are specifically the legal glossators from Bologna and the Gauls the philosophers and logicians of Paris," *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language Turn*, (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2003), 36.
[192] Francesco Petrarca, "Against a detractor of Italy," in *Invectives,* tr. David Marsh (Cambridge: Harvard, 2003), 441.
[193] Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, (London: Penguin, 2004), 102.

development.[194] Indeed, although many French authors sought to distance France from the Goths they associated with the fall of the Roman empire—and used the term Gothic to refer to any "medieval" learning that jeopardized the revival of Greco-Roman antiquity—many of these same authors enthusiastically espoused a Gallic heritage. This may seem contradictory. The term "Gothic" depended on the cultural narrative—central to the humanist revival of classical antiquity—that Rome was the birthplace of culture and that the Gothic sack of Rome brought about the corruption of Roman culture. This Roman-centric portrayal would seem to preclude the possibility of a glorious Gallic past *before* Roman civilization. However, this narrative needs to be balanced against an equally important one which existed in France—one which extoled Gaul as a learned, lettered civilization not equal, but superior to Rome.

For example, in contrast to remarks such as those of Valla in the *Elegentiae,* Tory will argue that the arrival of letters and learning did not originate with the Romans. In fact, Tory affirms that letters were taught "long temps avant que Jules Caesar vint en France" by "les Philosophes nommes les Druydes." These ancient priests of Gaul are said to have taught great numbers ("enseignoient tous venans"). The author hypothesizes that the Druids used Greek letters, citing Caesar's chronicle of the Gallic wars: "il y a apparence que c'estoit en lettres Grecques, en tant que Caesar le tesmoigne au sixiesme livre de ses commentaires."[195] Tory's treatise draws on a larger cultural movement that begins towards the end of the 15th century which sought to provide a lettered history to Gaul. This cultural movement begins with the legendary fabricator of antiquities Joannes Annius of Viterbo, who had counterfeited ancient texts to prove that the relationship

[194] "Voila que Strabon ne refuse aux Gaulois ni les lettres, ni un espirt apt et prompte a l'etude des arts liberaux, tout en leur reconnaissant des esprits avides de batailles. Combien s'averent plus perfides nos compatriotes, qui rabaissent en douceur l'activite de nos humanistes en ramenant les Francs, composante princpale des Gaulois, dans le giron des barbares" Bude, De Asse, 136.
[195] Tory, *Champ fleury,* f. 5v.

between European peoples and ancient civilization predated Roman colonization.[196] Annius also provided a new story about the origins of writing in France: a text purported to be authored by Berosus of Babylon describes the teaching of the Phoenician alphabet among the kings of Gaul before the Greeks.[197] This publication sparked interest in France in "the superiority of native, Gallican traditions"—an interest evident in the work of Jean Lemaire de Belges, who describes the pre-Roman introduction of laws, philosophy, astronomy and "lettres Pheniciennes" to Gaul in his 1511 *Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troie*.[198] In opposition to the depictions of barbarism one might find among the Roman historians, Lemaire and Annius imagined Gaul as an ancient civilization of letters—therefore, a civilization which provided a lettered ancestry to France.[199]

Tory explains that the present archival absence of this written record of Gaul is a colonial legacy.[200] The letters used in Gaul "furent abolyes par Jules Cesar. Car luy et les Rommains

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[196] The editio princeps is Annius of Viterbo, *Commentaria Fratris Ioannis Annii Viterbensis super opera diversorum auctorum de antiquitatibus lonquentium*, (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1498). For details about publication see, Walter Stephens, Earle A. Havens, Janet E. Gomez (ed.s) *Literary Forgery in Early Modern Europe, 1450–1800* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019) 186.

[197] For the reception and interpretation in France, see Ronald E. Asher, National Myths in Renaissance France: Francus, Samothes and the Druids, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993) 62-63.

[198]Marian Rothstein, "The Reception of Annius of Viterbo's Forgeries: The Antiquities in Renaissance France" Renaissance Quarterly, 71(2), 585.

[199] Jean Lemaire de Belges, Les Illustrations de Gaule et singularitéz de Troye, (Lyon: Etienne Baland, 1511). Lemaire's text, which underwent 36 reeditions between 1511-1549, played an important role in reshaping the image of Gaul and its relationship to France at beginning of the 16th century. Jacques Abélard, "'Les Illustrations de Gaule' de Jean Lemaire de Belges" In: Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études francaises, 1981, n°33, 111-128.

[200] Tory was not the only French author troubled by this scarcity of written history of pre-Roman France. As Ronald Asher argues, "the comparative lack of writing on most aspects of past ages in Gaul and the complete failure of the Gauls themselves to write their own history were noted and regretted by French historians." *National Myths in Renaissance France,* 92. The blame for this lack of writing was almost always attributed to the Romans. The French historian Jean Bouchet, for example, a contemporary of Tory, argues that the perceived inferiority of the Gauls to the Romans was a result of Roman historiography. Bouchet argues that the Romans documented every Roman accomplishment in extreme and often unwarranted detail: "la memoire du moindre de leurs faictz & dictz […] a esté gardée par l'astuce de si copieuse escripture." For this reason, Roman feats have been disproportionately celebrated: "d'une petite chose on en a faict une grand' & admirable." The history of the Gauls, by contrast, "ont esté si mal recuillies qu'ilz on presque perdu la gloire par la supression des hystoriographes Italiens & Romains." Jean Bouchet, *Les Anciennes et modernes Genealogies des Roys de France et mesmement du Roy Pharamond. Auec leurs Epitaphes et Effigies.* Paris: Jean de Marnef 1537) n.p. Bii. For Bouchet, this loss of Gallic history is therefore not only a result of the poor writing practices of the Gauls; particular historians have intentionally attempted to suppress this history. Bouchet's discussion undoubtably seeks to demonstrate the important role of the historian in the building of empire, recalling Guillaume Budé's warning in *De Asse* that the accomplishment of even the greatest kings remains in "great obscurity" if they lack "historiographers well formed in eloquence," 118.

estoient si gormans & grans ambrasseurs de gloire [qu'] ils vouloient que leur victoires fussent mises en memoire par leurs lettres Latines."[201] The Romans did not only "vaincre les Royaumes et Nations," but destroyed any trace of culture: "destruyssant Loix, Costumes, Usages" and "demolissant Epitaphes, & Sepulchres."[202] Tory associates the Romans with a particularly destructive model of imperialism, one which not only instrumentalizes letters to build empire, but comprises within its imperial strategy the indiscriminate and total obliteration of the literary practices used by the cultures which it seeks to dominate.[203] The policy which Tory associates with the Roman empire, and Caesar in particular, situates the place of language deeply within imperial strategizing—describing a colonial erasure which is so complete that the colonial subject seems left with no instrument in which to express an alternative identity without turning towards the very instrument of oppression: the language of the oppressor.

In order to construct an account of the ancestry of French letters, Tory must work with the resources left by the Romans in order to find a cultural history suitable for a linguistic project. Texts become monuments which can be scoured to reimagine Gaul as a lettered civilization. By the time he published *Champ fleury*, Tory had ample knowledge of the descriptions of Gaul provided by ancient and modern geographers. In 1507, Tory edited Roman geographer Pomponius Mela's *De totius orbis descriptione*, and two years later edited excerpts from a geographic text authored by Pope Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini) under the title *Cosmographia Pii papae in*

[201] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 5.
[202] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 5.
[203] This vision of the Roman empire as destructive was shared by Budé. This is particularly emphasized in one chapter of his vernacular abridgement of *De Asse*, provocatively titled "La richesse de Rome estoit la despoile du monde." *Epitome du livre de Asse,* f. lix.

Asiae et Europae.[204] In order to expose the origins of French letters, Tory's project becomes an exercise in careful and selective reading. Indeed, much like the way Tory sifts through the fragments of Hebrew inscriptions, to reconstruct a narrative Paris' past, Tory sifts through the textual remnants left by Greek and Roman authors in order to reconstruct the linguistic history of France—often violently appropriating these remnants towards his own ends.

In the early portions of the treatise, Tory relies on "Poetes & Orateurs latins" to provide a depiction of France's linguistic past. Tory cites what Pomponius Mela says of Gaul in his *Comsographia*: "Les Francois, dit il, sont faconds & beaux parleurs de leur nature."[205] If the Roman geographer's observation provides no information about letters, it nevertheless demonstrates that seen through the foreign eyes of the Romans, the French have a longstanding heritage—they are by nature ("de leur nature") gifted with eloquent speech. Tory's concern for "nature" echoes the project of Budé in *De Asse*, which attempts to contest the longstanding idea of French ancestral incapacity for letters. Similarly, Tory cites and translates a passage from Juvenal's XV Satire: "France, dict il, a enseigne aux Anglois a playder & deument parler."[206] Tory's treatise opens with these depictions of speech, despite the fact that the primary concern of the project of *Champ fleury* is letters. In some sense, the lack of writing, which goes unstated in these two citations, already foreshadows the problematic place of writing in France's past. The curious absence of writing is, however, not the only problem posed by these Roman depictions of French eloquence. The texts of Juvenal and Mela, written a century after the conquest of Gaul had taken

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[204]*Cosmographia Pii papae in Asiae et Europae elganti descriptione* (Paris: Henri Estienne, 1509). Piccolomini provided a description of Gaul compiled from various ancient sources, offering little in the way of a lettered history of France's past. Piccolomini spoke primarily to military feats, describing "the Gauls who lived between the Seine and Loire rivers [who] fomented wars against the Franks and ventured abroad as far as the city of Mainz, to which they laid siege." Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Europe*, tr. Robert Brown, (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America, 2013), 184.

[205] "Habent tamen & facundiam suam", Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 2.

[206] "Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos", Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 2.

place—and which had been cited in various textual accounts, including Caesar's own—are, of course, part of a colonial narrative. In Roman texts, the Gauls are often depicted as the "barbaric" other. In order to provide a more favorable depiction of Gaul, Tory must selectively reimagine this history, truncating Roman depictions in his citations.

Examining the context of these two citations reveals the extent to which Tory seems to seize Roman textual descriptions, violently reconfiguring their depiction of the Gallic past. As Tory would have been well aware, Pomponius Mela paints a much more complicated picture of the "meurs de Francois." Mela, in fact, describes Gaul as an uncivilized society practicing human sacrifice: "the peoples are crude [*superbae*], superstitious, and sometimes even so monstrous [*immanes*] that they used to believe that the best and most pleasing sacrificial victim to the gods was a human being."[207] The passage cited in *Champ fleury* arrives as a sort of concession at the end of this discussion on uncivilized Gallic cultural practices. After describing "human victims," "ultimate bloodshed," Pomponius Mela concedes: "*And yet* [*tamenque*] they have their own eloquence."[208] Tory's suggestion that the French are "beaux parleurs de leur nature" figures as a rather ambiguous attribute in a portrait of the Gauls primarily concerned with representing the uncivilized "meurs des Francois".

Tory's citation of Juvenal's XV Satire is no less ambiguous. Juvenal does indeed speak of "articulate Gaul [which] has taught British lawyers their job."[209] However, the reference comes in the middle of a discussion of anthropophagy among the Vascones (an ancient civilization which inhabited part of Gaul near Navarre and Northwestern Spain), to which Juvenal undoubtably ascribes a certain barbarity. Juvenal states, for example, that such a practice would never take place

[207] Pomponius Mela, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*, trans. Frank E. Romer, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 107.
[208] Mela, *Description of the World*, 107.
[209] Juvenal, *Satires Book V*, ed. John Goodwin, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020, 99.

in Rome, which has the gift of philosophy, the study of which the Vascones were incapable until the arrival of Greco-Roman culture. Much like the truncated citation of Mela, Tory cites Juvenal in a highly selective manner, in order to reinvent Gallic heritage. Tory, as an editor of ancient texts, recognizes a textuality as a space in which the very instrument of empire can be redefined and redeployed. He outlines a methodology in which letters can be plundered in the wake of empire, crafting a French vision of political power by selectively instrumentalizing the letters of ancient empires. Tory recognizes that the letter, precisely in its capacity to outlive particular historical empires, may be seized, appropriated, and redeployed to build new models of political power.

If the Romans seized the Attic letter from the Greeks in *Champ fleury*, we are left with the conclusion that the Gauls have seized the Attic letter from the Romans. By manipulating Roman colonial depictions, seizing Attic letters from the Romans through practices of citation—and indeed, as Katie Chenoweth reminds us, with the first printed quotation marks in French—Tory stages an "untimely" textual reconquest of Gaul.[210] The weight of this history seems to be also at play when these Attic letters make their appearance in colonial Canada. In the narrative of the voyage, the narrator seems to replay Tory's historiographic problem: this time, the French are the imperial historiographers, rather than the Romans, and suddenly possess the Attic letter, which is to be inscribed not on the territory of Gaul, but on that of the Haudenosaunee. In this sense, what is explicit, a century later, in Lescarbot's swift movements from Canada to Gaul is already latent in the narrative of Cartier's voyage.

In the winter of 1539, Caesar returns to Gaul; or at least this is the way the event will be recounted by court poet Clément Marot. In an extraordinary turnaround, François I allies himself with Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who rides into France, in a majestic entry which includes

[210] Katie Chenoweth, *Prosthetic Tongue*, 103

nearly twenty-five nobles and fifty horses.[211] Marot celebrates the event in his *Cantique sur l'entrée de l'empereur à Paris*, writing: "Or est Cæsar qui les Gaules conquit/ encore un coup en Gaule retourné." Caesar returned to Gaul, but this time: "De legions non point enuironné, pour guerroyer: mais plein d'amour nayue." Caesar is accepted into Gaul as a friend. Marot, a major precursor to the Pléiade later in the century, is just one poet who used literary and poetic texts to replay ancient conflicts through contemporary politics.[212] But his *Cantique* demonstrates not only the dramatic way in which the idea of Gaul is reinvented by the end of the 1530s, but also how Caesar, far from the inimical threat posed in Tory's *Champ fleury*, can be reimagined, if only momentarily (as it will turn out), not as a threat, but as a friend of Gaul.

4. Cross References

> La croix […] est le fondement a faire & designer toutes nosdictes lettres Attiques."[213]
> Tory, *Champ fleury*

A similar conflation of distinct historical periods is at play in the reception of Cartier's narratives, a fact evidenced not only by the continuation of the French colonial saga, but also by the textual afterlife of Cartier's narratives. Having completed the 14-month second voyage to Canada, Cartier returns to France in 1536, having abducted at least ten Haudenosaunee people, including Donnacona, promising to return to Stadacona within "dix ou douze lunes," a promise which will be left unfulfilled.[214] The major details of Cartier's third voyage in 1541—and the fragmentary third narrative of the voyage—are reported, in translation, by English geographer

[211] Robert Jean Knecht, "Charles V's Journey through France, 1539-1540," *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance,* (London: Routledge, 2002).
[212] See Denis Bjaï. "De adventu Cæsaris in Galliam. Échos littéraires à la traversée de la France par Charles Quint" Rouget, François (ed.) *François Ier et la vie littéraire de son temps (1515-1547*), Classiques Garnier, 61-78, 2017, Rencontres.
[213] Tory, *Champ fleury*, 31r.
[214] *Relations*, Bideaux (ed.), 180.

Richard Hakluyt in his *Principal Navigations* in 1600, thus at the beginning of an entirely different era of European colonialism in the Americas. The third narrative opens by mentioning the reception of Cartier's reports on his first two voyages, "as well by writing as by word of mouth," by François I.[215] Cartier informs the king matter-of-factly of the "death and decease of all the people [the Haudenosaunee people] brought over by him (which were tenne in number)" with the exception of "one little girle about tenne years."[216] François I, the narrative recounts, "nevertheless resolved to send the sayde Cartier his Pilot thither againe," this time, however, under the command of Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval, appointed by the king "Lieutenant and Governour in the Countreyes of Canada and Hochelaga."[217] The intentions of this third voyage are more explicitly colonial; in 1538, Cartier presents a request to the King asking for "toutes manieres et especes de Bestes et Oyseaus domestiques le plus qu'il sera possible, tant pour faire le labourage que pour peupler les pays, et de toutes sortes de grains et semences" and enough provisions for a stay of "deux ans du moins."[218]

François I does not present a formal commission for this colonial occupation until 1540, which—suddenly publicizing colonial projects of the French monarchy hitherto guarded with secrecy—generates a fierce controversy with Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.[219] Threatening the peace established with the Holy Roman Empire only a few years prior in the Truce of Nice in 1538, a fleet of five vessels commanded by Cartier departs from St. Malo on the 23rd of May 1541,

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[215] *The Principal Navigations, Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over land*, Richard Hakluyt (ed.) vol. 3, (London: George Bishop, 1599), 232. There was no existing French-language version until Hakluyt's English text was translated back to French.
[216] *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt (ed.), v.3, 232.
[217] *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt (ed.), v.3, 232
[218] "Memoire des hommes & provisions necessaires pour les Vaisseaux que le Roy vouloit envoyer en Canada" *Collection*, Biggar (ed.), 106-107.
[219] Private commercial endeavors had previously not had the outward support of the monarchy. 1540 marks a moment of changing stance, in which the papal bull which split the Western hemisphere between the Spanish and the Portuguese is openly questioned by the French monarch. Charles André Julien, *Les voyages de découverte et les premiers établissements (XVe-XVIe siècles)*, (Paris: PUF, 1948), 145.

and arrives three months later in Stadacona. The narrative recounts that upon Cartier's arrival, the people of Stadacona immediately "inquired of the Capitaine where Donacona and the rest were."[220] Cartier recounts how "Donacona was dead in France" and fabricates a narrative about the others stating that they "stayed there [in France] as great Lords and were maried and would not returne backe into their Countrey."[221] Not long after, Cartier leaves Stadacona to set up a colony which he will call Charlesbourg-Royal further along the St Lawrence river, in a place "which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships."[222] The colony does not last long; based on reports from Newfoundland sailors, relations between the Haudenosaunee and the French deteriorate, and a violent altercation takes place later in the year. Cartier's departure for France in the summer of 1542—followed by Roberval's arrival and prompt departure only months later—marks the end of François I's colonial project in Canada.[223]

It is only when the colonial project is more or less abandoned that Cartier's second narrative sees a printed edition, the *Brief Recit* by Ponce Roffet in 1545, without, it would seem, much editorial success: a single edition, which does not appear to have garnered much of a readership in France. In fact, the famous bibliographers of the end of the century in France will assume Cartier died without leaving any printed account at all. One of these bibliographers, François Grudé sieur de la Croix du Maine, concedes: "je n'ay point veu les memoires de ses voyages esdits pays & ne sçay s'il les a iamais fait imprimer," despite identifying Cartier as "l'vn des plus sçaunts & experimentez Pilotes de son temps."[224]

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[220] *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt (ed.), v.3, 232.
[221] *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt (ed.), v.3, 232.
[222] *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt (ed.), v.3, 232.
[223] "Examination of Newfoundland Sailors regarding Cartier, 23 September 1542" in *Collection of Documents*, ed. Biggar, 463.
[224] François Grudé La Croix du Maine, *Premier volume de la Bibliotheque du sieur de la-Croix-du-Maine, qui est un catalogue général de toutes sortes d'autheurs qui ont escrit en françois depuis cinq cents ans et plus*, (Paris: Abel l'Angelier, 1584) 180. Antoine du Verdier, in his *Bibliotheque Francoise*, will list the Brief Recit in a section dedicated to "livres d'autheurs incertains." Cited in Michel Bideaux, « Les récits de Cartier : une réception entravée », 84.

Presumably gathering dust in the manuscript collection of the Bibliothèque Royale, the accounts of Cartier's voyage had few readers in France during their time. And yet towards the end of the 16th century, the textual traces of Cartier suddenly become highly coveted. In 1598, Henri IV commissions Troilus de la Roche de Mesgouez, Marquis de la Roche for a new colonial attempt—one which will turn out to be another short-lived endeavor, with the colonists already returning to France by 1603. The year of the commission, a printer in Rouen, Raphaël du Petit-Val, who had previously printed a copy of the royal commission, seizes the opportunity to publish an edition of the narrative of Cartier's first voyage, printed under the title *Discours du voyage fait par le capitaine Jacques Cartier aux Terre-neufves de Canadas*.[225] In an opening epistle, the printer mentions having "imprimé l'Edict du Roy" and explains: "Il m'est du depuis tombé entre les mains un discours du voyages fait ausdites terres, par le Capitaine Iaques Cartier, escrit en langue estrangere que i'ay fait traduire en la nostre par un de mes amis."[226] The source text that du Petit-Val claims to have stumbled upon was in fact Ramusio's Italian translation, which was thus translated back into French, at du Petit-Val's request.[227] In the opening pages of the *Discours,* a liminal poem by Claude Brissart calls for the establishment of a "New" France: "Allons où le bonheur & le Ciel nous appelle; et prouignons au loing vne France plus belle."[228] The untimely 'first edition' of the first relation of Cartier's voyage, thus, appears only strategically at a moment when imperialism in North America once again becomes a political priority in France.

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[225] The printed commission is entitled *Edict du roy, contenant le pouvoir & commission donnee par Sa Majesté, au Marquis de Cottenmeal & de la Roche, pour la conqueste des terres de Canadas, Labredor, Isles de Sable, Norembergue & pays adjacens avec l'arrest de la court sur la verification dudit edict du deuxiéme mars, 1598,* (Rouen: Raphaël du Petit-Val, 1598).

[226] *Discours du voyage fait par le capitaine Jacques Cartier aux Terre-neufves de Canadas*, (Rouen: Raphaël du Petit-Val, 1598) 3.

[227] As mentioned earlier, the *Discours* does not contain the reference to a "lettre de forme," given that du Petit-Val relies on Ramusio's Italian, which refers simply to majuscule letters: "scrittura intagliata nel legno in lettere maiuscule." Du Petit-Val refers simply to an inscription : "ecrit en grosses lettres entaillees en du bois," Ramusio, 375, du Petit-Val, 54.

[228] *Discours du voyage,* 6

Cartier is a relatively insignificant figure in the French colonial occupation of Canada, when compared to colonization of the seventeenth century. Indeed, it is Samuel de Champlain in 1608, who—allying himself with the Algonquin and Montagnais peoples against the Haudenosaunee—establishes the first enduring French colony, not far from Stadacona, present-day Quebec City.[229] Cartier's importance will be constructed retrospectively and derives from the predilection in history—colonial history in particular—for "firsts." Indeed, Cartier will be relied upon, particularly in the seventeenth century, as a means of legitimizing French claim to Canada; he becomes a more or less invented *persona* in a growing imperialist narrative, whose importance will only expand throughout the next three centuries. In 1609, when Marc Lescarbot writes his *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*—which sought to historicize and thus legitimize a French colonial project—the manuscript accounts of Cartier's voyages, which Lescarbot examined in the Bibliothèque Royale, provided the material conditions underlying this historicity. Lescarbot reproduces the first two narratives in their entirety, despite admitting that the first "estoit imprimé" already by Petit-Val about a decade prior. Apparently entirely unaware of Ponce Roffet's 1545 edition of the second narrative, the *Brief Recit,* Lescarbot describes copying the narration from the "original" manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale. And, as if seeking to provide a guarantee of authenticity, he will refer to the manuscript in highly material terms, in particular its generous binding in royal blue satin: "le second [récit] ie l'ay pris sur l'original presenté au Roy écrit à la main, couvert en satin bleu."[230]

Lescarbot is not the only historian of the Americas in search of traces of Cartier at the turn of the century. Richard Hakluyt not only reproduces and translates the "vnsuperfite relation" of the

[229] See for example *Champlain: The Birth of French America*, Raymonde Litalien, Denis Vaugeois (ed.s), (Montreal:Mcgill Queens Press), 2004.
[230] Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, 221

third voyage of Cartier and Roberval, but also various letters exchanged between one "M. John Growte, Student in Paris," and the purported source of his information on Cartier: "Jaques Noel of S. Malo, the Grand Nephew of Jaques Cartier."[231] The second letter reproduced by Hakluyt describes the conclusion of Noel's hunt for documents in St. Malo relating to Cartier: "I can write nothing else unto you of any thing that I can recover of the writings of Capitaine Jaques Cartier my uncle diceased, although I have made search in all places that I could possibly in this Towne."[232] Noel's letter seems to add not only authenticity, but a layer of finality, marking the bounds of the archival resources relating to Cartier.

Despite belonging to a different era of European colonization than Cartier and Tory, Hakluyt and Lescarbot perhaps merit closer examination given the role they played in the textual afterlife of the narratives of Cartier's voyages. Both of these historians of European colonial exploration are engaged in a project of convincing monarchs (Elizabeth I in England and Louis XII in France) to support colonization projects in North America.[233] In hopes of justifying this project, Hakluyt is particularly attentive to the voyages "Made *First of All* by Our Englishmen, and *Afterward* by the Frenchmen," as the title of another one of his travel collections suggested.[234] Hakluyt reported Cartier's voyages for informational purposes in a larger historical narrative about the legitimacy of a British colonial project in North America. Indeed, the 1580 John Florio translation of Cartier's first two navigations—in which Hakluyt's involvement is certain even if his precise role is not—remarks that Canada was "first found out" not by Cartier but rather by an

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[231] *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt (ed.), v.3, 236.
[232] Principal Navigations, Hakluyt (ed.), v.3, 236. Jacques Noel closes his letter promising that if his two sons—who he explains were currently on their own voyage to Canada—returned to France having "learned any new thing worthy the writing," he would not "faile to advertise" the interlocuter of their discoveries. 237
[233] Hakluyt's *Discourse Concerning Western Planting* was intended to garner the support of the Queen for projects of colonial expansion in North America.
[234] Emphasis mine. *Diuers voyages touching the discouerie of America, and the ilands adiacent vnto the same made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons*, (London: Thomas Dawson, 1582).

Italian in the service of the British crown: "Iohn Gabot the Father, and Sebastian Gabot, one of hys three sonnes, in the yeare 1494 in the name and be halfe of King Henry."[235] Whereas Hakluyt reports the larger history of British imperialism in Canada, Lescarbot reports Cartier's voyage as the beginning of what he sees as France's rightful place in the colonization of Canada. And Lescarbot is careful to emphasize, above all, the place of France in the European voyages in the Western hemisphere: "noz Roys ont fait plusieurs découvertes outre l'Ocean depuis cent ans ença."[236]

Each of these textual iterations of the French voyage to Canada, despite Hakluyt's different intentions, will repeat the two cross raising ceremonies, perpetuating their textual existence far behind their physical existence. One 20th-century historian has called the construction of the first colonial monument "l'acte de naissance du Canada français," a problematic epithet which is only true insofar as it has been replayed and constructed as such, in centuries long after the death of Cartier.[237] Cartier's lasting imperial legacy is perhaps less the two wooden crosses left behind, and rather, more precisely, their textual existence within the two narratives, quoted and reproduced in the centuries which follow.

The lasting legacy of Cartier and these two monuments might recall a central aspect of the project in *Champ fleury*: namely, the parallel Tory draws between letters and monuments. Indeed, for Tory, the cross, which happened to be frequently used by European colonists when staking a territorial claim, is not simply a Christian symbol. In *Champ fleury,* its significance extends far beyond Christian iconography, to become a symbol of humanist letters. Drawing on other humanist

[235] Hakluyt, "To all Gentlemen, Merchants, and Pilots," *A shorte and briefe narration*, (London: H. Bynneman, 1580) np. bij. For more on the role of Hakluyt, and in particular his translation of Cartier, see Claire Jowitt, Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe, 50.
[236]Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, "A Monseigneur Messire Pierre Le Annin Chevalier," f. 9 (np)
[237] Charles André Julien, *Les voyages de découverte et les premiers établissements (XVe-XVIe siècles)*, 178.

authors such as Erasmus and the Italian miscellanist Lodovico Ricchieri (Cœlius Rhodiginus), Tory will present the pagan significance of the cross, connecting it to the cardinal directions, the outstretched human form, the microcosm and the macrocosm contained in a single figure.[238]

But perhaps most importantly, the cross, insofar as it is composed of two transecting perpendicular lines, forms the basis of the geometric grid which Tory uses to create his Attic letters. *Champ fleury* is not simply a theoretical treatise, but a practical, step-by-step, how-to guide, with which presumably anyone can reproduce the Attic letter. In the third book, Tory sets out to "designer, escripre, & figurer" the dimensions of his letters, laying them out "toutes lune apres lautre."[239] And for the first step, Tory begins, "toute premierement," by instructing readers to draw "une Croix" which is said to assure "bon heur & commancement a entrer en noz lettres, & pour aider a les designer cōme y leur est requis selon Reigle & Cōpas."[240] The specific cross prescribed by Tory is proportioned "aussi haulte que large, & aussi large que haulte, pour la loger en vng

[238] First, Tory recounts that for the Ephesians, the cross was a symbol of the cardinal directions of the globe: "le monde est signe en Croix. C'est a scavoir, en Orient, en Occident, en Mydy, & en Septentrion." Moreover, he draws on the symmetry that mystical philosophers, such as Charles de Bovelles, drew between human and the cosmos—the microcosm and the macrocosm—in order to make these entities coincide in the figure of the cross: "l'homme qui est comme disent aucuns Philosophes […] Μικρόκοσμος, Vng petit monde, a en soy, & porte figure de la croix." This is particularly evident, "quāt il a les pieds ioinctz, & les bras estandus;" in other words, when the "corps humains" appears precisely as the first does in *Champ fleury*, with the outstretched arms of the Vitruvian man forming the axes of a gridded square. The outstretched arms of Tory's "human," proportioned to shape of the Attic letters, seem to stretch covetously east and west across the globe. As Tory argues: "La croix non seullement selon nostre foy, pource qu'en elle fut nostre redemption, signifie bon heur, mais aussi selon les Anciens Philosophes, est indice & signe de quelque felicite, qui est requise a ceulx qui commancent a cognoistre & aprendre les bonnes lettres." Throughout *Champ fleury*, Tory will establish a mysterious intertwining between the cruciform symbolism and the letters. Indeed, earlier in the treatise, almost precisely at the center of the second book, a cross composed of letters, a calligram in the shape of a cross, will further establish this relationship between letters and the cross. The cross represents, for Tory, the requisite basis for learning letters, and will immediately be associated with alphabetization. As Tory recalls in the opening lines of his third book, the alphabet books (*abécédaires*) or the "petit Livre que les bons Peres baillent a leurs petits enfans pour commancer a aller a l'escole" typically begin with "une Croix, & trois A." In these books used by children to "aprendre le Pater noster. Aue Maria. Credo in deum" alphabetization coincides with Christianization. But alongside the cross is associated particularly with the letter *A*, the letter which as Katie Chenoweth argues, "appears insistently in Tory's treatise as a figure of 'entry' and 'beginning'" and also "inaugurates the passage from the state of being *enfans* (from the Latin *infans*, "nonspeaking") into school, literacy, and the realm of letter." *Prosthetic Tongue*, 210.

[239] Tory, *Champ fleury*, 32v.

[240] Tory, *Champ fleury*, 34v.

Quarre equilateral,"—and is, therefore, as much a geometric figure as a Christian symbol.[241] The cross forms the basis of the grid which Tory will call the "l'arene & place exercitative de nostre studieuse designation a faire une chacune de noz lettres Attiques."[242] In this sense, by erecting a wooden cross in Canada, the unnamed carpenters, or engravers of Cartier's colonial expedition, are not simply following a typical practice of European colonists. By crafting a cross, only to inscribe the center with an Attic letter, these "amateurs de bonne lettres" are carefully following Tory's step-by-step instructions—beginning with the very first step.

And yet, Tory is concerned with providing instructions not for inscribing wooden monuments, but rather for producing the instruments of printing. Indeed, not long after prescribing the cross as the first step of creating Attic letters, Tory provides a negative image of the letter A ("a lenvers") to ease its reproduction by "Imprimeurs, Orfeuures, & Graueurs."[243] Tory is indeed concerned with a different kind of inscription, although perhaps a type of inscription which is no less "monumental": an engraving which, diffused by the technological reproducibility of the printing press, might in fact be considered a particularly enduring monument. Indeed, for all the reasons outlined above, Cartier's inscriptions—whether in wood, manuscript, or print—do not become "monuments" instrumentalized for a colonialization until long after the fact. It is perhaps less a question of the moment of inscription in 1535 constituting any monumental event in itself, and rather the profoundly untimely persistence of the archival traces of these inscriptions made legible across media—from monument, to manuscript, to print and reprint—inscriptions read and reread to produce a colonial narrative.

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[241] Tory, *Champ fleury*, 34v.
[242] It is this grid centered on a cross which Tom Conley suggests demonstrates the cartographic impulse at work in Tory's treatise; as Conley argues, "the common ground of cosmography, the drawing of letters, and the objective placement of a 'self' at a crossing of a meridian and a median latitude are visible both in the printshop and on the cartographer's drawing table." (86) But the cross at the center of the grid is not simply a means by which Tory can 'map' the letter. In the *Brief Recit*, the cross is the means by which this mappable letter is projected onto a territory.
[243] Tory, *Champ fleury*, 36.

The textual afterlife of Cartier's texts will be relied upon again and again to claim a French territory in Canada, where there was not a permanent occupation; indeed, it was a colony which, for the remainder of the 16th century, existed exclusively on paper, that is, in books and on maps. Marc Lescarbot writes in 1612, expressing a frustration with outward exhibitions of imperial power lacking any material basis: "Rien ne sert de quaalifier vne NOVVELLE-FRANCE, pour estre un nom en l'air & en peinture seulement."[244] And indeed, the seventeenth century will take the disparate archival traces of Cartier, and others involved in France's short-lived colonial endeavors in Canada, and utilize them as a textual foundation to legitimize real colonial occupation. But Tory's project, his Attic letters, and their relation to these colonial monuments, will be long forgotten by the time Lescarbot rereads the anonymous narrative. "Je croy qu'il veut dire Antique," Lescarbot prints in the margin of the cross-raising scene, to reassure seventeenth-century readers who might be entirely puzzled by the reference to a "lettre atticque."[245] Tory's inventive nomenclature is thus condemned, less than a century later, to a certain form of illegibility.

What is the lasting relationship between a project like Tory's and the expansion of French imperialism? Today, visitors to the summit of Mount Royal, the eponymous hill at the center of the present-day city of Montreal, are met not only with a sweeping view of the modern metropolis, but also with a large brass monument celebrating Cartier's arrival. The monument, located at the precipice of one of the viewing points, is in the shape of an open book. The right page of the book features a short inscription in French, and the facing page provides a translation in English, inscribed entirely in Roman capitals:

> ON OCTOBER 2ND 1535, JACQUES CARTIER, DISCOVERER OF CANADA, CLIMBED THIS MOUNTAIN UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE INDIANS OF THE VILLAGE OF HOCHELAGA AND, IMPRESSED BY THE BEAUTY OF THE LANDSCAPE DISPLAYED BEFORE HIS EYES, HE

[244] Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, np. [f. 2].
[245] Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France,* 386.

GAVE IT THE NAME OF MOUNT-ROYAL, FROM WHICH THE CITY OF MONTRÉAL TOOK ITS NAME.

There are a number of statues of Cartier throughout the city of Montreal—statues which mark both the aggressive campaign to utilize Cartier as a nationalist symbol in 19th-century Quebec, and the most apparent mark of enduring settler colonialism in Canada. However, this monument stands out. It celebrates the arrival of Cartier, but does not depict the explorer himself; rather, it takes the self-reflexive form of a book textually recounting the historical event. Moreover, it does so in a 20th-century iteration of those Roman capitals which Geoffroy Tory—four centuries prior—had celebrated as the means to build a linguistic empire. The Roman capitals on this, and, admittedly, on many other monuments in a great deal of North American cities, are perhaps less a confirmation of that influence which Tory accords to Attic letters—their authority which seems to confer upon them an ability to outlive and extend far beyond the civilizations which use them—and more certainly, and simply, a reminder of the widely enduring aesthetic and intellectual models of early modern humanism.

This anachronistic digression provides a salient reminder that even if the particular nomenclature outlined in *Champ fleury* was forgotten in less than a century, Tory is one figure in a much larger project which changed not only the graphic dimensions of the printed book—producing a new, and in many ways hegemonic, notion of the letter—but its ideological significance in European empire building. Scholars such as Sylvia Wynter and Walter Mignolo, among many others, have long emphasized how the key European intellectual movements of the Renaissance cannot be considered outside of the colonial implications that they had in the Americas and throughout the globe. The tools of decolonial theory perhaps also provide the means to reexamine, from a more 'global' perspective, questions which have traditionally been recounted through the lens of European history, among them changes in humanist reading practices and the

history of the book in Europe. This chapter demonstrates that the projects associated with Jacques Cartier and Geoffroy Tory, which have in previous scholarship have been treated separately, are in fact intertwined. Examining these two histories together—French imperial history and book culture in France—provides a better picture of each.

Chapter 2

Clothing, Civility, and Writing:

Transatlantic Fantasies Behind Mid-Century Language Reform

Among the themes of continuity between Tory's 1529 *Champ fleury* and the linguistic projects to come later in the century is one which does not seem immediately related to language reform: nudity. In the second book of his typographical treatise, Tory famously projects his "Attic" letters onto an outstretched naked male figure, which he terms the "Corps & Visage naturel de l'Homme parfaict."[246] These capital letters "clothe" the naked figures of *Champ fleury* in ways which both conceal and accentuate the body that lies beneath them. The capital A, for instance, is situated on the body in such a way that its transversal conceals—while also perhaps, as Tom Conley has argued, drawing attention to—the "membre genital" of the anatomical figure.[247] Tory emphasizes this placement, explaining, "celluy trauercant traict couure precisement le membre genital de lhomme, pour denoter que Pudicite & Chastete aua[n]t toutes choses, sont requises en ceulx qui demandent acces & entree aux bonnes lettres."[248] In this sense, Tory creates a link between clothing and writing. Clothing conceals what pudicity requires; the modesty provided by clothing seems to stand as the cultural prerequisite, the preliminary mark of "human" civilization which provides access to "bonnes lettres."

The relationship that Tory establishes between language and clothing builds on existing humanist metaphors. As Erasmus remarks in *On Copia*: "What clothing is to our body, diction is

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[246] Although precisely what is meant by a body and face which are "*naturel*" is never made explicit by the author of *Champ fleury*, the depictions of "l'homme parfaict" in the figures which follow seem to suggest that this "naturel" at least includes nudity, or near nudity.

[247] Tom Conley argues "It could be said that the *A* constitutes an angle opening a monocular perspective from the Vitruvian man's 'point of view' toward the viewer, and that the play of gazes correctly underlines the erotic association of the generative and visual faculties in the allegory that would otherwise erase them." *The Self-made Map*, 71.

[248] Tory, *Champ fleury*, (f. xix).

to the expression of our thoughts."[249] For the Dutch humanist, like for many of his contemporaries, choice of attire and eloquent speech were both a matter of fashioning: "for just as the fine appearance and dignity of the body are either set off to advantage or disfigured by dress and habit, just so thought is by words."[250] Among early modern humanists, clothing was a commonplace metaphor for language. The interplay between bodily adornment and the body itself provided imagery to describe stylistic equilibrium between ornamentality and content—often inviting reflection upon how excessive ornamentality produces concealment and obstruction. This metaphor, in turn, relied on the more general *topos* within classical rhetoric that used clothing to understand linguistic style. While Cicero describes the necessity of dressing (*vestire*) and embellishing (*ornare*) speech, Aristotle uses clothes to describe metaphors which are "fitting": he suggests that the appropriateness of a metaphor is not unlike asking "what dress will suit an old man," to which he adds, "certainly not the crimson cloak that suits a young man."[251] Whereas Erasmus's *On Copia* discussed language as clothing in respect to rhetorical abundance, clothing also provided a means to condemn rhetorical excess, to express linguistic ideals such as that of "plain" speech, and to conceptualize models of "proper" and "fitting" language.[252]

Tory's *Champ fleury* is a prime example of what will become a recurring tendency in the sixteenth century, during which vernacular authors redefined the metaphor of clothing, in part by reimagining the place and significance of nudity. Although French does not linguistically make the distinction between "the naked" and "the nude", like English—a crucial distinction for art historians considering the genre of the nude—the meaning of "nu" constantly oscillates between

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[249] Desiderius Erasmus, *On Copia of Words and Ideas*, trans. Donald Bernard King (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1963), 18
[250] Desiderius Erasmus, *On Copia*, 18.
[251] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, *Complete Works of Aristotle Volume 2* (Princeton University Press: 2014), 2240
[252] As a character in Tacitus's *Dialogue on Orators* argues, "it is so much better to clothe a speech even in a rough toga than to make it stand out with the colored clothes of a courtesan." Tacitus, Agricola, Germany and Dialogue on Orators, tr. Herbert Benario, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2006), 115.

the poverty or defenseless of "nakedness" to the ideal proportions of the artistic "nude."[253] Within European art, the Edenic shame associated with nakedness in the Christian tradition will gradually make way for the idealized, estheticized Greco-Roman "nude," which comes with the European revival of classical antiquity. Indeed, alongside Tory's "homme parfaict," *Champ fleury* celebrates the nearly nude figure of the Gallic Hercules, "vestu d'une peau de Lion" loosely draped on his shoulder—revealing a classicizing idealized anatomy. These figures both demonstrate the way the nude as a classical artistic genre will come to shape the metaphorical framework for imagining clothing as language. The near nudity of the Gallic Hercules will be used to imagine that the French are eloquent "by nature" ("de leur nature"), suggestive of a link between near-nudity and proximity to "nature."

Yet these classical references to nudity will also be recontextualized by different vestimentary practices of civilizations encountered beyond Europe, often coded as nudity by European observers. Indeed, three decades after *Champ fleury*, André Thevet will claim that a sight similar to Tory's Gallic Hercules can be observed in Canada. In his 1557 *Singularitez de la France Antarctique*, Thevet remarks that upon seeing these "canadiens" dressed in "peau de tygre, d'ours, ou autres bestes," a European observer cannot help but think of Hercules: "a les voir accoustrez en telle sorte, l'on les jugeroit ainsi deguisez, vouloir entrer en vn theatre, ressemblans mieux aux portraits d'Hercules, que faisoient pour recreation les anciens Romains, & comme nous le peignons encore aujourd'huy, qu'autre chose."[254] In fact, Thevet's evocation of Hercules leads into a description of an "encounter," much like the one described by Tory, between Hercules and the ancient Gauls, who, living "presque à la maniere des Sauuages, qui sont tant aux Indes de

[253] This distinction is famously outlined in Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), see esp. 3. See also Jill Burke, *The Italian Renaissance Nude*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 16,
[254] André Thevet, *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique*, (Paris: Maurice de la Porte, 1557) 154v.

Leuant, qu'en l'Amerique, sans nulle ciuilité:& alloyent les hommes & femmes presques tous nuds: les autres estoyent vestus de peaux de diverses especes de bestes.[255]

From Americas to ancient Gaul, Thevet broadens the scope of his statement even further, to describe the human species, remarking: "ainsi a esté la premiere condition du genre humain, estant au commencement rude, & mal poly: iusques à ce que par succession de temps necessité à contraint les hommes d'inuenter plusieurs choses, pour la conseruation maintien de leur vie.[256] For Thevet, clothing marks the overcoming of a "premiere condition," and a movement towards "human" invention and culture. Yet Thevet also uses European clothing as a means of excluding non-European peoples from this "civilized" inventiveness, remarking: "Encores sont en ceste rude inciuilité ces pauures Sauuages, admirans nostre vestement, de quelle matiere, & comment il est ainsi basti."[257] Clothing for Thevet, as will be the case for many other travel authors, will be made to stand not only as a symbol of "civility" but of all of the "inventions" of European civilization.

