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Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1550)

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This article analyzes the royal entry festival held for Henri II by the city of Rouen in 1550. It focuses on the entry's reproduction of a Brazilian village, which included fifty Brazilians. The conceptually indeterminate position of New World peoples in early modern France is used as a key to unlock the social and cultural narratives which organized the entry. Not simply displayed as curiosities, the Brazilians were scripted into the larger narrative of the king's entry. The well-known figure of Hercules (who also figured in the entry) plays a crucial role in understanding this narrative and the place that the Brazilians held within it. The identity of Hercules as an eloquent savage is used to analyze French perceptions of the Brazilians. The article aims to explicate the manner in which these cannibals came to mediate the interests and identities of those who wrote, organized, and watched the entry.

A Royal Entry and the New World

The royal entry festival was one of the central rites of early modern kingship. As its name implies, it was a ritual celebration staged to welcome a newly anointed king at the time of his first visit to a city. It was generally structured in terms of a reciprocal exchange, where a city traded its recognition of the king's authority, for his recognition of the customary rights and privileges historically accorded to its citizenry and clergy.

In the Middle Ages the entry was a relatively simple ceremony. Clergy, municipal officials, bourgeoisie, and guild members would meet the king at the city's gate and escort him into the town and then to the cathedral. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, it had become an elaborately constructed ritual drama, with richly produced pageants marking the various stages of the king's itinerary. These

1I beg the reader's indulgence in mentally placing quotation marks around "New World" and "savage" in this article where I have not done so.


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pageants were meant to flatter, entertain; and impress the king. They also aimed to
lobby and edify him. In this sense, they were explicitly modeled after the medieval
literary tradition of the *speculum principis*, or mirror of princes, which sought to
educate the king in the virtues by which he should live and rule.3

The festival held in honor of Henri II and Catherine de Médici for their royal
entry into Rouen was, by all accounts, among the most spectacular and elaborate
entries ever staged.4 It included warring gladiators, elephants, and unicorns; a
mock sea battle between French and Portuguese ships; a parade of captives from
recent victories over the English; pageants with Roman gods, nymphs, and muses;
and a whole array of exotic and magnificent displays on a scale never before seen
(see fig. 1).

Of all the sights that Henri saw on his journey in and around Rouen, none
was more remarkable than the one he discovered along the banks of the Seine just
outside the city walls at the Faubourg Saint-Sever.5 From the scaffolding built spe-
cially to afford him an unobstructed view, his vision extended from the Old World
to the New, for there, before him, on a small strip of land two hundred paces long
and thirty-five wide, was a Brazilian village.

At each end of the meadow were lodges made of rough hewn tree trunks,
roofed with leafy boughs, and surrounded by sharpened stakes, Junipers, ash, and
stands of willow that were painted red and made to look like trees from Brazil. In
their branches parakeets and starlings sang and monkeys climbed (fig. 2).

The village had no name, but it had three hundred inhabitants—men and
women—all completely naked: *sans aucunement couvrir la partie que nature commande*.6
Fifty were true “savages” imported from Brazil by a bourgeois merchant of Rouen.
Their cheeks, lips, and ears were pierced and adorned with long polished stones of

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4There are several contemporaneous accounts of Henri’s entry, including, *C’est la deduction du
Spectaculibord*, plaisants spectacles et magnifiques theatres dresses et exhibes, par les citoyens de Rouen ...
(Rouen: Robert et Jehan dicte Dugord, 1551). Margaret McGowan has introduced a facsimile edition
of this anonymous text, *L’Entree de Henri II a Rouen 1550* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd.,
1977); *L’Entree du Roy nostre sire fait en sa ville de Rouen* ... (Rouen: Robert Masselin, 1550). This text
was reproduced by A. Beaucoussin (Rouen: Société des Bibliophiles Normands, 1982). A third account
can be found in an anonymous manuscript, *L’Entree du très Magnanime très Puissant et victorieux Roy de
France Henry deuxième de ce nom en sa noble cité de Rouen . . .*, Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen (hereafter
B.M.R.), Ms. Y. 28; there is a nineteenth-century edition of this text introduced by S. Merval (Rouen: Société
des Bibliophiles Normands, 1868). An account also exists in the deliberations of the Hôtel de
Ville (B.M.R., Registre A. 16, délibérations, fol. 110–15). Finally, there is a compilation of B.M.R.
Ms. Y. 28 and the wood cuts from the C’est la deduction *titled Les Poutres et figures du somptueux ordre pla-
santz spectacles, et magnifiques theatres dressè et exhibèz par les citoyens de Rouen . . . Faitz à l’entrée de la sacre
Maitesté du très chrestien Roy de France, Henry second* ... (Rouen: Jean Dugort, 1557). Of the secondary
works which discuss this festival, the most complete can be found in André Pottier, “Entrée de Henri II
triomphales à la renaissance*, 1484–1551 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1928); Margaret M.
Victor E. Graham, “The Entry of Henri II into Rouen in 1550: A Petrarchan Triumph,” in *Petrarch’s
Triumph, Allegory and Spectacle*, ed. K. Eisenbichler and A. Iannucci, University of Toronto Italian Stud-

5*C’est la deduction*, fol. K 3iiii.(t).

6The inclusion of women as well as men is indicated by Masselin, *L’Entree du Roy*, fol. B 3iiii.(t).
white and emerald green. The rest were Norman sailors pretending to be savages. Their portrayal, the king was assured, was entirely authentic, for not only had these men frequented the land of Brazil, but they had learned to speak the savages' language and to mimic their manner with such accuracy that they were all but "indistinguishable" from true savages.7

Captivated, the king looked on as the "Brazilians" shot arrows at birds, relaxed in the shade, rocked back and forth in their hammocks, and chased after monkeys. Others cut Brazilwood and carried it to a fort built along the Seine where they bartered with French sailors for axes, fishhooks, and iron chisels. Anchored just off

7C'est la deducata, fol. K iii(r).
shore was a ship being loaded with the precious wood.8 Its sails were adorned with white crosses and fleur-de-lys of gold set in a field of azure. They swayed gently in the breeze.

Suddenly, a group of savages—who called themselves Tabagerres—gathered around their king, who in their language they called Morbica. They stooped down on their heels and listened to his words with great attention. Speaking passionately and making wild gestures, the savage king harangued and remonstrated with them. When he had finished, they jumped to their feet, and without a moment’s hesitation, went to war.

Furiously swinging clubs and shooting arrows, they set upon a rival band of savages, the Toupinabaux. The two tribes joined in fierce combat. The Toupinabaux, however, quickly routed their attackers, and not content with simple victory, burned their lodges to the ground. So near did this battle seem to reality that those present who had frequented the country of Brasil and the Canyballes swore in good faith that its effect was “a certain simulacra of the truth.”9

From the perspective of the modern reader what is most striking about Henri’s entry is its carefully crafted representation of Brazil. We want to know who these Brazilians were, what they thought, how they lived, how long they stayed.

8Le bois de brase, from which Brazil took its name, was an extremely valuable—and much sought after—commodity. It was used to make the brilliant red dyes (les couleurs joveuses) so popular at the French court; see John Hemming, Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians (London: Macmillan, 1978), 8.

9C’est la deduction, fol. K III(v).
and what happened to them. The present article will not answer any of these questions. Rather, my aim will be to try to understand what the French made of these Brazilian cannibals, why they put them in their city's festival honoring the king, what motivated them to conceive of and organize such a bizarre display, and how—when it was enacted—it was understood by those who watched and participated in it. Put another way, if the royal entry presented the king with a mirror upon which he was to model himself and his actions, one cannot help but wonder what exactly it was he saw—and what exactly he was meant to have seen—when he gazed into the naked and savage mirror of the Brazilian cannibals inhabiting the Faubourg Saint-Sever.

THE PLACE OF NARRATIVE AND THE SITE OF BRAZIL

The mock war staged between the Tupinamba and the Tobajaro for Henri's entry presaged a mock naval battle enacted only moments later between a French and a "Portuguese" ship. Just as the Tupinamba triumphed over their enemies and burned their lodges to the ground, so too the French burned and sank their foe's vessel into the Seine. Clearly the naumachia between the French and the Portuguese was meant to echo the seymachia fought only moments before by the Tupinamba and the Tobajaro. This narrative doubling made explicit the military alliance between the French and the Tupinamba against the Portuguese and their allies, the Tobajaro. This alliance, however, was not simply one of strategic expediency vis-à-vis a common enemy, for the French saw much to be admired in their savage friends.

According to the chronicler of the entry, Henri was very pleased by the battle staged by the Brazilians. His pleasure was rooted not only in the victory of the French and their New World surrogates over Portugal, but in his identification with the martial spirit they so consummately exemplified. Indeed, the mise-en-scène of Brazil must have appealed to Henri on an immediate and visceral level, for he too considered himself a warrior. As the seigneur de Brantôme put it, the king was "tout martial"; he "ardently loved to make war"; or as Blaise de Montluc matter-of-factly declared, "he was the best king whom God has ever given to soldiers."

Like their king, France's nobility closely identified with chivalrous ideals, as reflected by the fashionability of such works as the Roman de la rose and the Amadis de Gaule at court. The Brazilian cannibals brought to Rouen for the king's entry excelled in many of the same ideals valorized by these celebrated and influential books. As the chronicler of the entry explained, the skill and bravery of these New

10Ibid., fol. M ii(r).
11Ibid., fol. L i(v).
books. As the chronicler of the entry explained, the skill and bravery of these New World barbarians surpassed even that of the ancient heroes of Troy from whom the French had descended.  

Rouen's Brazilian savages, then, were not simply displayed as curiosities, or as a means of lobbying the king to intervene on the side of Rouen's merchant community in their ongoing conflicts with Portugal over Brazil (though, of course, these were both poignant reasons for their inclusion), but as a kind of mirror ideal reflecting the mostly deeply held values of France's nobility. That this was the case can be seen much more clearly if we view their inclusion in the entry not as an isolated event but as having been scripted into the larger narrative of the king's joyeuse entrée.