Among these inventions, clothing was already symbolically intertwined, in classical rhetoric and humanist discourse, with one invention in particular: language. And as Europeans began to recontextualize ideas about clothing, transatlantic travel would also, as we saw in the previous chapter, bring new ideas about language and linguistic imperialism. The classical metaphor of language as clothing will used to a reimagine the French vernacular language through a rethinking of clothing. French authors will find models for the French language in transatlantic travel narratives, and nudity will provide a powerful metaphorical framework for linguistic projects which sought to strip the French language of traditional models. Laying bare new ideas

[255] Thevet, *Singvlaritez*, 154v.
[256] Thevet, *Singvlaritez*, 154v.
[257] Thevet, *Singvlaritez*, 154v

about French linguistic identity will require looking beyond France to place existing habits into question.

1. Clothing and human artifice

Within the philosophical traditions of classical antiquity prized by early modern humanists, clothing and language represented central manifestations of the same essentially human capacity for artifice. In the Platonic retelling of the Promethean myth, for instance, the Titan is said to have "stole[n] from Hephaestus and Athena wisdom in the arts," giving it to humans, after having recognized a creature left "naked [γυμνόν], unshod, unbedded, unarmed" among "the other creatures [which] were fully and suitably provided."[258] Early modern humanists also often cited Aristotelian and Galenic commonplaces in which the human hand creates technical inventions ("sandals, weapons, and vestments of all sorts") to cover and protect naked vulnerability, a fact which distinguishes humans from other living things.[259] The surmounting of this original nudity and the creation of clothing provides a parable for the development of human technicity more generally. And from this discussion of human technicity, which Aristotle and others will refer to as *techne*, another characteristically human attribute emerges, namely the capacity for reason, or *logos*, which guides technical invention.[260] Nudity represents the underlying condition, in these

[258] Plato, *Protagoras*, tr., James A. Arieti, Roger M. Barrus, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), 48, (321c).

[259] Aristotle remarks that whereas other animals have just one method of defense and cannot change it for another, the human, although "barefoot" and "unclothed [γυμνον]," posseses "many means of defense […], and he can change them at any time." Aristotle, *Parts of Animals*, tr. E. S. Forester, Loeb (Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 1937). 373. In this same sense, Galen writes that the human is not truly "naked [γυμνος], easily wounded, defenseless or unshod" and can craft all forms of armor, such as a "corslet of iron (an instrument harder to damage than any kind of skin)." Galen, *On the usefulness of the parts of the body. Peri chreias moriōn,*tr. Margret Tallmadge May, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), 57.

[260] Galen writes: "Not by his hand but by his reason has man been instructed in the arts." He attributes this distinction to Aristotle: "For it is not because he has hands that he is this most intelligent, Anaxagoras says, but because he is the most intelligent that he has hands, as Aristotle says, judging most correctly," Galen, *On the usefulness,* 57.

Aristotelian and Galenic commonplaces, from which these two separate but closely linked human capacities emerge. For this reason, this parable figured prominently in discussions that revalorized humanistic learning. For example, Erasmus writes in *On the Education for Children,* closely paraphrasing Galen: "Man alone she [nature] has created weak, naked, and defenceless. But as compensation, she has given him a mind equipped for knowledge, for this one capacity, if properly exploited, embraces all others."[261]

Yet alongside humanist praise which celebrated the human propensity for technicity, which creates clothes and other cultural implements, was a concurrent discourse which questioned technology—asking if it had not, in its excess, obscured an essentially human "state of nature," with which humans needed to be reacquainted. In 1546, an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Paradoxe contre les lettres* makes a radical argument against writing, which it conceives as one technology, among others including clothing, that is not a necessary cultural device, but one contingent on the needs of a given time and place. The central argument of the *Paradoxe* is that that French society would be better off without all forms of writing—or, in the words of the text, if the world could be purged of "tant de registres, de receptes, de tant de Lyvres, Lyvretz, Volumes, Legendes, Cartons, Carnez, Cayers, Patafles, Papiers, Chiffres, Caracteres, Nombres, Poinctz, Lignes, et tant d'autres

[261]Desiderius Erasmus, *De Pueris Instituendis.* In *Collected Works of Erasmus: Literary and Educational Writings*, *Volume 25-26,* 301. For Italian polymath Gerolamo Cardano, nudity was the condition of possibility for all other human qualities. As the 1556 French translation of his *De Subtilitate* explains, because nudity exposed the human to danger ("la nudite estoit suiette au peril"), Nature endowed humans with "trois aides & secours," namely: understanding, speech, and hands. *Les Livres de Hierosme Cardanus Milannois, intitules de la Subtilité*, tr. Richard le Blanc (Paris: Guillaume le Noir, 1556). Clothing thus becomes intertwined with language, as both are demonstrative attributes of human invention. The commonplace will take on an ironic tone in François Rabelais' *Tiers Livre* (1546), when a character, Panurge, in a paradoxical praise of codpieces, explains that the human was created "nud, tendre, sans armes ne offensives, ne defensives," until "nature l'inspira soy armer," beginning with "feuilles de figuier" used to create the first "brave et gualante braguette." François Rabelais, *Tiers Livre* In *Œuvres Complètes*, (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), 375. In fact, as Terrence Cave has argued, the codpiece—this indispensable accessory of men's fashion in Renaissance Europe—becomes, in the Rabelaisian saga, a metaphor for rhetorical abundance, intertwining sexual and verbal reproduction. Terrence Cave, The Cornucopian Text, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) esp. 181-191

brouilleries, et trappes qui nous ruynent et nous empeschent tout le jour le cerveau."[262] The *Paradoxe* condemns textual pedantry and the philautic quest of fame, glory, and immortality through lettered pursuits—warning, in addition, of the deleterious effect of lettered studies on the health and minds of the learned. The inherent paradox of this *written* condemnation of writing is, of course, characteristic of the *paradox* genre, which had become popular among French humanists during this first half of the sixteenth century.[263] Yet the author's rhetorical pirouettes do not perhaps entirely conceal, as Michèle Clément has argued, a hint of real disillusionment with the humanist world of letters and the culture it had produced.[264]

The author alludes to other societies which exist without alphabetic writing, in order to imagine what France would look like without writing. This counterfactual begins as a historical question; the author asks, "comment est ce, que l'on faisoit *devant que* ceste pernicie fust à nostre grande prejudice trouvée?"[265] Glancing backwards in biblical time, the author refers to the absence of writing from the biblical Genesis ("car Adam ne l'apprint oncques en Paradis terrestre").[266] After alluding to the slow arrival of letters even after the Fall, the *Paradoxe* abruptly pivots away from biblical time, and turns to an allusion which is in fact not distanced by temporality, but rather by geography. The author refers vaguely to two groups of people supposed to be without writing, asking: "comment font ces grosses gentz, & celux des terres nœuves, qui n'en ouyent oncques

[262] *Paradoxe contre les lettres*, (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1545), 26. The edition is labeled 1545; in her critical edition, Michèle Clément, following the chronology of Alfred Cartier, suggests 1546. (Alfred Cartier, *Bibliographie des éditions des De Tournes, Paris 1937*, vol. 1, 198)
[263] Paradoxes, such as those of Italian Humanist Ortensio Lando, are a rhetorical genre characterized by elaborate satirical arguments against popular, generally held beliefs, usually with the intention of inviting genuine reflection upon societal values. On this genre, see Patrick Dandrey, *L'eloge paradoxale de Gorgias à Molière*, (Paris: PUF, 1997).
[264] Michèle Clément, "Maurice Scève et le *Paradoxe contre les lettres*," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 2003, T. 65, No. 1 (2003), 99.
[265] *Paradoxe*, 17.
[266] Paradoxe, 17.

nouvelles."[267] Unlettered "rustic" peasants ("grosses gentz"), a frequent literary trope, are made to stand alongside the peoples of the "New World," referred to in an equally ill-defined manner, who are supposed to have "never heard" of writing. The author thus sidesteps the initial terms of the counterfactual—a French society "before writing"—to instead point to this ensemble of *contemporaneous* groups and societies presumed to be without writing.

The author later returns to, and clarifies, the group he refers to as "grosse gentz" when he extols the improved memory of the unlettered: "ne vois tu, que les Paysans, & ceulx, qui sont sans lettres, ont la plus part meilleur memoire, que les Cytoiens, & lettrez."[268] Yet the vague and passing reference to the "terres nœuves," a much less expected one in a text ostensibly concerned with literary culture in France, remains somewhat enigmatic. Nevertheless, this reference suggests that the author's reflections were nourished not only by his mentions of ancient philosophers, poets, and historians, figures which the author paradoxically cites only to condemn literary pursuits—but also by colonial stereotypes which came from travel narratives. Indeed, the locution "terres nœuves," during this time when references to the Americas were often vague and inconsistent, particularly in France, recalls quite distinctly the French title of a translation of Cristóbal de Mena's account of Peru, *L'histoire de la terre neuve du Pérou*, published only a year prior in 1545.[269] The author's passing reference suggests that the visions of the other cultures and peoples provided by

[267] Paradoxe, 18.

[268] For the author, the memory grows as more space is required, in the same way as a bladder: "de la nature des Veßies, lesquelles plus sont broyée, & batues, & plus se remplissent & teinnent dauantage." In this passage, the author provides a remarkable, perhaps comic, image for the argument provided by Socrates in the Phaedrus, mentioned in the sentences which fellow. *Paradoxe*, 19.

[269] The text is a translation of Cristóbal de Mena, *La conquista del Perú*, (Seville: Bartolomé Pérez, 1534) also translated into Italian *Libro vltimo del Summario delle Indie Occidentali* (Venice: Pincio, 1534). The anonymous author's etymologizing spelling of the adjective "nœuve" (namely the ligature between the o and e, presumably designed to call to mind the Latin "novem"), is worth remarking, particularly in these years leading up to the French spelling debates. This nod to Latin origins remains ambiguous for the author, who outwardly rejects the ancient languages and their lettered traditions lettered traditions—ones he refers to as "ces deux bourreaux de Grec, et Latin, tempestateurs des cerveaulx et anatomistes de l'entendement." *Paradoxe*, 5.

transatlantic travel narratives had, for the reader in 1540s France, already become a recognizable point of comparison for placing France's own culture into question. For what began as counterfactual fantasy about a society without books suddenly takes concrete shape in geographic space, under this nebulous toponym "terres nœuves."

Indeed, the author of the *Paradoxe* might have found other details in travel narratives such as Milanese humanist Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's *On the New World (De Orbe Novo),* a history of Spanish colonial exploration in the Americas commissioned by the Spanish crown. It was translated into French in 1532, and was included in Simon de Colines's vernacular travel collection *Extraict ou receuil des Isles*. Within this volume, the vernacular reader might have read Martyr's depictions of the Arawak, the Indigenous people of modern-day Haiti, who are said to live in a golden age of natural justice, without laws or judges, and perhaps most importantly for this critic of writing, without books ("sans loix, sans liures, sans iuges: mais de leur nature suyans ce que est iuste.")[270] Indeed, what better model for the *Paradoxe*'s fantasy of a society "without writing" than this civilizations said to be "sans liures"?[271] In this description, Martyr, this Milanese humanist who had never himself visited the Americas, inaugurates the projection of the classical myth of the golden age onto the Indigenous peoples of the Americas, which will for the remainder of the century provide a means to critique the decadence of European institutions, as well as an imagined escape from the cultural anxieties of early modern Europe. This myth perhaps already lies behind the *Paradoxe*'s fantasy of these "terres nœuves."

[270] Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, "Extraict dv premier liure de la premiere dixaine du traicte de Pierre Martyr: qui est des isles nouuelleme[n]t trouuees en la grand mer Oceane," in *Extraict ou Recueil des isles nouvellement trouvees en la grand mer Oceane* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1532), 23.
[271] Later in the *Paradoxe*, the author seems to romanticize precisely the justice of a society "sans loix, sans iuges" expurgated from the written tradition: "quelle briefve, et expediée justice se feroit, si ne trouvoient tant de Docteurs, Procureurs, Notaires, et telles Arpies des bonnes gens?" *Paradoxe,* 26.

Yet the allusion to these "terres nœuves" becomes even more meaningful when situated in the overarching reflections on technology and nature at the center of the treatise, and specifically when the author links clothing and writing. For shortly after referring to the "terres nœuves," the author evokes clothing as an essential manifestation of human artifice. The author argues that those who cannot imagine a society without writing lack an understanding of the way art adapts to nature. The author remarks of these naysayers: "ilz ne scavent que c'est de la providence et ordre de nature: laquelle ou une chose deffault, elle supplit tousjours avec l'autre: et ou l'une supplit, elle fait que l'autre n'a lieu. Ainsi faict semblablement l'art, lequel en toute choses est Cinge de la nature."[272] The author therefore conceives of writing as one example of the way art follows, mimics, or "apes" the movements of nature. Where one technology (such as writing) does not exist, another technology fills its place. In order to prove this, the author turns momentarily to clothing, only to abruptly return to writing: "lon dict, que Dieu enuoye le froid selon laccoustrement, & laccoustrement se faict außi selon la froidure. Ie veulx dire par cecy, que sil ne fust lescripture, on auroit vne autre mode de viure, qui nen auroit point de besoing: & en son lieu seruiroit de retenir a memoire." Describing the capacity for artifice to meet the demands and challenges of nature, the author alludes to an expression presented as a commonplace dictum (often translated into English as "God sends clothes after cold") which typically describes the idea that providence only sends challenges which humans are equipped to confront.[273] Yet expanding upon the expression, the author humanizes the message, emphasizing the human agency involved in responding to providential challenges. Clothing, the author suggests, much like any other human technology including writing, is created in response to the constraints of providence and nature, and is therefore contingent rather than necessary—one possible technical response among alternatives.

[272] *Paradoxe,* 18.
[273] *Paradoxe*, 18

Writing and clothing are rhetorically paired in order to examine and renegotiate the fundamental conceptual dichotomy underlying them: that of nature and artifice. The idea that "laccoustrement se faict aussi selon la froidure," represents, in the larger ambitions of the treatise, the idea that technical achievements are relative and contingent on natural challenges rather than necessary. In another climate, the same clothing that seems an essential part of the European cultural apparatus might be unnecessary. In the same way, the letters which humanists made fundamental to European cultural production might, in another place or another time, seem superfluous.

This imaginary of clothing as writing underlies the author's earlier references as well. For instance, the writing which is unknown and unneeded by Adam in the biblical genesis presumably stands alongside the absence of clothing, also unknown and unnecessary to the Edenic couple (who, as Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples put it: "l'ung & lautre estoient nudz […] et ne se hontissoient point.")[274] Yet, perhaps more importantly, it seems reasonable to suggest that a link exists between this discussion of clothing and the author's reference to the "terre nœuves" which directly precedes it. For in the colonial depictions that the author of the *Paradoxe* could have read to describe the Americas, the "absence" of European clothing stood alongside the frequently cited "absence" of European writing and other cultural practices. For instance, the opening pages of Antonio de Pigafetta's report, published in the French vernacular by Simon de Colines in a 1525 edition entitled *Le voyage et nauigation*, not only described the absence of religion and "state of nature" in Brazil ("le peuple ne adore aulcune chose & vivent selon lusaige de nature"), but also implicitly connected these aspects to the nudity of the people: "tant ho[m]mes que femmes vont nudz."[275] As a number of scholars have pointed out, the exaggerated reports of "nudity" in the Americas were

[274] *La Saincte Bible en françoys*, tr. Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, (Martin Lempereur: Antwerp, 1528), 1v.
[275] Antonio Pigafetta, *Le voyage et nauigation, faict par les Espaignolz es Isles de Mollucques*, (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1525) [n.p.] f. aiiii.

part of a colonial imaginary, one which built upon the ancient idea that clothing represented an essential manifestation of human artifice and inventiveness, and therefore "culture," in order to argue that Indigenous people lacked these signs of civilization.[276]

Yet much like the conflicting narratives about human technicity more generally, nudity in particular could be made to represent two diverging stories that Europeans would tell about a number of non-European civilizations, and, indeed, about themselves. The colonial justification which Europeans used to deny the title of civilization to the peoples across the Atlantic existed alongside another narrative which celebrated nudity as the sign of a golden age. Peter Martyr, for instance, famously evoked this paradoxical ideal; shortly after discussing the "absence" of writing and clothing, he claims that "ilz on laage d'or."[277] This narrative suggested that the absence of the familiar signs of European "civilization," such as writing or clothing, also represented the absence of the "evils" of European civilization. It is no doubt this narrative that underlies the *Paradoxe*'s idealization of the absence of writing in the "terres nœuves," exemplifying an imaginary which will only grow in the decades that follow.

This imaginary, of course, must be considered in the paradoxical context of its enunciation: after all, this dream of a society without writing figures within in a highly stylized written discourse. The author remarks the paradox in the opening pages: "ne pouvant ici blasmer les lettres,

[276] Tzvetan Todorov famously argued that "absence of clothes" in European discourse on the Americas comes to symbolize "absence of customs, rites, religion [and] cultural property." Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, (University of Oklahoma Press, 1999) 35. Walter Mignolo suggests that in descriptions of the Americas, clothing became the outward sign of civility—and therefore nudity played an important role in legitimating the European expropriation of wealth from the Americas. Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, op. cit., 35.
[277] Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *Extraict ou Recueil,* 23.

et le sçavoir, qu'en escripvant et jugeant."[278] In order to imagine the elimination of writing, the author uses the very technology he hopes to eliminate. Indeed, even the ambiguous reference to the "terres nœuves" is itself is a product of global knowledge only made possible, of course, by printed materials. In fact, the author acknowledges that awareness of such global events would be difficult without written materials, arguing: "sil nestoit lescrire nous aurions congnoissance de peu de pays: nous nous restraindrions a peu de conuersations: nous aurions & desirerions peu de chose, & naurions besoing, que de peu."[279] This isolation is something in which the author even seems to relish, concluding that "ainsi (selon moy) seroit un beau vivre." If it is difficult to reconcile the author's arguments with the paradox of their enunciation, these contradictions are in some sense characteristic of a larger movement to follow. This use of writing to imagine alternatives to writing, the fantasy of a total obliteration of the letter which uses letters—these are not simply the contradictory conditions of this particular *Paradoxe,* or the paradox genre, but, as we will see in the ensuing sections, a more general cultural movement taking place in early modern France. And curiously, much like the *Paradoxe*, this cultural movement seems to consistently look across the Atlantic, or at least to the European depictions of the Americas found in travel narratives, in order to generate this cultural fantasy.

2. A language without writing

The series of negations used by Peter Martyr to describe the Arawak on the island of Hispaniola ("sans loix, sans liures, sans iuges: mais de leur nature suyans ce que est iuste,") is

[278] *Paradoxe*, 4. The theme returns in the closing pages, as the author admits to the reader that it is "que par elles [i.e. letters] je te sceusse icy estendre la milliesme partie de l'infinité de leurs maulx." *Paradoxe,* 30. Indeed, the closing of the work, the end of the written text, is framed as a final response to letters themselves. The author concludes his argument, lest the prolixity of his condemnation benefit the very letters he hopes to condemn: "la hayne, que je leur porte, ne leur tournast à benefice."
[279] Paradoxe, 21.

repeated by the author, a dozen pages later, with some variation, to describe the Indigenous inhabitants of Cuba: "ilz viuent sans poix, sans mesure, sans mortifere pecune, sans loix, sans iuges, sans calumniateurs, sans liures contens de la loy de nature, & sans auoir soing du temps aduenir."[280] This repetition is perhaps already suggestive of the way these descriptions—one here defined by negation of these "standards" of European civilization, such as books—had become codified tropes. These tropes of absence would have such a remarkable influence on the European imaginary of the Americas which grew out of these narratives, that they were more frequently cited and repeated than the descriptions of Mesoamerican writing and literature, such as Nahuatl literary practices also described by Martyr.

Indeed, in other portions of the text, Martyr draws attention to the fact that many of the civilizations described do indeed possess literary traditions, however unfamiliar they may appear to European observers. In the "third decade," Martyr for instance describes an encounter between the Spanish and "vng fugitif des interiores parties des grandes terres occidentales" who upon seeing a European book remarks "Voyci vous aussi auez liures? Voicy vous aussi auez lettres, par lesquelles obtenez que les absens vous entendent? Et pria que on lui monstrast le livre ouuert cuidant veoir les lettres de son pays. Mais il les trouua dissemblables."[281] In another passage, Martyr describes books brought as gifts by messengers from Colhuacan to the Spanish, and provides a description of Nahuatl script.[282] "Les lettres & characteres" remarks Martyr "so[n]t moult disse[m]blables aux nostres, leurs liures so[n]t escrpitz par lignes de leur characteres semblables a des estoilles, lacqs, limes, haims, & autres formes & quasi resemblent lettres

[280] Incidentally, the mention "sans liures" occurs only once in Martyr's original text, who simply mentioned a lack of judges and laws in the second enumeration; the negation of books in both lists seems to have been an addition of the French translator. *Extraict*, 11 and 23.
[281] *Extraict,* 128v
[282] Ces nouueaux habitateurs de Colluacana, ont apporte liures aux Espagnes entre les autres dons du roy. Extraict, 149[r].

egyptiaques."[283] Martyr concludes that these works recount historical trajectories "et est vraysemblable, que ce so[n]t gestes de leurs roys & de leurs mayeurs" even concluding that in such respects these books "ne semble en riens differer aux nostres" in that Aztec authors "escrivent en leur liures leurs loix, leur sacrifices & facon de leur cerimonies, annotations & supputations aulcunes astronomicques, les temps & raisons de semer & planter." [284] Yet, despite these detailed portraits of literary practices, the most frequently reported association with the peoples encountered on transatlantic travel among vernacular authors in France, remained the "absence" of writing, as was the case in the *Paradoxe*. The idea of civilizations "sans liures" or "sans lettres" remained a memorable description for a number of French vernacular authors; Martyr's list of negations still features prominently, for instance, in Montaigne's "Des Cannibales," towards the end of the century.[285]

Walter Mignolo, in the *Darker side of the Renaissance*, examines strange connections that Spanish travel writers would establish between the "absence" of writing and the "absence" of clothing among peoples encountered on transatlantic voyages, often conceiving of these absences as intertwined. For instance, Mignolo analyzes the language that authors like Bernardo Aldrete used to describe these "absences," and points out that Aldrete actually "introduce[s] a causal link ("because") that connects language with clothing [and] states blatantly that *because* they lacked letters, most Amerindians were naked or seminaked."[286] Mignolo argues these two attributes were used to serve the same purpose within Spanish travel narratives: "clothing and speaking were at

[283] *Exraict*, "Narration premiere," 149[v]
[284] *Exraict*, "Narration premiere," 149[v].
[285] Montaigne describes the Americas using negations strikingly similar to Martyr, as "[un monde] si nouveau et si enfant qu'on luy apprend encore son a, b, c: il n'y a pas cinquante ans qu'il ne sçavoit ny lettres, ny poix, ny. mesure, ny vestements, ny bleds, ny vignes." Michel de Montaigne, *Les Essais*. Eds. Pierre Villey and V.L. Saulnier, (Paris: PUF, 1965) 908b
[286] The passage to which Mignolo refers is: "i aissi aquellas gentes carecian de tota suerte de letras, i consiguientemente de las ciencias, i estudios dellas, i de la policia, que lasacompaña, i biuian a guisa de fieras desnudos" *Varias antiguedades de España, Africa y otras provincias* (Amberes:A Costa de Iuan Hasrey, 1614) cit. by Mignolo p. 34.

the same time things in which good "policíca" (civility), or lack of it, could be identified, and they were signs whose reading allowed the construction of social identities by the perception of social differences."[287] These attributes of course also held colonial implications. For instance, shortly after providing this list of negations, Martyr remarks the necessity of introducing European Christianity, suggesting that this "lack" of European civility serves to rationalize the physical and epistemological violence of Spanish missionaries. The same terms will be later used by French authors as France attempts to create a colonial presence in Brazil. André Thevet will cast doubt on the oral traditions of the Tupinamba, for instance, remarking that they "n'ont aucun moyen d'escriture pour memoire des choses."[288] The oscillation between terms used to describe the differences of American civilizations from European counterparts—terms which alternate between "sans livres," "sans lettres," or "sans écriture"—seems to reflect the difficulty of European authors to discern precisely the nature and stakes of these cultural differences.

Yet in the 1540s, something like this "lack" of writing—precisely the fantasy of the *Paradoxe contre les lettres*—was said to exist in France. In 1542, a grammarian and translator from Lyon, Louis Meigret, argued that France lacked a proper system of writing. In his *Traité touchant le commvn vsage de l'escritvre francoise*, Meigret argues that written French had deviated so far from spoken French that the two might be considered entirely different languages. And in this way, Meigret contends that spoken French lacks a system of writing and that written French remains an unspoken language, remarking: "nous escrivons ung langage qui n'est point en vsage et vsons d'une langue qui n'a point d'usage d'escriture en France."[289] And Meigret is not alone in

[287] Mignolo, 35.
[288] "Ce qu'ils tiennent pour affeuré, ainfi que nous tenons celuy que nous propofe la faincte efcriture. Toutefois il leur est trop ailé de faillir,attendu qu'ils n'ont aucun moyen d'efcriture,pour memoire des chofes, finon come ils ont ouy dire à leurs peres" Thevet, *Singularitez*, f. 102[r].
[289] Meigret, *Traité*, Fviii v

this sentiment. Among French authors there was a more general concern about the state of the vernacular language. For instance, Charles de Bovelles in his 1533 *Liber de differentia vulgarium linguarum et Gallici sermonis varietate* (*On the difference of vernacular tongues and variety of French language*), argues that the inherent variety and instability of the vernacular renders it impossible to codify into regulated system of writing—an idea that we will explore more fully in the fourth chapter.[290] Yet Meigret, by contrast, not only suggests that France "lacks" a system of writing, but he also proposes in his treatise to provide this lacking system. Tellingly, Meigret will imagine this new system of writing by explicitly comparing France to Indigenous American civilizations. As I will argue, even a vague notion of recent colonial events provides Meigret with an important means of recontextualizing France's linguistic traditions. This section will explore this influence of travel narratives on Meigret's project; this will provide important context for the subsequent section which will connect this imaginary with the imagery of clothing used in Meigret's later works, in a way which recalls the colonial intertwining of clothing and writing for figures like Aldrete.

In order to explore the relationship between Meigret's project and transatlantic travel narratives, it will be first necessary to provide context for Meigret's reform. Meigret's project, already outlined in his 1542 *Traité*, was conceived as a simplification of French spelling, which had, in Meigret's words, become estranged from pronunciation ("trop estrange, et diverse de la prononciation") by excessive unpronounced letters and inconsistencies in the use of letters ("superfluité de letters [et] une vicieuse confusion de puissance entre elles.")[291] At the center of

[290] Similarly, by 1550, Pléaide poet Joachim Du Bellay in his poetry collection *L'Olive* remarks paying little attention to spelling, since such a variety of forms exists: "j'ai si peu curieusement regardé l'orthographe, la voyant aujourd'hui aussi diverse, qu'il y a de sortes d'ecrivains." Joachim Du Bellay, *L'olive, "Au lecteur,"* (Paris: Gilles Corrozet & Arnoul L'Angelie 1550). It is perhaps precisely this coexistence of multiple accepted forms that makes it possible for Meigret to propose such a radical project.

[291] Louis Meigret, *Traité touchā[n]t le commvn vsage de l'escritvre francoise*, (Paris: Denis Janot, 1542), f. aii.

Meigret's proposed reform is the authority of pronunciation—the only authority he considers of importance in the matter of spelling. "Les letres," Meigret argues, "ne sont qu'images de voix."[292] For this reason, "l'escriture deura estre d'autant de letres que la prononciation requert de voix."[293] The author suggests that the authority of pronunciation outweighs that of existing writing conventions and etymologizing traditions. Indeed, for Meigret, the desire to preserve existing ways of spelling has come at the cost of creating an estrangement between pronunciation and writing. "Noz anciens," he argues, referring to the ancestral medieval French authors, do not "nous obliger à james de suyure leurs inuentions en la puissance des letres sans les pouoir diuersifier."[294] Meigret's treatise is founded upon the principal that it is necessary to change these existing and ancestral French tendencies, or, in his words, "amender non seulement noz nouuelles façons de faire mais aussi celles que nous ont laisé noz anciens."[295] Meigret's project abandons existing "ancestral" French medieval traditions, a gesture which he conceives of as a return toward the Greco-Roman ancients whom Meigret, as well as many of his contemporaries, sees as possessing writing modeled on pronunciation.[296]

There are a number of ways in which Meigret will propose to align spelling with pronunciation. One of the most dramatic ways Meigret will call for a break with tradition is his suggestion of abandoning etymological letters which are not pronounced. Meigret provides examples of words retaining etymological letters, such as "dict" (the "c" suggestive of the Latin *dictum*) or "faict" (the "c" suggestive of the Latin *factum*). The etymological letter is unpronounced

[292] *ibid.*, f. A v.
[293] *ibid.*, f. A v.
[294] *ibid.*, f. Aviii v.
[295] *ibid.*, f. Bvi r.
[296] Meigret echoes the sentiments of other vernacular language reformer in other European countries. Antonio de Nebrija, for instance, will famously reduce the question to the axiom "to write as we pronounce and pronounce as we write."Nebrija, Gramática castellana, book 1, chap 10, *reglas de la ortografia en la lengua castellana* (1517)

and therefore superfluous, in Meigret's words: "superflu [et] point en la prononciation."[297] But Meigret is not only interested in "stripping away" these existing etymologizing tendencies, he will also propose new accents and call for a more systematic usage of existing ones.[298] Meigret promoted the use of accents which were already in use in Spanish printing such as the tilde and the cedilla, the latter of which had already been used by Geoffroy Tory in 1531. Meigret also called for the reclaiming of certain manuscript conventions such as the cedilla under the e (ę) to mark an open e ([ɛ]), and proposed the invention of new accents, on the model of existing ones, such as an "l" intersected by a tilde "ł" to mark a double "l." Much like Tory, who in *Champ fleury* describes his desire to "decorer nostre langue Francoise," and mentions the necessity of adding accents to French, Meigret conceives of his reform not simply as a subtractive, elimination of unpronounced letters, but also an additive process, which ornaments the language with the appropriate accents.[299] Meigret, as we will see in later works, conceives of this additive and subtractive language reform as "dressing up" and "redressing" the French language.

Meigret's radical project does not go unnoticed. Meigret will earn the praise of Joachim Du Bellay in his (1549) *Deffence et Illustration,* a work which—as will be mentioned later in this chapter—also seeks to revolutionize the French language by marking a radical break with the past, particularly the more recent medieval past.[300] Mentioning spelling only in passing, Du Bellay

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[297] Meigret, *Traité*, f. Bviii

[298] The tilde is mentioned on f. Fiii r and the cedilla on f. Eiii v

[299] Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. 1r. For instance, Meigret will question the suitability of the accent aigu, to represent what he calls the "e masculin," proposing in its place to appended an apostrophe to the letter: "il est vray qu'il y en a d'autres qui diuersifient cest é masculin auecq' vne ligne oblique qui prēt sa naissance en l'e, en cest sorte e', que ie trouuerois beaucop meilleur par ce que cest autre marque qui ia est en vsage, est beaucop plus propre pour signer les accens à qui les vouldroit marquer." Meigret, *Traité*, f. cii [v]

[300] For example, Du Bellay condemns medieval poetic genres such as "rondeaux, ballades, vyrelaiz, chantz royaulx, chansons et aultres telles episseries, qui corrumpent le goust de nostre langue, et ne servent si non a porter temoingnaige de notre ignorance." *Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse*, Ed. Henri Chamard (Paris : Didier , 1977), p. 108. Cited by Margaret L. M. Young, *Guillaume des Autelz: a study of his life and works*, (Geneva: Droz, 1961), p. 77.

refers his readers to Meigret's treatise where, in Du Bellay's words, the problem of French spelling is discussed "non moins amplement que doctement."[301] While Meigret's proposed reform will gain praise, it will also provoke a violent backlash from critics. And the nature of Meigret's propositions can be more fully understood when considered in light of the remarks of his most virulent critic, French poet Guillaume des Autels.[302] Des Autels publishes a number of texts against Meigret's proposed reform, opening a decade-long orthographic debate that pits Meigret, along with a number of Pléiade poets who supported his reform, against a conservative backlash represented by Des Autels, who sought to maintain traditional French spelling. Des Autels, in his 1551 *Replique*, criticizes figures such as Meigret or even Du Bellay, who "tien[nent] si peu de conte de noz anciens Francois" and "mespris[ent] tant leurs propres inventions."[303] Des Autels celebrates French poets of the 14th and 15th centuries such as Alain Chartier et Francois Villon, along with the literary forms and orthographic conventions associated with French medieval traditions.[304] For Des Autels, the radical break with tradition which underlies much of the language and poetic reform of his time comes at the price of dishonoring ancestral traditions.

This was precisely the kind of criticism that Meigret had anticipated—and sought to counter—in his 1542 *Traité de l'escriture.* And, I would argue that it is within his arguments against this etymologizing tradition that a picture begins to form of the broader ideas which underlie Meigret's project for the French language. In the first half of the treatise, Meigret argues

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[301] Du Bellay, *Deffence,* p.149

[302] Guillaume des Autels, *Replique aux furieuses defenses de Louis Meigret*, (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1551). For backround on Guillaume des Autels see Margaret L. M. Young, *Guillaume des* Autelz, specifically Chapter 5 "*Replique à Louis Meigret*: on Spelling Reform", p. 62-75

[303] The full quote: "Au reste encores ne ie si peu de conte de noz anciens François, que ie mesprise tant leurs propres inuentions que ceux qui les qppellent espisseries, qui ne seruent d'autre chose que de porter temoignage de nostre ignorãce." Des Autels, *Replique*, p. 61. Cited by Young, p. 80. This is in response to Du Bellay's *Deffence* see note 13.

[304] Des Autels also envisions contemporary poets like Thomas Sébillet or Clement Marot, as continuing this poetic tradition.

against what he considers to be the commonly held impression that French spelling must preserve letters which are not pronounced, but which exist in the language from which a word is drawn, as a tribute ("en reverence & reconoissance du bien que nous avons receu en faisant tel emprunt.")[305] Underlying this preservationist impulse is a specific vision of inheritance which emphasizes an obligation to mark continuity with the past. In the place of this inheritance and continuity, Meigret imagines a rupture and does so, in part, by reimagining these inherited tendencies as the result of the history of colonial occupation of France by the Romans.

Situating ancient imperialism alongside recent colonial events, the reformer argues that if there were indeed an obligation to "repay" linguistic debts, there would be no nation exempt, as the interaction of languages through imperialism is so widespread. Meigret provides several examples to illustrate his point:

> Si d'avantage il y gisoit obligation, ou est le peuple au monde qui s'en sceut excuser, *soit Grec, soit Latin, Juif, ou Indien?* Brief toutes nations du monde ont este quelquefois troubles de quelque autre peuple, de sorte qu'attendu les longues demeures que par le moien des geurres & victoires, ont este faictes des homes sur autres pays il ne se soit faicte quelque confusion & mutuel emprunt de langage. Et toutefois nous ne voyons point *les Romains, ny les Grecz & Hebreux* satisfaire a telle obligation en corrompant la puissance & ordre de l'usage des lettres.[306]

Meigret's list of peoples ("soit Grec, soit Latin, Juif, ou Indien") is designed to relativize imperial linguistic mixing, and thus desacralize the relationship between the French vernacular and ancient languages, by framing it as a colonial relationship. The ancient civilizations which Meigret mentions represent the three ancient languages, which were often defined as grammatical or artificial languages, by Dante and others, in opposition to vernacular "living" languages.[307] This otherwise rather traditional list of civilizational and linguistic models culminates in a reference

[305] Meigret, *Traité*, (np) f. Bvi [v].
[306] *ibid.*, (np) f. Bvi [v]. (emphasis added)
[307] On this topic see, for instance, Angelo Mazzocco, Linguistic Theories in Dante and the Humanists: Studies of Language and Intellectual History in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, (New York: Brill, 1993), 65.

much less typical for a French grammarian of the mid-sixteenth century: the reference to a "peuple Indien."[308] Yet just as abruptly as this civilization enters Meigret's argumentation, it is withdrawn, omitted from the reiterated enumeration—as if the outcome of this particular colonial "trouble," along with its linguistic consequences, had not yet been decided, or alternatively, that this "peuple indien" are denied this heritage of writing attributed to the other civilizations.

The ill-defined "peuple indien" is an unexpected addition to this list which, given the context, must refer to the civilizations of the so-called "West Indies." In some sense, the "Ancients" and the "New World" would become a commonplace pairing, with authors like Charles Fontaine describing Columbus alongside Caesar in his *Les nouuelles, & Antiques merueilles*.[309] Yet, one might ask what precisely Meigret sought to evoke with this reference to a "peuple indien". Meigret, much like the author of the *Paradoxe*, would have been confronted with Martyr's descriptions of oral societies "sans liures," in the *Extraict ou recueil*, published around the time that Meigret claims to have conceived of his project. [310] This would have presumably been a powerful image for the grammarian who enjoins his readers to set aside books, arguing that writing must defer to the authority of pronunciation: "tout ce que vous demande l'escriture n'est point en grand lecture de livres […] il ne vous fault que la pronciation françoise."[311] "Peuple indien" also recalls the terms used indiscriminately by Cortez to refer to the numerous Indigenous American peoples, "indios,"

[308] The particular civilization referenced by this mention of a "peuple indien" is made obscure by the colonial amalgam which was only beginning to develop in the French language with the publication of the first French translations of Spanish travel narratives: an ambivalence which the brevity of Meigret's passing allusion does not permit the reader to dispel.
[309] Charles Fontaine, *Les nouuelles, & Antiques merueilles*, (Paris: Guillaume le Noir, 1554).
[310] If one counts the "dis ans ou enuriō[n]" that Meigret claims it took to find a printer leading up to 1542.
[311] Meigret, *Traité*, Ciiii v

which the French translation rendered as "indiens.[312] These travel narratives, which described the peoples of the "West Indies," would have certainly provided ideas to radically challenge given characteristics of French.

Meigret's mention of this "peuple indien" would also enable a reimagining of linguistic "inheritance" as linguistic imperialism. The travel narratives in the *Extraict ou recueil* would have certainly offered new insights into the linguistic consequences of imperialism, with descriptions of more recent "geurres & victoires," which as Meigret argues, bring about "emprunt de langage."[313] Spanish descriptions of Columbus's and Cortez's treatment of Indigenous peoples, provided important insight into the linguistic consequences of European imperialism. For instance, in his *Decades* Peter Martyr not only describes civilizations "sans liures," but also describes European writing practices being imposed upon Indigenous languages, remarking that just as the peoples will be "*facilement tournez* a nostre loy," their language "se peut *facilement escrire* de lettres latines."[314] Indeed, already in the first decade, upon leaving Hispaniola, Columbus is said to have "emmena dix hommes de ce pays auec luy, par lesquelz escrivoit les noms comme ilz appellent plusieurs choses en leur langue."[315] The 1516 edition of the *Decades*, published by Arnao Guillén de Brocar, provided a short glossary which included Latin translations for a variety of terms in the Taíno language.[316]

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[312] The French edition significantly abridges Cortez's Second Letter. At the first occurrence of the term *indien* within the French abridgement, the term is parenthetically attributed to the Spanish by the narrator of the text: "des habitans (lesquels *les nostres appellent Indiens*)" emphasis added, p. 140. This would seem to be a clarificatory addition by the translator or editor, to clarify the term for a specifically French audience. The Latin text simply refers to a "multitudo Indorum." Hernán Cortés, *Praeclara Ferdinandi Cortesii de nova maris oceani hispania narratio*, (Nuremberg: F. Peypus, 1524) f. iv.

[313] Meigret, *Traité*, (np) f. Bvi [v].

[314] Peter Martyr d' Anghiera, *Extraict ou recueil*, 91.

[315] Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *Extraict ou recueil,* 5 r-v.

[316] Peter Martyr, *Ioannes Ruffus Foroliuiensis*…., (Alcala: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1516) f. 66-68.

As Meigret might have known, it had already become traditional to include phonetic transcriptions of Indigenous words and vocabularies in transatlantic travel narratives—as had been done, for instance, for the Laurentian Haudenosaunee languages in the 1545 *Brief Recit*. Moreover, the decades of detailed and full-scale grammars of Indigenous languages by Spanish missionaries, such as Domingo de Santo Tomás's 1560 grammar of Quechua, were not far off. As we will see in the next chapter of this dissertation, these vocabulary lists and lexicons, which took inspiration from existing vernacular language pedagogies, would radically resituate existing European pedagogies of language. And this capacity for colonial materials to recontextualize European linguistic practices is, indeed, already at work in Meigret's project. These lexicons are significant for Meigret's undertaking because the practice of phonetically transcribing Indigenous languages with the Roman alphabet, a practice imbued with colonial violence in these transatlantic contexts, perhaps represents something methodologically akin to what Meigret proposes to do with the French language, namely to solely represent the phonetics of the language with little regard for—or even knowledge of, in many of these colonial contexts—existing conventions and traditions.

In this way, I would argue that Meigret's reference to a "peuple indien" functions crucially as a means of recontextualizing France's relationship with writing. The Spanish narratives circulating during this time undoubtably shaped idea of a people "without writing" which underlies Meigret's radical project for the French language. By situating France in respect to this "peuple indien," Meigret utilizes a global imaginary to recontextualize a domestic language problem. Namely, these colonial reports will enable Meigret to reconsider and reimagine the relationship between French and ancient languages like Latin, not only repositioning the relationship between them in ancient colonial history, but also using recent European imperialism to offer new perspectives on this history. As we will see in the next section, Meigret will frame the changes he

proposes for the French language using the metaphor of language as clothing, and in this way will draw on the connection between language and clothing which was also being emphasized in transatlantic travel narratives.

3. Changing "habits" of reading

The "nudity" of the peoples encountered on transatlantic voyages, had already become a codified stereotype, a distinctive and instantly recognizable characteristic in the eyes of European readers. This was already the case in Columbus's widely circulated *Epistola de insulis noviter repertis*, of which three editions were printed in Paris around 1493. Columbus wrote: "the inhabitants of both sexes of this and of all the other islands I have seen, or of which I have any knowledge, always go as naked as they came into the world."[317] The association between nudity and infancy would become a pervasive vision of Indigenous peoples. As early as 1515 the French-reading public could learn of the accounts associated with Vespucci's voyage to Brazil via Mathurin de Redouer's translation of Fracanzio da Montalboddo's best-selling travel collection entitled *Paesi novamente retrouvati*. This widely translated collection juxtaposed these accounts alongside other abridged Spanish travel reports. The account of Brazil describes peoples living "selon la nature" emphasizing nudity and associating it with infancy: "tous aussi masles que femelles vont nudz nulle partie du corps ils ne couvrent ainsi comme issus du ventre de leur mere."[318] In this way, the imagination and rumors of nudity in the Americas become linked to infancy and proximity to nature.

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[317]The First Letter of Christopher Columbus to the Noble Lord Raphael Sanchez Announcing the Discovery of America, (Boston: Trustees, 1891), 8.

[318] Fracanzio da Montalboddo, *Sensuyt le Nouveau Monde & navigations : faictes par Emeric de Vespuce,... des pays & isles nouvellement trouvez, auparavant a nous incongneuz tant en lethiope que Arrabie, Calichut et aultres plusieurs régions estranges . Translate de ytalien en langue francoyse par Mathuerin Du Redoue*r (Paris: Jean Trepperel, 1515), lxxiii.

Yet, despite these frequent allusions to nudity in transatlantic travel narratives, this "absence" of clothing was more often, if not always, an imagined or fantasized cultural practice rather than a factual one. In fact, the very notion of nudity in travel narratives, and the precise definition of nakedness—a fairly simple question in theory—was in fact a very ambiguous concept. Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval, for example, would see no contradiction between the declaration that the Haudenosaunee people living along the St. Lawrence river were "*all naked*" (as it appeared in the English translation of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*), and his subsequent description of their clothing: "in stead of apparell, they weare skinnes upon them like mantle; and they have a small payre of breeches, wherewith they cover their privites."[319] The distinctive apparel of this civilization along the St. Lawrence is dismissed as "standing in" for clothing ("in stead of"). Although Roberval uses European categories to describe this distinctive apparel ("small payre of breeches"), this detail does not seem to alter his initial observation of the nudity of the St. Lawrence Haudenosaunee. Nudity for Roberval does not seem to mean absence of clothing, but absence of familiar European styles of clothing.

"Les habits" was the term generally used by 16th-century French writers to describe clothing—a term which was, as Daniel Defert argues, scarcely distinguished from its Latin etymon "*habitus,*" meaning "character" or "mode of life."[320] The term *habitus* thus unites socially acquired and habituated ideas and practices with the clothing that materially reinforced these distinctions, carrying semantic weight and identifying social classes and roles.[321] This context provides insight

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[319] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over land*, Richard Hakluyt (ed.) vol. 3, (London: George Bishop, 1599), 242. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there was no existing French-language version until Hakluyt's English text was translated back to French.

[320] Daniel Defert, "Un Genre ethnographique profane au XVIe: les livres d'habits (essai d'ethno-iconographie)," *Histoires de l'anthropologie : XVIe-XIXe siècles : Colloque la Pratique de l'anthropologie aujourd'hui, 19-21 novembre 1981 Sèvres,* (Paris : Klincksieck, 1984), 25.

[321] See on this topic, Ann Rosalind Jones, Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

into Roberval's misrecognition; one might argue that the clothes (or "habits") of peoples encountered in transatlantic voyages were not recognized by European travelers as such, in part because this attire was, for them, *un*habitual—deviating from typical European categories as well as the clothing that physically represented them. As Jill Burke has suggested, "European explorers and the audience at home were simply unable to recognize what these people [encountered on transatlantic voyages] were wearing as clothes because they could not "read" these garments in terms of the social order that was familiar to them."[322] Burke's comparison between reading and recognizing clothing is important, precisely because the same metaphor will be used by early modern authors to describe changing habits of reading. If clothes were a familiar metaphor through which humanists understood the mechanics of languages, what will be coded as the "nudity" of the cultures across the Atlantic ends up providing an imaginary for a more general reconsideration of established conceptual models and modes of recognition. In this sense, the European "misreading" of the clothing of the peoples encountered in the Western Hemisphere plays a role in changing the very notion of reading in France.

Meigret's project for the French language is also preoccupied with the unhabitual insofar as he aims to challenge existing habits and forms of French writing, presenting the reader with a profoundly unhabitual form of writing. Meigret will frame this question as a problem of recognition and will, in later works, use the metaphor of clothing to examine how habits influence recognition. Meigret presents a problem of recognition for the French language that is not unlike the one faced by travel writers, who fail to correctly "read" non-Western clothing encountered on global colonial voyages. Precisely because of Meigret's interest in the "peuple indien," I would

[322] Jill Burke, *The Italian Renaissance Nude*, 35. Defert similarly argues that the socially and culturally distinctive marks of clothing functioned in early modern costume books as "une grille universelle de lecture des peuples." Defert, "Un Genre," 27.

suggest it is important to contextualize this preoccupation with the unhabitual, in respect to the notion of "nudity" for Columbus or Roberval, in part because this provides a deeper understanding of how this metaphor is linked to a changing understanding, influenced by travel reports, of the way clothing identifies groups or individuals.

Meigret is peculiar among spelling reformers in that he frames the question of "abusive" French writing as a problem of recognition from the vantage point of a reader. Behind Meigret's project is a new way of seeing French, an optical trick which defamiliarizes existing orthographic habits. For precisely this reason, Pléiade poet Pierre de Ronsard celebrates Meigret as the visionary "qui a le premier osé *desseiller ses yeus* pour uoir l'abus de nostre écriture."[323] Yet Meigret's new way of seeing written French, runs contrary to many of the contemporaneous accepted norms. A part of the work of Meigret's reform is an attempt to make the reader adopt this new lens towards written French. His reform is predicated on what he identifies as an omnipresent threat of misreading, which he labels with varying degrees of severity throughout the *Traité*: from "mauuaise lecture," or "faulse lecture," to "lecture rude et brusque" or even "vicieuse lecture."[324] The reformer proposes to resolve these threats of illegibility, in hopes that "la lecture en puisse estre aisee, sans confusion & sans desordre."[325]

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[323] Pierre de Ronsard, *Quatre Premiers Livres des Odes*, (Guillaume Cavellat: Paris 1550), a5v. Ronsard not only was favorable towards Meigret's proposed reform, but also adopted many phonetic spelling reforms in his own works such as the replacing of "y" with "i," the addition of accents like the circumflex, and the general suppression of etymological consonants. In the passage cited, however, Ronsard describes only his desire to follow Meigret's reforms, from which he was dissuaded. Susan Baddeley, *L'orthographe française au temps de la Réforme,* (Geneva: Droz, 1993), 401. For more on Ronsard, see also Nina Catach, *L'orthographe française à l'époque de la Renaissance,* (Geneva: Droz, 1968), 108-127.

[324] "les faultes et vices […] qui nous donnent occasion de faire *mauuaise lecture*," f. Aii [v]. "telle ecriture donne occasion de faire *faulse lecture*," f. Aiiii [v]. "telle façon d'escrire se cause vne *incertitude, & confusion de lecture*" f. Bi [v]. "l'usage qui donne diverses pussiance à vne letre rend *la lecture incertaine, & confuse*," f. Bii [v]. "supterfluité de p, & f donnent occasion de faire *vne lecture rude et brusque*," Eii [v]. "ceux qui s'opiniatrent en telles opinons n'ayment que confusion d'escriture & *occassion de vicieuse lecture*," f. Gi [v]. "[l']abus de l […] donne grande occasion de faire *une lecture rude, & de mauuaise grace*," f. Gi [v].

[325] Meigret, Traité, f. aiiii [v].

Early in the *Traité*, Meigret imagines these sorts of misleading letters using a commonplace comparison by which writing is conceived as a "portrait" of speech, and in which written French is therefore an unrecognizable "portrait." For Meigret, the non-phonetic features of French spelling, suddenly conceived as the lasting traces of violence, are compared to scars on a portrait disfigured beyond recognition. The reformer asks: "ou est celuy qui ne blasmast le peinctre qui entreprenant de poutraire la face de quelqu'ung: feit en son pourtrait des cicatrices ou autres marques notables qui ne fussent point au vif?"[326] In this image—which seems to conflate visual and audible phenomena—the "face" of speech is "scarred" by non-phonetic features; correct spelling, Meigret argues, ought to be a recognizable portrait of speech, "une image de la parole." The threat of misreading is imagined as comparable to the threat of misrecognizing or misidentifying an individual. "Car toute portaiture," argues the spelling reformer, "doit être faite telle qu'en la voyant on connaisse le vif et qu'en voyant le vif on la connaisse."[327] The question of the "living" portrayal that seeks to, almost supernaturally, reanimate the "living" voice in the "dead" letter will frequently be at question in discussions of mimesis in poetics.[328] Indeed, Meigret's portrait seems to revisit the image which opens Horace's *Ars poetica*, frequently cited among humanists, of the hybrid portraits of the horse-headed man and fishtailed woman ("desinit in piscem, mulier formosa superne").[329] But what emerges particularly clearly from these portrait

[326] Meigret, Traité, Biii.
[327] Meigret, Traité, Biii.
[328] See on this subject: Hoffmann, George P. "Portrayal from Life, or to Life? The Essais's Living Effigy." French Forum 25, no. 2 (2000): 145–63. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40552094.
[329] "If a painter should wish to unite a horse's neck to a human head, and spread a variety of plumage over limbs taken from every part, so that what is a beautiful woman in the upper part terminates unsightly in an ugly fish below; could you, my friends, refrain from laughter, were you admitted to such a sight?" Horace. *The Works of Horace*, trans. C. Smart, ed. Theodore Alois Buckley (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863, 300. As another phonetic spelling reform Jacques Peletier translated in his 1541 French translation of the *Ars Poetica*: "si quelque Peinctre hauoit faict le protraict/ D'ung chef humaī, puysen chāgeāt de traict/ Faisoit le col d'ung cheual, & l'image estoit semé de different plumage/ Et composé de membres amassez/ de toutes pars, lourdement compasséz…" Jacques Peletier, *L'Art poétique d'Horace translaté de latin en rithme françoyse*, (Paris: Jean Grandjean, 1541), 7.

metaphors is the way in which Meigret conceives of the central problem of French spelling as one of recognition.

However, the problem with Meigret's rhetoric of the scarred and unrecognizable portrait of the French language was that for many of his contemporaries—and, at the very least, his critics—traditional forms of French spelling were familiar and therefore entirely recognizable "portraits" of French. It was perhaps precisely this plurality—and in some sense flexibility—of accepted or acceptable written forms that allowed Meigret to propose such a radical new way of writing in the first place. Yet from the standpoint of a different schema of recognition—one centered on customs and habits rather than phonetics—Meigret's new "reformed" orthography was a much less recognizable and readable portrait of French. It is, in fact, for this very reason that the text of the *Traité* is not printed in his reformed spelling, but rather in a more traditional French spelling. For Meigret could find no French printer willing to print it otherwise; Parisian printer Denis Janot, as Meigret reports, printed the *Traité* on the condition that Meigret's new reformed spelling be provided only as isolated examples.[330] In the beginning of his *Traité*, Meigret attempts to address this problem only briefly by referring to the way "errors" become habituated, referencing "la longue & co[m]mune façon de faire" and "coustumes tant vsitées" which have caused French people to hold "misleading" forms of spelling "opiniatrement pour loix, & ordonnances iustes, & necessaires."

However, in response to the criticism he receives after publishing his 1550 *Tretté de la grammere françoeze* (written entirely in his reformed spelling), Meigret explores more

[330] Or at least, this is the story he tells readers of his 1551 *Reponse de Louis Meigręt a la dezesperée repliqe de Gyllaome dęs Aotels*. In the *Reponse*—which was printed in the reformed spelling—Meigret refers to "qelqes imprimeurs qi n'ęn n'ozeret ęntrepręndre l'impressiō [of his Traité] par çe q'il touçhoęt tou'les etas de la plume, ę qe la nouueaoté de l'ecritture lęs etonoęt" before eventually after "dis ans ou enuriō." Janot agrees to print it "selō l'ançien coutume d'ecrire." (Paris: Christian Wechel 1551), 48.

expansively the way in which habits influence patterns of recognition. Meigret admits that recognition, whether in reading or otherwise, is not simply a matter of appearance, but rather a process influenced by the readers' habits and customs. For instance, although Meigret admits that his reformed spelling will initially seem foreign to unhabituated readers, he objects to the idea that this initial strangeness renders his spelling "false," or undermines his overarching analysis of the superfluity of traditional French spelling: "il ne faot pas blamer la doctrine de la supęrfluité dę lętttres pour aotant qe l'ecritture sęmblera etra[n]je de prime façe, dona[n]t pein' ao lęcteur ja accoutumé a vn' aotre [écriture] ny dire q'elle soęt faose."[331] Meigret places the rejection of novel, unhabitual appearances—and the acceptance of flawed, familiar French writing—in a broader context, remarking: "toutes nouueaotés sont tousiours etranjes de prime façe:ę qe la superfluité dę lętttres ęt si outrée ęn l'ecriture Françoęze, ę la plupart du peuple si accoutumé ęn elle."[332] Whatever problems exist in French writing, Meigret suggests, are familiar ones, ones to which the reader is already accustomed, and are therefore harder to recognize. Conversely, Meigret's reformed spelling represents such a radical departure from the conventions familiar to the reader that its improvement is equally hard to recognize.

Meigret then turns, once again, to the imagery of human encounters to describe this particular process of reading. The reformer emphasizes the relationship between habituation and recognition, using the metaphor of clothing, "les habits", to illustrate his point.[333] Meigret likens the problem to that of seeing a familiar face in unhabitual clothing, asking: "ou ęt l'home qi ayant

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[331] Louis Meigret, *Defenses de Louis Meigret Touchant son Orthographie Françoęze, contre lęs çęnsures ę calõnies de Glaumalis du Vezelet, ę de sęs adherans*, (Paris: Christian Wechel), Ciiii [v]

[332] Ciii [v]

[333] Meigret's whole discussion of his unhabitual spelling plays with different words etymologically related to the habitual: not simply clothes ('les habits'), but also 'habiter,' and 'les habitations.' As Meigret argues, "de vrey, il ęt çęrtein, q'apręs q'vn home aora fęt vne bien lo[n]ge demeure, ę qe par vn lo[n]g espaçe de tęms il aora habité qelqe męzonętte s'y eta[n]t ja accoutumé, il se trouuera toujiours d'ęntrée fort etranj' ęn vne nouuell'habitaçíon qelqe bell'ę comode q'ęlle soęt: combien qe s'il ęt home de ręzon il ne níera pas, q'ęlle ne soęt melleur' ,ęncores q'il ne sache d'ęntrée lęs ętres. Meigret, *Reponse,* Ciii [v].

de coutume de voęr son voęzin paouremęnt habillé, ne le meconoęsse de prime façe le voyant riçhemęt vetu, qoę q'il confęsse q'il ęt mieus parę q'i[l] ne soloęt?"[334] Even sartorial improvement, such as better-fitting clothes, might make an acquaintance harder to recognize, for the simple reason that the appearance exceeds the "horizon" of the viewer's expectations.[335] As this comparison suggests, Meigret implores readers to overcome their initial surprise at this unhabitual attire for the French language, in order to accurately perceive its unanticipated improvements. Faced with an acquaintance suddenly found to be more opulently dressed, the viewer can make an accurate assessment of the change only once the initial surprise subsides. Clothes do not simply provide Meigret a metaphor for appearances, but more particularly, how appearances habituate and reinforce the categories they represent. In this sense, this image builds on the metaphor of the unrecognizable portrait; indeed, it suggests a much more dynamic notion of recognition, by locating the modalities of recognition in imagery of exchangeable, malleable surfaces rather than in durable facial features or enduring "scars".

Using clothing to reimagine language, Meigret is preoccupied with the misrecognition of something unhabitual to the viewer. This allows Meigret to describe recognition in terms of shifting habituated forms rather than in stable or natural "bodies." Meigret's gesture towards the unhabitual is similar to his gesture towards the "peuple indien," insofar as both of these function as a means of radically recontextualizing existing traditions. Although Meigret does not make a reference to a "peuple indien" in his later work, the gesture underlying Meigrets interrogation of habits and the habitual, represents a form of relativization of French traditions which is similar to

[334] Meigret, *Reponse,* Ciii [v].
[335] Meigret follows this example with another, that of an individual who changes social status, and vestimentary signals along with it: "s'il avient aosi qe qelcun çhanje d'etat come de robbe long' a robbe courte, qi sera çeluy qi du premier regard ne la meconoęsse: ę qi ęncores ęn le conoęssant, ne treuu' etranje çete tranformaçíon, qoe qe nou' trouuions ręzonable q'il soęt vetu selon sa vacaçíon?" Meigret, *Reponse,* Ciii [v].

Meigret's turn towards travel narratives in his earlier work. Meigret suggests that the underlying problem of recognition which plagues the French language, and the solution, only come into view with a change in perspective. Just as Roberval seems unable to recognize non-Western clothing using familiar European standards, Meigret suggests that the vernacular readers must look at the French language differently, in order to perceive it accurately.

4. Dissimulating dissimulation

Meigret is not the only reformer seeking to refashion French habits of reading, and to use the metaphor of clothing to do so. In 1550, another phonetic spelling reformer Jacques Peletier du Mans publishes a response to Meigret entitled *Apologię a Louis Meigręt Lionnoęs*, alongside his own work on the French language entitled the *Dialogue de l'orthographe et prononciation françoęsę*[336] The *Apologię* opens with an apparent celebration of Meigret, one which incidentally utilizes the clothing metaphor prized by Meigret. Peletier addresses Meigret directly, praising his project to restore French writing: "I'è, antrę autręs chosęs, pris grand plęsir a voę`r la peinę quę tu prans a restituer notrę Ecritturę." Although Peletier and Meigret, as the subsequent pages of the *Apologię* will outline, differ in respect to method, they agree that French spelling is corrupt. Peletier outlines this estimation of the French writing with the metaphor of tatty mismatched clothing. "Notrę Ecriturę," Peletier writes:

> ę´t si corrompuę, e represantę si peu cę qu'ęllę doę`t represanter, qu'on la peùt ręsonnablęmant comparer a vnę robę dę plusieurs piecęs mal rapporteęs, ayant l'vnę manchę longuę e largę, l'autrę courtę e etroęttę: e les cartiers çan dęvant dęrrierę, laquelę vn perę balhę a son anfant, autręma[n]t dę bęllę talhę e bien proportionnè dę tous ses mambręs, ou par nonchaloęr, ou par chichęte, ou par contannęment, ou an somme par poüręte.337

[336] Jacques Peletier, *Dialogue de l'ortografe e prononciation françoese , departi an deus livres par Jacques Peletier du Mans*. (Poitiers: Jean Marnef, 1550). The work takes the form of a debate between the author and three real-life interlocuters: Jean Martin, Théodore de Bèze, Denis Sauvage.
[337] Jacques Peletier, *Dialogue de l'ortografe,* 2.

The metaphor presents French spelling as inherited clothing ("laquelȩ vn perȩ balhȩ a son anfant") which is frayed and mismatched. The image, much like Meigret's portrait, again seems to recall Horace's heteroclite portraits in the *Ars Poetica*, which Peletier himself translated in 1541.[338] This image of inheritance foreshadows Peletier's arguments later in the *Dialogue* against the "inheritance" of Latin letters, which don't "fit" French pronunciation, a framework reminiscence of Meigret's own vision of French writing.[339] The metaphor of clothing, much like for Meigret, seems to provide Peletier with a means to frame and personify the problem of recognition he identifies with the French language.

Yet Peletier seems to envision a project for French which extends beyond a simple change of clothes. Indeed, Peletier describes his "honte" to see "vnȩ telȩ languȩ co[m]me la Françoęsȩ ętrȩ vetuȩ, męs plustót masqueȩ d'un habit si difformȩ," shame derived from bad clothes rather than Edenic nudity.[340] Yet instead of emphasizing a change of clothes, Peletier emphasizes the natural beauty of what appears to be the "body" beneath ("dȩ bęllȩ talhȩ e bien proportionnè dȩ tous ses mambrȩs") which is concealed by the unbecoming attire. Peletier does not simply call for an alteration of clothing; his suggestive allusions point towards an imagined nudity, a mental undressing. Underlying Peletier's critique of this concealing linguistic clothing are glimpses he provides of what lies beneath: the tall, well-proportioned body, which he invites the reader to imagine without the ill-fitting attire. Whereas Meigret simply provides the means of changing the "habits" of the French language, Peletier bolsters his critique by reintegrating, if only in passing, the body as the foundational point of reference: the state or site of nature which comes to challenge

[338] Jacques Peletier, *L'Art poétique d'Horace translaté de latin en rithme françoyse*, (Paris: Jean Grandjean, 1541)
[339] "męs iz estimoę´t les lętrȩs Latinȩs leur ę´trȩ assez bonnȩs pour cȩ qu'iz an avoę´t affęre n'ayans l'esprit ambitieus dȩ męttrȩ rien du leur par ecrit, qui dùr dȩmeurer a la posterite" leaving "tant dȩ voęs e dȩ terminę´sons depouruuȩs d'expressions cõmodȩs." Jacques Peletier, *Dialogue de l'ortografe,* 9.
[340] Jacques Peletier, *Dialogue de l'ortografe,* 3.

and reevaluate artificial "cultural" habits. This framework allows Peletier to frame a change of linguistic "habits", not simply as a change in habituation, but as a return towards a more primary nature.[341]

This idea of the naked body as a stable "natural" point of reference undoubtably also provides Peletier a more secure ground upon which to address much more volatile questions of identity, which mark one of the major differences between the two reformers. Peletier's central critique of Meigret is that he fails to represent general, or ideal, "French" pronunciation (despite his claims to study "les façons de voix Françoyse"). For Peletier, Meigret's vowels fail to reproduce an ideal "voix Françoyse" and instead represent his own particular Lyonnais accent. Peletier recognizes deformations in Meigret's vowels, which he attributes to a regional "vice" from the reformer's native Lyon and elsewhere: "lȩ vicȩ dȩ cęrteins païs, commȩ dȩ la Gaulȩ Narbonnęsȩ, Lionnoęsȩ, e dȩ quelquȩs androęz dȩ l'Aquiteinȩ."[342] Peletier warns against privileging of such regional tendencies: "n'epousons point si affȩctuȩsȩmant la prolation dȩ notrȩ païs."[343] Moreover, he addresses Meigret directly to warn against getting caught up in his own personal fantasies about what the French language should be: "Gardȩ toę, Meigret, qu'on nȩ t'estimȩ trop amoureus dȩ ta fantesiȩ proprȩ."[344]

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[341] By describing nudity as this primary nature beyond concealing clothing, Peletier anticipates what will become an important image later in the 1550s for the Pléaide poets with whom Peletier is associated. For instance, in his introductory epistle to Andre Thevet's (1558) *Singularitez de la France Antartique*, Etienne Jodelle will invest the 'nudity' of the Tupinamba and the clothing of Europeans with moral implications remarking, "ces barbares marchent tous nuds/et nous nous marchons incognus/ fardez, masquez."341 Made-up and masked, the French are made to wear figures of dissimulation and dishonesty—figures of bodily adornment and misleading outward appearances supposedly misrepresenting the intellectual, spiritual, moral, or civil attributes of the individual. While Jodelle imagines France "fardez, masquez" in a markedly different context, something like this framework clearly exists already behind Peletier's diatribe against a language which he conceives to be "masquȩ d'un habit si difformȩ."

[342] Jacques Peletier, *Dialogue de l'ortografe,* 30.

[343] Peletier remarks of his own experience, "j'è tousjours prís peinȩ de parler e prononcȩr correctȩmant autant qu'un autrȩ" out of fear that "mon parler santȩ son tęrroę" and recounts losing his own regional accent by frequenting the court of François I. For Peletier, the only place that pure French is spoken is in the royal court: "an notrȩ Francȩ n'i à androęt ou lon parlȩ pur Françoęs, fors la ou ę´t la court." Jacques Peletier, *Dialogue de l'ortografe,* 31.

[344] Jacques Peletier, *Dialogue de l'ortografe,* 32.

Peletier's response reveals a problem which is not adequately addressed by Meigret in his treatises. If in his polemical responses to critics, Meigret utilizes clothing to reimagine how habits influence recognition and misrecognition, he perhaps fails to create a convincing argument that he has found the "habits" which truly and singularly "fit" the vernacular language, or in other words, that he has not simply fashioned a new "disguise." And in some sense, such an ambition might be said to extend beyond Meigret's immediate object; Meigret is indeed concerned with resolving a problem he envisions with the French vernacular system of writing, but this project is not framed as an identarian question the way that it will be for Peletier—or for Du Bellay, as we will see in the next section. The metaphorical scaffolding required to visualize such a close relationship between French language and identity belongs perhaps more to the domain of the proto-nationalist poetic endeavors of the Pleaide in the decades which follow. By comparison, the object of Meigret's project appears more general and grammatical, as if its logic might be applied not simply to French but to any language, and, in this sense, perhaps never aspired to the poetic and identarian ambitions of Peletier.

By contrast, in Peletier's work, there is an intimate relationship between spelling, clothing, and the vernacular language. This poet had been long concerned with the question of the vernacular language; his 1545 French translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica* had foregrounded the question of vernacular poetics, lamenting, in the opening pages, "le mepris & contennement de notre langue native, laquelle nous laisson arriere pour entretenir la langue Grecque & la langue Latine."[345] In his own *Art poëtique*, published in 1555, Peletier will warn fellow poets not to be caught in "foreign

[345] Jacques Peletier du Mans, *L'art poëtique,* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1555) in *Œuvres Complètes, vol. I*, ed. Michel Jourde, Jean-Charles Monferran et Jean Vignes (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011), 96. Peletier later argues that "ceux qui se vouent & adonnent à une langue peregrine (j'entens peregrine pour le respect de la domestique), il me semble qu'il ne leur est possible de atteindre a celle naive perfection des anciens non plus qu'à l'art d'exprimer Nature, quelque resemblance qu'il pretende. » Jacques Peletier du Mans, *Œuvres Complètes, vol. I*, 101.

clothes," or what he calls "acoutr¢mans peregrins" now that the poetic Muses have made their way to the French territory: "les Mus¢s vien¢t a presant pour habiter an Franc¢: męs non point pour trouver des hót¢s, vetuz d'acoutr¢mans peregrins."[346] This image which represents an dramatized voyage of the Muses, and an "encounter" between foreign parties, almost seems like a scene typical of a travel narrative. For Peletier, French poetry must appear in its natural, domestic attire, the vernacular language, not disguised in borrowed clothes. In this way, for a figure like Peletier, the stripping away of foreign or inherited "habits" unites both a poetic, orthographic, and political project.

In some sense, the stripping away of clothing seems consistent with an overarching theme in Peletier's work, that of excessive or inappropriate ornamentation—a theme which unites poetics and orthographic reform. For instance, Peletier marks a clear rejection of excessive ornamentation in his *Art Poëtiqu¢*, arguing "an tout¢ sort¢s de d'orn¢mans, faut l'eviter l'ostantacion."[347] Peletier utilizes visual terms to describe poetic ideals, remarking that clarity is the principal goal of a poem, while obscurity represents a poet's greatest failure: "comm¢ donq nous avons dìt la clęrte ętr¢ l¢ plus insin¢ orn¢mant du Poęm¢: einsi l'obscurite s¢ cont¢ra pour l¢ pr¢mier vic¢."[348] This critique of ostentation and the opposition between clarity and obscurity, alongside Peletier's image of the stripping of mismatched clothing from the French language, present a variety of different expressions of a foundational concern underlying Peletier's work: the relationship between artifice and nature, and more precisely a preference for the natural. As Peletier writes in the early pages of his *Art Poëtiqu¢*:"il faut donq qu¢ l¢ Poët¢ soę' imitateur d¢ la Natur¢."[349] One might consider

[346] Jacques Peletier du Mans, *Œuvres Complètes, vol. I*, 307.
[347] Jacques Peletier du Mans, *Œuvres Complètes, vol. I*, 321.
[348] Jacques Peletier du Mans, *Œuvres Complètes, vol. I*, 331.
[349] Jacques Peletier du Mans, *Œuvres Complètes, vol. I*, 266.

Peletier's concern for the linguistic body beneath the mismatched orthographic clothing in his *Apologię* as simply another expression of this desire to strip artifice to return to nature.

Although Peletier may not refer explicitly to contemporaneous reports of the Americas in order to develop this framework of nature, his work provides an important link between a figure like Meigret who is concerned exclusively with orthography, and a figure like Du Bellay who integrates this same rejection or "stripping" of traditions into a poetic project. Peletier, although clearly imagining the body as the essential reference point of identity, will never in his reforms explicitly reduce French to "nudity". In fact, in his *Apologię*, Peletier emphasizes that the operation of "revealing" is always accompanied by some form of concealment, new "habits" conceal as much as reveal. Peletier remarks this inevitable work of concealing, and dissimulating, to Meigret, in the end of the *Apologię*: "il an viendra d'autręs apręs nous, qui achęvęront cę quę nous aurons, nompas oubliè, męs seulęmant dißimulè."[350] Paradoxically, the work of stripping away the mismatched clothing with which the French language has been "masquęę" is itself a process which nevertheless leaves the language "seulęmant dißimulè." Removing the mask, Peletier suggests, only reveals another mask, albeit a subtler one. In this way, the movement, for Peletier, is not from concealing to revealing, but rather, concealing the initial operation of concealment. In this sense, Peletier is already formulating, as we will see, a gesture that will become crucial for fellow Pleaide poet Joachim du Bellay in the *Deffence and illustration*.

5. Borrowed feathers

In the fall of 1550, not long after Peletier's *Apologię* was published, the banks of the Seine in Rouen were famously decorated to look like a Brazilian village for the royal entry of Henri IV,

[350] Jacques Peletier, *Dialogue de l'ortografe,* 23.

in an attempt on the part of Rouen merchants to persuade the king of the viability of French trade with Brazil. The display recreated a Brazilian village in which one could observe, according to the official account of the event: "trois centz hommes tous nuds, hallez & herisonnez, sans aucunement courir la partie que la nature commande, […] faconnez & equipez, en la mode des sauvages de l'Amerique."[351] The group of performers included fifty Indigenous people abducted expressly for the occasion ("cinquante naturelz sauuages, freschement aportez du pays"); the remaining performers, French sailors "ayant frequente le pays," are said to have imitated so expertly "les gestes & facons de faire des sauuages" that the disguise might have been mistaken for reality, "comme s'ilz fussent natifz du mesmes pays."[352] The woodcut illustration included within the account, along with contemporaneous paintings, depict these figures not as naked (despite the description "tous nuds"), but dressed with feathered adornments and headpieces. This was the conventional attire which Europeans associated with the Tupinamba, the group of Indigenous people who inhabited coastal Brazil, with whom France had the most contact.

Only a year prior, in 1549, Pleaide poet Joachim Du Bellay had similarly relied on a sort of "performance" of nudity in his famous vernacular manifesto *La Deffence et Illustration de la langue Francoise.* I will argue that this nudity, when considered alongside other images used by Du Bellay such as cannibalism or the notion of the "sauvage," suggests that the author, much like the Brazilian performance in Rouen, was inspired by travel narratives. Nudity is first mentioned in the third chapter, entitled "Pourquoy la langue francoise n'est si riche que la grecque et latine," in which Du Bellay argues that a lack of concern for the vernacular language has left it entirely naked: "si pauvre, et nue, qu'elle a besoing des ornemenz, et (s'il fault ainsi parler) des plumes

[351] Anonymous, *C'est la déduction du sumptueux ordre plaisantz spectacles,* (Rouen: Robert Le Hoy, 1551), f. Biiii (r).
[352] Anonymous, *C'est la déduction,* f. Biiii (r).

d'autruy."[353] This nudity of the French language in the face of ancient languages—which exposes, if not Edenic shame, an embarrassing impoverishment—generates a need for appropriated adornment, like Aesop's fable, to which Du Bellay here seems to allude, of the crow who adorns itself with borrowed peacock feathers. [354] But Du Bellay is not simply observing a nudity which already exists, but rather actively producing it. Indeed, this literary poverty and nudity is something that Du Bellay creates by dismissing, in the second half of the *Deffence*, "tous les anciens Poëtes Françoys," with the exception of "Guillaume du Lauris et Jan de Meun." [355] Du Bellay also portrays contemporaneous poets "stripped" and "denuded" of poetic skill. For instance, speaking of Antoine Héroët, Du Bellay describes a poet "tant *denué* de tous ces delices [de bien écrire], et ornementz poëtiques."[356] Du Bellay actively "denudes" the vernacular language, imagining it naked, stripping it of the heavy wardrobe of tradition. In this sense, far from an incidental image or fleeting metaphor, nudity is in fact emblematic of the operation the *Deffence* seeks to perform, symbolizing this radical break Du Bellay seeks to mark with traditional poetic "attire."

The singular nature of Du Bellay's use of nudity becomes more apparent when compared to the images used by his contemporaries. For it was more frequently the metaphor of "reclothing" which provided French humanists with an important means of reflecting upon the relationship between French and ancient languages. Thomas Sébillet, for example, in his 1549 vernacular translation of Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, recounts having "changé l'Iphigéne d'Aulide/le

[353] Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence et Illustration de la langue Francoise*, ed. Jean-Charles Monferran, (Geneva: Droz, 2001) p. 80.
[354] An allusion to the Aesop's fable often titled in English as "*The bird in borrowed feathers*." This allusion, it is worth remarking, is a problematic one; for, the fable, is typically understood as warning *against* such appropriations—a fact which the French poet Guillaume des Autelz alludes to in his criticism of the *Deffence*. The story ends with the crow, revealed an imposter, being stripped of its borrowed feathers, and in some variations, of its own feathers in the process. This strange use of Aesop's cautionary tale is perhaps an expression of Du Bellay's own anxiety about imitation.
[355] Du Bellay, *Deffence,* 121.
[356] Du Bellay concludes "qu'il merite plus le nom de Phylosophe, que de Poëte." *Deffence,* 123.

préciëus & richȩ habillement que luy donna Gréce par Euripide."[357] The image of reclothing Iphigenia provides Sebillet with a means of conceptualizing the response to a vernacular translation of this ancient tragedy in France. Sebillet describes how, until his own translation was published, the personified tragedy, "n'auisoit passér par ce François domaine/En simplȩ habit de peur qu'on en médit."[358] The clothing metaphor thus not only frames requisite commonplaces of humanist prefaces, but also reflects anxieties about vernacular translations. The "simplȩ habit" of French which is made to stand alongside the "richȩ habillement" of ancient languages, provides Sebillet with visual concrete terms, to address the appearance of the vernacular language in respect to ancient languages of learning—an important matter of debate for Sebillet, Du Bellay, and their contemporaries. However, despite this vestimentary inequality, Sebillet never questions the possibility of such an exchange of clothing, or in other words, of translation.[359] This is, of course, consistent with the way Sebillet in the opening chapter of his *Art poetique* posits a continuity between ancient models, French medieval poets, and the poetry of his contemporaries—a continuity which renders translation possible.[360]

In a similar way, Louis Meigret uses this metaphor of "reclothing" a foreigner to address the ways in which foreign loanwords must be domesticized. Citing examples of French words

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[357] Revealing his debt to a 1507 Erasmian Latin translation, Sebillet also describes having divested the play of more recently acquired Roman attire: "cettuy-la qu'avoit nouuellement A elle mémȩ ouuré suttilement/ le doctȩ Erasmȩ a la mode Romaine." Thomas Sebillet, *L'Iphigene d'Euripide poete tragique tourne de grec en francois par l'auteur de l'art poëtique*, (Paris: Gilles Corrozet, 1549) [n.p.] 3v

[358] *Ibid.*

[359] While Sebillet may suggest that possibility of the deterioration of the original Greek 'fabric' with the 'cuts' and 'stitches' of the poet/tailor ("au carder & au filer"), he attributes this degeneration (and indeed, perhaps only rhetorically) more to the personal failure of the 'tailor', than to the inherent particularity with the vernacular language, or the practice of translation itself. Sebillet never questions the possibility of translation, or of 'exchanging' Iphigenia's clothes for new attire, however "mal véttuȩ" she may appear.

[360] In the opening chapter Sebillet traces the movement of poetry from Greek poets ("Home're" "Hesiode" and "Pindare") to Romans ("Virgile, Ovide, Horace") to Italy ("Danthe" and "Petrarque") finally onto "Alain, Ian de Meun, & Ian le Maire." Thomas Sebillet, *Art Poetique François*, (Paris: Gilles Corrozet, 1548), 3. For the differences and debate which separate Sebillet and Du Bellay on this question, see Ehsan Ahmed, "Du Bellay, Sebillet, and the Problematic Identity of the French humanist," *Neophilologus*, 75, no. 2, 1991, esp., 186.

borrowed from Greek like "Mathematicus" (for "Mathematique") or "Rhetoricus" (for "Rhetorique,") Meigret writes:

> Il faot de vrey fére dę' vocables qe nous ęmpruntons, tout einsi qe d'un etranjier qe nou' voudrions fére reçeuoer ęntre lę' Françoęs pour vn de leur naçíon: aoqel on ne saoręt miues fére, qe de l'accoutrer a la Françoez' avęq qelqes jęstres, ę contenance, ę finablemęnt le langaje: car lors il sera reçu pour un Françoęs naturel, ę natif de Françe.[361]

In this image, the foreigner dressed (or "accoutr[é])") as a Frenchmen—like the foreign word disguised as a French one—is received as a native. Meigret seems to suggest that native or natural "Frenchness"—whether for individuals or for words—might in fact represent an ensemble of performable, acquired characteristics, rather than any innate, inimitable identifying essence; in other words, disguises have the capacity to be mistaken for nature, and conversely things that seem entirely natural might, in fact, be artificial.

Both of these conceptions of the vernacular "clothing" are reimagined by the *Deffence.* For Du Bellay does not simply abandon the reclothing metaphor used by Meigret and Sebillet, but indeed renders it unthinkable. How might one reclothe an ancient text or word in "French" clothing when vernacular attire is, in fact, conceived as the absence of attire? This impossibility is of course entirely consistent with the overarching ambitions of the *Deffence*, and in particular with Du Bellay's stance on translation. Although Du Bellay admits the usefulness of translation for transmitting encyclopedic knowledge across linguistic barriers, he argues that each language has an inimitable eloquence: "il est impossible de le rendre avecques la mesme grace dont l'Autheur en a usé."[362] The *Deffence*'s stance on the limits of translation is thus intertwined with an argument about of the nature of language. For De Bellay, translation reveals the irreducible singularity of each individual language: "chacune Langue a je ne sçay quoy propre seulement à elle, dont si vous

[361] Louis Meigret, *Tretté de la grammere françoeze*, (Christian Wechel: Paris, 1550), f. 24v-25r.
[362] Joachim Du Bellay, *Deffence,* 88

efforcez exprimer le naif en une autre Langue, observant la loy de traduyre, qui est n'espacier point hors des limites de l'aucteur, vostre diction sera contrainte froide & de mauvaise grace."[363] In other words, unlike Meigret or Sebillet, Du Bellay argues that simply "disguising" foreign words—either through translation or otherwise—will fail to convince natives, who will see through the "unnatural" disguise, which remains "contrainte" and "froide." This unnamable, inimitable particularity of each language, which Du Bellay presents as, in the words of Michael Greene, "a powerful individuating essence," cannot be translated.[364] In this sense, when Du Bellay verbally strips away the clothing of vernacular tradition to imagine a body "naked" and "pauvre," he also attempts to expose something inimitably French. He attempts to situate the identifiable characteristics of the French language in something as naturally and biologically imbedded as bare skin, rather than in exchangeable "technical" surfaces of clothing.

And yet, despite revealing what is nakedly "French," this nudity, for Du Bellay, is clearly not conceived as an entirely desirable state, but rather one associated with poverty, which demands and even necessitates appropriated adornment: "des ornemenz, et (s'il faut ainsi parler) des plumes d'autruy." Translation, however, cannot provide this adornment, because, as Du Bellay later argues, it fails to properly reproduce "Metaphores, Alegories, Comparisons, Similitudes, Energies, et tant d'autres figures et ornemens" without which "tout oraison et Poëme sont nudz, manques, debiles."[365] Nudity in this second instance appears to function as a near synonym of the adjectives which follow it, "lacking" and "weak." For Du Bellay, translation—which Sebillet describes as reclothing—misconstrues the relationship between inimitable linguistic attires, creating disguises rather than clothes that really "fit." And by failing to produce forms adapted to particularity of the

[363] *Ibid.*
[364] Micheal Greene, *A Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*, *op. cit.* p. 190
[365] Du Bellay, *Deffence*, 87.

vernacular language, translation, for Du Bellay, actually contributes to leaving French naked, unadorned and unprotected.

If Du Bellay is certainly not content, in the opening pages of the *Deffence,* with the impoverished "nudity" of the French language, neither does he suggest that it can—or even should—be simply "covered up" through translation. The entire project of the *Deffence* is in some sense a response to the state which Du Bellay describes as the nudity or poverty of the vernacular language. Yet besides referring to this "besoin des ornemens," Du Bellay never suggests "clothing" the French language. In fact, the parts of the treatise which outline Du Bellay's response to the impoverishment of the vernacular—what he will term "imitation"—abandons the image of nudity altogether. Dramatically mixing and shifting the metaphorical framework, for which his text is famous, Du Bellay suggests that the French language is like "une plante sauvaige," which has failed to bloom "non pour le default de la Nature d'elle" but rather because French authors "ne l'ont pas cultivée a suffisance."[366] The French, Du Bellay argues, ought to imitate the Romans who, "en guise de bons agriculteurs," not only transplanted their language "d'un lieu sauvaige en un domestique," but also nurtured it by cutting unfruitful branches and grafting stronger branches in their place.[367] These branches, borrowed from the Greek language, are so successfully implanted that they appear natural: "sont si bien entez & faictz semblables a leur tronc, que desormais n'apparoissent plus adoptifz, mais naturelz."[368] This metaphor—difficult to reconcile with the previous image of nudity—emphasizes the necessity of a form of linguistic development which like biological incorporation, eliminates the traces of alterity. Du Bellay seeks to differentiate his process of "imitation" from the simple manipulation of surfaces, and, in this sense, presents this

[366] Du Bellay, *Deffence*, 81.
[367] Du Bellay, *Deffence*, 81.
[368] Du Bellay, *Deffence*, 81.

technique as dramatically different from the forms of translation described by Sebillet and Meigret as the "reclothing."

It is also worth remarking the particularity of the term "sauvaige" which Du Bellay uses to describe the nature of the French language. It is within this term that a broader image of the significance of the notion of nudity begins to form. This term was, of course, not only used to describe natural phenomena. It was the same term that would be used to describe seven men who were said to have been abducted from North America and brought to Rouen in 1509.[369] In 1515 the translation of the reports of Vespucci's travels will describe the peoples encountered in Brazil as "hommes sauluaiges,"[370] The term "sauvaige" was the epithet Cartier had already used indiscriminately to refer to the Haudenosaunee and Mi'kmaq peoples that he had encountered during the voyage to Canada. I would suggest that the term "sauvaige," particularly when considered alongside the image of nudity in the *Deffence*, would have called to mind reports from travel narratives. Sara Melzer has associated the image of the "plante sauvaige" in the *Deffence* to broader thinking about the term *sauvage* in France at Du Bellay's time, and in particular in respect to its use within travel narratives to describe certain Indigenous peoples in the Americas. Melzer has suggested that the term "sauvage" provided "new line of thinking about difference and *otherness*," which instrumentalized existing cultural stereotypes about Indigenous peoples encountered in transatlantic voyages in order to imagine alternative identities for French culture.[371] The term "sauvaige" thus seems to reposition the "nakedness" and "poverty" announced in the

[369] Anno MDIX Septem homines sylvestres, ex ea insula, quae terra nova dicitur, Rothomagi adducti sunt" Eusebii Cæsariensis Episcopi Chronicon, (Paris, 1512), 172. The Latin text will be translated as "sept homes saulvages" in Robert, Gaguin, [Supplement Pierre Desrey] tr. Nicolas de la Chesnaye, Les grandes croniques, (Paris: 1514,) ccxlvi.
[370] lxxvii
[371] Sara Melzer, *Colonizer or Colonized? The Hidden Colonial Stories of Early Modern French Culture*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 204. Incidentally, Du Bellay would use the same term a few years later, in a sonnet eulogy for the Scottish poet George Buchanan who, in Du Bellay's words, "d'un vers aux plus vieux comparable/ Le surnom de Sauvage ostes à l'Ecossois."

beginning of the *Deffence*, as a place of possibility, which invites cultivation. From the naked body to the "wild" plant Du Bellay is consistently concerned with stripping away medieval traditions to reveal an essentially "French" nature.

A third image that Du Bellay will use to describe his project for the French language must be considered alongside the image of nudity and the notion of the "sauvage," namely that of cannibalism. In the first chapter properly dedicated to imitation, Du Bellay once again abandons images which rely on the counterfeiting of appearances (and perhaps with it some of the risks of such operations) and employs another metaphor of internalization, in which he implores the French to "cannibalize" the ancients. Du Bellay calls on the French to imitate the Romans who themselves enriched their Latin by "immitant les meilleurs Aucteurs Grecz, se tranformant en eux, les devorant, et apres les avoir bien digerez les convertissant en sang et nouriture."[372] Imitation, for Du Bellay, does not counterfeit but rather punctures the surface, and violently consumes and subsumes the interior. This distinction between interiorization and exteriorization is further suggested by a similar use of the metaphor in the second book of the *Deffence*, in which Du Bellay discourages imitation of French poets: "en ceux cy on ne sçauroit pre[n]dre que bien peu, comme la peau & la couleur: en ceux-la on peult prendre la chair, les os, les nerfs, & le sang."[373] Whereas the imitation of French poets can only ever touch the surface of poetics, the ancients—Du Bellay seems to suggest—offer material to really sink one's teeth into.

Hassan Melehy, in his analysis of the *Deffence,* provides the important reminder that the cannibalism which provides the central—or at the very least, the most memorable—image for imitation, was known in Du Bellay's time "primarily through the accounts, usually fictionalized,

[372] Du Bellay, *Deffence*, 89.
[373] Du Bellay, *Deffence*, 126.

of some of the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas."[374] Already in 1503 the first Latin edition of the account of Vespucci's travels in Brazil published in Paris *Mundus Novus* provided detailed reports of cannibalism which would remain persistently associated with the Americas, and would feature in anthologized vernacular translations such as the 1515 *Sensuyt le noveau monde*.[375] Similarly, in the *Extraict ou Recueil*, Martyr reports of "isles ou habitent hommes brutaulx, cruelz & terribles, viuans de chair humaine" who are known as "Canibales ou Caribs."[376] The sensationalizing details which Martyr included in early pages of his first "decade," which included descriptions of dismemberment and various preparations performed by these "Canibales," would have a lasting influence on the European cultural imaginary, instilling fear in the European reader as well as justifying Spanish colonial intervention.[377] The "Cannibals ou Caribs" figure within Martyr's *Decades* as the negative counterpart to idealizing "Golden Age" descriptions of other peoples, such as the Arawak.

Cannibalism can be linked to nudity insofar as they both represented stereotypes produced by European travel narratives, which provide Du Bellay with a means of radically recontextualizing France's relationship to the ancients. Indeed, Du Bellay seems to use contemporaneous travel reports to reframe what he conceives as France's inequality to the ancients.

Although nudity describes the initial state of the French language in the opening pages of the *Deffence*, it does not feature within the passages in which Du Bellay outlines his response to this poverty. When the image of nudity does remerge in the *Deffence*, it is at the end, in a markedly different context, and no longer associated with impoverishment or weakness. For instance, the

[374] Melehy, Hassan. "Du Bellay and La deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse" In *A History of Modern French Literature: From the Sixteenth Century to the Twentieth Century* edited by Christopher Prendergast, [137-154]. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 143.
[375] Sensuyt, f. lx
[376] Extraict ou Recueil, f. 3.
[377] Extraict ou Recueil, f. 4.

seventh chapter of the second book utilizes the metaphor to discuss rhythm and non-rhyming verses, suggesting a positive and constructive thinking of nudity. Du Bellay recommends that special attention be paid to poetry which lacks rhymes, and refers the reader specifically to the artistic genre of the nude: "tout ainsi que les peintres et statuaires mettent plus grand'industrie à faire beaux et bien proportionnez les corps qui sont nuds, que ls autres: aussi faudroit-il bein que ces vers non rymez, fussent bien charnus et nerveux, à fin de compenser par ce moyen, le defaut de la rythme."[378] In this passage, Du Bellay recalls the adornments he discussed in prior chapters—adding "le rythme" alongside the "Metaphores, Alegories, Comparisons, Similitudes, Energies" mentioned earlier—the adornments, without which "tout oraison et Poëme sont nudz, manques, debiles."[379] Yet, here, nudity is not conceived as undesirable "weakness," so long as the bodies are "beaux et bien proportionnez" and "bien charnus et nerveux."[380]

Indeed, with a passing reference to "peintres et statuaires," nudity appears not as poverty, but as a highly aestheticized vision of the uncovered body: *the nude*, a codified genre which invites, and even necessitates, specific forms of representation of exposure and unadornment.[381] Relying on this image, Du Bellay does not suggest covering the poetic body with ornamental rhymes, but

[378] Du Bellay, *Deffence*, 151.
[379] Du Bellay, *Deffence*, 87.
[380] Du Bellay, *Deffence*, 151.
[381] This genre, which had undergone aesthetic redefinition during the early modern period, did not represent nudity as Edenic shame, but rather the embodiment of the humanist's curious and careful attention to the complex innerworkings of the human body.

rather calls for this aesthetic adornment to be situated within the body itself—and in doing so, suggests a very different metaphorical paradigm for French language.[382]

It is as if, over the course of the *Deffence*, nudity moves from a negative association of poverty to more positive estheticized associations. This movement from nudity as poverty, to the "sauvaige plante" and "cannibalizing" the ancients, back towards the estheticized nude, provides imagery for markedly different processes in the *Deffence*. Yet Du Bellay's images and metaphors, which often appear as disparate literary borrowings when considered individually, perhaps constitute a coherent and reasoned imaginary underlying the *Deffence* when considered as an ensemble. The images of "wild" nature characterized by Du Bellay as "sauvaige," standing alongside the imagery of cannibalism, and the persistent theme of nudity in the *Deffence*, when considered seem to point to an imaginary inspired by travel narratives. Indeed, Sara Melzer and Hassan Mehley have pointed to the ways in which travel narratives helped construct the imaginary surrounding the term "sauvaige" and the imagery of cannibalism. One might add to this list of images the nudity which Du Bellay attributes to the French language, this definitively recognizable stereotype by which European readers, and viewers of illustrations and maps would not simply perceive Indigenous American cultures, but also, as we saw in Rouen, attempt to "perform" these cultures.

[382]By stripping naked the French language, Du Bellay is not simply interested in an iconoclast and polemical stripping of the garb of traditional poetics, but also in crafting a poetics which, in sight of the body laid bare, presents itself as better attuned to the mechanical innerworkings of French. Tellingly, it is precisely after Du Bellay's evocation of the nude, which reveals the muscles and tendons of language, that Du Bellay criticizes those poets who have sought to make a distinction between visual and verbal rhymes—a distinction which, for the author, would have no foundation if "l'orthographe françoise n'eust point été depravée par les practiciens." It is as if the glimpse of a body laid bare of rhythmic appearances, revealing even the flesh and nerves, suddenly gives way to a reflection on other forms of misrepresentation, speech concealed by non-phonetic spelling. Du Bellay's penetrating contemplation of this linguistic body is perhaps not unlike the anatomical treatises published not long before the *Deffence,* such as such as Charles Estienne's *De dissectione.*

In this sense, it would seem that the nudity of the French language represents a dramatic costume, not unlike that of the performers at the royal entry festival which would take place in Rouen a year later. When Du Bellay asks for the "plumes d'autruy" to adorn the French language which is "pauvre" and "nue," he is perhaps not simply asking for the feathered quills of the past and future writers. Indeed, perhaps he is also asking for those feathers which do not conceal nudity but figure within—and which serve to exaggerate—a certain representation of nudity. Indeed, much like the feathers which would play a role in the costumes of the Rouen merchants a year later, the feathered nudity Du Bellay describes is perhaps a costume borrowed from travel narratives. Within the estheticized imaginary propagated by travel narratives, nudity figures as a key instrument of European attempts to erase the cultures of the civilizations encountered in the Western Hemisphere, an ideological violence to be situated alongside the physical violence of the period. Du Bellay's appropriation of this particular notion of nudity, these "borrowed feathers," would be simultaneously "borrowing" the possibility of something like this erasure, in order to produce a radical break with existing traditions. In this sense, Du Bellay, a year before the Rouen merchants would do the same, attempts to portray the French language naked by appropriating the "plumes d'autruy."

Indeed, it would seem that despite the "natural" appearance of this nudity, this costume is very much the product of careful construction—much like Du Bellay's the grafting the "plante sauvaige," the technical manipulation of natural phenomena conceals itself, leaving the appearance of unmanipulated nature. If Meigret was concerned with disguising foreign words so well that they would be received as "native," Du Bellay can be credited with crafting a native disguise which not only conceals its constructed nature but indeed, presents itself as the opposite of a disguise, as the exposure of an essential and fundamental identity. In this way, Du Bellay perhaps even more so

than Meigret or the anonymous author of the *Paradoxe*, relies on a transatlantic imaginary in his attempt to reinvent the French language.

Chapter 3

Navigational Lexicography:

The Model of European Phrasebooks in the Americas

Multilingual phrasebooks like Noël de Berlaimont's best-selling dialogue-driven lexicon, first published in Antwerp in 1527, promised its readers that language learning was not simply the path to knowledge but also to global friendship, commercial wealth, and political power. As a later four-language edition, *Dictionaire, colloques ou dialogues en quatre langues*, *Flamen, François, Espaignol et italien* (1565) rhetorically asked: "qui a iamais sceu obtenir auec un [seul] langage l'amitié de estranges nations? Combien y a il d'enrichis sans cognoissance de plusieurs langues? Qui peult bien gouuerner villes & prouinces, sans sçauoir autre langue que sa langue maternelle?"[383] Swiftly progressing from international camaraderie to governance and power, these questions suggest that the study and learning of languages during the early modern period were inseparable from the power dynamics underlying increasingly global European travel.

Berlaimont's text, which saw unprecedented success and numerous reeditions over the course of the century, was just one of many popular polyglot manuals which circulated widely throughout Europe beginning in the earliest years of printing. Building on preexisting models set by medieval pilgrim phrasebooks, these texts claimed to provide useful, everyday vocabulary for the traveler along with "ready-made" phrases for practical and commercial exchanges. While the dialogue format adopted by some travel phrasebooks would also play an important role in humanist language study, particularly for figures like Erasmus or Mathurin Cordier, these polyglot manuals were unique in that they were addressed to non-scholarly audiences and purported to require little

[383] "Au lecteur," *Dictionaire, colloques ou dialogues en quatre langues Flamen, François, Espaignol & Italien* (Antwerp: Joos de Hertoghe, 1573) Ai[v] and Aii[v].

prerequisite grammatical or literary knowledge, in contrast to the extensive textual erudition associated with humanist philology.

Likewise, while many polyglot phrasebooks also included Latin, they primarily sought to provide a means of translating quickly and easily between spoken vernacular languages in Europe—practical methods which could be easily transposed to study languages beyond Europe, with the explicit or implicit intention of consolidating and expanding colonial power. In particular, transatlantic travel narratives, drawing on a long tradition of integrating linguistic reflections in travel literature used the model of preexisting phrasebook genres to organize short lists of Indigenous American words and phrases.[384] Indeed, the methods of intra-European polyglot phrasebooks, which focused on describing languages as they were spoken and without addressing grammar at length, were particularly apt for European writers who produced travel lexicons outside of the continent—who often possessed only superficial knowledge of the languages they were attempting to translate.

This type of language study also privileged experience-based rather than text-based knowledge—an important distinction for transatlantic travelers who pointed to the limits of ancient textual knowledge. Travel narratives frequently celebrated the exploits of early modern navigational science, which had mapped and established colonies in regions of the world unknown to European predecessors. Similarly, the lexicons created during these voyages, which not only studied languages unknown to the ancients but also employed methods that differed from classical

[384] Perhaps the most famous example within this tradition is the alphabets included for the destinations in the fourteenth-century text *Mandeville's Travels*. The languages vary from one manuscript to another, presenting forms described as Greek, Hebrew, Persian, Chaldean, and Egyptian hieroglyphs. The letters often include descriptions which outline how the letters compare to European alphabets, some manuscripts including entire phrases arranged like a phrasebook. The value or intention of these alphabets has long been a matter of discussion for readers of the *Travels*. Are these documents included as practical aids for travelers, to heighten the authenticity of the narrative, or conversely, as Malcom Letts put it, "to increase the atmosphere of wonder and mystery which surrounds the whole book"? Malcom Letts, *Sir John Mandeville: The Man and His Book* (London: Batchwork Press, 1949), 152. These are questions which remain for many of the travel narratives of the 16th century.

models, served to further demarcate early modern knowledge from medieval precedents. As David Paxman argues, "advances in [both] navigation and language study were informed by the paradigm changes that characterize the transition from medieval to modern learning," in which "authority and myth gave way to observation, recording and analysis."[385] Travel narratives' appeals to experience and empirical fact were also deeply rooted in the recordkeeping imperative of expanding colonial power structures. As Arndt Brendecke argues for the Spanish empire: "with the growth of the [colonial] territories […] there was a desire for techniques that could capture empirical matters systematically and process them using media that could lay the foundations for making decisions on the other side of the Atlantic."[386] Whether for language or geography, the rhetoric and authority of experience-based knowledge and first-hand testimony—what Anthony Pagden calls the "autoptic imagination" constitutive of early modern travel narratives—served as a privileged and authoritative means of not only undermining existing structures of knowledge but also building new colonial power structures.[387]

Yet, while the experiential study celebrated by colonial navigators was consistently framed in opposition to textual knowledge and ancient examples, it nevertheless maintained an ambiguous relationship to printed and manuscript texts, primarily those written in vernacular languages. This chapter situates examples of French lexicons of Indigenous languages, such as those associated with Jacques Cartier, not only within the context of patterns established in other European travel narratives but also alongside polyglot phrasebooks of European vernaculars over the course of the century. This comparison will show the underlying changes in philosophies of language in early

[385] David B. Paxman, *Voyage into Language: Space and the Linguistic Encounter, 1500–1800.* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 21.
[386] Arndt Brendecke, *The Empirical Empire: Spanish Colonial Rule and the Politics of Knowledge.* (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2016) 2.
[387] Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 51.

modern Europe, and perhaps most importantly, a growing interest in a form of "proto-empirical" or experience-based study of spoken languages—whether European vernaculars or Indigenous languages in the Americas and elsewhere—developed, in part, from the application of traditional European models to new colonial contexts. Whereas transatlantic lexicons were initially shaped by European sources, repurposing vernacular methods within for colonial projects, over the course of the century, these colonial texts, in turn, come to challenge established knowledge frameworks of knowledge back in Europe.

Early modern navigation, which circulated practical knowledge in vernacular languages rather than ancient languages of learning, served as a model for new forms of knowledge production and an ideal environment to transform the theories of language underlying existing phrasebooks. From simple wordlists, such as the group of lexicons known as the *Vocabulistae* first published in late 15th-century Venice, to the more sophisticated, dialogue-driven phrasebooks like the Berlaimont *Colloques* towards the end of the 16th century, the transformations of multilingual manuals for European languages will be echoed in travel phrasebooks over the course of the century, as the two genres come to mutually influence each other. European phrasebooks provided a model for linguistic research in the Americas, in a way that demonstrated not only the widespread applicability of their methodologies but also their shortcomings. Languages such as Tupi or the variety of Haudenosaunee languages spoken along the St. Lawrence River in Quebec often eluded European attempts to study them and therefore drew out the inherent paradoxes underlying European methodologies—revealing, for instance, the situatedness and limits of their ostensibly universal methods. In this sense, such phrasebooks serve to demonstrate the impact of the study of Indigenous American languages on European philosophies of language.

1. Bodies of Knowledge

Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of early modern phrasebooks is their idiosyncratic organization—which stands in contrast to the more systematic pretentions of dictionaries or grammar manuals. Whereas a dictionary strives for completeness, a phrasebook or wordlist is structured by the individual choices of the compiler—choices that, as Kathleen Sheldon suggests, often reveal a great deal about the compiler's intentions, priorities and preconceived notions. [388] The patterns that emerge among French transatlantic phrasebooks published during the first half of the 16th century—in particular, a pervasive preoccupation with defining and enumerating bodily vocabulary—not only situate these texts within the lineage of existing European pedagogical traditions but more importantly speak to their shared ambitions of using lexicography to structure and organize global cultural knowledge within an expanding European colonial apparatus.

One of the earliest examples, Antonio Pigafetta's account of Magellan's circumnavigation, was translated into French and published in 1525 as *Le voyage et nauigation*, and includes glossaries depicting three languages encountered during the voyage: Tupi spoken in Brazil, Tehuelche spoken in Patagonia, and Malay spoken in the Moluccas.[389] The eight-word Tupi lexicon is the first and shortest of the lists and features primarily European trade items, leaving the

[388] As Kathleen Sheldon argues, "Phrase books differ from dictionaries and grammars because they provide an idiosyncratic list of topics and sentences deemed important to daily life by the compiler. Dictionaries do not provide this same insight because their words are alphabetically ordered, and the intent is to be complete, though the study of definitions could be revealing. Grammars, likewise, may have examples of sentence formation that give interesting cultural clues, but the structure of the book or pamphlet is according to rules of grammar without as much leeway for the compiler's own interests." Kathleen Sheldon, "'Rats fell from the ceiling and pestered me': Phrase books as sources for colonial Mozambican history" (341–360) *History in Africa* 25 (1998), 341-342.

[389] Respectively titled "aucuns motz du peuple de lisle de Bresil," "motz des geans de Pataghone" and "motz du peuple More de Tadore." Antonio Pigafetta, *Le voyage et nauigation, faict par les Espaignolz es Isles de Mollucques*, (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1525), n.p. f. 77r-v. More details about these wordlists can be found in the English translation Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation*. 2 vols. Translated and edited by Raleigh Ashlin Skelton (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), see "Introduction." Several manuscript versions, including the Yale Beinecke manuscript cited below, contain a fourth wordlist of Bisaylan, spoken in Cebu.

impression that practical concerns of commercial exchange lie behind the construction of the glossary.[390] The Tehuelche and Malay lists included in *Le Voyage* are more developed and include terms for familial relationships, cultural practices, and animals.[391] What stands out, however, in both of these longer lists, is the predominance of words associated with the body, which make up a little over a half of the lists—53 out of the 98 terms included in the 1525 French edition. In both lists, bodily vocabulary is mostly ordered according to its position on the body, moving from the head ("chief/her/capala" [head], "nez/or/idon" [nose] "oeil/other/matha" [eye]) to the feet ("iambe/coss/mina" [leg], "talon/there/tumi" [heel], "pieds/tehe/batis" [feet]) (folio 77r-v). The manuscript version, specifically the manuscript held at the Beinecke Library at Yale University, contains terms in the Tehuelche list, primarily related to sexual organs, ("le membre/scachet" [penis], "les genitoires/sacaneos" [the genitals], "le con/isse" [vagina], "l'habiter ou sperme/iohoi" [sperm]) which were censored from the printed edition.[392] As Jillian Loise Melchor argues, Pigafetta's gaze persistently sexualizes the colonial subject, "a modality of sighting underpinned by an element of desire and predicated on an asymmetrical relationship that concedes power to the beholder of the gaze."[393] In this sense, these lexicographic additions reflect the European colonial exoticism already present throughout the text of the narrative, which includes a number of dramatized claims about the sexual practices of the civilizations encountered.

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[390] The list includes trade goods like "couteau/iacse," "pigne/chiguot," "sonnette/ita maraca." The small assortment of terms, most of which are nouns—with the exception of a single adjective: "plus que bon/ium maraghatum"—do not appear to have been selected with any other particular theme in mind. Curiously, there are words glossed within the narrative portion concerning Brazil, which are not included in the dictionary. For instance, the term "boes" provided for habitations "habitent en longues maisons/lesquelles appellent boes" f. aiiii [v]

[391] *Le voyage et navigation*, n.p. f. 77r-v

[392] See manuscript held at Yale's Beinecke library: Antonio Pigafetta, Journal of Magellan's Voyage. Beinecke MS 351 [ca. 1525], f. 19[v]. https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2017752.

[393] Jillian Loise Melchor, Colonial Philippines in Italian Travel Writing: "Italians" Interpreting Difference. (New York: Routledge, 2024), 55.

This preoccupation with corporeal language turns out to be something of a pattern for transatlantic travel narratives—one that would likely have little practical use for trade or commercial exchange. It is also present, for instance, in the phrasebooks of Cartier's first two expeditions to Canada, which scholars such as Michel Bideaux have suggested amalgamate three different Haudenosaunee languages—Mohawk, Huron, and Onondaga.[394] Among the fifty-six words included in the first wordlist, which was published only in the Italian version included in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi* (1556), sixteen words describe parts of the body, scattered throughout the wordlist amidst other themes.[395] In the second wordlist, included in the 1545 printed narrative of the second voyage entitled *Brief Recit*, this number increases to 28 "partyes du corps," which, by contrast, are organized mostly spatially, beginning with the head ("la teste/aggonosy" [head], "le frons/hetguenyascon" [forehead], "les yeulx/hegata" [eyes]) and proceeding down the body, a pattern broken only by the hands ("les mains/aignoascon") and genitals ("le vyt/agnascon, le con/chastaigné"), which are placed after the feet ("les piedz/ouchidascon"). [396]

The intrusive lexicographic gaze of these wordlists gives the appearance of being inspired by an invasive face-to-face encounter, and again poses important questions about the contexts

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[394] Michel Bideaux, "Les Langages Amérindiens Dans Les Relations de Jacques Cartier." In *L'inscription Des Langues Dans Les Relations de Voyage (XVI - XVIIIe Siècles)*: Actes Du Colloque de Decembre 1988, edited by Michèle Duchet, 39–51. Fontenay: E.N.S. Fontenay/Saint-Cloud.

[395] A few themes can be established, such as trading goods (Knife "Coltello/Agoheda", Red cloth "Panno rosso/Cahoneta") natural elements (Moon "Luna/Casmogan", Earth "Terra/Conda", and Wind "Vento/Canut"). The vocabulary list associated with the first voyage likely circulated in manuscript form within France, and was only published in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's Italian translation included in his 1565 travel collection, *Navigationi et Viaggi*. The wordlist is not included in the manuscript believed to be the oldest version of the text (MS fr. Moreau 841) nor will it be included, at the end of the century, in the printed edition by Petit Val.

[396] *Brief recit*, f. 46v-48v. The oldest manuscript version of the account of the second voyage MS fr 5644 contains words and colloquial phrases which are not included in the earlier manuscripts. Bideaux argues that this suggests these terms may have been acquired after the voyage, when several Laurentian Haudenosaunee were held captive in France, and perhaps served as informants for the creation of the wordlists. Bideaux, "Les Langages Amerindiens dans Les *Relations*," 41.

underlying the wordlist, and particularly the power dynamics that structure this encounter.[397] Although the context of the linguistic documents is not addressed in detail within the narrative, such detailed corporeal vocabulary remains suggestive of the bodily violence and colonial force used in collecting linguistic information. Indeed, the first account concludes by detailing how Cartier abducted Taignoagny and Domagaya, the two sons of the leader of Stadacona, Donnaconna, and forced them to travel to France and serve as interpreters during the second voyage. These detailed wordlists may have been completed in France with information provided by Taignoagny and Domagaya or later, by the ten additional individuals abducted at the conclusion of the second expedition, including Donnaconna himself, none of whom would return to Stadacona.

The colonial violence underlying these wordlists drastically separates them from European models, even as this emphasis on bodily vocabulary clearly sought to imitate well-established models within European language pedagogy. Indeed, the emphasis on corporeal vocabulary, and its spatial rather than alphabetical organization, represents something of a mainstay in these traditions. Within pedagogical tracts, the body often served as the initial site for introducing a beginner student to a given language. For instance, John Considine points to the popularity of a Latin pedagogical tract, printed in Paris by Félix Baligault as early as 1494, known by the first line of the text "Os, facies mentum" ("Mouth, face, chin"), which began with a list of the body parts, from head to foot, designed for students at the very beginning stages of learning Latin.[398] The text

[397] Marie-Luce Demonet has suggested that this desire to inventory and translate the body might have been provoked by the clothing practices of peoples encountered in Canada, which left exposed more of the body than European standards. Marie Luce Demonet, « Les mots sauvages, étude des listes utiles à ceux qui veulent naviguer." In *Voyager à la Renaissance*, Actes du Colloque Tours, 1983, [497-508] (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1987), 502.
[398] John Considine, *Sixteenth-Century English Dictionaries*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 44. *Os, facies mentum* circulated in Europe in manuscript form, and printed editions by Félix Baligault appeared in Paris as early as 1494.

provided basic information about gender and case ending for each term; anatomy, requiring minimal prerequisite knowledge, served as an ideal site for introducing the student to language.

Not only a conventional place to begin language learning, corporeal language also served another important function in travel narratives, Marie-Luce Demonet suggests, as the primary "shared" object between two civilizations perceived to be markedly different—a familiar object to present a language unfamiliar to the reader.[399] Providing the terms used by the Laurentian Haudenosaunee for anatomical features required no lengthy explanation of cultural practices. In this sense, physical, corporeal humanity was represented as a shared attribute, universally legible beyond cultural, religious, or linguistic differences. Yet, undoubtably, the "humanity" that emerges from this asymmetrical relationship is one dictated by European categories and devised for colonial expansion. Although placed side by side, the two lexicographic bodies that emerge from the wordlist do not seem to stand on equal footing. This recording of bodily language represents an initial step in a series of dispossessions, including the physical abduction of the Stadacona Haudenosaunee. In this sense, the lexicographic obsession with the body of the colonial subject was not simply an application of prior European methodology; rather, these methods were used to produce a new colonial discourse that prioritized European ways of knowing in order to subjugate the bodies of those encountered in the Americas to the epistemic and imperial conditions of Europe.

While these wordlists seem to quickly assimilate the non-European body to universalizing European categories, cultural and religious objects seem, at times, to retain a certain opacity and resist simple definitions. If bodily vocabulary is always defined with one-to-one correspondence, various other terms throughout the glossary of the *Brief Recit* are defined periphrastically,

[399] Marie Luce Demonet, "Les mots sauvages, étude des listes utiles à ceux qui veulent naviguer," 502.

introduced with phrases like "Ilz appellent leur…": for instance, "Ilz appelle[n]t leur bled Osizy"; "Ilz appellent leur dieu Cudragny"; "Ilz appelle[n]t leurs febues Sahe"; "Ilz appellent vne ville Canada."[400] Although this difference in phrasing could be attributed to any number of factors, including idiosyncrasies of the scribe's style, these locutions might also be understood as a subtle indication that these Haudenosaunee words resist the lexicographers' attempts to find equivalents for them in the words the French use for *god*, *wheat*, *beans* or *city*. Indeed, the "*their*" in these locutions seems intent on maintaining discursive distance between the languages and cultures represented. Even more complex examples of such paraphrasis include circumlocutions such as "de dains ilz dient que se sont moutons & les appellent Asquenondo."[401] These convoluted phrasings—which are never employed in the portion of the vocabulary concerned with the body—seem to point to how the languages described, unassimilable to European categories, resisted the definitions and epistemic conditions of the lexicographer, or at the very least, produced some hesitation about establishing the clear correspondence one might expect from a dictionary.

Bodily vocabulary stands in stark contrast to these circumlocutions, providing travel narratives with an object that seemed to require no prerequisite cultural knowledge, but which in fact invited the imposition of Eurocentric hierarchies under the guise of universalizing categorization. This universalizing body was also a central element to a contemporaneous vernacular curriculum that advertised itself as accessible to a wide variety of scholarly and non-scholarly audiences. One example is the family of European polyglot travel phrasebooks, known generally as the *Vocabulistae*, published—first in Venice, and then throughout Europe—in great number and variety at the end of the 15th century.[402] Indeed, various editions of these dictionaries

[400] *Bref Recit,* 47r-48v.
[401] *Bref Recit*, 48r.
[402] See on this tradition Alda Bart Rossebastiano, "Antichi vocabolari plurilingui d'uso popolare, Parte I: La tradizione del 'Solenissimo vochabuolista," De Gulden Passer 55. 1997, 67-153. Rossebastiano describes some of the early

claimed to enable the reader to learn languages without traditional schooling ("sans aler ale scole") and were specifically addressed to readers traditionally placed outside of early modern scholarly audiences "come artisans & femmes." [403] The body—placed alongside other terms—made up a part of this view of the world oriented towards practical, everyday concerns, which made it an equally useful object for mariners and merchants who sought to describe languages encountered through travel using European vernaculars

This method of language study stands in stark contrast to other, more scholarly pedagogical traditions, particularly the philological study of ancient languages in the early 16th century, which were predicated on classical literary knowledge. Robert Estienne's 1531 *Dictionarium, seu Latinae linguae thesaurus*, for instance, explicitly laid out a methodology that claimed to "corroborate" each definition with the best ancient authorities ("idoneis authorum testimoniis comprobata") in an attempt to correct previous textual corruption. [404] Polyglot phrasebooks differed not only in method but also in object—inventorying an assortment of vernacular languages side by side, which enabled the reader to translate between them without necessarily using Latin, although most editions included it. Beyond this move away from ancient languages, polyglot phrasebooks encouraged particular attention to spoken languages in ways that scholarly and philological methods did not. [405] Although Erasmus, Robert Estienne, and other humanists were concerned

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Italian-German manuscripts, as well as the first Italian-German editions published in Venice in 1477 by Adam de Roduila, among others. First edition cited by Rossebastiano, which includes French, is the *Introductio quaedam utilissima siue Vocabularius quattuor linguarū Latinae Italicae Gallicae & Alamanicae…* (Rome: Jacobus Mazochius, 1510).

[403] See for instance, the *Quinque linguarum utilissimus Vocabulista Latine, Italice, Gallice, Hyspane et Alemanice*, (Ausburg: Phillip Ulhart, 1533), f. Aii. Or the *Jntroductio q[uae]dam vtilissima, siue Vocabularius quattuor linguaru[m]* (Ausburg: Erhart Oglin, 1516), f. A ii.

[404] "Hic vnicuique seu dictioni, seu locutioni redactae in ordinem alphabeticum, ferè subest Latina et Gallica, aut certè alterutra, interpretatio, idoneis authorum testimoniis comprobata." Robert Estienne, *Dictionarium, seu Latinae linguae* thesaurus, (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1531), f. "*. ii" [r] This is, of course, in part because Estienne originally conceived his project an attempt to correct textual corruption in Ambrogio Calepino' *Dictionarium*.

[405] Polyglot phrasebooks represent some of the earliest printed pedagogical materials for many European vernacular languages, as well as for translating between vernacular languages. Beyond the editions specifically associated with the *Vocabulistiae,* see the long lists of vocabulary in the trilingual dictionary printed by Pierre Mareschal in Lyon:

with teaching Latin and Greek as spoken, phonetic languages, these traditions nevertheless privileged the authority of texts. By contrast, phrasebooks claimed to present everyday spoken elements of vernacular language, and it was precisely this principle which made this format a particularly apt model for linguistic study conducted in association with transatlantic travel. Framed within the inherent violence and power imbalances of these encounters, the methodologies already established for vernacular language study likely seemed to the compiler of the Canadian vocabulary lists associated with Cartier's expeditions—as with other travel phrasebooks—a logical choice when engaging with the Haudenosaunee languages, which, like French, were perceived as primarily spoken.

To the readers of these Canadian wordlists—who, as Michel Bideaux (2011, 77) points out, may have been scarce—the use of this methodology in this radically new context might have served as a testament to its widespread applicability, but it also exposes its inherent paradoxes and limits. The authors of these wordlists, relying on limited knowledge of the phonic structure of the languages described, forced the linguistic phenomena they observed into French vernacular sounds and structures, configurations which were themselves, as Wallace Chafe notes, highly unstable and variable throughout the 16th century.[406] Indeed, it is important to recognize that, lacking a standardized or unequivocally recognizable system of representing the observed phonetic features, the compiler employed an idiosyncratic and subjective system of transcribing speech: for instance, using "s" to elongate vowels in Haudenosaunee words at a time when other authors might have used accents such as the circumflex. But this context also lends conceptual significance to such a

Sensuyt vng petit liure pour apprendre a parler Francoys, Alemant, et Ancloys, (Lyon: Pierre Mareschal, 1525). Or, French-English materials printed by Richard Pinson in London: *Here is a good boke to lerne to speke French*, (London: Richard Pinson, 1500).

[406] Chafe, Wallace. 2001. "The Earliest European Encounters with Iroquoian Languages." In *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*, edited by Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny, [252-61]. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 254.

project: it is nearly contemporaneous with efforts of linguistic reformers like Louis Meigret to find systematic ways of phonetically representing French—what Katie Chenoweth has called a mid-century "phonetic turn" in France, which perhaps merits to be situated alongside, or in the wake of, these phonetic transcriptions which emerge from colonial language encounters.[407] These colonial manuals were therefore transposing these domestic concerns with writing and recording speech into markedly different contexts—effectively drawing out the imperialist potential of these French linguistic projects.

Yet it would be somewhat misleading to see traditions like the *Vocabulistae*, and the travel lexicons modeled after them, as exclusively practical tools. Indeed, pragmatic readers may have been sorely disappointed at the inexplicable priorities of the wordlists like the Laurentian lexicon—which lacks a number of basic verbs, yet provides translations, in the manuscript versions, for terms like "pubic hair" and "testicles." [408] The compiler's priorities become somewhat less surprising, however, when considered alongside the interest that polyglot phrasebook traditions such as the *Vocabulistae* exhibited in what Mikhail Bakhtin termed the "material bodily lower stratum," or a fascination with "the life of the belly and reproductive organs," that Bakhtin famously associated with the aesthetic of "popular culture" in the literary works of Rabelais. [409] And indeed, wordlists like the *Vocabulistae* frequently prioritize lexical distinctions for which scatological and sexual humor are more apparent than any immediate practical utility. The text distinguishes, for instance, between the verb "to fart" (Pedere/pedezare/petter/fartzen) and "to fart

[407] See Katie Chenoweth, *The Prosthetic Tongue*, esp. Chapter 4 Phonography.
[408] The terms public hair "la barbe du vyt/aggonsson" and testicles "les coillons/xista" exist only in the manuscript versions, and were censured from the 1545 Ponce Roffet printed edition, the *Brief recit*, as well the 1556 Ramusio edition—a testament not only to their controversial nature, but perhaps to the fact that the priorities and ambitions of the original compiler did not align with later publishers.
[409] As Bakhtin defines it: "la vie de la partie inférieure du corps, celle du ventre et des organes génitaux, par conséquent avec des actes comme l'accouplement, la conception, la grossesse, l'accouchement, l'absorption de nourriture" Mikhail Bakhtin, *L'oeuvre de François Rabelais et la culture populaire au Moyen Age et sous la Renaissance* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982), 30.

one time" (Pedas semel/trate un peto/tire un pet/Lasch ein schais) and, similarly, provides the verb "to defecate" (cacare/chagare/chie/scheissen) as well as an invitation to do so: "vadas cacare/va chagare/va chie/ gang scheissen" (folios Ciiii r and Ciiii v). I would argue that the detailing of such terms must have been intended as comical, not unlike the bawdy lists of the Rabelaisian saga, some of which seem to imitate these lexicons, such as the XXVI chapter of the *Tiers livre* which enumerates various epithets attached to the word "couillon" (testicle).[410] This sexual and scatological humor was an integral part of the worldview that these phrasebooks constructed: a project predicated on priorities markedly different than those of contemporary phrasebooks familiar to modern readers, which become apparent even when examining the thematic organization of wordlists like the *Vocabulistae.* In the same way that bodily vocabulary is arranged spatially from head to feet, the major sections of the lexicon are structured hierarchically, beginning with "sacred" terms, and only then moving on to "worldly" terms including the body, as well as terms for political, familial, and social roles. In this sense, the bodily vocabulary list mirrors, like a microcosm, the hierarchical vision of the universe that these wordlists inventoried. Useful words for a voyager or merchant are included only briefly and appear only after these long sections dedicated to bodily and religious terms, demonstrating an "encyclopedic" concern, as Terrence Cave puts it, as much as any utilitarian ambition. [411]

[410] Rabelais, *Tiers Livre*, *Œuvres Complètes,* ed. Mireille Huchon, (Paris: Gallimard, 2004) 432-434. These comic intentions may have equally characterized parts of travel phrasebooks as well. For instance, Mireille Huchon (2009, 68 and 76) presents doubts on the seriousness of the Canadian lexicography, pointing to the use of the French word 'chestnut' for the translation of female genitalia ("le con/chastaigné"), as well as the proliferation of "con" endings for many of the other Haudenosaunee translations. *Le français au temps de Jacques Cartier* (Rimouski: Tangence, 2009), 68 and 76.

[411] Terrence Cave, *Pre-Histoires II: Langues étrangères et troubles économiques au XVIe siècle*, (Geneva: Droz, 2001), 45. The body is also a site of lexical enumeration in French encyclopedic almanacs like the *Kalendrier des bergiers*, which included a similar list of body parts entitled "les noms des os du corps humain & le nombre diceulx." This list of anatomical vocabulary, organized spatially from head to foot, is followed by a discussion of astral influences on human health. *Kalendrier des bergiers* (Paris: Jean Bellot, 1500), (np) f. I [v] f. Ii [r].

Precisely for this reason, the methodologies behind phrasebooks like the *Vocabulistae* were easily transposed into travel linguistics in part because they were already invested in providing ways of visualizing—and dividing and hierarchizing—the world. Within the pages of the *Vocabulistae*, not only were the different languages of Europe organized and compared in parallel columns, but everyday European cultural knowledge, from religious holidays to culinary practices, was also structured and organized into lexicographic categories: language learning was used to make sense of the world, from the microcosm of the human body to the macrocosm of the cosmos. Therefore, this same framework purported to make civilizations of the Western Hemisphere "legible" for European readers, by assimilating everything from individual bodies to their spiritual beliefs into universalized European frameworks—creating a proto-anthropological discourse in the form of lexicography.

Indeed, the production of these colonial vocabularies was founded upon the idea that Indigenous American peoples and civilizations existed as mere objects of European knowledge. It is crucial, as Mignolo argues, to emphasize the cultural situatedness of knowledge production, the "locus of enunciation" of colonial discourse, particularly for this period in which the Western European perspectives were positioned as universalizing truths, and European humanism would purport to speak for humanity.[412] When considered from this standpoint, these wordlists, designed for European readers, adapted European encyclopedic hierarchies to produce implicit racial and ethnic ones, generating colonial knowledge in order to expand colonial power. These wordlists therefore placed European vernacular languages in a new position of colonial power and created a new hierarchical framework to imagine Indigenous American languages as subjugated to European categories and definitions. And of course, this categorization on the page mirrored similar divisions

[412] Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance,* 17.

being constructed spatially and geographically, as European kingdoms contended for colonial power in the Americas. As Anibal Quijano suggests, the colonization of the Americas codified new racial hierarchies, and established the intertwined European structures of "modernity" and "coloniality" as enduring, and mutually constructed, social relations of global inequality.[413] The methodological, epistemic changes that might be attributed to these transatlantic vocabularies and their European vernacular counterparts are inseparable from the colonial discourse which develops alongside them.

2. Knowledge anchored in experience

The forms of lexicographic "exploration" present in the narratives of Pigafetta's and Cartier's voyages would become commonplace in early modern narratives; so much so that the year after the *Brief Recit* is published, French novelist François Rabelais seems to parody such phrasebooks when describing a fictional voyage in his 1546 *Tiers Livre*. As the characters prepare a journey to the fictional "pays de Lanternoys." [414] The scene confronts the characters, as well as the reader, with the unknown language, until the character Panurge suddenly reveals he understands the language "comme le maternel" (like the mother tongue) and speaks it "comme le vulgaire" (as well as the vernacular). He offers to translate the poem and compile "un beau petit dictionaire" (a small, handsome dictionary), which he predicts "ne durera plus qu'vne paire de souliers neufz." [415] This comic resolution, and Panurge's comparisons to the vernacular, point again to a perceived status shared by languages encountered in travel and the vernacular language in France. Both are primarily spoken languages—whose constant evolution stands in opposition to

[413] Anibal Quijano and Michael Ennis. "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America." *Nepantla: Views from South* 1, no. 3 (2000): 533-580.
[414] Rabelais, *Tiers Livre,* 496.
[415] Rabelais, *Tiers Livre,* 496.

the stability of ancient written languages—and for which, therefore, any written dictionary or grammar would be ephemeral.

Yet Panurge's resolution also suggests that the same methodologies employed by travel linguistics might reasonably be used for European vernacular language study. Much like Panurge, French mathematician Charles de Bovelles, in his 1533 *Liber de differentia vulgarium linguarum et Gallici sermonis varietate* (*On the Difference of Vernacular languages and the variety of the French language)*, points to the fundamental instability and diversity of all vernaculars, but particularly French, and argues that they would be therefore impossible to systematize into a stable grammar. For Bovelles, research on intrinsically arbitrary languages must be based on observable facts rather than philosophical arguments: "experime[n]tis, plus quam in rationibus animi co[n]sisteret" ("consists in experiments [i.e., proof by observable facts] rather than rational reasoning.")[416] In order to describe such research, Bovelles turns to a telling comparison, navigation:

> In experimentis dico, quia positiones vocum, & nominum, ex quibus texturae siunt sermonum & orationum, haud aliud habuere initium, quam spontaneum & varium hominum arbitrium. In his enim nullus rationis tenio nulla ibi fixa & certa me[n]tis aurigatio: sed navigandu[m] ibi figenda anchora, quo tempus, quo locus, & quo incerta hominu[m] labia vocant ingenia.
>
> I say experiments, because use of sounds and words, from which the structure of speech and languages are formed, originate from nothing more than the arbitrary nature of humans, in its spontaneity and diversity. Indeed, in such endeavors, one does not have the testimony of reason, nor a fixed or determined rule to guide the chariot of the spirit: one must instead navigate and anchor oneself in a given time, a given place, and wherever the hesitating human lips call our attention.[417]

The sea provides Bovelles with an apt metaphor for hopelessly fluid vernacular languages that, constantly changing, provide no stable footing for linguistic description. After all, this was the

[416] Charles de Bovelles, *La différence des langues vulgaires et la variété de la langue française, Présentation et traduction commentée par Colette Dumont-Demazière* (Dijon: Édition Klincksieck, 1970), 75.
[417] As Dumont-Demazière suggests, this metaphor is also a continuation of a metaphor which appears earlier in the preface, in which Bovelles describes his work as fishing: "j'etais retenu au loin par une peche plus importante, sur une mer fort eloignee de celle-ci and dans laquelle j'avais jete les filets de mon esprit affamé." See Charles de Bovelles, *La différence des langues vulgaires*, 75.

remarkable capacity of navigational science: crossing and surveying "vne chose qui est si vauge & spacieuse comme la mer, ou n'y a chemin ny trace," as the French translation of Pedro de Medina's *Arte de Navegar* (*Art of Navigation*) put it.[418] This seems to be precisely the difficulty that Bovelles imagines for navigating the French language: the absence of any permanent, lasting marks and routes with which to trace the contours of the language. Within this metaphorical framework, the act of writing—or as one might say, "jeter l'encre"—functions as an attempt to "jeter l'ancre" or stabilize the study of a fluid language. Such study remains anchored only temporarily, in a fleeting time and a particular place: subject, in Bovelles's words, to the eccentricities of individual speakers. Yet this form of anchoring also seems inscribed in a colonial imaginary, inspired by transatlantic travel narratives, in which writing and recording serve as mechanisms of control and domination—intentions Bovelles seems to direct inwardly to the diverse and unstable vernacular languages of the French territory.

When Bovelles does indeed attempt to "navigate" and survey the vernacular language within the pages of the *Differentia*, and in particular with his forty-six-page etymological dictionary of vernacular words, he "anchors" his study by using ancient languages, primarily Latin. It seems that for, Bovelles, ancient languages provide the only stable means by which order can be found and established amid the waves of disorder of the vernacular language. Yet Bovelles remains pessimistic about the long-term value of such studies; the *Differentia* closes with Bovelles mocking German humanist Johannes Trithemius, who had proposed to equip the German vernacular with rules and grammar that would make it equal to ancient languages.[419] In this sense,

[418] Pedro de Medina, "Prosme," *L'art de naviguer*, tr. Nicolas de Nicolai, (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1554), f. 3r.
[419] Bovelles mocks what he conceives to be a Sisyphean task proposed by Trithemius, remarking that to "faire rouler un rocher d'une telle taille [tantae voluere magnitudinis saxum] n'appartenait pas à des mains humaines." Bovelles, *La différence,* 123.

while Bovelles evokes vernacular language study as navigation, he remains profoundly skeptical of the navigational success of such a "voyage."

Bovelles's association of navigation and experience-based, observational knowledge was a commonplace one, carefully constructed by early modern travel narratives. Of course, vast differences exist between the knowledge production associated with colonial travel and the type of experience-based methodology described by Bovelles: not only the power dynamics underlying these types of knowledge, but also their intent and functions as, respectively, colonial and vernacular tools. Bovelles's reference to this colonial imaginary nonetheless serves as an important reminder of the links between the development of vernacular language endeavors and growing European imperialism. However, Bovelles's application of this methodology also differed in important theoretical ways from the one typically associated with navigation. When Bovelles refers to knowledge based on observation, he means examples "observed" within ancient textual knowledge. When Bovelles does attempt to "navigate" and survey the vernacular language within the pages of the *Differentia*, and in particular with his forty-six-page etymological dictionary of vernacular words, he "anchors" his study with observations on ancient languages, primarily Latin, as if ancient textual knowledge provides the only stable means by which order can be found and established amid the waves of disorder of the vernacular. In this sense, despite his use of the navigational metaphor, Bovelles's project remains at odds with an important principle associated with early modern navigation—which was celebrated precisely because its achievements, based on experience and observation alone, contradicted ancient textual knowledge. Travel narrative prefaces, such as that of the 1503 *Mundus Novus*, which reported Columbus and Vespucci's travels, celebrated the discovery of places of which the ancients "had no knowledge," contrasting ancient knowledge with empirical observation, and touting recent geographic advancements as a sign of

the triumph of early modern science.[420] The *Brief Recit,* which detailed Cartier's voyage, similarly relied on this established trope when it claimed that the "vraye experiance [de] simples mariniers de present" demonstrated inaccuracies in "le dict des saiges philosophes du temps passé" by proving that Canada was in fact inhabited.[421] Travel narrative prefaces frequently celebrate a sort of "proto"-empiricism, predating the scientific empiricism of the 17th and 18th century. Andrea Frisch provides the important caveat that these appeals to experience only became explicit in the middle of the century, in response to "a crisis of faith in judicial testimony" and a gradual shift which favored documents over witnesses as judicial proof—a context which thus occasioned new defenses of experience-based knowledge that had perhaps long been authoritative in seafaring.[422] Brendecke demonstrates that this growing European concern with producing credible information about places beyond Europe was also meant to quell the anxieties of ruling monarchs attempting to proclaim domination and control over growing empires in places they had never themselves set foot.[423] Moreover, the ancient geographic boundaries between "inhabitable" and "uninhabitable" parts of the world, which these assertions claimed to debunk through lived experience, were disproven only to be reinvested with new colonial categories. As Wynter argues, "although the Portuguese and Columbus's voyages […] had initiated the deconstruction of those lines, their empty signifying slots were to be reoccupied" with newly forged boundaries between

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[420] "And these we may rightly call a new world. Because our ancestors had no knowledge of them, and it will be a matter wholly new to all those who hear about them," *Mundus Novus: Letter to Lorenzo Pietro di Medici*. George Tyler Northup, trans. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1916), 1. The *Mudus Novus* also dramatizes and celebrates experiential knowledge production of navigation: "But what we suffered on the vast expanse of sea […] this I leave to the judgement of those who out of rich experience have well learned what it is to seek the uncertain and to attempt discoveries even though ignorant," *Mundus Novus*, 2. The first Latin edition is *Alberic[us] Vespucci[us] Laure[n]tio Petri Francisci de Medicis salutem plurima[m] dicit*, (Paris: Felix Baligault and Jehan Lambert, 1503).
[421] *Brief Recit*, f. Aii [r], Aiii [v].
[422] Andrea Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France* (Ann Arbor: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 85.
[423] Arndt Brendecke, The Empirical Empire: Spanish Colonial Rule and the Politics of Knowledge (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2016), 67.

"Christendom" and "Idolators," "human" and "irrational human others," and "white/nonwhite, and the European/non-European line": divisions that sought to rationalize the oppression and enslavement of colonized peoples. In this sense, these celebrations of European knowledge served a crucial purpose in legitimating new racial and colonial categories.[424]

This emphasis on experiential knowledge is not only intertwined with colonial ideology and navigational practices but also other domains of knowledge, including linguistic research. European arrival in the Western Hemisphere not only confronted Europeans with new visions of the world that contradicted existing, ancient geographical knowledge, as colonial interactions with Indigenous American cultures also confronted navigators with unfamiliar languages for which existing paradigms, derived from classical antiquity, could not provide an adequate account. [425] Navigators applied practical methods based on experience and observation for recording the languages they encountered, interviewing Indigenous informants and transcribing terms phonetically using the Roman alphabet.[426] Yet such practices could be framed as examples of the same experiential orientation that allowed navigators to prove, contrary to ancient knowledge, that other inhabited portions of the globe existed. Experience-based linguistic research was recounted in highly self-conscious ways to demonstrate its radical departure from ancient models. For instance, Pigafetta's narrative explains how a Patagonian "giant," who had initially simply asked the mariners for bread and water, observes the author, pen in hand, recording his speech, and

[424] Sylvia Wynter, "1492: A New World View." In *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas*. (Washington: Smithsonian, 1995), 36.

[425] Of course, Indigenous languages, like many other cultural practices, were frequently compared and even likened to ancient examples. Montaigne, for instance, pointed to the resemblance of Tupi with Greek. Yet, this linguistic encounter also placed these ancient models into question, precisely because they could not adequately account for Indigenous languages.

[426] This research happened not only during but also in the wake of travel: the oldest manuscript version of the account of Cartier's second voyage (BNF Mss MS fr. 5644) contains words and colloquial phrases which are not included in the earlier manuscripts. Bideaux argues that this may allude to interviews held in France with individuals held captive from the Haudenosaunee village Stadacona. Michel Bideaux, "Les Langages Amérindiens Dans Les Relations de Jacques Cartier," 41.

provides additional words to be recorded: "pource que luy me demandant Capac, Cest a dire pain (a cause quilz appellent ainsi la racine dont ils vsent pour pain. Et Oli/Cestassauoir eau, quand il me veit escripre ces noms, apres luy demandant des aultres, il me entendoit auecq la plume en main."[427] A similar scene is included for the Bisayan wordlist. The text describes both the recording of terms by Antonio Pigafetta, as well as the marvel produced by his wordlist among the royal court in Cebu: "escripuit ledict Anthoine moult de choses coment ilz les nomoye[n]t. Et quant le roy et les autre les veirent escripre et quil nommoit leur choses ilz feurent tous esmerueillez."[428] Scenes like this provide insight into the creation of travel phrasebooks, describing methods comparable to what modern linguists call "monolingual fieldwork," or linguistic research that takes place when the native speaker and the fieldworker do not share any common language.[429] Yet within these narratives, these methods are of course framed within the power imbalances and violence of an early modern colonial context. Such research fits within the overall image that travel narratives attempt to construct about the practical and hands-on knowledge production of transatlantic travel, a framework which, in turn, aims to emphasize the credibility of the colonial information provided.

These scenes of linguistic research become an important convention for travel narratives, even appearing independently of actual phrasebooks. For instance, later in the century, René de

[427] Pigafetta, *Journal of Magellan's Voyage*, (Yale MS) f. 20r. While obviously describing the same scene, the phrasing of 1525 edition is slightly more convoluted, but provides additional terms in the form of a list: "le gea[n]t que auoyent prins en leur naue luy monstrant le pain qu se faict la dune racine disoit com[m]e[n]t lapelle[n]t cestascauoir Capac/ leau oli/ drap rouge therecai. Couleur rouge theriche/ couleur noire aniel &p pronu[n]ce[n]t tous leurs motz en la gorge. Et qua[n]t ces motz fuerent escriptz a l plume & plusieurs autres les nostres luy dema[n]doie[n]t les choses escriptes & il les ente[n]doit & bailloit." *Le voyage et navigation,* f. 13.

[428] Pigafetta, *Le voyage et navigation*, f. 21v. Interestingly, the Bisayan phrasebook described in this passage of the printed edition is not actually among the phrasebooks included in this edition. It is included in the Yale MS (*Journal of Magellan's Voyage*) as well as one other Italian manuscript.

[429] Daniel Everett, "Monolingual Field Research." In *Linguistic Fieldwork*, edited by Martha Ratliff and Paul Newman, 166–88 (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Laudonnière, the Huguenot nobleman who attempted to establish a colony in present-day Florida, dramatizes the creation of a dictionary of the Timucua language, presenting it as a crucial step in the exchanges between the French and the Indigenous people. Laudonnière writes:

> voyans si grande amitié, je m'essaye d'apprendre quelques termes Indiens, et commence à leur demander, monstrant la chose, de laquelle je desirois sçavoir le nom comment ils l'appelloient. Ils estoient fort joyeux de me le dire; et cognoissans l'affection que j'avois de sçavoir leur langage, ils m'invitoient apres à leur demander quelque chose. Tellement que mettant par escrit les termes et locutions Indiennes, je pouvois entendre la plus grand part de leur discours.[430]

The scene progresses from purely verbal exchange towards written recording, culminating in Laudonnière's miraculously rapid acquisition of "la plus grand part" of the Timucua language. Despite this meticulously choregraphed scene of lexicographic research, no dictionary is ever included within the narrative. And although this absence does not necessarily indicate that the research did not take place, it does suggest that the scene was not included to legitimize or explain any particular appended document, but rather purely for the interest that the scene itself added to the narrative. Scenes like the one described by Laudonnière serve an important overarching purpose: they exemplify the unique epistemological orientation of early modern travelers towards the phenomena encountered in the Americas. By the time Laudonnière publishes his *Histoire Notable*, this scene responds to what would have already become well-established conventions—tropes that readers perhaps expected to encounter in transatlantic travel narratives, and even in Romanesque portrayals of travel like that of the *Tiers Livre.*

European colonial study of Indigenous languages represents a distinct aspect of the early modern imperial apparatus in the Americas, one which developed out of larger tendencies within European approaches to language. Indeed, Julia Kristeva refers to the "empirical grammars" of

[430] René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride située es Indes occidentales*, (Paris: Guillaume Auuray 1586), 15 [r] and 15 [v].

this period, which were profoundly preoccupied with observation rather than theoretical structures, a philosophy observable in Bovelles's project for French and epitomized by figures like that of Italian humanist Giorgio Valla, who writes that "no discipline requires less reason and more observation than grammar." [431] Of course, humanist grammar can be understood as an empirical discipline only in a remarkably different sense than travel phrasebooks, because it examined a different object: *written* texts. As Brian Ogilvie argues, humanists worked to "collect examples from the best writers, record them in notebooks, and model their own usage after them," whereas medieval grammarians had approached the subject more theoretically as a logical and philosophical question.[432] By contrast, travel phrasebooks were concerned with a different kind of empiricism: with observing and collecting *spoken* languages encountered in travel, often with the implicit assumption, (explored above) that these languages were in some way less sophisticated than written European languages. These vocabularies demonstrated the colonial potential of empiricist methods but also placed the vernacular language in a position of imagined power that humanist philology could not. Using French in attempts to define and categorize Indigenous languages not only validated experience-based language study but also placed new colonial value on the vernacular language, facts that together shifted the relationship between French and ancient texts and examples. These linguistic experiments might therefore be said to instrumentalize the colonial relationship as a means of repositioning the French language with respect to ancient authority.[433] In this sense, the methodological upheaval that drove the colonial recording of

[431] Julia Kristeva, *Language, the Unknown: An Initiation into Linguistics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 146.
[432] Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 116.
[433] Sara Melzer, *Colonizer or Colonized: The Hidden Stories of Early Modern French Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

languages encountered in travel appears intertwined with, or even inseparable from, the larger epistemological change that brought about the first studies of vernacular languages.

3. A case study in navigational linguistics

The ambiguous ways in which experience is mobilized both in navigational and linguistic contexts intersect in a handwritten navigational manual, dated to around 1544 and attributed to multiple authors, including the Norman mariner Jean Cordier, whose name is scrawled on the back cover of the volume (Figure 1).[434] This fifty-five–page compilation of handwritten nautical documents, now held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (MS fr. 24269), provides a helpful case study for demonstrating the way these two disciplines, nautical science and linguistics, equally partake in the epistemological change that claimed to recenter experiential knowledge. Alongside navigational texts, the volume contains two phrasebooks of languages of peoples purportedly encountered by the author(s): a vocabulary list of the Tupi language spoken by the civilizations of costal Brazil, alongside another phrasebook, described as representing the "langaige de Guynee," which two scholars of African languages have identified as Kra.[435] Several scholars have pointed to this volume, and to its phrasebooks in particular, as providing historical depth to the commercial relations between France and Brazil in the first half of the 16th century, at least a decade before the first printed French narratives related to Brazil would be published. [436]

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[434] David Dalby and Paul Hair have co-authored two articles regarding the manuscript, which have since become the authoritative sources on the two dictionaries they contain. The major conclusions of these articles, which have largely been accepted by more recent scholarship, was that the manuscript was the work of several different scribes, likely writing at different times. However, Dalby and Hair suggest that the volume was already bound together at the time each individual author began writing, given ink blot patterns on the facing pages. The bulk of the manuscript, primarily composed of navigational texts, has been attributed to one author; the vocabularies and several additions and corrections to the coordinates to another author; and three additional entires to a final author. David Dalby and Paul Hair, "Le Langaige de Guynee: a sixteenth century vocabulary from the Pepper Coast," African Language Studies, 5, (1964), 174-191 and "Le Langaige du Bresil: A Tupi Vocabulary of the 1540s," *Transactions of the Philological Society 1966*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 42-66.

[435] Dalby and Hair, "Le Langaige de Guynee."

[436] See for instance, Olive Dickason, "The Brazilian connection. A look at the origin of French techniques for trading with Amerindians," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, vol. 71, n°264-265 (1984), 144. Surekah Davies, *The*

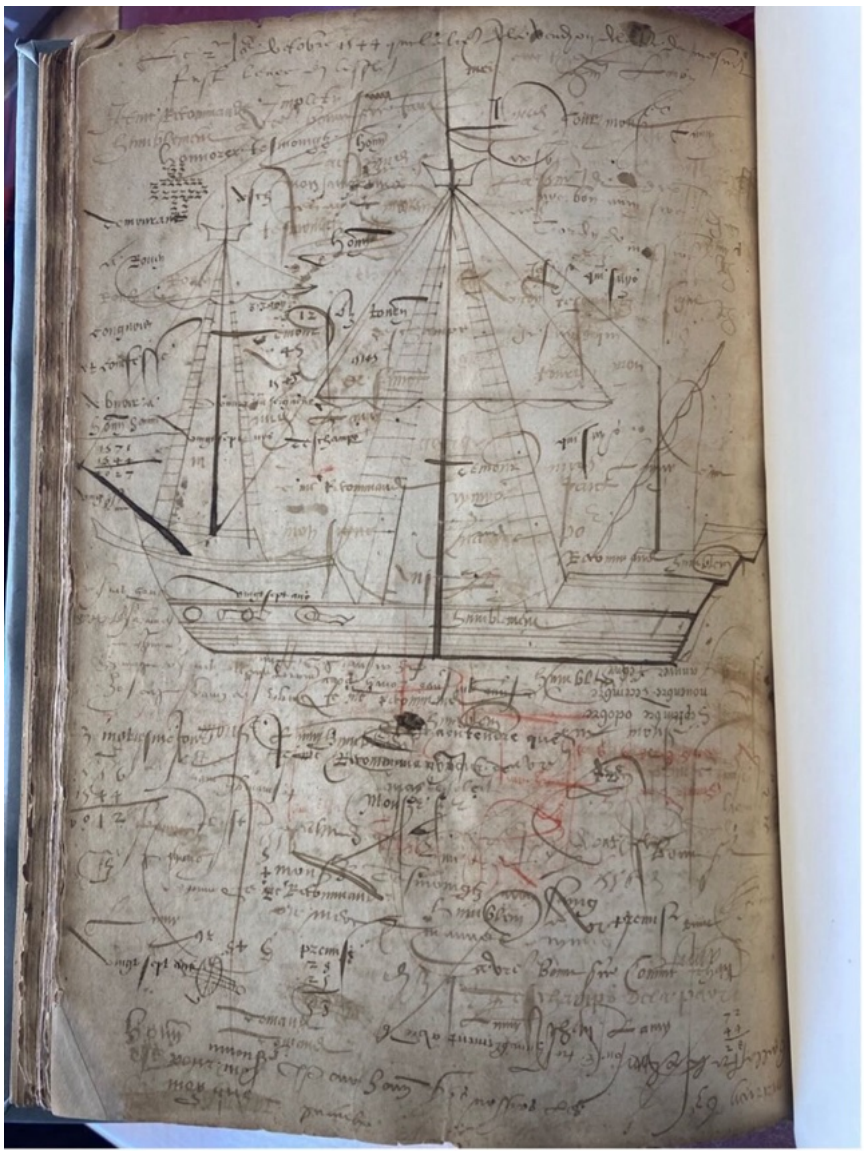


Figure 5: Back cover of the Ms Fr. 24269 held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Site Richelieu, Département des Manuscrits).

Invention of the Human, 138. Michel Mollat, "Premières relations entre la France et le Brésil : des Verrazani à Villegaignon," *Cahiers de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique latine*, 6, (1964), 59-64.

These two phrasebooks are placed towards the end of the volume and do not include any explanation of their context or creation. The terms in the Tupi phrasebook are ordered roughly into thematic categories which follow the rhythm of a conversation: beginning with a greeting, "Cara jube/ bon jour," which is followed by various possible political and familial individuals being addressed ("Marbicha/roy", "Cheroup/mon pere", "Ceste Osap/mon compaignon").[437] The entries progress from requests for food to more general topics:

[langaige du bresil]	[francoys]
Marapipo	que veulx tu
Chenepory	je suys mort de faim
Hepotat Aquarou	je veux manger
Memorisse	baille moy
Aquarou	a menger
Marabinderere	comment a tu a non
Nenchere	je ne poinct de non
Hereten Inde	ton pays
Homabe	ou est
Ouymebouin	il es bien loing[438]

The entries seem to follow a pattern of questions and responses, which continues until a series of phrases that seem instead to outline a somewhat hostile breakdown of communication: "Negoauy/ je nescay que tu dis, Mantia/vaten." [439] The remaining half of the list is no longer organized by questions and responses and includes primarily nouns that are roughly divided into categories concerning tools and weapons—which allude to the physical force and violence of the colonial context—along with weather, trade goods, body parts, and a few local plants and animals. [440]

[437] BNF Mss, MS fr. 24269, "En suyt le langaige du Bresil et du francoys," f. 53. The entries which follow outline exchange either of practical (with imperatives such as "Homy Gue Hief/donne moy") or merely conversational nature (with questions like "Hericobebe/comment te porte tu"). These initial questions are followed by a number of possible responses, such as a simple yes "ouy/pa" and no "an an/nennin," as well as others expressing emotions ("Aricobegastou/je me porte bien," "yche Asserendone/ je suys malade," "yche cotebe/ je suys fache," "ychemourou je suys marry").
[438] *Ibid.*
[439] MS fr. 24269, 53[v].
[440] MS fr. 24269, 53[v]-54[r].

This initial pattern of question and response almost leaves the reader with the impression of a rudimentary conversation like what Puritan minister Roger Williams will call, a century later, an "implicite dialogue" (a text which is presumed to be divided between two speakers, although not formally divided) in his famous description of the Narragansett language entitled *Key into the Language of America*—often cited as the first published study of an Indigenous language in English. [441] Yet, this pseudo-dialogue format in the anonymous 16th-century manuscript is somewhat unique for its time; neither Pigafetta nor Cartier organizes their lists by placing questions alongside responses. Indeed, it is not until much later in the century—as we will see with Jean de Léry's Tupi phrasebook in his *Histoire d'un voyage*—that a lexicon is explicitly organized in this dialogue format. The dialogue organization, more than alphabetic or thematic lists, seems invested in reproducing the experience of linguistic research, making it possible to imagine the exchanges dramatized in scenes described by Laudonnière and Pigafetta. Moreover, the dramatization of spoken exchange in this format seems to be the culmination of the preoccupation with oral language already present in the phonetically rendered wordlists associated with Cartier.

Besides the two phrasebooks, the rest of the volume is primarily composed of practical nautical information, including instructions for constructing navigational instruments (folio 1v), sun declination tables (4v-12v), tables of latitudes (17r-24r), and tide tables (43v). The placement of the two travel phrasebooks among these materials seems to present the lexicons as if simply another navigational resource, composed of practical knowledge derived from experience. Yet closer examination of these materials reveals their indebtedness to textual circuits of information rather than purely experiential knowledge. For instance, one of the longer texts in the volume,

[441] Roger Williams, *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams*, Vol. 1, (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2007), 29. Williams distinguishes between dialogue and implicit dialogue: the implicit dialogue in the text is not formally separated between the two speakers. See Considine, "Narrative and Persuasion in Early Modern English Dictionaries and Phrasebooks," 202.

nominally concerned with determining meridians, concludes with commonplace celebrations of "empiricism" that pose a number of questions. The author remarks that "lexperience des navigants" has shown that the lands on the other side of the earth are indeed inhabited ("ces terres icy sont peuplées qui sont soubz la terre"), disproving the claims of ancient "astrollogues et phillosophes [qui] navoient pas navigué comme on a de present."[442] Yet, the paradox of this appeal to experience is that much of this passage—as well as other significant portions of the volume—are not actually products of experience but rather reproduced from existing texts. Indeed, the text cited above, as well as much of the text which precedes it, paraphrases very closely the unpublished manuscript *Cosmographie* of Jean Alfonse (BNF Mss, MS fr 676), a Portuguese navigator who served the French monarch.[443] Similarly, the definition of a "meridian," which opens this section, was in fact provided by 14th-century philosopher Nicole Oresme—a definition that was readily available in the vernacular compilation entitled *Le Cueur de Philosophie*, published early in the century and reedited several times.[444] The scribe's celebrations of experience stand at odds with the citations

[442] MS fr. 24269, f. 34[v].

[443] The passage in MS 24269 begins on folio 32v and ends on 34v; it reproduces portions (folios 2r-6v) of the introduction Alfonse's *Cosmographie*. BNF Mss, MS fr. 676. The only significant modification that the anonymous scribe introduces is changing the role attributed to experience. Alphonse had expressed surprise at ancient geographical misconceptions, given that the ancients did indeed know of certain locations which contradicted the belief in the torrid uninhabitable zone: "*et suys esmerveillé* de ceulx du temps passé qui composèrent l'esphere, lesquelz disoyent qu'elle [la thoride zone] estoit inhabitable, puysque en icelluy temps, ilz avoyent notice et congoissance de Etiope et de l'Arabie Félix, Callicou et Melacque." One of the other ways that the anonymous scribe modifies Alphonse's *Cosmographie* is by adapting the more general locations mentioned by Alphonse to the more specific ones mentioned by the phrasebooks included later in the volume, namely Guinea and Brazil. This seems to suggest a desire or aspiration on the part of one (or more) of the scribes to produce a coherent whole, something like a travel narrative—or a draft for such a narrative—within the pages of this volume. A critical edition of the Alfonse's text was published by George Musset at the beginning of the 20th century: Jean Fonteneau (dit Alfonse de Saintonge or João Afonso), *La Cosmographie avec l'espère et régime du soleil et du nord,* ed. Georges Musset (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904). Musset suggests that portions of Alfonse's text follow very closely or are simply translated from Spanish geographer Martín Fernández de Enciso's *Suma de Geografía*.

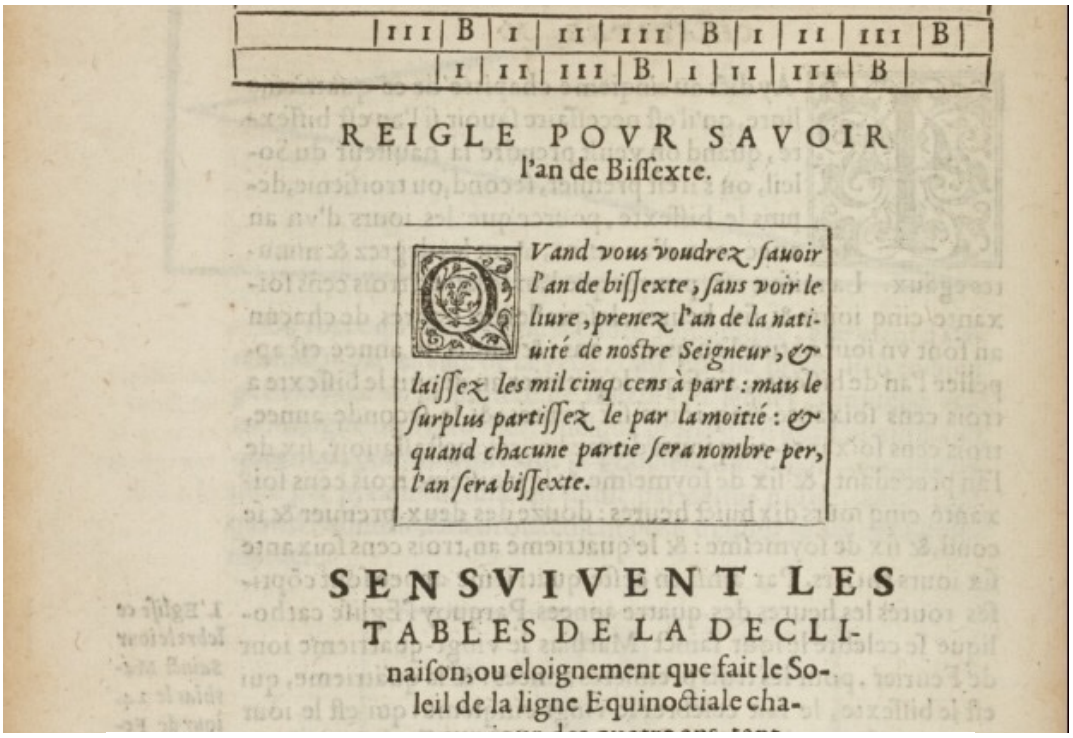
[444] The section in the manuscript begins: "Tu doibz savoir entendre que nous auons ung spere en lesphere materielle que les philosophes ont ymagyne qui appelle meridien…" Everything beyond this point is almost precisely the definition provided by *Le cueur de philosophie*, with some minor variations, primarily stylistic: "et passe par les poles du monde et part les pointz du ciel qui est droit sus nostre teste lequel poinct est appelle zenith et touteffois que le soleil est venu dorient jusques a cest cercle il est midy & pource qu'il est appelle meridien & est la moytie de cest cercle sur terre et lautre dessoubz qui passe par les pointctz de minuyt qui est opposite a nostre zenich & touteffois que ung homme se meult vers orient ou vers occident il a autre meridien nouuel: & pource est il plus tost midy a celux qui

that compose the text and the volume as a whole. A brief explanation for calculating the leap year—inserted before several pages of sun declination tables—is in fact copied from the 1553 French translation of Pedro de Medina's famous navigational manual. [445] The manuscript even attempts to reproduce a decorative frame that had served to set off the instructions from the surrounding text in the printed edition—a design which becomes purely aesthetic in the manuscript, as the instructions are the only text on the page (figure 2 and 3). The manuscript also duplicates Medina's instructions for calculating the phases of the moon, without the use of an almanac or other books: "compte abrege pour congnoistre sans liure les jours dela lune en quel[conque] moys delan" (abridged account on how to determine without a book the full moon in any month of the year), ironically referring to knowledge that does not require books ("sans liure"), in a citation lifted word for word from a printed book. [446]

sont plus vers orie[n]t & plus tard a celux au regard des autres qui sont plus vers occident & un hom[m]e ne se mouuoit dung lieu son meridien ne se remueroit: mais seroit tousiours en ung mesme poinct. Et sil va tout droit vers setenptrion (sic) ou vers midy sans decline a lorie[n]t ou a Occident encores a il tousiours ung mesme meridien: mais touteffois il ne se peult remuer quil nait continuellement ung autre zenich. *Le cueur de philosophie translate de latin en francois*, (Paris: Poncet Le Preux, 1534), f. Niii[r]. The manuscript does not appear to cite any other passage from *Le cueur de philosophie*.

[445] MS fr. 24269, f. 4[v] and Pedro de Medina, *L'art de naviguer*, f. 65[v]. This formatting in the French manuscript appears to have been used for purely aesthetic purposes, whereas in the printed edition, it had served to set off the instructions from the sections that proceeded it and succeeded it on the same page (figure 2).

[446] MS fr. 24269, f. 36[r] and Pedro de Medina, *L'art de naviguer*, f. 104[v].



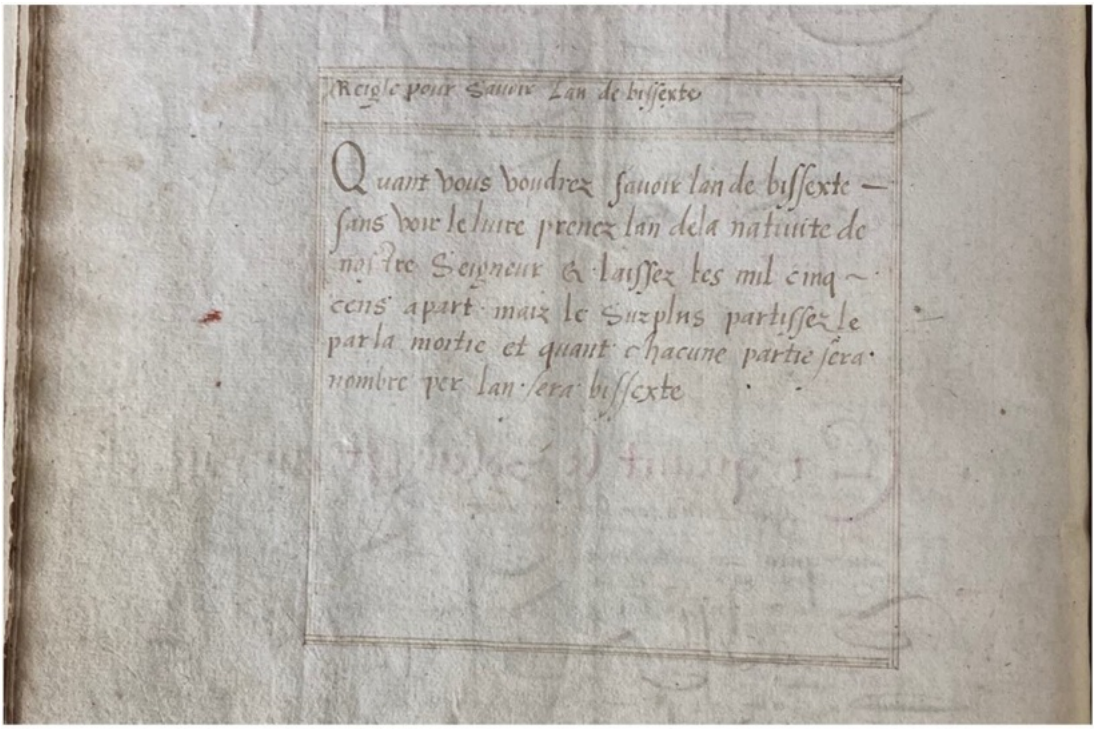
III	B	I	II	III	B	I	II	III	B
I	II	III	B	I	II	III	B		

REIGLE POVR SAVOIR
l'an de Biſſexte.

QVand vous voudrez ſauoir l'an de biſſexte, ſans voir le liure, prenez l'an de la natiuité de noſtre Seigneur, & laiſſez les mil cinq cens à part: mais le ſurplus partiſſez le par la moitié: & quand chacune partie ſera nombre per, l'an ſera biſſexte.

SENSVIVENT LES
TABLES DE LA DECLI-
naiſon, ou eloignement que fait le So-
leil de la ligne Equinoctiale cha-

Figure 6: Pedro de Medina, *L'art de naviguer*, Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1569, 124. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Réserve des livres rares, RES-V-1413.



Reigle pour Sauoir Lan de biſſexte

Quant vous voudrez ſauoir lan de biſſexte — ſans voir le liure prenez lan de la natiuite de noſtre Seigneur & laiſſez les mil cinq — cens apart maiz le ſuzplus partiſſez le par la mortie et quant chacune partie ſera nombre per lan ſera biſſexte

Figure 3: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, MS fr. 24269, f. 4[v]

These citations provide insight into the extent to which printed, textual resources served as guides to navigational science. Margaret E. Schotte argues that despite carefully constructed narratives that depict sailors as beacons of practical knowledge, all but removed from the bookish world, print culture would, in fact, have a decisive influence on European navigation.[447] Yet among printed books, navigational science relied primarily on those composed in the vernacular texts, as the sources of this anonymous manuscript suggest. The French translation of Medina's text, *L'Art de naviguer*, was so successful that within a century the text had already been reedited fifteen times.[448] While humanism promoted the *ad fontes* return to original languages and original sources, vernacular translations held an important place in the circulation of practical marine knowledge throughout Europe. In this sense, although travel narratives frequently featured outward rejections of ancient textual knowledge, navigators supplemented practical, experience-based knowledge with textual circuits of their own, where vernacular languages, instead of ancient languages, provided the privileged vehicle of learning. These methodological preferences are worth emphasizing when considering navigators' underlying interest in recording Indigenous languages and translating them into the vernacular. Navigators improvised means to record Indigenous languages using European vernaculars, presenting them as stable and homogenous entities, even at a moment when scholars like Rabelais and Bovelles presented vernacular languages in France as so heterogenous and unstable that they would resist any attempt to exhaustively inventory them.[449] Within these documents that circulated between navigators, the vernacular language

[447] Margaret E. Schotte, *Sailing School: Navigating Science and Skill 1550-1800*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019). In this study, Schotte explores the way that "processes of print and writing changed the practice of navigation," 5.
[448] Cited by Schotte, *Sailing School*, 24.
[449] Dalby and Hair remark that a title like the 'langaige de guynee' is misleading, insofar as it provides nothing to identify this specific language among "the large number of languages spoken along the West African coast," Dalby and Hair, "Le Langaige de Guynee," 50 It's worth noting that this was a common feature of these phrasebooks. Although the *Brief Recit* acknowledges that there are several distinct linguistic communities encountered, the title of

functioned as a vehicle of global knowledge about languages; it is not difficult to imagine that the French vernacular—during this period that predates most printed grammars and dictionaries—emerged from such comparisons with the allure of a more stable linguistic entity. Yet these comparisons that placed languages side by side on the page did so only to expand global hierarchies, reinventing European vernaculars not only as fixed entities but also as languages of colonial power. Just as the appeals to experience seemed to rely on a sleight of hand to suppress their indebtedness to textual knowledge, such comparisons also seem to assimilate European vernaculars to Indigenous languages, all while producing new colonial ideologies that separated them.

4. Colloques from Europe to Brazil

Published three decades after this anonymous navigational manual, Jean de Léry's 1578 *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* recounts the next phase of French imperialism in Brazil: the attempted establishment of a French colony near present-day Rio de Janeiro in 1555, which was invaded and destroyed by a rival Portuguese colony in 1567.[450] The phrasebook that Léry includes within the text represents the continuation of many of the methodologies, like the use of dialogue, which were already present (if only latently) in the anonymous Tupi phrasebook of the 1540s. Much like previous travel narratives, Léry also places particular emphasis on empirical knowledge and experiential learning.[451] Early in the narrative, for instance, Léry praises

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the vocabulary list seems to unify widespread geography under a single language: "le la[n]gage des pays & Royaulmes de Hochelaga & Canada." The phrasebooks derived from Cartier's travels in Canada have proved difficult for scholars to identify, in part because the lists are thought to have grouped together distinct languages as if they represented a coherent whole.

[450] Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre de Bresil autrement dite Amerique,* (La Rochelle: Antoine Chuppin, 1578).

[451] Appeals to experience provide authority to various assertions throughout the *Histoire d'un voyage*, introduced textually with expressions like: "si est-ce que l'experience me monstra" (Léry, *Histoire,* 25); "l'experience nous monstre" (148); "Et parce, ainsi qu'on a veu par experience" (186); "l'experience leur monstra du contraire" (246); "ie vis vne fois par experience" (187); "comme l'experience fait mieux entendre" (407).

a navigator who outsmarts scholars on the expedition, despite lacking formal education in reading and writing ("bien qu'il ne sceut ni A, ni B"), because of his practical marine knowledge: "avoit neanmoins par la longue experience auec ses cartes, Astralabes, & Baston de Iacob si bien profité en l'art de la nauigation"—an anecdote that leads to a more general celebration of knowledge gained practically.[452] This experiential methodology comes to bear on lexicographic research in the scenes that describe exchanges with the Tupinamba; Much like Pigafetta, or later, Laudonnière, Léry describes lexicographic fieldwork born of necessity, simply remarking: "quand du commencement que je fus en leur pays, pour apprendre leur langage j'escrivois quelques sentences."[453] The phrasebook which Léry then includes is also unique in the presentation of the dialogue, which takes the form of an annotated transcription of an exchange between a Frenchmen and a Tupi interlocuter. Like the anonymous mariner's manual, the phrasebook attempts to reproduce lived experience through dialogue, while at the same time relying on European pedagogical traditions.

Léry integrates the phrasebook into the narrative as a chapter titled "Colloque de l'entrée ou arrivée en la terre de Bresil entre les gens du pays nommez Tououpinambaoults, & Toupinenquin en langage Sauuage & Francois." [454] The dialogue begins with greetings and

[452] In Léry's words: "i'ay veu vn de nos Pilotes nōmé Iean de Meun, de Harfeur lequel, bien qu'il ne sceut ni A, ni B, auoit neantmoins par la longue experience auec ses cartes, Astralabes, & Baston de Iacob si bien profite en l'art de la nauigation, qu'à tout coup il faisoit taire vn scauant personnage (que ie ne nommeray point) lequel estant dans nostre Nauire triomphoit toutesfois de parler de la Theorique. Non pas que pour cela ie co[n]damne ou veuille blasmer en façon que ce soit les sciences qui s'acquierent & apprennent es escholes, & par l'estude des liures: rien moins, tant s'en faut que ce soit mon intention: mais bien requerroy ie sans tant s'arrester à l'opinion de qui que ce fust, qu'on ne m'alleguast iamais raison contre l'experience d'vne chose," Léry, *Histoire*, 39.

[453] Léry, *Histoire*, 260. When Léry reads back these sentences his interlocuters are astonished: "leur lisant puis apres devant eux, en estimans que cela fut une sorcelerie ils disoyent l'une à l'autre : N'est ce pas merveille que cestui ci qui n'eust sçeu dire hier un mot en nostre langue, en vertu de ce papier qu'il tient qui le fait parler, soit maintenant entendu de nous ? (260) The relationship between this initial scene and the phrasebook which intervenes much later on in the narrative remains left somewhat unclear, since when Léry introduces the phrasebook several chapters later, he claims only partial authorship for his lexicon, and refers to the involvement of a Norman interpreter with more expansive knowledge of Tupi.

[454] "Chap. XX," Léry, *Histoire,* 340-375.

introductions leading up to a dramatized scene of trading, which features brief lexicographic digressions on forming numbers and colors, as well as relevant vocabulary on trade items. Although the colloque concludes with these grammatical explanations, it is nevertheless clear that the dialogue—which is nearly twice the length of the grammar, and clearly emphasized in the title—is the methodology privileged by Léry. The *Histoire d'un voyage* is one of the first narratives of the period to explicitly utilize this dialogue structure, which was already a part of traditional language pedagogy. Indeed, by referring to his chapter as a "colloque," Léry calls to mind established pedagogical models designed for language learning, found in texts such as the medieval Latin schoolbook Aelfric's *Colloquy* and schoolteacher Mathurin Cordier's 1564 Latin *Colloques.* Léry's title particularly recalls the "best-selling" series of popular phrasebooks associated with Noël de Berlaimont, which appeared under various titles throughout Europe and which always emphasized these dialogues or "colloques" (*Colloques ou dialogues… Colloquia cum dicionariolo… Dictionario coloquios o dialogos…*).[455] These texts expanded upon existing traditions established by the *Vocabulistae*, primarily by providing dialogue models placed before the wordlists, a fact suggested by the titles of the editions. These dialogues contextualized language in everyday situations such as dinner conversations or buying and selling goods and were designed for autodidactic learning. Placing four or more languages side by side, polyglot dialogues allowed the learner access to linguistic models contextualized in communicative social situations with little prerequisite syntactical or grammatical knowledge.

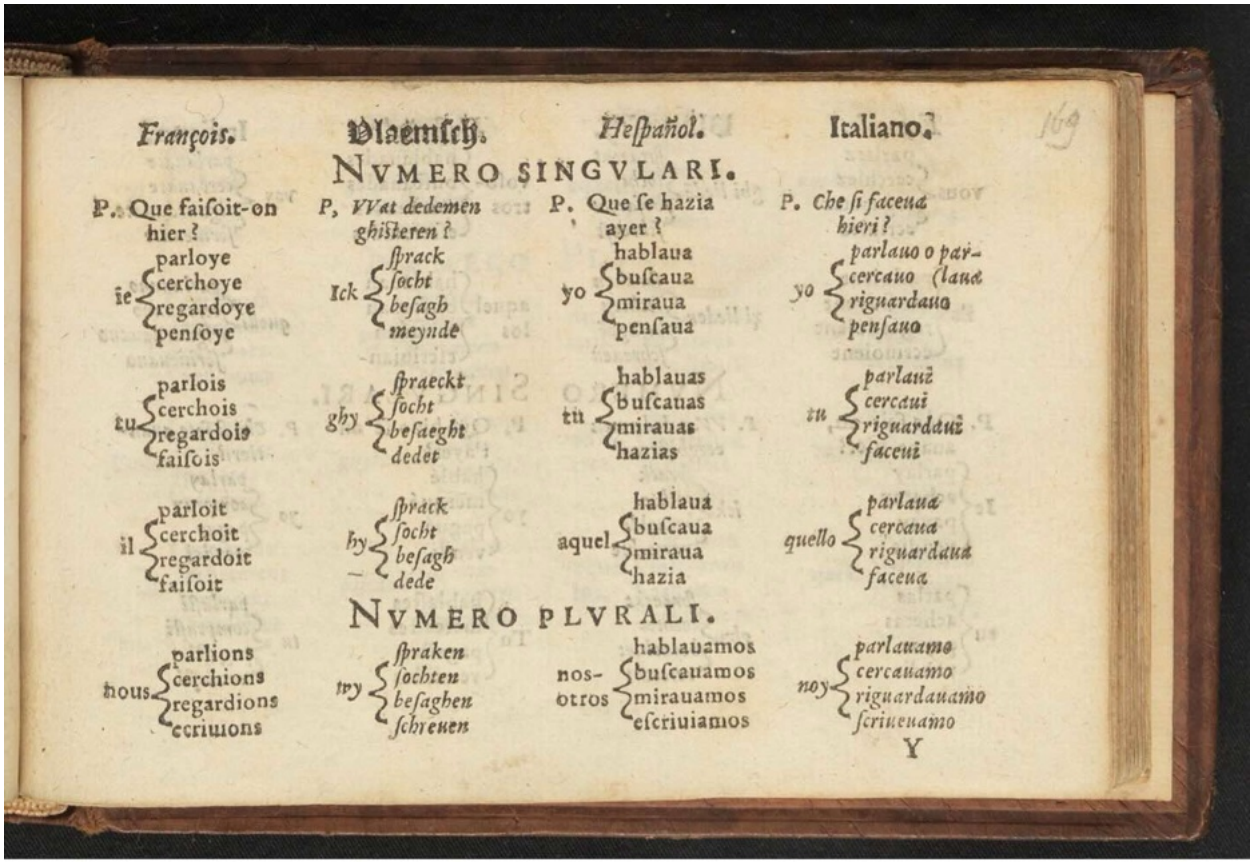
[455] *Colloques ou dialogues avec un dictionaire en six langues: Flamen, Anglois, Alleman, François, Espaignol,&Italien*, (Antwerp: Henry Heyndricx, 1576). On the phrasebook tradition associated with Berlaimont (sometimes also spelled Berlemont), see Susan E Phillips, "Schoolmasters, seduction, and slavery: Polyglot dictionaries in pre-modern England," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 34 (2008), 129-158; and Caroline Bourland, "The Spanish Schoole-master and the Polyglot Derivatives of Noel de Berlaimont's *Vocabulare,*" *Revue Hispanique* 81, no. 1 (1933), 283-318. Terrence Cave provides a helpful analysis of the Berlaimont tradition in *Pre-Histoires II,* 49-53.

Although Berlaimont's *Colloques* certainly built upon existing traditions, they provided perhaps the most developed expression of an accessible, popular, and practical methodology for language study. The text clearly outlines how the reader is to make use of dialogues as it transitions from the first book, the dialogues, to the second book, the vocabulary list. An introductory text to this second section informs the reader:

> Apres auoir veu au premier Liure les moyens pour apprendre à parler Flamen, Fra[n]çois, Hespaignol, & Italien par plusieurs com[m]uns propos, seruans co[mm]e de patrons: Maintenant aurez en ce seco[n]d liure beaucoup de motz vulgaires, reduits en ordre de l'A, b, c, etc. lesquels vous serviront comme d'estoffe pour former & composer autres propos de vous mesmes.[456]

Using the metaphor of cloth cut to a pattern, the reader is invited to see the vocabulary list as the raw material for an operation of imitation. The text emphasizes the ease of flipping through the alphabetic list, in order to construct one's own sentences using the models of the first half of the book: "n'auez autre chose à faire que co[n]siderer par qu'elle lettre le mot, que voudries trouuer, commence: puis apres le cercher de mot à mot. Et quand aurez trouué lesditz motz, les pourez conioindre & mettre per ordre, co[mm]e vo[us] auez veu au premier liure"[457] The text conceives of these dialogues, rather than any theoretical discussion, as the primary pedagogical support. As John Gallagher remarks, the layout of the polyglot that which placed languages side by side "allows for the manual to be used by a reader without any grounding in the grammar or syntax of the target language."[458] Indeed, the *Colloques* provided only the basic grammatical theory required to collate and assemble the elements in the vocabulary list, using brackets and symbols to make grammar as easily digestible and reproducible as possible (see Figure 4); the central selling point of this language learning system is that it did not require lengthy theoretical study.

[456] *Colloques,* f. Q[r].
[457] *Colloques,* f. Q2[r], Q3[r].
[458] John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 95.


François. Vlaemsch. Hespañol. Italiano.

NVMERO SINGVLARI.

P. Que faisoit-on hier ?
P, VVat dedemen ghisteren ?
P. Que se hazia ayer ?
P. Che si faceua hieri ?

ie: parloye, cerchoye, regardoye, pensoye
Ick: sprack, socht, besagh, meynde
yo: hablaua, buscaua, miraua, pensaua
yo: parlauo o parlaua, cercauo, riguardauo, pensauo

tu: parlois, cerchois, regardois, faisois
ghy: spraeckt, socht, besaeght, dedet
tu: hablauas, buscauas, mirauas, hazias
tu: parlauĩ, cercauĩ, riguardauĩ, faceuĩ

il: parloit, cerchoit, regardoit, faisoit
hy: sprack, socht, besagh, dede
aquel: hablaua, buscaua, miraua, hazia
quello: parlaua, cercaua, riguardaua, faceua

NVMERO PLVRALI.

nous: parlions, cerchions, regardions, ecriuions
wy: spraken, sochten, besaghen, schreuen
nos-otros: hablauamos, buscauamos, mirauamos, escriuiamos
noy: parlauamo, cercauamo, riguardauamo, scriueuamo

Y

Figure 4: *Dictionaire, colloques ou dialogues en quatre langues*, (Antwerp: Joos de Hertoghe, 1573), n.p. f. Y Ghent University Library

Much like Cartier and Pigafetta adapt the methodology of earlier merchant phrasebooks like the *Vocabulistae* to fit the needs of travel linguistics, Léry adapts the structure of these best-selling *Colloques* of his time to craft his own phrasebook, essentially following the same basic structure: dialogues, followed by vocabulary, concluding with brief grammatical explanations.[459] Yet Léry inherits another underlying methodological characteristic from these popular phrasebooks: the

[459] It is important to note that dialogues, both Léry's text and the Berlaimont, sometimes serve as mere pretexts for lexical enumeration. Indeed, the trading scene that begins Léry's colloque is quickly interrupted by a lengthy list of colors: "T: *Mae pérérout, de caramemo poupé?* Quelle chose est-ce que tu a apportee dedans tes coffres F: *A-auh*. des vestements. T: *Mara vaé?* De quelle sorte ou couleur? *Sobouy-eté*. De bleu. *Pirenc*. Rouge. *Ioup*. Iaune. *Son*. Noir. *Sabouy,massou* [...]" Léry, *Histoire,* 342. Similar scenes can be found in the Berlaimont colloques, for instance, a enumerations of verbs related household tasks are made to fit within dialogue:"Allez mainenant querir du bois pour faire du feu: allés esguiser les couteaux versez de l'eau dedans besguiere & pendez là une touaille blanche: faites brusler le feu…" f. b2.

attention to "orality," or to the characteristics of spoken language. As Gallagher explains, phrasebooks "existed between textual and oral culture," and readers were "urged to use the book as an aid to speech, while also using voices from outside the text to animate its materials."[460] In a similar sense, Jennifer Richards contends that this "voicing of the text," while an essential component of early modern education, remains an underemphasized and undertheorized aspect of the history of reading in Europe.[461] The Tupi colloque, and Léry's *Histoire* more generally, epitomize this voice-oriented philosophy of language. Although Léry celebrates European writing practices in a number of passages, the *Histoire d'un voyage* exhibits a profound fascination for the voice and for the oral traditions of the Tupinamba, as a number of critics have famously suggested.[462] This fascination—not only for spoken language but also for the Tupi vocal performances that Léry nostalgically claims, toward the end of the text, to still be able to hear in his memories—encourages the use of methods able to successfully navigate the frontier between oral and textual worlds.[463] Léry's dialogues, much like those of the Berlaimont tradition, were documents that could be reanimated and performed, and for this reason, fit within the *Histoire d'un voyage*'s overall concerns with recording speech, oral traditions, and even songs. European phrasebook traditions, existing somewhere in between orality and textuality, provided a

[460] John Gallagher, *Learning Languages,* 79.
[461] Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading*. (Oxford University Press, 2019), 69.
[462] Léry remarks, for instance, "nous aucontraire auons cest aduantage que sans nous bouger d'vn lieu par le moyen de l'escriture & des lettres que nous enuoyons, nous pouuons declarer nos secrets à ceux qui nous plaist, & fusset ils esloignez iusques au bout du monde." Léry, *Histoire,* 261. Scholars like Michel de Certeau have famously emphasized Léry's depiction of what appears to be an encounter between the primarily "oral" culture of the Tupinamba and European writing of history. See Michel de Certeau, "Systèmes de Sens : L'écrit et l'oral", in *L'écriture de l'histoire*, Paris, Gallimard, 1975.
[463] Léry writes, "tell joye que [j'ai eu] non seulement oyant les accords d'vne telle mutilitude si bien mesurez & sur tout pour la cadance & refrain de la balade à chacun couplet tous traisnans leurs voix disant: *heu, heuaüre, heüra, heüraüre, heüra, heüra, oueh.* i'en demeuray tout raui: mais aussi toutes les fois qu'il m'en souuient, le cœur m'en tressaillant il me semble que ie les aye encores à mes oreilles." Léry, *Histoire,* 277. If Léry's phonetic transcriptions in the colloque can be compared to the musical notation waiting to be performed, in some editions, after 1585, Léry includes musical notation of the songs performed by the Tupinamaba.

methodology for reckoning with spoken phenomena, which could be readily transposed into this new context.

This methodological emphasis on contextualizing language as a spoken phenomenon also allows the phrasebook genre, for both Léry and Berlaimont, to connect language to social experiences in unique ways. The Berlaimont phrasebooks were framed as offering the mercantile reader not only language skills but also the linguistic means to successfully navigate tricky business situations, such as demanding repayment on an overdue debt—linking language with social success. It was in depicting language contextualized within everyday social situations that these dialogues seemed to reckon with the linguistic dimension of power dynamics within early modern Europe, such as the role of the French language in Belgium.[464] Within this same vein might be categorized scenes of travelers' seduction found in later dialogue-driven texts that exemplify misogynist conventions prevalent in language instruction manuals, while occasionally, as Susan E. Phillips argues, also subtly providing means to subvert these conventions.[465] Similarly concerned with situating language socially, the French-Tupi dialogue begins with such a commercial exchange but goes on to link language with larger impressions concerning the identity of the Tupi speaker, as well as the dynamics between languages in Brazil. For instance, the question "*Mara-pé perouagérrè-rèrè/*Comment est-ce que vos ennemis ont nom" is followed by a lengthy response which seems to reproduce lexicographically the "ethnographic" intentions of other portions of the narrative, thematizing in particular how the relationships between the Tupinamba and other neighboring Indigenous groups are intertwined with linguistic differences.

[464] The role of French in Belgium is thematized in the dinner conversation of the first chapter in the Berlaimont phrasebook, with speakers referring to their competency, or lack thereof, in French, as well as alluding to its cultural importance in Belgium. In one instance, one speaker, David, asks another, Pierre, about his son Jean and his knowledge of French. "D. Ne va-il point à l'escole? P. Oui, il apprend à parler François. D. Fait-il? c'est tresbien fait. Iean sçavez vous bien parler François ? I. Point fort bien mo[n] cousin mais ie l'apprends. *Colloque*, f. E3[r] and E4[r].
[465] Susan E. Phillips, "Schoolmasters, Seduction, and Slavery: Polyglot Dictionaries in Pre-Modern England." Medievalia et Humanistica 34 (2008): 129–58.

For instance, the Tupi speaker remarks: "les Tououpinambaoults, Toupinenquin, Touaiare, Tenreminon & Kario, parle vn mesme langage, ou pour le moins y a peu de differe[n]ce entr'eux, tant de façon de faire qu'autrement."[466] By contrast, "les Karaia" and "le Ouetaca" are said to have "vne autre maniere de faire & de parler."[467] This context stands in contrast to the simplified linguistic geographies of prior phrasebooks—such as those in MS 24269, which sweepingly identified languages with entire regions, such as "le langaige de guynee" (for Kra) and "le langaige du bresil" (for Tupi). By contrast, Léry's "Colloque" attempts to account for the linguistic diversity within coastal Brazil by describing the way linguistic borders shape geographic ones. The dialogue format lends itself to reflection on language politics and identity, precisely because it purports to juxtapose multiple points of view and positions of power: it contextualizes language learning in supposedly realistic social circumstances, thereby connecting language with culture as a whole and mirroring the proto-ethnographic intentions of the *Histoire d'un voyage* more generally. Transposed from an exclusively European context into a global one, this methodology is infused with new colonial power imbalances: it becomes an inherently unequal dialogue—if it can even be called a dialogue—which lays the groundwork for imperial expansion and domination.

5. At-a-glance: Textual encounters and misreading

Although the Brazilian colloque presents itself as a practical, empirical depiction of spoken Tupi, it seems equally important to situate this document in the textual circuits which remain associated with it. Much like the anonymous manuscript of the 1540s, the colloque included in Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage* maintains a highly ambiguous relationship to textual circuits of information, despite choreographed appeals to experience. There is perhaps no better example of

[466] Léry, *Histoire,* 355.
[467] Léry, *Histoire,* 355

this than the uncertainty—and ensuing controversy—surrounding the authorship of the colloque itself. When initially introducing the chapter, Léry remarks that the dialogue "fut fait au temps que i'estois en l'Amerique à l'aide d'vn Truchement," a careful passive formulation which, as Frank Lestringant has suggested, leaves a great deal of ambiguity regarding the authorship of the text.[468] The allusion to the interpreter further distances Léry from the text, while, of course, also conferring a greater authority on the chapter. For the 'truchement" is said to possess a deep understanding of the language, not only as a result of long experience in Brazil but also extensive knowledge of ancient languages: "pour y avoir demeuré sept ou huict ans, entendoit parfaitement le langage des gens du pays, mais aussi parce qu'il avoit bien estudié mesme en la langue Grecque, de laquelle (ainsi que ceux qui l'entendent ont jà peu voir ci-dessus ceste nation des *Toüoupinambaoults* a quelques mots, il le pouvoit mieux expliquer. "[469] The fanciful link that Léry suggests between colonial linguistics and the study of ancient languages is interesting because, as we will see later, these documents are said to have circulated as "curiosities" among a scholarly audience with knowledge of ancient languages. This link also suggests that the philologic methods devised for the study of ancient languages might also be used for studying the spoken languages encountered in travel—a proposition somewhat at odds with the more practical, "popular," and accessible methodology actually utilized within the pages of the colloque, as outlined in the previous section.

Perhaps more importantly, however, this ambiguity which Léry allows to linger regarding the authorship of the colloque also leaves him particularly susceptible to accusations of plagiarism. These accusations come primarily from André Thevet, the royal geographer who had briefly traveled to Brazil in 1555, with whom Léry would maintain a rivalry throughout the second half

[468] "La construction passive laisse planer toute l'ambiguïté souhaitable." See note in Léry, *Histoire*, ed. Lestringant, 340, footnote 1.
[469] *Ibid.*

of the century. In a long diatribe against Léry, contained within the *Les vrais pourtraits les vies des hommes Illustres*, Thevet already alludes to "plusieurs pieces, morceaux & parties qu'il [i.e., Léry] a prins des labeurs d'autruy."[470] Later, in his unpublished *Histoire de Deux Voyages,* Thevet identifies the vocabulary list in particular as a part of this plagiarized material, attributing the document not simply to the interpreter mentioned by Léry, but instead to Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon, the commander of the Brazilian expedition. Thevet celebrates Villegaignon, remarking that "il estoit si habil homme qu'il avoit escrit un dictionaire, et colloque en la langue Bresilienne."[471] Thevet's claims are interesting not only insofar as they identify these sorts of linguistic documents as unexpected sites of contested intellectual property, but also in that they provide additional information about the circulation of such materials. Thevet goes on to explain that Léry got his hands on the document after it circulated among nobles, Villegaignon having shared it with "plusieurs personnages notables, comme à feu monsieur le Chancelier de l'Hospital, et à feu monsieur Bourdin procureur general du Roy en sa cour de parlement à Paris, à chacun desquel il en donna une coppie."[472] In a complicated description of the document passing hands and eventually being borrowed by Léry, Thevet writes that "au retour du siege de Sancerre, auquel Léry estoit, un personnage qui gouvernoit le feu Chancelier nommé Ode, sur bonne foy presta ladite coppie à ce Léry, lequel despuis la fait imprimer en son nom."[473] According to Thevet, the colloque included in Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage* would be a result of textual borrowing, rather than lived experience.

[470] André Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes Illustres*, (Paris: La Veufve J. Kervert et Guillaume Chaudiere, 1584).
[471] André Thevet, *Histoire des Deux Voyages,* ed. Frank Lestringant, (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 265.
[472] *Ibid.*
[473] *Ibid.*

Yet, Thevet's story of the stolen manuscript should perhaps also be regarded with some suspicion, precisely because it was an anecdote in his repertoire frequently employed to undermine competitors.[474] These sorts of assertions allow Thevet to insert himself into the material backstory of other narratives as well as to draw attention to himself, by creating textual trails which point back to him, if not as an author, as someone with knowledge of the rare manuscript market. And, indeed, whether Thevet's story is true or not, the account it provides of the circulation of travel phrasebooks among nobles and intellectuals provides insight into the readership such documents received. Indeed, both of the "personnages notables" were protectors of Thevet, who might have had an interest in these linguistic documents primarily as "curiosities," or exotic items of collection. Gilles Bourdin was celebrated by a number of poets for his extensive library and knowledge of ancient languages.[475] Michel de L'Hospital, diplomat and statesman, was also a noted collector of "curiosities."[476] The circulation that Thevet describes of these linguistic documents provides a reminder that these textual objects were, in this sense, curiosity-driven commodities which had a place in the *cabinet de curiosités* as much as artifacts did. The exchanges of such documents also provide an important reminder that despite frequent claims of narratives

[474] For instance, Thevet will claim something similar about the publication of a narrative of French colonial operation in Florida. In 1586, Martin Basanier, a French mathematician, publishes *L'Histoire notable de la Floride,* claiming to have rescued the manuscript from a mysterious place "ou elle avoit ja si long temps inutile reposée." This place, according to André Thevet, was his own library. Thevet will claim that this "petite histoire […] escrite a la main" was taken from him, under false pretenses, by "un certain jeun homme parisien nommé Basanier" alongside Richard Hakluyt so that they could "la feirent imprimer tout deux à Paris." Thevet, *Grand Insulaire,* (BNF Mss, MS fr. 15452,) f. 177[v]

[475] Ronsard's "Ode 24," originally dedicated to Thevet, describes Bourdin's patronage of Thevet as well as Bourdin's extensive library "docte Bourdin, son support [i.e. Thevet's patron] / Qui comme un sçavant Ptolomée/ A de tous costez amassez/ Les livres des siecles passez." Ronsard, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Jean Ceard, Daniel Ménager, and Michel Simonin, vol. 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), 911. In the second volume of his *Cosmographie*, Thevet remarks that Bourdon had "la parfaicte congoissance du Grec, Arabe, Hebreu & Chaldee." Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle,* (Paris: Guillaume Chaudiere, 1575), 643. Thevet also describes examining Bourdon's artifact collection in his *Portraits*. Thevet claims his portrait of Gallo-Roman aristocrat Sidonius Apollinaris is based on an original bronze that, Thevet writes: "i'ay veu entre plusieurs pieces anciennes à feu Monsieur Bourdon, Procureur general du Roy, l'vn des doctes & rares personnages de nostre aage." Thevet, *Les vrais portraits*, 486.

[476] Thevet writes in the portrait he dedicates to him in *Les vrais pourtraits*: "Autres-fois m'a il fait cest honneur de me faire voir quelques raritéz de son cabinet, mais je puis tesmoigner que cestoyent des singularites esmerveillables" Thevet, *Les vrais portraits,* 579.

based on "lived experience"—on the part of Thevet as much as any other travel writer—encounters with the Americas were often "textual" encounters. Textual objects were imported, exchanged, stolen, and collected—processes which were often self-consciously narrated in order to enhance the aura of authenticity and singularity of the narratives themselves—before being digested, edited, and published in printed texts.

Whereas printed phrasebooks of European languages like the *Vocabulistae* or the *Colloques* were mass-produced and distributed throughout Europe, manuscript travel phrasebooks were often rare and one-of-a-kind items until they were integrated into a printed travel narrative. For this reason, the stories of lost and stolen manuscripts were often recounted as if constituting another part of the voyage itself. The preface of Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage* recounts the adventures of his imperiled manuscript in great detail, suggesting that these circumstances prevented him from publishing the narrative until eighteen years after the voyage.[477] Although Léry claims to have written his account while still in Brazil—even using the red ink of the brazilwood tree—the editorial history gets more complicated from there.[478] Upon his return to France, Léry lost his manuscript not once but twice: first in 1563 at the gates of the city of Lyon, then a second time, when he left his new draft behind while fleeing his village during the wars of religion.[479] Léry describes the eventual recovery of the original manuscript in Lyon in 1576, and

[477] Léry, "Preface," *Histoire,* f. A5[v]

[478] In the preface, Léry recounts: "du co[m]mencement que ie fus de retour en France, monstrant les memoires que i'auois la pluspart escrits d'ancre de Bresil & en l'Amerique mesme, contenans les choses notables par moy obseruees en mo[n] voyage." Léry, "Preface," *Histoire,* f. A5[v]

[479] The story of the imperiled manuscript is recounted in detail in the preface. Léry evokes the loss of the first manuscript in Lyon, having borrowed it to an aquaintance from whom it was confiscated: "dés l'an 1563 […] en ayant fait vn assez ample discours, que (m'en alla[n]t du lieu ou i'estois) ie laissay & prestay à vn bo[n] personnage: il aduint qu'ainsi que ceux ausquels il l'auoit baillé pour le m'aporter passoye[n]t a Lion leur estant osté à la porte de la ville, il fut tellement esgaré que, quelque dilige[n]ce que ie peusse faire, impossible me fut de la recouurer." Léry, "Preface," *Histoire,* f. A6[r]. The second manuscript is pillaged when Léry fled his home during the the wars of religion: "les confusions suruenans en France sur ceux de la Religion, moy estant pour lors en la Charité sur Loire, afin d'euiter ceste furie quittant a grand haste tous mes liures & papiers pour me sauuer a Sancerre: le tout pillé incontinent apres mon depart ce seco[n]d recueil Ameriquain s'esta[n]t ainsi esuanoui, ie fus pour la seconde fois priué de mon labeur." f. A6[r].

explicitly points to the "colloque" as the one document that he could not have reproduced had he not recovered it years later.[480] The story of the lost and found manuscript seems to add interest and intrigue to the story, and the colloque chapter in particular, by impressing upon the reader the rarity of the materials.

These bookish adventures suggest that the "encounters" which underlie travel phrasebooks are not simply the fieldwork dramatized in travel narratives, but also textual "encounters" between the readers, compilers, and printers. These exchanges of written information raise a different set of questions about the reading and citation practices underlying the construction of travel narratives and their phrasebooks. Bibliographic details provide important insight into the textual genesis of these lexicons. For instance, it is worth mentioning that when Léry's Colloque appears in the later Latin editions of the *Histoire d'vn voyage*, the Tupi spelling is different than it had been in the earlier French editions, and appears, on many accounts, to be more accurate depiction of Tupi.[481] This difference provides an important reminder that the bold project of presenting the languages of the world in a remarkably simple, accessible format was often stifled by the fact that the compilers, as well as the editors or publishers of these documents, often lacked proficiency in the languages they were describing, and thus introduced errors at every step. This problem was not exclusive to travel narrative phrasebooks or languages beyond Europe; indeed, popular phrasebooks like the *Vocabulistae* or the *Colloques* were often overflowing with errors for Western European languages—English in particular, as John Considine argues—for which publishers and

[480] Léry evokes the colloque briefly when describing his recreation of the original manuscript: "Partant faisant estat de la perte de ce liure, aya[n]t quelque te[m]ps apres retiré les brouillars que i'en auois laissé à celuy qui le m'auoit transcrit, ie fis tant, qu'excepté le Colloque du langage des Sauuages, qu'on verra au vingtieme Chapitre, duquel moy n'y autre n'auoit coppie, ie mis derechef le tout au net." Léry, "Preface," *Histoire,* f. A6[r]

[481] See Plínio Ayrosa's note in his commented version of the Léry's colloque "Coloquio na Lingua Brasílica." In *Viagem à terro do Brasil*, trans. Sergio Millet, (São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo, 1980), 250.

typesetters lacked knowledge.[482] The downside of the phrasebook's "at-a-glance" methodology is therefore the unchecked confidence it inspires in the would-be language learner—as well as, the compilers themselves—which had the potential to produce chains of misreading.

A prime example of this misreading can be found in a phrasebook crafted by Léry's competitor Thevet. In his third major geographical work, his unpublished *Grand Insulaire*, Thevet attempts to provide an account of all the world's islands, as well as defend his previous works from critics.[483] He dedicates a large section to Canada, and includes a dictionary which he derives from Ramusio's travel collection which, in turn, is derived from the manuscript narratives of Cartier's voyages. In introducing the dictionary, Thevet refers to the utility and interest of such a phrasebook: "d'autant que ces contrees sont frequentees de present des Francois et Anglois jay bien voulu pour le contentement du lecteur adjouster icy un petit dictionnaire de quelques motz propres et pricipaux de leur patois."[484] Yet, Thevet lacks the proficiency necessary to translate Ramusio's Italian—not to mention the Laurentian Haudenosaunee languages he hopes to translate—and thus egregiously mistranslates parts of the wordlist. For instance, mistaking the Italian word "barca" (boat) for "barba" (beard), Thevet translates the Haudenosaunee expression "casigno casnouy," as "let's go wash our beards" instead of "let's go to the boats."[485] Other mistakes are less innocent. Instead of translating the Haudenosaunee word "addesgesta" as "child" (or "putto" in the Italian translation), Thevet offers *pervert* ("paillard"). For "agnia questa" as "girl" (or "putta" in the

[482] Considine remarks: "It is in fact hard to believe that anybody ever learned a language from it [the *Vocabulistae* tradition] or made extended use of it for the purposes of communication across language barriers […] moreover, the text of some of the late editions, in which the errors monoglot compositors have accumulated, is startlingly corrupt: the English of a late Venice edition, for instance is scarcely recognizable." John Considine, "Narrative and Persuasion in Early Modern English Dictionaries and Phrasebooks," *The Review of English Studies,* Vol. 52, No. 206 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 200.
[483] BNF Mss, MS fr. 15452. Excerpts of the manuscript are published in the critical edition by Roger Schlesinger and Arthur P. Stabler, *André Thevet's North America: A Sixteenth-Century View,* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986).
[484] MS fr. 15452, 158[v].
[485] MS fr. 15452, f. 159 [v].

Italian), Thevet provides *prostitute* ("pute"). Presumably, Thevet mistakes both words for cognates of the French word for *prostitute* ("putain"), and without further question, translates accordingly. As the author's unfinished manuscript—today conserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France—confirms, Thevet later realizes his mistake, and crosses out the two mistranslations to add appropriate ones: "child" ("enfant") and "girl" ("fille"), leaving behind only a reminder of the dangers of *faux amis* (figure 6).

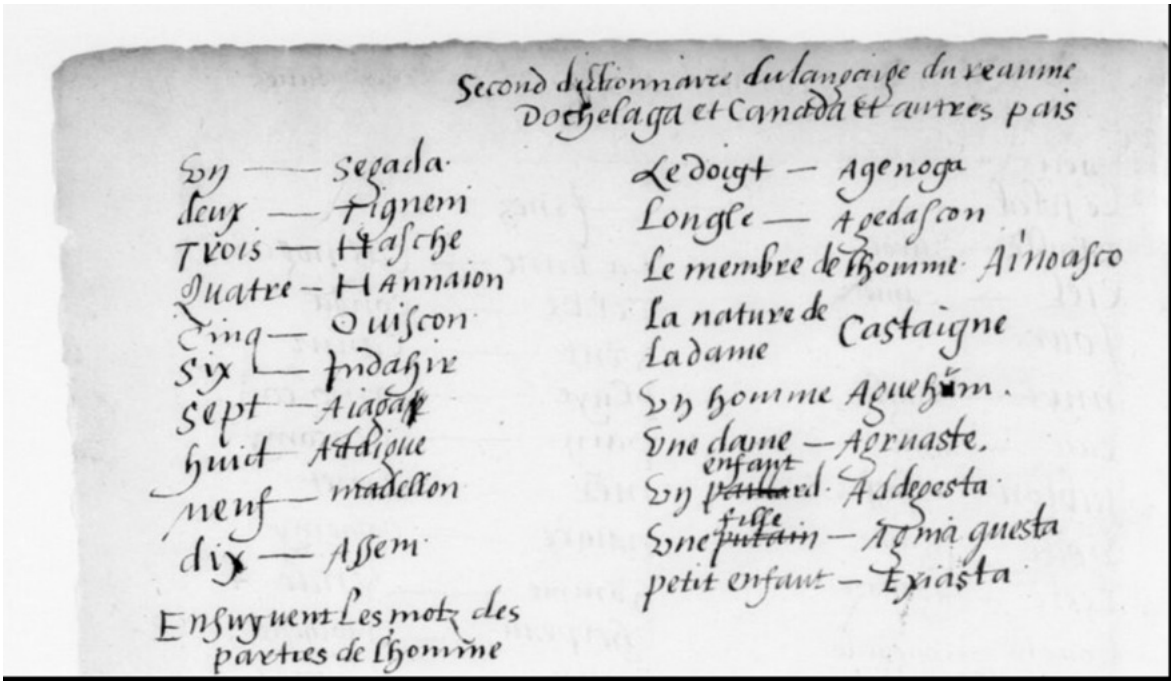


Figure 5: See correction on bottom right. André Thevet, *Le grand Insulaire et pilotage d'André Thevet, Angoumoisin, cosmographe du Roy* (MS fr. 15452), 1586, f. 158v. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Whether these examples of misreading are influenced by Thevet's preconceived notions regarding Italy or the Laurentian Haudenosaunee, or are simply mistaken cognates, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that these sorts of errors, are, in part, directly related to the theoretical underpinnings of travel phrasebooks, most notably their goal of making vocabulary and language structures instantly recognizable to the reader through strategies such as phonetic spelling in the source language. However, this sense of linguistic mastery is a false one—one that glosses

over cultural as much as linguistic differences by implicitly encouraging learners to overlook the unfamiliar.

Thevet provides still other examples of the type of unchecked confidence that such phrasebooks might instill in a reader, and also reveals that their practical use could be as anchored in copy-paste textuality as their production. The most telling example of this is the way in which Thevet will sprinkle Laurentian Haudenosaunee vocabulary throughout the Canadian portion of his *Cosmographie Universelle*, which he in fact obtained from the phrasebooks published in Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi*. Already, Thevet's initial description of the Laurentian Haudenosaunee approaching the Frenchmen is interspersed with basic vocabulary from the wordlists: "ceux qui marchoiet les premiers estoient les hommes qu'ils nomment *Aquehuns*; apres venoit les femmes qu'ils appellent *Peragruastas*, puis les *Adegestas*, qui sont les enfants: & les derniers estoit les *Anias-gestas*."[486] This description concludes with vocabulary to describe the attire of the group: "estoit tout ce peuple vestu de peaux (qu'ils appellent *Rabatatz*) de bestes sauuages."[487] Epitomizing in some sense the "cut and assemble" methodology prescribed by phrasebooks like the Berlaimont *Colloques,* Thevet cuts apart the expressions given in the Cartier phrasebooks in order to splice new phrases together and create fake dialogues. The first example of this is the welcome made by the leader of the region only identified as the "Roy" to the Frenchmen:

> Ce Roy nous feit fort bon racueil, & pour nous monstrer la bonne affection qu'il nous portoit, il feit faire bon feu (qu'ils appelent Azista) sur lequel feit mettre chair, & poisson rostir […] [il] nous dit en sa langue *Cazigno, Cazigno Casnoüy danga addagrin*: c'est a dire, Allons allons en terre mes freres & amys. *Coaquoca Amé Cousacon, Kazaconny*, venez boire & manger de ce que nous auons. *Arca-somioppach, Quenchia dangua ysmay assomaha*: nous vous iurons par le Ciel, la

[486] Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle*, f. 1008v-1009.
[487] *Ibid.*

> terre, la lune, & les estoilles: que n'aurez non plus de mal que nos propres personnes.[488]

To produce this supposed transcription of the greeting by the Haudenosaunee leader, Thevet uses the very same expression ("casigno casnouy") pilfered from Ramuiso, that, as we have already seen, he will later mistranslate in the *Grand Insulaire*. In his attempt to produce an equivalent for "allons allons en terre" Thevet simply adds the term for *earth* "damga" (according to the Cartier wordlist) to the end of the expression. Yet when patching the terms together, Thevet does not even bother to remove canoe (or "casnoüy") from the expression, and thus places *land* alongside *boat*, to produce a phrase which, even judged by the internal logic of the very lexicon from which it is derived, appears entirely nonsensical.[489] A few pages later, Thevet provides another supposed transcription of a Laurentian exchange, again using the supposed verb *casigno*—this time managing to do so without combining it nonsensically with *casnouy*.[490]

But Thevet's early modern readers were perhaps not overly convinced by the copy-and-paste operation. One of his harshest critics regarding these passages was French translator and author Francois de Belleforest.[491] Initially a scribe and research assistant for Thevet, Belleforest later became a competitor, rushing to publish his own *Cosmographie*—a French translation as well as commentary of Sebastian Munster's text—within months of Thevet's *Cosmographie Universelle*. Belleforest sought to undermine his competitor by pointing to textual, rather than

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[488] Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle*, f. 1009 [r].

[489] For an older, but nonetheless useful, side-by-side comparison of the Canadian wordlist associated with Cartier's voyage and Thevet's 1575 dialogue see J. Hammond Trumball, "Thevet's Specimens of the Indian Language of Norumbega." In *The Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America,* Volumes 17-18, (Morrisania, NY: Henry Dawson, 1870), 239.

[490] Ce neantmoins ces pauures gens les auoient receuz auec toute courtoisie, leur diants *Aignah Adagrim Casigno Cazohoquea,* Bon iour, mon frere, allons boire ensemble de nostre breuuage: & puis estans vn peu familiarisez, leur disoient, *azaca, Agoheda*, donnez nous des cousteaux. (1012v)

[491] For more on relationship between these two authors see Olive Patricia Dickason, "Thevet and Belleforest: Two Sixteenth-Century Frenchmen and New World Colonialism." Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society 16 (1992): 1–11. Frank Lestringant, *André Thevet: cosmographe des derniers* (Valois, Geneva: Droz, 1991), 182.

experiential, resources underlying his assertions about the Americas—much like, as we saw, Thevet will later do to Léry. Belleforest points to the textual processes which Thevet utilized in order to manufacture these passages of supposedly transcribed Laurentian dialogue, remarking:

> ayant vn petit dictionaire d'enuiron deux cens vocables, qui est és grands volumes des Nauigations, il s'en aide comme d'vn glaiue a toutes mains, & iaçoit que ces vocables soient propres au langage de *Hochelagà,* & des pays de la Floride, & autres qui sont vers nostre Pole (où jamais ce descouureur supposé de tout le monde ne mit le pied)[492]

Competition between rival *Cosmographies* affords ample justification for the motivation underlying Belleforest's criticisims. Yet these critiques remain interesting for the explicit insight they provide into the circular use of travel phrasebooks: using one phrasebook to create another. This textual recycling is a specialty of Thevet, but is also, as we have seen over the course of this chapter, a more general practice within the early modern travel narrative "industry." Furthermore, the substance of Belleforest's criticisms, however mired by the personal animosity between the cosmographers, points to a very real shortcoming of travel lexicography—which we have also seen throughout this chapter—that at-a-glance lexicography often obscured much more complicated linguistic realities. For instance, Thevet seems to use the same phrasebook to create dialogues for all the different communities within the Canadian portion of his *Cosmographie*, despite the fact that Thevet himself mentions linguistic diversity throughout Canada.[493] Belleforest in his critiques reminds readers, "il y a de plusieurs sortes de langages entre ces Indiens, si bie[n] que les vns ne correspondent aux autres."[494] This linguistic diversity is not only obscured by Thevet's constructed dialogues, but in all likelihood, is present within the original Cartier phrasebooks themselves; for unlike the Tupi phrasebook of the *Histoire d'un voyage* which can indeed be associated with a

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[492] Francois de Belleforest, *La cosmographie universelle de tout le monde*, Volume 2, (Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1575), 2084-5.
[493] Ceux de ce fleuue meinent ordinairement la guerre a ceux qui se tiennent vers la grande riuiere d'*Hochelagà,* & leur sont differents en langue, façons de faire & maniere de viure. Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle,* f. 1011 v.
[494] Francois de Belleforest, *La cosmographie*, f. 2084.

historically identifiable language, the Canadian phrasebooks have throughout their editorial history remained difficult to reduce to a single language, and have been identified as terms and phrases potentially collected from different linguistic communities.[495]

In this sense, what Belleforest reveals about Thevet's use of travel phrasebooks further illustrates the paradoxes which almost always underlie travel lexicography. For instance, in spite of the dramatic claims to first-hand experience—integral to travel narratives more generally—as well as the specific choreographed emphasis on the empirical nature of field linguistics for travel phrasebooks, travel lexicography was also—even primarily—a textual process which took place in the library, in between the pages of printed and manuscript books. Moreover, the methodology championed by phrasebook genres, which advertised easy access into languages, may have encouraged the study of languages for colonial expansion. However, it was precisely this emphasis on ease of use and accessibility that perhaps instilled an unfounded confidence in the would-be language learner. Such unchecked confidence encouraged haphazard use of pedagogical materials which, given the textual paths of their circulation, could produce chains of misreading.

[495] See Michel Bideaux, "Les langages amérindiens dans les Relations de Jacques Cartier" In: Cahiers de Fontenay, n°65-66, 1992. *L'inscription des langues dans les relations de voyage (XVIe-XVII*Ie), 39-51 (esp. 41-42).

Chapter 4

Mapping French through Translation:

Global Perspectives on Vernacular Geographies

In his 1530 *On the use of Globes* (*De usu globi*), Dutch mathematician and celebrated cartographer Gemma Frisius remarks that the figure of the globe has something to offer thinkers of any discipline—not only geographers, astronomers or historians, but also, perhaps somewhat less expectedly, legists and even grammarians: "resiouyt les Astronomes, conduict les Geographes, confirme les historiens, enrichit & rend compieux les legistes, [et] *est admiré des grammariens*."[496] The impact of growing geographic knowledge in Europe and technological advancements in cartography over the course of the sixteenth century would have a profound impact on European thought in a number of disciplines. Although it is unclear who precisely Frisus had in mind when referring to grammarians who revered the perspective provided by the globe, the sweeping, totalizing view of the world offered by cartography indeed provided a model for early modern linguistic study, inspiring new methods for reconciling the heterogenous and disjunctive structures of language, and investing cartography's expanding view of the world with far-reaching epistemological implications. This was in part because cosmographic books promised readers that they could, in the words of Tom Conley, "use the book to obtain a higher, indeed contemplative sense of the world"; this perspective would have a decisive impact on the way French authors like Charles de Bovelles or Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples would approach the complexity of linguistic questions.[497] More generally, this idea and image of "world," as Ayesha Ramachandran argues,

[496] Gemma Frisius, *Les principes d'astronomie et cosmographie : auec l'vsage du globe*. (Paris: Hierosme de Marnef, & la veufue de Guillaume Cauellat, 1582) f. 26v.
[497] Tom Conley, "A Topographer's Eye: From Gilles Corrozet to Peter Apian," in Walter Melion (ed.), Early Modern Eyes (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 64.

assumed "a crucial position in early modern culture" precisely because it provided an "imaginatively ambitious response to forces of entropy and disorder," problems which were central to vernacular linguistics over the course of the sixteenth century.[498] As David Paxman argues, early modern cartography and linguistics faced similar dilemmas: "both fields depended on representing phenomena in one set of dimensions—whether spheres, solar systems and stars, or oral discourse and the components of speech—in another medium—whether maps, charts, vocabulary lists, or grammars," a goal which required "achieving a view of the parts within a larger whole."[499] Growing European awareness of the world and the development of technologies of cartography would provide new perspective on the vernacular language, precisely because it enabled authors to reimagine the place of French within an expanding image of the globe.

Within this expanding knowledge of the world, translation served an increasingly important purpose, insofar as it bridged gaps between languages and, as its spatial etymology suggests (the Latin roots "trans-" meaning "across" and "latio" derived from "latus," meaning "carried" or "borne"), helped reconcile diverse points of view separated by geographic boundaries and expanses. Global knowledge might be said to have "spatialized" existing paradigms of translation, situating them in a decisively cartographic imaginary. For instance, Charles de Bovelles studies the way that spatial boundaries introduced division and diversity into the vernacular language, and finds himself obliged to translate vernacular terms into Latin in order to trace and map these spatially driven linguistic mutations. Similarly preoccupied with the relationship between space and language, Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples attempts to build a universal grammar, conceived on the model of cartography, taking Latin as a starting point to be mapped

[498] Ayesha Ramachandran, The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe, (University of Chicago Press, 2015), 20.
[499] David B. Paxman, Voyage into Language: Space and the Linguistic Encounter, 1500–1800, (London: Routledge, 2017) 22

onto any number of languages through translation. Translation provides both of these scholars with a means of reckoning with the spatialization of language and reconciling diverse points in linguistic history. These two works, although written in Latin, outline the decisive impact of global knowledge on existing linguistic paradigms, and in doing so, lay important groundwork for envisioning vernacular grammar and poetics later in the century. While the first half of this chapter examines the work of Bovelles and Lefevre, the second half examines how the imaginary of global translation develops alongside shifts in global power dynamics. Indeed, translations of travel narratives would increasingly envision their work as situating the French vernacular within the context of changing geopolitics, as European powers become increasingly invested in colonial violence and expansion in the Americas. In this sense, translation becomes the principal means of resituating and reimagining French within the contours and boundaries of changing global geographies.

1. Bovelles and the *Differentia*: Mapping vernaculars through translation

Charles de Bovelles's 1533 *Liber de differentia vulgarium linguarum et Gallici sermonis varietate* (*On the Difference of Vernacular languages and the variety of the French language)* presents a sweeping analysis of the multiplicity of languages scattered throughout the regions of the French kingdom.[500] Despite claiming throughout the treatise that the inherent instability of vernaculars inhibits any overarching conclusions about their structure, his analysis does in fact provide methods for vernacular research. Latin offers a means of translating and analyzing these languages and enables the author to reconcile diverse and widely distributed vernaculars. It

[500] Charles de Bovelles, *Caroli Bovilli Samarobrini Liber De Differentia Vulgarium Linguarum Et Gallici Sermonis Varietate*. (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1533). See modern French translation by Colette Dumont-Demaizière, *Sur les langues vulgaires et la variété de la langue française* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1973). All English translations provided are mine, in consultation with the French given by Dumont-Demaizière.

provides a sort of metalanguage which Bovelles considers "immune to accidents of places, times, and horoscopes" ("vtpote à locoru[m], temporum,& horoscoporum casibus immunem") insofar as it is structured by "rules conceived by the learned" ("excogitatæ à doctis regulæ,") ultimately allowing him to map the unstable terrain of vernacular languages.[501] In this sense, translation serves as a means of imagining larger linguistic entities within this distribution and instability, by reconciling heterogenous linguistic phenomena distributed throughout space and over time. In the pages which follow, we will first see how Bovelles demonstrates the roles that space and time play in shaping the development of language before examining how he employs translation as a tool for transcending these obstacles to "map" vernacular languages.

Bovelles opens the treatise by emphasizing the role of space and distance in vernacular variation, outlining the fact that "[even] between moderate distances, we see the common language soon becomes varied" ("a permodica loci distantia: mox vulgi linguam effici variam.")[502] For this reason, Bovelles's analysis of vernacular language is framed geographically. He begins the third chapter by outlining the geographic borders of his primary subject, the "Gallic" territory: "all of Gaul has five borders: the Alpes, the Rhine, the Ocean, the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean sea" (universae Galliae quinque sunt fines, Alpes, Rhenus, Oceanus, Pyreneus, Mediterraneum mare.")[503] In the chapters which follow, Bovelles outlines the history of these borders, referring to "barbaric" invasions, Roman imperialism, and the various ancestral peoples who historically inhabited the territory alongside the Gauls, situating each of these communities topographically before examining the lasting influences each had on the vernacular language in the places they inhabited. In fact, the text is so structured by locations that a reader might expect to find a map to

[501] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 44. (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 121)
[502] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 5. (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 77)
[503] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 6. (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 78)

organize Bovelles's references—particularly given the latter's penchant for diagrams in other published works.[504] Yet no cartographic depiction appears in the *Differentia*. Dumont-Demazière's modern critical edition, as if responding to this obvious visual gap, intersperses maps within these early chapters—a fact which seems to further emphasize their absence in the early modern editions.

This absence is perhaps explained by the fact that for Bovelles, space is primarily conceived not as an organizing principle, but rather one which produces separation and disorder; he most frequently refers to space in terms of *distance*, as a barrier which degrades language and produces difference. Within these initial chapters, in which Bovelles endeavors to show the reasons why "the French language, our maternal language, is so diverse and changing, within the borders of the French territory" ("ob quas Gallica, in qua nati sumus lingua, intra Gallici soli fines, tam deuersa sit & varia"), distance represents the central driving force behind linguistic diversity.[505] Indeed, Bovelles argues that the proliferation of vernaculars derived from Latin has arisen from the combined influences of the "inobservance of rules, as well as the distance between places and vices of pronunciation" ("per inobseruantiam regularium: tum per distantiam locorum, & vitia labiorum")—factors which together have produced a linguistic landscape in France where there are "as many customs and languages as peoples, regions and cities" ("quot in gallia populi, quot regiones, quote urbes, tot & tantos experiamur nunc in ea esse hominum mores & sermones.")[506] As the analysis progresses, Bovelles explicitly frames these spatial expanses as language barriers: "in the intervals between spaces and regions, a very wide wall of common and vulgar pronunciations intervenes, which creates varied manners of speaking" ("iuxta locorum & regionum

[504] See on this Rebecca Zorach, "Mediation, Idolatry, Mathematics: The Printed Image in Europe around 1500." In *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*, edited by Michael W. Cole and Rebecca Zorach, 317–343. Routledge, 2017.
[505] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 5. (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 77)
[506] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 5. (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 77).

intervalla, latissima intercurrere plebiorum seu vulgarium laborium seu vulgarium laborium maceriem, quae varium loquendi modum conflet").[507] This phenomenon is not unique to French territories, as it "also happens in every nation under the sky" ("id quoque in omni accidir natione quam caeli testudo tegit").[508] In this sense, although the *Differentia* is primarily concerned with the vernacular languages in France, it also seeks to produce generalizable rules about the development of language more generally and the role of geography in producing linguistic diversity.

Bovelles explains that it is not simply spatial expanses that separate individual speakers and produce changes in language, but the astrological effect of specific geographic locations on the development of the customs of communities and individuals. The author argues that even "as a result of moderate distance between spaces, soon a cosmic and astral influence creates a change in the pronunciation of people, and in doing so, changes languages as well" ("ut a modica loci intercapedine, mox caelesti quodam horoscopo,& syderis influxu in hominum labiis versura faciente, varientur & linguae.")[509] Throughout the *Differentia,* Bovelles persistently refers to this influence of the sky ("*horoscopus cæli"*). This emphasis is consistent with the astrological thought for which Bovelles was known, that sought unity between the microcosmic human and the macrocosmic universe. This framework helps further explain why space and distance play such an important role in Bovelles's thinking about vernacular languages.[510] Each vernacular speaker appears bounded by the influence of the sky (*caeli*) under which they find themself—in other words, they cannot see beyond the "horizon" of their own language and custom. For this reason,

[507]Bovelles, Differentia, 15. (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 89).
[508] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 5. (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 77).
[509] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 6. (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 77).
[510] For Bovelles's modern editor/translator, Colette Dumont-Demazière, this association is to be considered alongside climate theory, which from its foundation Aristotelian thought will also come to underlie the thinking of later figures such as Vico and Montesquieu. Colette Dumont-Demazière, "Première Partie: L'Autheur," in *Sur les Langues Vulgaires*, 53.

the reader is led to believe, these diverse communities would not be able to imagine, or situate themselves within an ideal, overarching structure of the vernacular in general. Indeed, as Bovelles argues: "each people prefers their own language, and their own manner of speaking seems right and beautiful to them." (suus cuique populo placeat sermo, suusve loquenti modus, sit cuilibet & rectus & bellus.")[511] A general theory of vernacular languages, Bovelles seems to suggest, would require gaining higher ground, a vantage point situated somehow beyond the horizon of each individual *horoscopus cæli*, providing an unobstructed "global" view, rather than fragmented local views.

This challenge is akin to finding what Bovelles describes as an overarching model that unites the ensemble of French vernacular languages, which he designates using the Latin terms *idea* and *archetypum*. Bovelles emphasizes that no particular place within the French territories would be able to provide such a global model for the entire kingdom, asking: "who in any part of Gaul would examine their own language and rightfully affirm that it constitutes the ideal form of the French language in general, one which would attain the rule and plumbline of its elegance and correctness?" ("quis enim in aliqua Galliae portione peculiare scrutabitur lingua[m], quam rite co[n]stiuat, & asseueret totius fore Gallicae lingua idea[m] quae sic perpe[n]diculu[m] & amussim sui nitoris suaeve rectitudinis atingat?")[512] Again, the imagery of Bovelles explanation is revealing. Which specific vernacular variety, the author asks, would provide the overall "ideal" version of French, which would frame it vertically like "perpendiculum" (plumbline) and horizontally like a "amussim" (straightedge)? Lacking this measure and center, vernacular languages present themselves as unstable territories or structures to be measured and surveyed.

[511] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 45 (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 123).
[512] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 43 (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 121).

Yet the complexity of this linguistic survey is further illustrated by the distinction between these two terms, *idea* and *archetypum*, that Bovelles uses to describe this global vision, which do not appear to be used entirely interchangeably. And the difference between them seems to point to a further layer in developing such a global picture: the role of time. The first term, the *idea*, as Dumont-Demaizière suggests, is to be understood in a platonic sense, "la réalité absolue, une, immuable, éternelle dont le monde sensible, multiple, changeant, périssable n'est que la copie et la dégradation."[513] When applied to language, Marie-Luce Demonet has argued that this might represent the "l'état absolu de la langue, sa forme définitive, hors temps, exprimée souvent à l'aide de termes mathématiques ou architecturaux (règle, mesure, équerre)."[514] By contrast, the *archetypum* represents "un principe sous-tendant l' 'idée' de la langue d'un point de vue originel et historique."[515] Demonet argues that this oscillation between these two terms indicates Bovelles's hesitancy between a diachronic vision of language (situated within a specific historical trajectory and traced across time) and a synchronic vision of language (an ideal, theoretical, model which transcends any number of specific historical instances). If both of these seem unattainable for Bovelles, the difference between them seems to reflect two different conceptions of what linguistic study represents: one that is abstract, ahistorical, theoretical, and another that is driven by history. The *idea* seems in this sense akin to the globe as an ideal imaginary object, whereas the archetype represents the messier and historically situated complexity encountered on a local level.

Ultimately, Bovelles's analysis is pushed towards the historical, diachronic vision of language that he calls the *archetypum*, as a result of the tools used to survey this unstable vernacular landscape, which he finds in philology, etymology, and translation rather than any

[513] Bovelles, *Sur les Langues Vulgaires*, (trans. Dumont-Demazière), 76 note 4, 205.
[514] Marie-Luce Demonet, *Les voix du signe: nature et origine du langage à la Renaissance (1480-1580)* (Paris: Champion, 1992), 98.
[515] Marie-Luce Demonet, *Les voix du signe*, 98.

quantitative methods or abstraction. Relying on the stability of an ancient language, Latin, the *Differentia* studies vernaculars by "measuring" the distance these languages have drifted from their Latin etymologies, these origins that provide the backbone and anchor upon which vernaculars can be described on a larger scale. In this way, Bovelles's project retraces the way space has changed—and continues to change—languages over time, by identifying phonetic and morphological "corruptions" of words used in specific regions, with the underlying assumption that vernaculars such as French, Italian, and Spanish represent a sort of ever-changing "perversion" of the ancient model of Latin. Navigating the "fluid" vernacular requires tracing and mapping its unstable forms onto stable Latin roots. This method is best illustrated at the conclusion of the first treatise, where Bovelles demonstrates the "degeneration" which he describes throughout the chapters of the *Differentia*, in a forty-six-page etymological dictionary of vernacular words. The "Brief Tables of French Words" (*Tabulae breues Gallicanarum Vocum*) list French terms alphabetically and traces them either to Latin or to "barbaric" origins. Within this document, Latin translation provides a stable means by which order can be found and established within the disorder of the vernacular language. Bovelles measures the distance which separates French from Latin, with historical and etymological analysis serving to map these changes and restore order to the confusion caused by geographic and temporal separation.

This dynamic of correcting spatial disorder through historical analysis is perhaps most apparent in the final section of Bovelles's text, which seems, quite literally, to undertake a sort of "remapping" of the French territory through translation. This third text dedicated specifically to proper names—primarily placenames—is entitled *On the confusion of French names* (De hallucinatione Gallicanorum nominum). Within this text, he continues his project of attempting to trace vernacular terms back to their ancient roots, speaking specifically about "the confusion of

certain French names, as much for cities as for peoples" ("hallucinatione quorundam Gallicanorum nominum, tam urbium, quam nationum.")[516] This section, perhaps even more so than the prior portions of the texts, seems invested in a lexicographic and geographic revision. Referring to Caesar's *Commentaries* and other ancient texts, Bovelles attempts to provide a corrective topography—if only a fragmentary one—of the French kingdom, with ancient history providing a vantage point from which to understand and "correct" the disorder of vernacular toponyms. For instance, in one chapter, Bovelles argues that the name of a popular pilgrim passage through the alps into Italy, "Mont Cenis," is in fact, a deformation of "Mont Sainct Denis, which is in turn derived from *Mont Sancti Dionysii*. The origins of the name are appropriately—given Bovelles's theory of place—most recognized only by those who "presently live at the foot of this mountain" ("qui hodie radices eius montis incolunt"), who call it "le Mont Sainct Nis," a less distorted version of the Latin name, according to Bovelles.[517] Having resolved this confusion, Bovelles moves on to the "name of Savoy which is at the foot of this mountain" ("nominis Sabaudiæ, quæ huic monti subest") and then on to another alpine location, "Ambrum," the present-day town of Embrun, which he corrects again relying on Caesar's *Commentaries.*[518] Proceeding through space like a wandering traveler armed with ancient history books, Bovelles surveys the French linguistic landscape, employing etymology and philology to correct and measure how toponyms have drifted from their origins.

This spatially driven analysis never reaches the dimensions of a totalizing or "global" analysis of vernacular placenames or vernacular language, for such a perspective remains

[516] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 91 (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 172).
[517] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 93 (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 175).
[518] "The Allobroges whose city is commonly called Ambrum, which some now incorrectly call Embrun" ("allobrogibus quorum vrbem vulgo Ambrum, male nunc quidam Ebredunum vocant.") Bovelles, *Differentia,* 93-94 (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 175).

unimaginable for Bovelles. Instead, Bovelles's research seeks to offer what might be described as the next best thing: a collection of "local" views, snapshots analyzed through the lens of history, which, observed together, cumulatively provide a larger, though not wholistic, picture. In the introduction to the text, Bovelles frames his research in these terms, describing his haphazard and sporadic observations made "there where the time, the place, and the uncertain lips of men, call our intelligences" ("ibi […] quo temps, quo locus, & quo incerta hominum labia vocant ingenia"), a spatial process that he also, as we have seen in the previous chapter, likens to navigation.[519] In this sense, the methodology which ultimately emerges from the *Differentia* seems to represent an alternative to the globalizing analysis of vernacular languages that Bovelles conceives of as impossible.

This approach to the study of vernacular languages was first illustrated in an earlier work by Bovelles, a collection of vernacular proverbs published a few years prior to the *Differentia*, entitled *Proverbium vulgarium libri tres*, which enumerates 650 proverbs in French with Latin translations and explanations. The preface of the work—which expresses many of the same hesitations about the study of unstable vernacular language as the *Differentia*—also alludes to Bovelles's itinerant process of collecting the proverbs, which he describes hearing directly from the "mouths of the common people, in the streets, in the roads, in houses and in public banquets while they enjoy a light and almost idle meal" ("per plateas, per trivia, per domos, & publica convivia, in ore sedet vulgi cum interim leui & pene ocioso fruerer ociolo.")[520] The enumeration of locations seems designed to reproduce the author's process of wading through a variety of public and private spaces in search of such expressions—highlighting the fragmented and itinerant nature

[519] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 3 (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 75).
[520] Charles de Bovelles, *Caroli Bouilli samarobrini Prouerbiorum vulgarium: libri tres* (Paris: Galliot Du Pré, 1531) f. aa i [v] (preface, "Carolus Bouillus Insigni viro Iachino Michonio").

of such research. Bovelles approaches a largescale view by assembling a collection of local snapshots, remarking that he has "accumulated a heap" of these vernacular expressions ("cumulavi congeriem").[521] The notion of collecting has particular importance in the overarching philosophical praxis of Bovelles. In his *De sapiente* (On wisdom), Bovelles explains the task of the sage as one of collecting (*colligere*) an encyclopedic experience of the world, which transforms him into a microcosm, or as Oosterhoff argues "'a little god' in God's image."[522] For Bovelles, this form of "collecting" is an orientation towards knowledge production in which human intellect can approach divine wisdom, achieving something akin to a "global" vision, a sort of divine wisdom reduced to the scale of humans.

The necessity of collecting and translation, and the impossibility of truly attaining this "global" vision, are not only rooted in Bovelles's overall philosophical system, but also in the spatial dimensions of the biblical mythology underlying it. For Bovelles—as was the case for many of his contemporaries—the confusion of languages which followed the fall of the tower of Babel described in Genesis looms in the background of all discussions of linguistic diversity. Although Bovelles does not explicitly refer to Babel until the final chapter of the text, in closing the text with this reference he seems to predicate his entire philosophy of linguistic diversity on the episode. He emphasizes the impossibility of returning to the original language which came before this divine punishment, or "the first human language, which otherwise would be uniform and the same everywhere on the earth, even now, if the spirit of god, at the erection of the tower of Babel, hadn't divided it into the major languages of the world" ("humani generis [prima] lingua […] quae alioqui

[521] *Prouerbiorum vulgarium*, f. aa i [v]
[522] Richard J. Oosterhoff, "Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Charles de Bovelles on Platonism, Theurgy, and Intellectual Difficulty." In *Plotinus' Legacy: The Transformation of Platonism from the Renaissance to the Modern Era*, edited by Stephen Gersh, 73–95 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 89. For more on this philosophy of 'collecting,' see Inigo Bocken. "The Pictorial Treatises of Charles de Bovelles." Intellectual History Review 21 no. 3 (2001): 341–52. (Cited by Oosterhoff, 89.)

hactenus uniformis, et ubique sorte terrarum par esset, nisi hanc spiritus Dei in aedificatione Babylonicæ turris, in immensas huius mundi linguas dissecuisset").[523] This conclusion seems to underlie the rest of Bovelles's observations on the ongoing decay and degeneration of languages, and above all, the inferiority of human languages with respect to divine language. This biblical myth also perhaps explains the impossibility of gaining a viewpoint beyond the horizon or *horoscopus cæli* of each group of vernacular speakers. For Bovelles, this viewpoint, beyond the scale of any ordinary human, is perhaps not unlike the towering verticality of Babel: a vantagepoint which would necessitate usurping an unattainable or forbidden point of view, reserved for divine eyes only—precisely the mistake of the architects at Babel. As we will see in the next section, the hesitancy felt by Bovelles to adopt this global view was not felt by some of his contemporaries.

2. Grammatical cartographies in the *Grammatographia* (1529)

One such contemporary, Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, humanist scholar, translator, and theologian—and one of Bovelles's professors at the University of Paris—was equally preoccupied with using Latin to produce a general or global vision of language, a problem he confronted in an innovative visual Latin manual entitled *Grammatographia* (1529), which took cosmography as a model for understanding grammar. With explicit references to maps and cartography, Lefevre and his printer Simone de Colines—who printed Tory's vernacular manifesto *Champ fleury* the same year—not only suggest the possibility of mapping languages like Latin as stable coherent totalities, but also imply that this underlying structure might be applied to other languages, including French. In this way, although the *Grammatographia* remains at the surface a Latin textbook, its authors—who were themselves involved in different ways in vernacular politics and reinvention—derive

[523] Bovelles, *Differentia,* 46 (trans. Dumont-Demazière, 124).

from it a structural theory about language in general. And this general schema represents an important contribution to the theorization of vernacular language during the 1530s. Although the *Grammatographia* begins with an underlying preoccupation similar to that of Bovelles's *Differentia*—examining the relationship between space and language, and, to a certain extent, the role of the vernacular in this relationship—it arrives at an opposite conclusion. Whereas the *Differentia* assembled a collection of local empirical observations, which Bovelles claims were destined to be rendered obsolete by inevitable linguistic change, the *Grammatographia* suggests the possibility of using Latin to visualize and theorize an enduring totalizable structure within language more generally—the global view of language which Bovelles rejects.

Lefevre, who was also tutor to the royal children, dedicated the *Grammatographia* to Princess Madeleine, daughter of François I, framing it as an efficient means of teaching Latin by using diagrams and visual representations. The title—conceived as a play on *Cosmographia* or *Cosmography*—is explained by the printer Simone de Colines in an opening epistle addressed to "all desiring to learn grammar quickly and easily" ("omnibus cito et facile discendo grammăticæ cŭpidis.")[524] The printer remarks that the linguistic diagrams which fill the pages of the text "enabl[e] us to see all of grammar in a very short time" ("perprômpte parvôq[ue] têmpore, ômnia penè ad grammăticen spectântia cernûntur") in the same way that "thanks to those general descriptions of the world (which are called cosmographies) anyone can examine and quickly gain knowledge of the entire world" ("ut in universâli descriptiône mundi (quam cosmogrăphiam vocant) promptissime omnes, et parvo quidem têmpore, totu[m] ŏculis perlûstrant orbem").[525] Colines contrasts this type of learning to traditional textual research, remarking that it can "scarcely

[524] Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples and Simone de Colines, *Grammatographia ad prompte citoque discendam grammaticen*, (Paris: Simone de Colines, 1529), f. 2[r].
[525] Lefevre d'Etaples, *Grammatographia*, f. 2[r].

be done by going through books, even by devoting an enormous amount of time to it" ("quod vix plûrimo têmpore discûrsu librô[rum] fíeri possit.")[526] Maps, in Colines' analogy, provide a vantage point which, translated literally, allows viewers to "circle the entire sphere with their eyes," taking in a large amount of information in a single glance. Similarly, the *Grammatographia* offers a totalizing vision of the structures and elements of the Latin language spread out before the eyes of the learner. In this sense, the cartographic analogy offers not only an efficient pedagogical approach, but also suggests an underlying shift in the way language is conceived structurally. Much like space, grammar can be understood mathematically, its idiosyncrasies can be defined and theorized, and its overall architecture can be conceived as a unified and global system.

Such a comparison is, in some ways, a testament to the growing European enthusiasm for cartography in the wake of new geographic knowledge about the Western hemisphere, as well as the growing accessibility of cartographic instruments such as the Waldseemüller globe and map, printed in Saint-Dié in 1507. Constructed of printed paper panels which could be assembled to form a wall map or a globe, these devices were produced at a fraction of the cost of materials painted and manufactured by hand, and thus made sweeping, wholistic views of the earth accessible to a broader audience, allowing Europeans to visualize vast spaces in ways previously impossible—a feat that contemporaneous authors, across many genres, marveled at.[527] These popular cartographic tools were produced alongside an explanatory text entitled *Cosmographiae introductio* or *Introduction to Cosmography*—believed to be authored by a former student of

[526] Lefevre d'Etaples, *Grammatographia*, f. 2[r]..
[527] A Carthusian monk in Erasmus' *Colloquies* (1523) marvels at a "map [which] shows the entire earth" allowing the viewer to "wander in thought more enjoyably and safely than one who sails to the new islands." Desiderius Erasmus, "The Solider and the Carthusian (*Militis et Cartusiani*)," in *Colloquies Vol. 1*. trans. Craig Ringwalt Thompson, (University of Toronto Press, 1997), 330.

Lefevre, Matthias Ringmann.[528] Lefevre himself is said to have had a profound impact on the cosmographic genre with his highly influential commentaries on astrological texts such as John Sacrobosco's *Tractatus de Sphaerae*, which modernized Sacrobosco's classic schoolbook with printed diagrams and figures.[529] Colines, for his part, printed a number of maps and cosmographic treatises in the years leading up to and following the publication of the *Grammatographia*.[530]

The *Grammatographia* uses innovative visual and diagrammatical techniques to structurally represent or "map" Latin grammatical forms in a visually accessible way—beginning with articles, noun and verb endings, progressing onto other parts of speech, and concluding with tropes and figures. In large diagrams, Latin terms of similar morphology are grouped together with symbols; stems are separated from endings by curling brackets. Words appear only in fragments, and these scattered morphological parts must be assembled by the student once the overall structure is understood, aided by the various organizational techniques (brackets, dotted figures, color coordinated text) which, as Susan Baddeley remarks, "nécessitait une collaboration étroite entre l'auteur et son imprimeur."[531] With little explicit guiding explanation, the text invites the reader to see patterns by presenting similar forms grouped together. Lefevre's grammatical diagrams, like cartographic representations, are presented as visual devices allowing the viewer to quickly inspect what would otherwise be obscure patterns and forms. These different grammatical

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[528] Martin Waldseemüller and Matthias Ringmann, *Cosmographiae Introductio, cum quibusdam geometriae ac astronomiae principiis ad eam rem necessariis. Insuper quatuor Americi Vespucii navigationes* (St. Dié: [Gaulthier Ludd], 1507).

[529] Johannes de Sacrobosco, *Textus De Sphera Iohannis de Sacrobosco : Cum Additione (quantum necessarium est) adiecta : Nouo co[m]mentario nuper edito Ad vtilitatem studentiu[m] Philosophice Parisien[sis]* Academie, ed. Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, (Paris: Johann Higman and Wolfgang Hopyl, 1495). Richard J. Oosterhoff, "A Lathe and the Material Sphaera: Astronomical Technique at the Origins of the Cosmographical Handbook." In De Sphaera of Johannes de Sacrobosco in the Early Modern Period, edited by Matteo Valleriani, 25-52 (esp.45). Cham: Springer, 2020

[530] See for instance the map of France entitled *Galliae totius nova descriptio* printed in 1525. This and other maps produced by Colines were created in collaboration with Oronce Fine, a figure studied in the next section of this dissertation chapter.

[531] Susan Baddeley, *L'orthographe française au temps de la Réforme,*(Geneva: Droz, 1993), 264.

diagrams are split into twelve tables or *tabulae*, each of which presents a long list of examples of grammatical structures. Although the term "tabula" was a general term used to describe any chart, list or table—as we saw with Bovelles's *Tabulae breues Gallicanarum Vocum*—it was also a specific term often used by Renaissance cartographers to describe maps. And indeed, the twelve *tabulae* of the *Grammatographia* seem to invite comparison to the twelve sections which could be glued together to produce the massive Waldseemuller map, or the twelve gores which could be cut out and pasted onto a sphere.

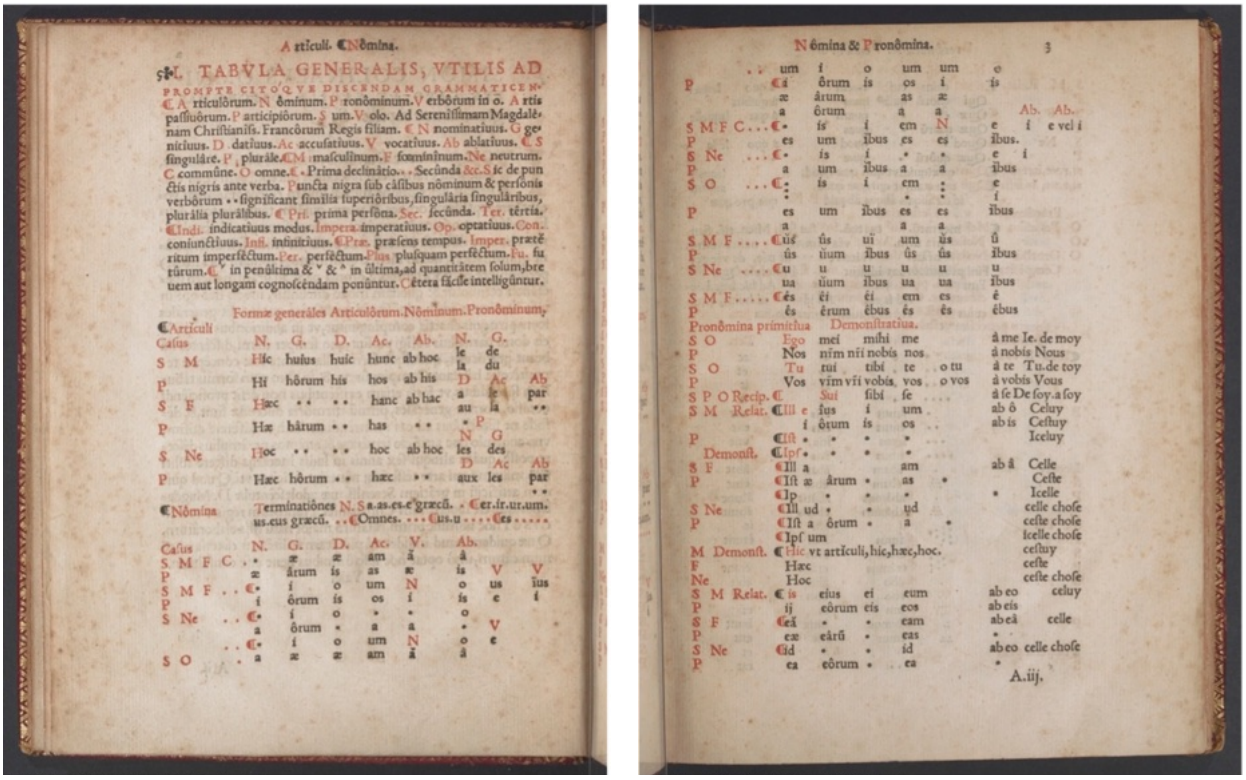

Figure 7: The grammatical tables included in the *Grammatographia* discussing articles, nouns, and pronouns. *Grammatographia ad prompte citoque discendam grammaticen*, (Paris: Simone de Colines, 1529), f. 2[v]-3[r]. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Moreover, the *Grammatographia* was produced along with paper posters which, in the manner of a wall map, represented the system on a larger surface which could be mounted in places of high visibility. The printer refers to this addition in his prefatory epistle, remarking: "the general forms

are depicted on large sheets, so they can be hung on the walls of the home in study spaces, so whenever at home, students have them in view, until these forms are understood and firmly grasped" ("et generâles formę magnis chartis compingûntur, ut in abditiôribus stūdij locis domi pariētibus adfĩgi possint, quo semper domi, discêntes hābeant prae ōculis, quōusque formæ illae mente sint concêptae tenacitêrque hâereant.")[532] A 1548 catalogue of printed materials published by Colines lists the *Tables of all of Grammar* (*Tabulae totius gramaticae*) to be purchased separately for a single sol, in addition to the five sols one might expect to pay for Lefevre's *Grammatographia*.[533] Providing sweeping visions in a single glance, these sorts of devices embody, in a very material way, the kind of knowledge that Colines claims would be difficult to obtain by flipping through the pages of a book ("discûrsu librôru[m]"). The description of these devices provides a reminder of the ways in which this sort of global, totalizing thought was deeply embedded in the material experiences which made them possible. Imagining the immensity of the globe was not merely a theoretical feat, but also a technical one—one which relied as much on the manipulation of material objects as on complex conceptual understanding. Undoubtably, the *Grammatographia* seems to take its inspiration from these material innovations as much as conceptual advancements of geography.

Underlying this cartographic analogy was a new methodology for understanding language—one which, as Walter Ong has suggested, reduced grammar to "quantitative analogies in terms of symbols, charts, and modes of conceptualization."[534] Lefevre and Colines develop a visual and pseudo-mathematical system (in Ong's terms, "quasi-algebraic, or arithmetical

[532] Philippe Renouard remarks these "placards destinés à être affichés" in his *Bibliographie des éditions de Simon de Colines, 1520-1546*, (Paris: Huard, 1894), 473. *Grammatographia*, f. Aij
[533] *Libri venales in bibliopolio Reginaldi Calderii, tum ab Simone Colinaeo, tum a Calderio excusi*, (Paris, 1548), f. avii [v].
[534] Walter Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (University of Chicago Press, 2004), 76.

displays") in order to map the structures underlying language.[535] These symbols, charts, and diagrams did not simply capitalize on the growing European interest in cartography; they exemplified Lefevre's longstanding interest in applying mathematical reasoning and quantitative analogies to humanistic studies in previous work. Indeed, the methodological analogy between cartography and grammar which underlies the *Grammatographia* epitomizes the revolution Lefevre started in traditional university teaching—a revolution which, in the words of Richard J. Oosterhoff, "set mathematics at the centre of the prescribed curriculum," usurping the place traditionally reserved for logic, the foundational discipline in the medieval classroom.[536] For Lefevre, mathematics provided a method to be applied to the learning of all the other disciplines. In order to make this leap between mathematics and humanistic disciplines, Lefevre relied on a newly capacious definition of analogy or similitude, a cornerstone of Aristotelian thought which had acquired a range of new applications in medieval usage.[537] Lefevre taught that concepts and ideas possessed relationships comparable to numeric proportions, and quantitative ratios between numbers were analogous to qualitative similarities between concepts. This analogical thinking enabled Lefevre to use mathematical terminology to teach a variety of disciplines, concepts, and figures, a method obviously at work in the "quasi-algebraic" diagrams of the *Grammatographia*.

This notion of analogy—or more precisely, proportion—was, of course, also a central tool of cartography. The importance of proportion in cartography is illustrated by the distinction Ptolemy makes in his *Cosmographia*, between Geography (which presents a global or broad view of space) and Chorography (which presents detailed local views of space). As Ptolemy explains,

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[535] This spatialization of Latin grammar, was situated, for Ong, within a more general movement of visual rather than auditory knowledge production brought about by printing. Walter Ong, Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue, 76.

[536] Richard J. Oosterhoff, *Making Mathematical Culture: University and Print in the Circle of Lefèvre d'Étaples*, (Oxford University Press, 2018), 79.

[537] "Lefèvre and his students, as we saw, made analogy— along with similitudo and like terms—the unity underlying both linguistic and mathematical modes of reasoning." Oosterhoff, *Making Mathematical Culture*, 105.

"the end of Chorography is to deal separately with a part of the whole, as if one were to paint only the eye or the ear by it self. The task of Geography is to survey the whole *in its just proportions*, as one would the entire head."[538] Key within this distinction are these "just proportions" required to represent the whole. Indeed, for Ptolemy, the distinction between these two visions is not simply the difference between the part and the whole, but implies, as Katharina N. Piechocki argues, a different relationship to the mathematical principles of scale and measurement required for such wholistic visions, a methodology which was "partial in its grasp of details, but total in its capacity to create a pattern."[539] Global geographic projections require multiple forms of "translation" or "analogizing" impossibly large spaces to create humanly viewable representations—reducing vast objects to small printable surfaces, flattening the rounded globe to a page—while using mathematical reasoning to maintain proportionality and similitude between the objects and their depictions.

Ptolemy's distinction between chorography and geography seems, in some ways, akin to the differences between the philosophy of language underlying Bovelles's *Differentia* and that of the *Grammatographia.* Whereas Bovelles depicts a "chorographic" or localized selection of vernacular language examples, Lefevre and Colines promise a "geographic" or global view of grammar. And the crucial difference between these two works is not simply the scale at which they make their argument, but the method they employ in order to do so. When the *Differentia* uses Latin as a metalanguage for studying vernacular languages (and, indeed, language more generally), it is bound to a diachronic, historical, and etymological analysis, by nature of the very relationship between Latin and French. Lefevre and Colines seem to suggest that in order to imagine grammar

[538] Claudius Ptolemy, The Geography, trans. Edward Luther Stevenson (New York: Dover Publications, 1991), 25. Emphasis mine.
[539] Katharina N. Piechocki, Cartographic Humanism: The Making of Early Modern Europe, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 44

in broader dimensions, a means of mathematical projection is required, a new spatial metalanguage for representing language: tables, symbols, and diagrammatic thinking borrowed from cartography. This difference liberates the authors from some of the constraints of a traditional grammar, allowing them to distill symbolic abstractions and mathematical relationships from Latin, and to achieve a general, global, even totalizing perspective.

Yet, in doing so, the *Grammatographia* also seems to transcend the language to which this methodology is applied. The central objective behind abstract mathematical analogies was that they could be universalized, dematerialized, and made to represent any number of specific instances.[540] Turning Latin grammar into a visual, diagrammatical, and mathematical object not only renders the material accessible to audiences without certain linguistic prerequisites; this transformation also allows the reader to more easily evacuate the specifics of Latin, its particular declensions and suffixes, and envision the resulting map as a structure independent from any particular language. This abstract architecture seems to invite itself (precisely by nature of its globalizing pretentions) to be mapped onto other languages; and Lefevre does so by placing French translations for select Latin terms throughout the text. These translations to point not only to Lefevre's interest in making the book more widely accessible to vernacular audiences, but also, at least in part, to the applicability of his methodology to vernacular languages.

[540] Oosterhoff argues "mathematical images and diagrams" were prized by Lefevre and his circle, "since they most easily evacuated their material content and therefore achieved universal status." Richard J Oosterhoff, *Making Mathematical Culture,* 208.

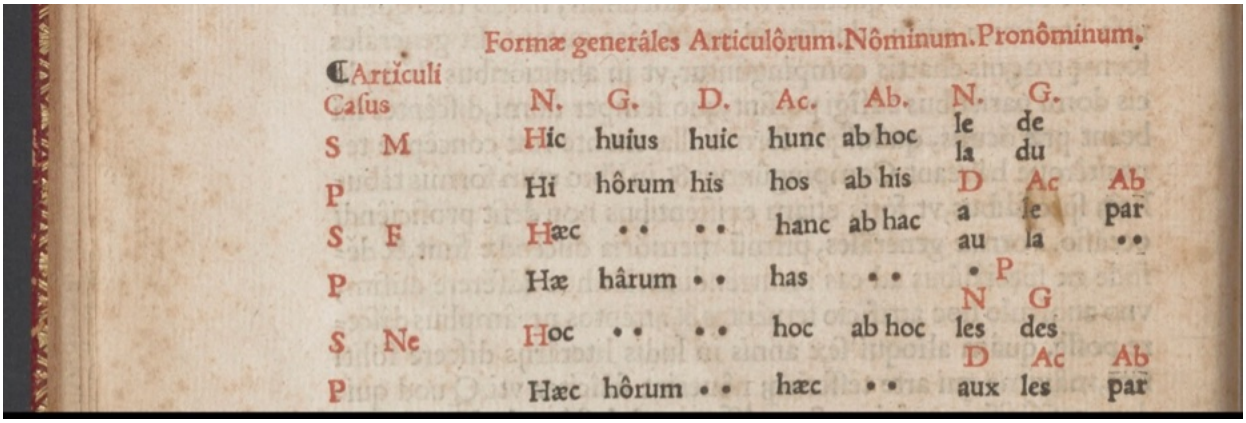

Figure 8: On the far right, French vernacular translations of the discussion of articles. *Grammatographia,* f. 2[v]. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Although the vernacular language remains a secondary concern of the *Grammatographia*, the significance of its globalizing philosophy of language for the French vernacular becomes evident when considered alongside Lefevre's other projects with Colines. Although Lefevre was not explicitly involved in the vernacular grammars or reinvention projects that punctuated the 16th century, he is perhaps most famous for his translation work, and in particular for his controversial vernacular translation of the New Testament—also printed by Colines, only a few years prior to the *Grammatographia*. The translation proclaimed its democratizing aspirations, expressing the hope that "chascu[n] qui a cognoissance de la langue gallicane et non point du latin soit plus dispose a receuoir ceste presente grace."[541] In the wake of threats of Lutheranism throughout Europe, the translation garnered the sharp disapproval of the Sorbonne, and, along with Lefevre's other reformist activities, ultimately led to his exile. This famous translation, predicated on the possibility of using the vernacular for tasks traditionally reserved for Latin, is suggestive of an underlying belief in the possibility of a basic equivalence between the vernacular and ancient languages of learning, a possibility also suggested by the *Grammatographia*.

[541] Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, "Une epistre exhortatoire" in *Les choses contenues en ce present livre. Une epistre exhortatoire. La S. Evangile selon S. Matthieu... La S. Evangile selon S. Marc... La S. Evangile selon S. Luc... La S. Evangile selon S. Jehan...* (Paris: Simone de Colines, 1523) f. a. ii [v].

Other parallels can be drawn between the intentions underlying the *Grammatographia* and those of Lefevre's *Nouveau Testament*. First of all, they can both be situated—alongside Lefevre's other commentaries, textbooks, and translations—within what might be called a lifelong commitment to the production of didactic knowledge, of making knowledge, whether religious or otherwise, more accessible, which Lefevre understands as both a spiritual and intellectual duty.[542] Yet within this ambition is also situated a "global" evangelism, to which Lefevre alludes in his preface to the *Nouveau Testament*, by evoking Saint Paul's evangelical mission ("qua[n]t sai[n]ct Pol estoit sur terre presechant") and framing his own translation with the hope that the "eua[n]gile soit purement anno[n]cee par tout le mo[n]de."[543] Translation, for Lefevre, not only makes the gospel accessible to new audiences within France, but in doing so also opens the doors towards this global evangelism.

This global evangelism cannot be disassociated from the larger European colonial projects of the period. In his 1522 *Commentary on the Four Gospels* (*Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor Euangelia*), Lefevre indicates his knowledge specifically of European colonial expeditions in the Americas, (those "nations never before known which were discovered by the Spanish in the west" "nationes nunquam antea cognitas: quae ex parte occidentis ab Hispanis repertae sunt") as well as the regions where the Portuguese exert colonial rule ("ac aliquibus in locis dominantur Lusitani.")[544] Lefevre expresses regret that the evangelical spirit has taken a second seat to the mercantile ambitions of these colonial endeavors: "but if only all were as eager to introduce the

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[542] See discussion of paraphrase, commentary, and introduction in Jacob Vance, From *The Sacred To The Secret: Shifting Ideals Of Contemplative Life In Renaissance France* (Lefevre D'Etaples, Guillaume Brigonnet, Desiderius Erasmus, Marguerite De Navarre), Johns Hopkins, 2004. esp. 19-26. Vance argues that Lefevre's "program was to wed eloquence and wisdom and to systematically restore French spiritual life through Humanist modes of gaining access to the wisdom of the Classical and Christian past" and that "his commentaries systematically resituated those corpuses for a new public in a new interpretative framework." Vance, *From the Sacred to the Secret,* 15.
[543] Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, "Une epistre exhortatoire" f. aii [r].
[544] Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, *Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor Evangelia*, (Simone de Colines Paris: 1522), 150[v]-151[r].

best pearl there, which is the pure doctrine of Christ, as they are eager to return from there with shells, pearls, gems, abundance of gold and silver, spices, and other goods of that kind" ("sed utinam omnes essent tam avidi illuc optimam margaritam inserendi quae est pura doctrina Christi quam cupidi sunt illinc referendatum e conchylibus, margaritarum, gemmarum, copiae auri argentique, aromatarum et ceterarum id genus mercium.")[545] Alluding to his awareness of European colonial travel in this work concerned with democratizing and disseminating Christianity, Lefevre seems to link his religious translation work to global circulation and colonial power dynamics. Although no explicit parallel is drawn between Lefevre's evangelical translations and the global superstructure of language outlined in the pages of the *Grammatographia*, this context seems to shift the possible interpretations for the global metaphor underlying this grammatical treatise. Indeed, considered from this perspective, the globe of early modern cartography serves not as a neutral theoretical tool, but rather as a means of projecting European interests, religions, and languages beyond Europe within a growing colonial power structure.

The *Grammatographia*, with its underlying cartographic imaginary, might be understood as promising insight not simply into Latin or French grammar, but into something akin to a universal grammar, an attempt to imagine a shared superstructure underlying all languages. It is not simply a novel use of the cartographic metaphor or an innovative take on Latin pedagogy, but also illustrative of a decisive change in the way Europeans envisioned language in the wake of expanding colonial travel; indeed, Lefevre and Colines are one example of how the widening scope of European colonial travel also served to widen perspectives on language. The *Grammatographia* demonstrates that although global knowledge does not eliminate pervious paradigms—as its authors maintain, for instance, the centrality of Latin and place the vernacular in a secondary

[545] Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, *Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor Evangelia*, (Simone de Colines Paris: 1522), 151.

position—it radically resituates these relationships on a much larger canvas, and in doing so changes the theoretical perspectives on their component parts. It is these broadening colonial horizons which make it possible to imagine mapping Latin grammar onto European vernaculars, and mapping this universalizing European framework onto languages encountered in the course of colonial travel—as will be done in voyages associated with Jacques Cartier, or the expansive grammars of Tupi created by Anchieta at the end of the century.[546] The figure of the globe shifts the overall perspective on the vernacular, repositioning it as a language of power in an expanding colonial apparatus.

3. A Vernacular Poetics of Globality

If Bovelles and Lefevre demonstrate an interest in how spatiality and geographic methods might inflect the understanding of language, there is a parallel concern about how the vernacular language could be used to describe changing knowledge of the world. Over the course of the century, a number of French authors will call for the development of geographic knowledge in France and its vernacular language. As early as 1536, court poet Jean Mallard expresses in a travel poem dedicated to François I the wish that "entre Francoys" one might soon find "maint Astrologue et bon pillot de choys/ maint Philosophe et Cosmographe ausi," and calls for the development of cosmography and geography, which he considers "artz en france trop cachez."[547] Mallard attributes the underdevelopment of these sciences in France to a scarcity of published materials and secrecy around geographic understanding: "rien na este encor mis en lumiere ny redige en icelle maniere/Et si aulcuns ont congnu telz secretz/Si nont il pas tant estoient peu discretz/voulu monstrer leur art

[546] José de Anchieta y Díaz de Clavijo, *Arte de gramática da língua mais usada na costa do Brasil* [1595], Edições Loyola, São Paulo, 1990.
[547] Jean Mallard, *Description de tous les portz de mer de l'univers* (Ms. Fr. 1382), f. 2[v].

scientificque."[548] Mallard's *Description de tous les portz de mer de l'univers* is invested in producing geographic knowledge using vernacular poetry, promising to provide a glimpse into the globe within the pages of his work, "ce petit ouure ou cest ma plume ouuerte qui monstre comme en terre descouuerte/ il faut aller & nauiguer sus l'unde," in order to aid French navigators in their exploration: "affin que soient par francoys descouuers/les portz des lieux & passaiges ouuers."[549] Mallard's *Description* charts an itinerary which begins in Europe, setting off from Trafalgar in Spain and closing with descriptions of the Caribbean (46v) and Brazil (48v). The poem includes a variety of details about the civilizations in each of these locations, but its primary concern remains geography: offering what might be called a nautical chart set to rhyme—a "portulan versifié" as Richard Cooper puts it—concerned with rendering precise marine routes and measurements poetically.[550] To take one example, Mallard's description of Saint John's Island provides detailed measurements and coordinates: "lysle St Jean trente lieux de longeur / dure & tient bien quinze lieux en large / ycy se court la coste au oest suest / Mesmes aussy se trouue au oest norroest / A vingt huict degrez et dixneuf / ladicte isle est & a de tresbons ports."[551] Listing distances, describing coastlines, and providing coordinates of ports, Mallard provides a vernacular poetics of space, driven by navigational information, which Mallard suggests he collected not from his own travels, but from "tresbons nauigateurs"—naming among them French navigators Jacques Cartier and Pierre Crignon, as well as Jean Alfonse de Saintonge, who is mentioned later in the text.[552] The itinerary outlined in the *Description* follows very closely the one outlined in Alfonse's

[548] Jean Mallard, *Description,* f. 2[v]-3[r].
[549] Jean Mallard, *Description,* f. 2[v], f. 3[r].
[550] Richard Cooper, "Jean Mallart poète et peintre rouennais," in *Première poésie française de la Renaissance: autour des Puys poétiques normands, 1480-1550*, [193-213], ed. J.-C. Arnould & T. Mantovani, Paris 2003, 199.
[551] Jean Mallard, *Description,* f. 46[v].
[552] "Comme ceulxcy tresbons nauigateurs / Iacques cartier [et] Crignon" (Jean Mallard, *Description,* f. 3[v])."Alfonce icy a monstre et soustient / Qu'entre la terre elle de bons hables falloizes a qui sont les poinctz notables"(Jean Mallard, *Description,* f. 45[v]).

manuscript account of his travels in *Les Voyages avantureux*, another vernacular travel account that circulated in manuscript form before being printed in 1556.[553] Whatever the textual circuit of Mallard's information might have been, during this period in which, as we have seen, manuscript portolans and cosmographies circulated widely among specialized audiences, the *Description*—calling for the broader development of cosmographic sciences in France in the vernacular language—provides an example of how the technical knowledge and vocabulary of cosmography becomes an opportunity for linguistic and poetic development in France. Mallard had proposed to continue his project in several additional volumes, but lost his position in the court to Clément Marot in 1537 and emigrated to England where he instead presented Henri VIII with a revised version of the *Description* and a hand-painted world map.[554]

Over the course of the century, the French cosmographic and marine knowledge that Mallard called for develops and seeks broader audiences in France through printed treatises. This was partially a result of figures like Lefevre d'Etaples and his students who were, as we saw in the prior section, reinvigorating the study of mathematics at the University of Paris early in the century and publishing the new commentaries of Sacrobosco's *Sphere* that provided an important basis for the development of cosmography in France. As the century progressed, this work would be further developed by figures like Oronce Fine, first chair of mathematics at the Collège Royal, who published a cosmographic treatise in 1532, as part of his landmark Latin mathematical collection *Promathesis*, which was reprinted separately in 1542 as *De Mundi sphaera, sive cosmographia*

[553] Georges Musset and a number of other scholars suggest that Mallards *Description* is simply a copy of Alfonse's *Les Voyages avantureux* set to verse: George Musset, *La Cosmographie avec l'espère et régime du soleil,* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904), 43. Helen Wallis suggests both Mallard's and Alfonse's manuscripts may be derived from the manuscript account of Crignon as a common source. Helen Wallis, "Java la Grande: The Enigma of the Dieppe Maps, " in *Terra Australis to Australia*, ed. G. Williams and A. Frost (Melbourne: Oxford University Press and the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1988), 42.

[554] Even in his initial copy of the *Description* Mallard had promised to present such a map to the monarch: "lors vous verrez dessus la carte ronde/quencore ie faiz le francoys nauiguer/et les secretz cachez tant diuulguer/que de soy mesme ung chacun faira carte/dessus le liure & sans que point escarte." Jean Mallard, *Description,* f. 3[v].

(On the Sphere of the World, or Cosmography) by Simon de Colines.[555] The text covers a variety of topics ranging from celestial motion and astronomical instruments to latitudes, longitudes, and various cartographical projections.[556] The *De Mundi sphaera* opens with a poem written by physician and astronomer Antoine Mizauld which—centered around a comparison between Fine and a recurring symbol in the sixteenth-century pre-history of French nationalism, the Gallic Hercules—seems to outline the stakes of Fine's project for French geography.[557] The poem addresses the major features of this humanist trope, stating that "the Gallic people once received a certain eloquent Hercules" ("Gallorum populus recepit olim, / Quendam (si memini) Herculem disertum") who is said to have "moved the stupid and ignorant masses with golden chains sent from his own lips ("Qui uulgum stupidum, ac rudem, catenis /missis de proriis labris in aureis").[558] While "this Gallic Hercules led only a modest and small part of the land by means of the charm of his honeyed voice" (hic Celticus Hercules, trahebat / non vltra modicam, breuémque terram, / voicis melliflue lepore)—the poet, addressing Fine, remarks that "you [i.e. Fine], on the other hand, carry the experts above the sky and the poles by means of your learned articles, not to mention your language and ample intellect" ("tu contrà: super aërem, polósque / doctis articulis (tacebo

[555] Angela Axworthy distinguishes between two versions published in 1542, the second of which (1542b) is abridged: 1542a. Orontij Finei Delphinatis, *Regii mathematicarum professoris, De mundi sphaera, sive cosmographia, primáve astronomiae parte, Libri V: Inaudita methodo ab authore renovati...* (Paris: Simon de Colines) and 1542b. *Orontij Finei Delphinatis, Regii mathematicarum professoris, De mundi sphaera, sive cosmographia, primáve astronomiae parte. Libri V. Ab ipso authore recogniti, aucti, ac prorsus renovati...* (Paris: Simon de Colines) Angela Axworthy, "Oronce Fine and Sacrobosco: From the Edition of the Tractatus de sphaera (1516) to the Cosmographia (1532)". In: Matteo Valleriani (eds) *De sphaera of Johannes de Sacrobosco in the Early Modern Period* (Cham: Springer, 2020)
[556] See Angela Axworthy, "Oronce Fine and Sacrobosco," 205-209.
[557] Antoine Mizauld, "Eiusdem Hendecafyllabum monocolum ad Orontium Fineum Delphinatem" in *De Mundi sphæra, siue Cofmographia* (Paris: Colines, 1542), f. *iij[r]. The 1551 edition includes two Latin epigrams from Fine which, relying on much of the commonplace language of travel narratives, contrast vast spatial expanses of the universe with the dimensions of the book. Fine addresses "whoever desires to ascend to the starry realms, and to explore the deep globe" (quisquis fydereas domos subire, Scrutarique globum cupis profundum) and promises "whatever the most beautiful machine of the vast world possesses, we have easily enclosed for you in these books by means of art" (machina quicquid habet uafti pulcherrima Mundi, His tibi perfacili claufimus arte libris.)
[558] *De Mundi sphæra,* f. *iij[r].

linguam, / Fœcundum ingenium) rapis peritos").[559] Such a comparison seems to suggest a larger political impact for Fine's technical treatise, situating its technical explanations for producing regional and global map projections within the overarching proto-nationalist ambitions and ideologies often associated with this myth. In addition to this text and other treatises, published in both Latin and French, Fine created a number of important world maps as well as maps of France, including the *Nova Totius Galliae Descriptio,* which was printed on six sheets by Simon de Colines in 1525—only a couple years before Colines, captivated with such global visions, printed the *Grammatographia*.[560] Situated within this context, the comparison to the Gallic Hercules suggests that Fine's work had a broader impact in the cultural activity in Paris during the first half of the century, providing new linguistic and technical means of visualizing national identities on a global scale.

A part of Fine's innovation during the first half of the century was popularizing and developing new French terminology to describe the globe, a goal not dissimilar from that outlined by Mallard in his poem to François I. In 1528, Fine published a French version of the Ptolemaic astronomy textbook *Theoricae Novae Planetarum*, written by Austrian humanist Georg von Peuerbach in the second half of the 15th century: an influential introduction to astronomy which discusses the movements of the Sun, the Moon, and the stars, and concludes with a treatise on calculating longitude using a Ptolemaic instrument called the meteoroscope. Fine titled his edition *La Théorique des cielz, mouuemens et termes practiques des sept planetes*—with the full version of the title emphasizing that it is "nouuellement et tresclerement redigee en langaiage fra[n]cois"—

[559] *De Mundi sphæra,* f. *iij[r].
[560] *Nova totius Galliae Descriptio aedita in tabula sex circiter chartarum magnitudine*, (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1525). On this map see Tom Conley, *Self-made Map*, 89; Michael Wintroub, *Voyage of Thought*, 136; François de Dainville, "How Did Oronce Fine Draw His Large Map of France?" Imago Mundi 24, no. 1 (1970): 49–55.

and included several woodcuts depicting the situation of the earth and the planets.[561] The text was published anonymously, and will only be attributed to Fine in later editions, a fact that Angela Axworthy suggests may be related to precisely this unconventional gesture of publishing an academic or technical text in the vernacular language, when most texts of this genre would be in Latin.[562] Fine presents his work as a sort of democratization of technical astronomical knowledge, acknowledging that "ta[n]t de gentilz hommes bourgeois que mechaniques sont privez de la langue latine par le deffault de leurs parents: iay voulu rediger et clerement exprimer en langaige francois et finableme[n]t communiquer les theoriques des sept planetes."[563] Fine's text is an early example of a scientific and didactic text translated into the vernacular—published around the time that Tory, an early proponent of the development of vernacular science, celebrates Bovelles for writing his vernacular text on geometry, *Geometrie en Francoys*.[564] Moreover, Fine's translation, as Violaine Giacomotto-Charra and Sabine Rommevaux demonstrate, might be more properly called an adaptation, as the original text is augmented with frequent commentaries and lexical explanations designed to make the text more approachable, but also to produce French terms adapted for astronomical objects and theories.[565] Giacomotto-Charra and Rommevaux point in particular, to the frequent "gloses lexicales et techniques" as well as "le recours au doublet" or the doubling of synonyms.[566] These techniques throughout the text serve to introduce the neologisms derived from

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[561] [Oronce Fine], *La Théorique des cielz, mouuemens et termes practiques des sept planetes nouvellement tresclerement rédigée en langaige françois. Avec les figures tresutiles en leurs lieux proprement inserees*, (Paris : Pierre de Tours, 1528).
[562] Angela Axworthy, "Oronce Fine and Sacrobosco," 197.
[563] Oronce Fine, *La Théorique des cielz*, aii [r].
[564] Tory celebrates "la Geometrie en francois de messire Charles de Bovelles, en la quel le il me semble avoir autant fructifie & acquis d'immortalite de son nom, qu'il a en qu'il a en tous ses autres Livres & oeuvres latins qu'il a faicts studieusement. Nous n'avons point encores veu de tel Autheur en langage Francois, Pleust a Dieu que beaucoup d'aultres feissent ainsi" Tory, *Champ fleury*, f. xii. Charles de Bovelles, *Geometrie en françoys* (Paris: Henri Estienne, 1511).
[565] Violaine Giacomotto-Charra and Sabine Rommevaux, "Arts et sciences" in *L'Histoire des traductions en langue française*, vol. 1 "XVe-XVIe siècle", Véronique Duché (ed.) [737-828], (Paris: Verdier, 2015), 796.
[566] Violaine Giacomotto-Charra and Sabine Rommevaux, "Arts et sciences," 796.

the translation and provide definitions for existing vernacular terms. In other words, these pedagogical techniques aid Fine's project to popularize scientific texts but also to enrich the vernacular language with new scientific vocabulary. In this sense, one might argue that it is precisely Fine's early commitment to developing a characteristically French vernacular scientific knowledge of the earth and the cosmos that helps earn him the comparison to the Gallic Hercules in Mizauld's poem in *De Mundi sphaera*.

Even the Latin text of *De Mundi sphaera*—published in Fine's capacity as royal lecturer—was, as Angela Axworthy notes, likely directed towards a wider readership including "humanists, curious notables, and members of the court," going well beyond the students targeted by existing traditional textbooks on the sphere such as Sacroboscos.[567] This audience broadens further in 1549, as Fine translates the text into the vernacular, with the title *L'esphere du monde*, first producing an illuminated manuscript that was presented to Henri II, and then a printed edition in 1551. As Tom Conley writes: "now in a vernacular idiom and in print, the book of the 'worldly sphere' brought mathematical cosmography to a broader public."[568] This translation work not only sought a readership among vernacular audiences—ensuring that, as Fine remarks "chacu[n] en face son proffit, mesmeme[n]t ceux qui sont priuez de la langue latine"—but also, much like his *La Théorique des cielz*, served to enrich the vernacular with new technical language, this time for describing the earth.[569] As Isabelle Pantin argues, this was an important part of Fine's role with the

[567] Angela Axworthy, "Oronce Fine and Sacrobosco," 201. See also Isabelle Pantin, "Teaching Mathematics and Astronomy in France: The Collège Royal (1550–1650)," Sci Educ 15, 189–207 (2006).
[568] Tom Conley, "Oronce Fine and L'esphere du monde: proprement dite Cosmographie (1549 and 1551)," *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 12 (2023): 131.
[569] Oronce Fine, *Le sphere du monde proprement ditte cosmographie composee nouvellement en francois et divisee en cinq livres*, (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1551), f. aa iij.

College Royale: "raising the prestige of the French language through the publication of scientific works of quality was at that moment one of the royal lecturers' duties."[570]

Fine is not the only scholar invested in popularizing geographic texts and producing vernacular cosmographic knowledge. Around the same time, the French translation of German cartographer Peter Apian's *Cosmographia,* first published in Antwerp in 1542, is republished in Paris 1551 and then again in 1553.[571] One later editor, Jean Bellere, alludes to the challenges of using the vernacular for scientific works in his preface to the book, remarking: "il y en aura plusieurs aux quels semblera q[ue] ce soit labeur & trauail non moins inutil que curieux, de traduire en langue vulgaire le prefent Liure de la Cosmographie […] eftimans que ces arts & difciplines viendront a eftre vilipendées & prophanees, en cas qu'elles foyent communes & diuulguées a chascun: & qu'o se deuroit contenter de les lire en Latin."[572] Bellere specifically relates these challenges to a lack of appropriate vernacular vocabulary, acknowledging that some might deem Latin more appropriate for Cosmography considering "celle langue [i.e., Latin] plus abondante de mots & vocables propres a ceste science, [et ainsi] on en tireroit plus de gouft & de douceur."[573] Translations of texts like Apian's can be credited with introducing or popularizing terms for theories of spheres, the cosmos, and the climatic zones of the earth among broader audiences.[574]

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[570] Isabelle Pantin, "The role of translations in European scientific exchanges in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." In: Burke P, Hsia RP, eds. Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe [163-179], (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 169.

[571] Peter Apian, *La cosmographie de Pierre Apian, libure tresutile, traictant de toutes les regions* (Antwerp: Gilles Coppens de Diest, 1542) Published in Paris under the same title in 1551 and in 1553 by Vivant Gaulterot. The text includes Dutch cartographer Gemma Frisius who edited the text.

[572] Interestingly, this later edition appends travel narratives excerpted from Francisco Lopez de Gomara's *History of the New World* to the theoretical texts of Apian and Frisius: *Cosmographie ou Description des quatre parties du monde, contenant la situation, diuision & estendue de chascune region & prouince d'icelles* (Antwerp: Iean Bellere, 1581), f. A2[r].

[573] *Cosmographie,* (Antwerp: Jean Bellere), f. A2[r].

[574] Margaret Gaida argues that "the popularity of Apian's text did not take off until Gemma Frisius prepared its second edition, with several additions of his own […] it went on to at least 35 more Latin editions, as well as translations into Dutch (1537), French (1544), and Spanish (1548), all printed at Antwerp" Margaret Gaida, "Reading Cosmographia: Peter Apian's book-instrument hybrid and the rise of the mathematical amateur in the sixteenth century." Early Science and Medicine 21 [277-302], no. 4 (2016): 290.

As the century progresses, producing geographic texts in the vernacular remains an increasing concern of French humanists. For instance, Claude de Boissiere's 1556 translation of Gemma Frisius's 1530 *De principiis astronomiae et cosmographiae* is produced with the explicit intention, outlined in its preface, that "nostre la[n]gue Françoise ne soit priuée de ces tant nobles sciences."[575] Boissiere dramatically transforms Frisius's original text, translating only the initial portion of the text, to which he appends an unrelated work of Frisius on the use of astronomical rings, finally concluding the volume with a text on use world maps, authored by Boissiere himself. In this sense, the translator seems intent on reconstructing Frisius's text with new practical and pedagogical applications in mind, not unlike Fine's editorial practices in his translations.[576] Throughout the text Boissiere emphasizes the role of translation in the circulation of knowledge, expressing, towards the end of the volume, the desire that "chacun de bon esprit voulut tascher (co[m]me font les autres nations) de co[m]muniquer à sa patrie les sciences, qui encor sont detenues & mussées au langues estra[n]geres."[577] In this sense, translation did not merely serve to place French alongside other languages spoken globally, but also utilized these juxtapositions to produce scientific vocabulary capable of making sense of a changing European image of the globe. As Violaine Giacomotto-Charra argues, "Boissière s'adonne de toute évidence à la vulgarisation des mathématiques, et il met un point d'honneur à écrire en français, choix réfléchi et conscient, témoin d'un intérêt véritable pour le vernaculaire."[578] In some sense, this project seems to echo the

[575] Gemma Frisius, *Les principes d'astronomie et cosmographie: auec l'vsage du globe*. trans. Claude de Boissiere. (Paris: Hierosme de Marnef, & la veufue de Guillaume Cauellat, 1556, f. 3[r].
[576] Violaine Giacomotto-Charra and Sabine Rommevaux analyze these changes in detail, and argue these modifications, in the first half of the text, reframe Frisus's original work with an emphasis on astronomy rather than cosmography. The cosmographic explanations are primarily reserved for the final section, authored by Boissiere, who outlines many of the basic principles of cartography. "Arts et Sciences" in *Histoire des traductions en langue francaise*, esp. 741-742.
[577] *Les principes d'astronomie,* f. 98[v].
[578] Violaine Giacomotto-Charra, "Le traducteur à l'œuvre: le De principiis de Gemma Frisius et sa traduction par Claude de Boissière". Traduire la science, edited by Pascal Duris, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine, 2008, 11.

kind of lexical enrichment through translation that Pléaide poets like Du Bellay had called for, specifically referring to scientific disciplines: arguing that the "langue Francoyse n'est incapable de la Philosophie" and other sciences, and insisting that "l'Industrie des fideles Traductueurs est en cet endroict fort vtile, & necessaire."[579] Yet, Boissiere also points to the limits of vernacular translation, indicating for instance that he was hesitant to translate toponyms which have established Latin names without vernacular equivalents: "les noms vulgaires ne seroie[n]t suffisants, & ne raporteroient point ny conuiendroient aux noms Latins qui desia sont fichez & specifiez au Globe materiel."[580] In this sense, Boissiere, calling for a vernacular enrichment of geographical terminology, outlines not only the stakes but also the limits of thinking the globe in French.

The technical translations of figures like Fine and Boissiere ultimately work to provide the linguistic means to contemplate the globe, and its regions, components, and characteristics, in the French vernacular. The process of translation integrates new ideas of the globe into the infrastructure of the language and in this way seems to reframe French as an instrument of global thinking. Certain parallels can, of course, be drawn between the transformations undertaken in the process of translation and those undertaken by the cartographer. A translator makes choices about how to convey and communicate the message of a text—transforming the source text while maintaining a certain relationship, faithful or not, to the original. In the same way, cartography was celebrated for its "translations" and transformations, its capacity to condense vast dimensional space in two dimensions in printed maps and woodcut illustrations with precision. While translators seek to refashion French into a technical instrument of global thinking, the spatial translations of cartography remain—as it was for Mallard—a source of poetic inspiration for

[579] Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence, et illustration de la langue francoyse*, b8[r].
[580] *Les principes d'astronomie,* f. 67[v].

vernacular poetry. The 1551 edition of Fine's *Sphere* closes with an epistle in verse—which, as its title explains, was "presentee iadis au feu Roy de Fra[n]ce, François premier de nom"—where a personified philosophy describes to the monarch the "la dignité, perfection, & utilité des sciences mathematiques."[581] If Fine is concerned, much like Lefevre d'Etaples, with a general vision of mathematics, he reserves particular praise at the end of the poem for cosmographic science, remarking: "c'est chose tresparfonde / sçauoir coucher en plat ou forme ronde, / Les [p]orts & lieux tant de mer que de terre: / C'est un plaisir des plus grans de ce monde/ d'entendre l'art, ou la ueue se fonde, / Et parquel poinct en uoyant souuent erre […]."[582] Fine's poem points in particular to the ability of the cartographer to represent immense global visions "en plat ou forme ronde", or in other words, to undertake the kinds of projections Fine outlines throughout the *Sphere*. On this point in particular, cosmography appears as a form of spatial translation: translating between immense expanses (encompassing all "les [p]orts & lieux tant de mer que de terre") to produce small representative depictions, but also translating between dimensional surfaces of maps or spherical globes. These processes are discussed over several chapters of the *Sphere* which demonstrate, for instance, how regions "du globe terrestre peuuent estre commodement reduittes en plate forme" or the means by which "on pourra descrire tout le globe terrestre," which Fine acknowledges "ne peut estre comprins en une seule figure, sans notable difformité"[583] These cartographical transformations and deformations, celebrated poetically in Fine's epistle, are in some ways akin to Fine's work as a vernacular translator, transforming Latin technical terms to describe the globe into French equivalents.

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[581] Oronce Fine, " Sensuit un epistre, touchant la dignité, perfection, & utilité des sciences mathematiques, presentee iadis au feu Roy de Fra[n]ce..." In *Le sphere du monde*, 59- 65. Originally published as Oronce Fine, *Epistre exhortative, touchant la perfection et commodite des ars liberaulx mathematiques , compose soubz le nom et tiltre de la tres antienne et noble princesse dame Philosophie*, (Paris: Pierre Leber, 1532).
[582] Oronce Fine, *Le sphere du* monde, 65.
[583] Oronce Fine, *Le sphere du* monde, 57.

The fact that cosmography could reduce immense celestial objects to physical, material paper not only was a part of its scientific ingenuity, but also remained a source of inspiration for vernacular poetic invention into the second half of the century. In Pierre de Ronsard's 1555 *Hymne a la philosophie*, for instance, a personified philosophy, not dissimilar to the one described in Fine's poetic epistle, is celebrated precisely for its geographic measurements which reduce the world to margins of the page: "de l'orient jusques a l'occident/ Et de la part de l'ourse boreale, sçait la longueur, la largeur, l'intervalle/Il n'y a bois, mont, fleuve ne cite/Qu'en un papier elle n'ait limité."[584] The visions of the world provided by cosmography represented a sort of "poetics of totality," emblematic of a sweeping and comprehensive perspective. Indeed, cartography provides a vision on paper which is impossible to gain even for the firsthand voyager: "et sans que l'homme avecques danger erre/ vingt ou trente ans ne luy monstre la terre/ d'un seul regard"[585] Cartography provides a view of all the peoples of the world at a single glance, showing "ceux qui touchent nos bords/ et ceux qui froids sont escartez du corps/de nostre monde […] et l'Amerique, et ceux que le soleil, voit se couchant et voit a son resveil.[586] In Ronsard's poem, there is a contrast between the *singularity* of the vantage point "un *seul* regard" and the *universality* of the viewpoint marked by the accumulation of "ceux qui…et ceux qui…et ceux qui." The world reduced to paper provides a view from *without*, where near and far places appear in equality, and where the viewer seems to observe the world without participating in it. Ronsard celebrates the technical, material problem of reducing and "limiting" the immensity of the natural world to sheets of paper.[587] These poetic

[584] Ronsard, *Les Hymnes de P. de Ronsard, Vandomois* (Paris: André Wechel, 1555) 80.
[585] Ronsard, *Les Hymnes de P. de Ronsard,* 80-81.
[586] Ronsard, *Les Hymnes de P. de Ronsard,* 80-81.
[587] The notion of representing the world on paper becomes such a powerful example of early modern achievement that Du Bellay will ironically mock it in his "Louange de la vertu," contrasting this technical achievement with a lack of moral direction: "Que me sert voir tout le monde/en papier ou je me fonde/a l'arpenter pas a pas/si en mon Coeur je n'eus onques/mesure ou nombres quelconques/accord, reigle ny compass." Joachim Du Bellay, *Le quatriesme livre de l'Eneide de Vergile, Traduict en vers Francoys* […] autres œuvres de l'invention du translateur. (Paris: Vincent Certenas 1552), 148.

representations are a reminder that the technical feats of geography were not lost on poets of the Pléiade as they sought to reinvent vernacular poetics—in the same way, as we will see, that the developments of the French language were not lost on vernacular translators of travel narratives published around the same time.

4. Translation and global circulation

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, ideas about the Americas and, more generally, about changing geographic knowledge of the world filtered into France either by means of European travel narratives in Latin, such as Columbus's letter printed in Paris in 1493, or through vernacular translations. Translation was a foundational part of publishing travel narratives in France during the first half of the century because French texts—with the exception perhaps of the 1545 French-language *Brief Recit*—primarily relayed information contained in Spanish and other European narratives. Although a great deal of travel literature was anthologized in the large Italian collections which drove the industry—such as Fracanzano de Montalboddo's *Paesi novamente retrovati*, translated into French in 1517, or Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi* partially translated in 1556—there were also early French translations of the Spanish narratives of Cortez in Antwerp (1523), and of Pizarro in Lyon (1532).[588] In this sense, translation played a crucial role in the transmission of what might be called global knowledge in early modern France.

Over the course of the century, translators of various genres would begin to situate their work in the context of an expanding geographic awareness, conceiving of the work of translation as a critical tool for circulating global knowledge. Unsurprisingly, this type of discourse is

[588] Cortez text was based on the first two letters originally written in Spanish. Church vol. 1, 114-115. Pizzaro text was a translation from an Italian original: *Copia delle lettere del Prefetto della India, la Nouova Spagna detta...* (Venice, 1533)

particularly evident in vernacular translations of travel narratives, of which there was a remarkable surge towards the middle of the sixteenth century. These narratives were preoccupied not only with the notion of producing global knowledge, but also with what it meant to translate this knowledge into the vernacular language, and the potential for these translations to dramatically resituate the place of the vernacular in the early modern world. In this sense, translators began to see their own work as a critical step in "globalizing" the vernacular. The prefaces of these narratives often celebrated the feats of early modern cartographers, and the visions they provided of the globe, and sometimes implicitly compared this work to that of the translator who enables texts to "cross" borders by circulating and relaying information into different languages.

Such remarks can be found, for instance, in the preface to François Gruget's 1556 *La Description Geographique des provinces & villes plus fameuses de l'Inde Orientale*, a new translation of a "classic" of travel literature, Marco Polo's 13th-century account of his travels along the silk road, often known as *le Devisement du monde*.[589] Despite presenting an account that had circulated in Europe for centuries, the text situated itself in the context of recent changes in European knowledge of the world—as if responding to the expectations of a readership accustomed to celebrations of early modern cartography. A liminal poem, attributed to Jacques Hamelin Lochois, evokes the exploration of West Africa by Luís Cadamosto, the travels of Christopher Columbus ("le grand Colomb"), and dismisses "ces resueurs Cosmographes antiques/Qui n'ont congneu la moitié de monde.[590] Gruget goes on to praise recent geographic developments, specifically in "les disciplines mathematiques," which enable the viewer to

[589] On the circulation of Polo during the sixteenth century see Lisa Pochmalicki, "Marco Polo in the Novus Orbis: The Reception and Circulation of the Devisement du monde in the Renaissance." Digital Philology: A Journal of Medieval Cultures 11, no. 2 (2022): 332-350.
[590] "Iaqves Hamelin Lochois au Traducteur." In *La Description Geographique des provinces & villes plus fameuses de l'Inde Orientale*, François Gruget, trans. (Paris: Jean Longis, 1553), f. bvi.

contemplate of the totality of the universe ("vaguer & cheminer en esperit & cogitation par tous les endroictz du ciel") and circle the entire globe: "tournoyer & circuyr des yeux toute la circonference de la terre, & amplitude des mers."[591] Gruget concludes that with such theoretical tools, viewers and readers have unlimited access to the world: "il ne reste lieu qui ne luy soit ouuert & accesible."[592] In this way, Gruget celebrates cartography as a methodological response to an otherwise immense and unknowable world and universe.

Gruget describes his own work in similar terms, implying that translation provides something akin to cartography, by enabling knowledge to circulate across barriers of language and geography. Gruget's epistle describes a growing interest in seeing Polo's narratives "reduit en nostre vulgaire François" after the fame garnered by Sebastian Munster's reliance on Polo's texts in his best-selling 1540 Latin *Cosmographia*—a text which had itself been recently translated into French by François de Belleforest (1552).[593] Although Gruget will eventually celebrate the vernacular, he begins by associating vernacular languages with insularity and textual corruption. Gruget argues the works of Marco Polo or Louis Varthema would have remained unknown to wider publics (since they were written "en leur langage vulgaire") had they not been translated into a *lingua franca* like Latin which could disseminate knowledge throughout Europe: "à peine aurions congoissance si aucuns notables personnages ne nous les eussent reduitz & co[m]muniquez en la langue Latine."[594] Yet, this transmission and mediation, and in particular the use of vernacular languages, is something that Gruget expresses a certain anxiety about, remarking "ie soubhaiterois que M. Paule eust renco[n]tré vn meilleur interprete, ou que luymesmes eust descript son voiage

[591] *La Description Geographique,* f. "aiiii."
[592] *La Description Geographique,* f. "aiiii."
[593] "Munster descriuant en sa cosmographie la prouince de Mangi […] n'en parloit que soubz l'asseurance de Marc Paule Venetien," *Description Geographique*, f. aii [r].
[594] *La Description Geographique*, f. b [v].

en Latin, veu qu'il entendoit fort bien la langue Latine (co[m]me en quelque endroit il le declaire)."[595] For Gruget regrets finding "en son liure tant de termes estra[n]ges & barbares qui ne sont ne Latins ne Grecz, mais innouez a plaisir" which posed problems when producing his own translation: "m'ont quelques fois arresté tout court, en co[n]tinua[n]t la traductio[n] presente."[596] The probable "route" of translation was far more complex: the Latin text Gruget likely used to produce his translation—extracted from a best-selling 1532 travel collection entitled *Novus Orbis*—was itself based on a vernacular translation, which in turn, was translated from Francesco Pipino's Latin version of the vernacular account of the *Devisement.*[597] In this sense, Gruget situates his own translation within the circulation and transmission of global knowledge, suggesting that it was not simply geographic advancements which provided visions of the world to Europeans, but also the process of translation itself. Gruget presents translation as a necessary but also potentially corruptive force in mediating global knowledge.

However, Gruget establishes a sharp distinction between the vernacular of Polo's time, and that of mid-century France, remarking (with perhaps a nod to Du Bellay's 1549 *Deffence et Illustration*): "nostre langue Fra[n]çoise est pour le iourdhuy si superbeme[n]t illustrée & enrichie par tant de nobles esperitz, que le mien foible & imbecille n'y pourroit non seulement attaindre mais en approcher"[598] Gruget's remarks do not simply conform to the requisite formulas of authorial humility commonplace for prefatory texts, but also indicate that the context of vernacular enrichment was not lost on translators of travel narratives. And within this context, it is worth

[595] *La Description Geographique*, f. b [v].
[596] *La Description Geographique*, f. b [v].
[597] The *Novus Orbis* printed in Basel and Paris in 1532 included seventeen texts and was perhaps most famous because it juxtaposed Polo's 13th century narrative with more recent transatlantic accounts like that of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, an anachronistic assemblage of authorities which aimed to provide a totalizing vision of the world known to Europeans. See Pochmalicki, "Marco Polo in the Novus Orbis."
[598] *La Description Geographique*, f. aii [v]. See on this "Récits de Voyage," in *Histoire des traductions en langue française*, 892

considering that Gruget's critiques with respect to the mediation of Marco Polo are specifically related to the introduction of terms not derived from ancient languages: ("qui ne sont ne Latins ne Grecz, mais innouez a plaisir").[599] In this sense, Gruget's vision of the vernacular remains consistent with the philosophies of language underlying midcentury language reform, which celebrated the vernacular in so far as it could be enriched on the model of ancient languages. Gruget was from a literary family, well-versed in the stakes of vernacular translation: his cousin Claude Gruget had translated Spanish humanist Pedro Mexía's 1540 *Silva de varia lección* (*Les diverse leçons*, 1552) as well as the text which had inspired Du Bellay, Sperone Speroni's 1542 *Dialogi* (*Les dialogues*, 1551).[600] Gruget explicitly situates his own translation project within this polemical context of enriching the vernacular by borrowing from other languages, predicting he will receive criticisms for his innovation: "I'auray en oultre a respondre a la censure de plusieurs nouueaulx esperitz curieux de termes innouez ou empuntez des langues estrangeres, pour rendre la nostre plus fertile & copieuse."[601] Gruget also acknowledges not keeping up with the most recent orthographic reforms ("de n'auoir obserué l'orthographe des moderns") in an effort to "accomoder a la co[m]mune vsance de parler& ecrire, pour a tous indifferemment satisfaire," nevertheless celebrating these projects which he considers "digne de louange immortelle, comme chose qui redonde grandement a la decoration de la langue Françoise."[602] In this sense, Gruget imagines his project not only as a contribution to travel literature, but to a growing body of vernacular texts that make up a larger national language project.

[599] *La Description Geographique*, f. b [v].
[600] Pedro Mexia, *Les Diverses leçons de Pierre Messie*, trans. Claude Gruget (Paris: Estienne Groulleau, 1552). Sperone Speroni, *Les dialogues de messire Speron Sperone*, trans. Claude Gruget. (Paris: Étienne Groulleau, 1551).
[601] *La Description Geographique*, f. aiii r.
[602] *La Description Geographique*, f. aiii r.

If vernacular travel texts appeared sporadically over the first half of the century, Gruget's translation of Polo can be situated within a remarkable swell of vernacular translations of European travel narratives which occurs at the midpoint of the century.[603] Yet, significantly, the majority of these translations will, unlike Gruget's, be produced from texts originally written in other vernacular languages. Whereas travel literature published in France in the first half of the century was translated from neo-Latin source texts—such as the epistolary accounts of Amerigo Vespucci and Christopher Columbus or Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's *De Orbe Novo*—by the middle of the century, vernacular Spanish and Portuguese accounts of the Americas, which had long been kept secret to protect colonial assets, become widely available to a French readership increasingly interested in colonial travel. As France prepared to launch a colonial expedition to Brazil in 1555, France was also largely at the forefront of the wave of translation of these major vernacular historical accounts. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*, first published in 1551, will be translated into French in 1554 by Nicolas de Grouchy, as *L'Histoire des Indes de Portugal*, and into Spanish that same year, and later translated into Italian (1556), and English (1582).[604] Grouchy comments on the utility of vernacular translations ("combien vtile peult estre vn liure escrit en nostre langue Françoise") particularly in the democratization of knowledge: "il puisse plus hardiment se presenter entre les mains de tout le mo[n]de."[605] And indeed, many of these editions were successful enough to be reprinted multiple

[603] Already in 1545, a vernacular account of Francisco Pizarro's conquest of Peru is published under the title *L'Histoire de la Terre neuve du Péru en l'Inde occidentale*. Advertised as "traduite d'italien en francoys par Jacques Gohory," the text was based on the *Libro Ultimo del summario delle Indie Occident* printed in Venice in 1534, which was itself based on the anonymous *La conquista del Perú*, printed in Seville the same year. On this text see W. H. Bowen. "L'histoire de La Terre Neuve Du Peru." *Isis* 28, no. 2 (1938): 330–40. http://www.jstor.org/stable/225691.

[604] See Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume II: A Century of Wonder. Book 2: The Literary Arts.* (University of Chicago Press, 2010) and George le Gentil, "Nicolas de Grouchy , traducteur de Castanheda," *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'Institut français au Portugal , IV* (1937) , 31–34.

[605] Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, trans. Nicolas de Grouchy, *L'Histoire des Indes de Portugal* (Antwerp: Jean Steelsius, 1554) f. a2.

times. For instance, Jean Poleur's French translation of the first ten chapters of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's 1535 *Historia general de las Indias*, entitled *L'Histoire naturelle et generalle des Indes, Isles et Terre Ferme de la grand mer Oceane* was first published in 1555 and then reprinted a year later.[606] To meet the demand of a growing readership, many French translations excerpted the portions of larger texts likely to garner readers' attention; a single chapter of Pietro Bembo's *Historia Veneta* concerned with Columbus's travels is translated as a twenty-four-page standalone pamphlet, titled *L'histoire du nouveau monde descouvert par les Portugalois*, which saw two separate editions in Paris and in Lyon in 1556.[607] The same year, Jean Macer publishes a wide-reaching travel history in a Latin edition entitled *Indicarum historiarum…libri tres* (*Three books on the history of the Indies*), while simultaneously ensuring a vernacular readership by releasing a French version of the text entitled *Les trois Liures de l'Histoire des Indes*—though large portions of both texts were in fact derived from Guillaume Postel's *Des Merveilles du monde* published in 1552.[608]

These translations between vernaculars had different stakes than those produced from ancient texts or ancient languages—the type of translation which was the primary preoccupation of humanist translation theory. Etienne Dolet's *La maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en une autre* (1540) for instance, emphasized the philological concern for preserving the sense of an ancient source text, while also elegantly rendering the meaning in the target language.[609] In contrast

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[606]Turner, Daymond. "Forgotten Treasure from the Indies: The Illustrations and Drawings of Fernández de Oviedo." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (1985): 1–46. https://doi.org/10.2307/3817095.

[607] Cecil H. Clough,"Pietro Bembo's 'l'histoire Du Nouveau Monde.'" the British Library Journal 4, No. 1 (1978): 8–21. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42554059.

[608] Persels, Jeff. "A Curious Case of Ethnographic Cleansing: The First French Interpretations of the Japanese, 1552-1555." *L'Esprit Créateur* 48, no. 1 (2008): 45–57. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26289454. François Secret, "Jean Macer, François Xavier et Guillaume Postel ou un épisode de l'histoire comparée des religions au XVIe siècle." In: Revue de l'histoire des religions, tome 170, n°1, 1966. pp. 47-69.

[609] Worth-Stylianou, Valerie. "Translatio and Translation in the Renaissance: from Italy to France." Chapter. In The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, edited by Glyn P. Norton, 3:127–35. The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. doi:10.1017/CHOL9780521300087.013.

to the *ad fontes* return to source texts of Renaissance humanism, travel texts often emphasized the multiple intermediary steps of translation—as if these intermediary steps contributed to the authenticity of the narrative, or constituted subsequent legs of the voyage itself. For instance, in 1556, Jean Temporal publishes a translation of excerpts of Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi e Viaggi* under the title *Historiale description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde*.[610] The titles of each of the individual narratives included in the collection outwardly advertise the various languages from which they have been translated. For instance, the central text of the collection, the account of geographer and scholar Leo Africanus, or al-Hasan Muhammad al-Wazzan, is described as written "premierement en langue Arabesque, puis en Toscane, et à present mise en François"; likewise, that of fifth-century BCE Carthaginian explorer Hanno the Navigator is described as "écrite premierement en langue carthaginoyse, puis en Greque, après en Toscane, et de present tournée en nôtre vulgaire."[611] Within these titles the process of translation not only marks and symbolizes the circulation of these narratives throughout the world, but also places the "vulgaire" in a global context, a unique confrontation between French and languages spoken around the world.

Translator's prefaces in general were often privileged spaces for reflections on translation theory as well as discourse on the vernacular language; these travel narratives translated during the 1550s were no exception. Jean Macer describes in his *Les trois Liures de l'Histoire des Indes* (1555) "l'excellence des escriuains François, qui ce iourd'huy du tout s'occupent & arrestent a illustrer la langue Françoise."[612] Jean Poleur, in his translation of Oviedo's work, *L'Histoire naturelle et generalle des Indes* (1555) celebrates "ceulx qui s'esudient d'enrichir la langue

[610] *Historiale description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde,* (Paris: Jean Temporel, 1556)
[611] *Historiale description de l'Afrique*, f. **. On this edition see Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, "Récits de voyage" In *Histoire des Traductions en Langue Française*, 893-892
[612] Jean Macer, *Les trois Liures de l'Histoire des Indes* (Paris: Guillaume Guillarde, 1555) f. 3v

Fra[n]çoise des despouilles d'autruy," terms which recall Du Bellay's invitation to plunder ancient languages.[613] Although these declarations were common for translators, this discourse took unique forms when situated within travel narratives, precisely because of the globalizing intentions of the genre. Poleur, for instance, situates his translation within the context of contemporaneous colonial geopolitics, remarking that he does not provide translations for proper names, citing Spanish sovereignty over these territories and their toponyms: "les Espagnolz premiers descouurers de ces païs leur ont do[n]né nom à leur plaisir, & pour cest cause doiue[n]t estre retenus."[614] These travel texts frequently made these references to other European colonial powers. Grouchy, in his *L'Histoire des Indes de Portugal* celebrates the French language as equal to any other: "la langue Françoise est pour le iourdhuy en si haut degré de perfection […] que desia il se peult egaler â quelque autre langage que ce soit."[615] Yet Grouchy also suggests that French appears more polished than other European languages, including the Portuguese of the original text: "la langue Portuguese de soy assez rude & mal polie."[616] In this sense, cosmographic visions of the world give way to sweeping comparisons between the languages of the world, with inter-European competition for transatlantic imperial projects looming in the background.

As we have seen over the course of this chapter, thinking in global terms during this period of increasing European colonial expansion and exploration—a type of thinking which frequently required or invited forms of translation—had a decisive impact on the way that French authors imagined the place and shape of the French language. This was not merely because cartography

[613] Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, trans. Jean Poleur, *L'Histoire naturelle et generalle des Indes* (Paris: Michel de Vascoson, 1555), f. aiij v.
[614] *L'Histoire naturelle et generalle*, aiij [v].
[615] "Epistre," *L'Histoire des Indes de Portugal,* f. a2 [v].
[616] "Epistre," *L'Histoire des Indes de Portugal,* f. a2 [v].

and cartographic instruments provided a response to the chaos and instability that early modern authors associated with the vernacular language, but also furnished new frameworks for organizing, visualizing, and conceptualizing knowledge. Moreover, circulating new scientific knowledge of the world in the vernacular language required lexical enrichment and new French vocabulary, which was achieved through translations of technical texts written in Latin or in other vernacular languages. For this reason, figures like Oronce Fine, who sought to refashion French as a scientific language capable of cosmography and astronomy, could be reasonably compared to the Gallic Hercules, a myth frequently associated with French language reform. Throughout the century, the politics and poetics of the French vernacular intersect with the broadening horizons of cosmography. Poets like Ronsard celebrated cartographic innovations as a source of inspiration for vernacular poetry, and travel narratives celebrated the development of the vernacular language outlined by Pleiade poets like Du Bellay. As we have seen, translators of diverse genres would envision their translation work as doing something akin to cartography, facilitating the circulation of knowledge throughout the world, and repositioning French as a global language.

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