**Living Pictures and Social Narratives**

The narrative of Henri's entry was structured through a series of tableaux vivants (literally, living pictures), such as Hercules fighting a hydra, Orpheus playing his harp, and Hector bleeding from wounds inflicted by Achilles. Like the stations of the cross or the succession of beads on a rosary, the "living pictures" of Henri's entry served not only as mnemonic devices to evoke a range of topical rubrics (e.g., classical texts, scriptures, genealogical myths, etc.), but as foci of image-assisted meditation which directed Henri's (and his entourage's) attention beyond the singularity of each individual display to the more profound emotional and spiritual essences informing the entry as a whole. It was the king's role, in traveling from one tableau vivant to another, to link them all together—to activate them through the connecting thread of his experience—into a coherent narrative program. The entry's tableaux vivants in this sense were more than simply discreet ele-

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15 *C'est la deduction*, fol. K iiiit.  


ments in a theatrical event meant to entertain; they were essential components in a didactic program meant to teach, and a ritual act meant to transform. Accordingly, the king’s movement through Rouen can be viewed as a kind of rite of passage, his physical progress through the city being paralleled by his journey through an allegorical narrative which aimed to adapt the political characteristics definitive of just rulership to the particular social, intellectual, and material concerns of the provincial elites responsible for the entry. Following from this assertion, my principal aim here will be to locate the tableau vivant of Brazil both within the larger narrative told by the entry, and within the overlapping and heterogeneous contexts from which this narrative was produced. Such a historically situated analysis will enable us to see more clearly not only the social and cultural agonistics which organized the entry’s narrative, but the manner in which the articulation of the cultural category of the exotic came to mediate the construction of French elite identity in the early modern period. The tableau vivant of Hercules immediately following Henri’s departure from Brazil, and immediately preceding his crossing over the bridge into Rouen, will play a crucial role in this regard. This well-known and much analyzed mythic figure will provide us with a key into the complex semiotic structure of the entry, while at the same time helping us locate the boundaries which framed the conceptually indeterminate position of the New World savages in the symbolic economy of sixteenth century France.

Half man and half god, emblem of savagery as well as of civilization, known for his heroic strength as well as for his powers of eloquence, Hercules stood, like the savages from Brazil, between two contrasting ideals of what it meant to be noble in early modern France (ideals well known in literary terms, as “the battle between force and eloquence”). As I hope to show, the Brazilian warriors at the entry’s beginning can be seen to have prefigured the appearance of Hercules immediately following them; while Hercules, in turn, can be seen to have reflected back, in more familiar antique guise, the ambiguous characteristics defining New World savages; both by evincing the ideals championed by France’s warrior nobility (bravery and skill in battle), as well as the humanist critique of this nobility as lacking in the most basic rudiments of civilized life. In this final respect, the symmetry between the Brazilians and the military/feudal nobility points in an interesting way to their interchangeability in humanist strategies of self-promotion and social reform, for both were considered to be barbarians who needed to be civilized.

19See Lawrence Bryant, “Politics, Ceremonies, and Embodiments of Majesty in Henry II’s France,” in European Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times, ed. H. Duchhardt, R. Jackson, and D. Sturdy (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 132. Bryant’s article wonderfully shows how the humanist valorization of eloquence over and above the chivalrous idealization of force was integrated into the imagery (the nude Hercules) and narrative of Henri II’s entry into Paris.
CIVILIZING THE BARBARIAN

The meaning of the word “barbarian” derives from the Greek for one who stutters. Closely intertwined with linguistic propriety, the word was defined negatively in opposition to native fluency. From its beginnings the barbarian was defined through a xenophobic lens which characterized the foreigner as one fundamentally lacking the requisites of civilized life. In the early modern period, the absence of written culture was perceived to be among the principal features defining the barbarian. From the time of their “discovery” at the end of the fifteenth century, the warlike and savage beings from the New World were readily classified as barbarians. This is not surprising; it is surprising, however, that the French were as well. This was especially true on the Italian peninsula.

From Charles VIII’s expedition of 1494, the French repeatedly invaded and brutally conquered large portions of Italy. Powerless to thwart them on the battlefield, Italian commentators excoriated them on the field of culture. Indeed, as descendants of the ancient Romans, they considered themselves unquestionably superior to the warlike “barbarians” from beyond the Alps. In his La Deffence et illustration de la langue Françoysé, Joachim Du Bellay explicitly refers to the Italians’ low opinion of the French. As he put it: the envy of the Romans conspires against our “martial glory, the brilliance of which they cannot endure; and not only have they done us wrong by this, but to render us still more odious, they have called us brutal, cruel and barbarous.”

That charge extended to the French language was implicit in the title of Du Bellay’s “defensive” treatise. Du Bellay’s, however, was but an echo of a com-

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20See Joachim Du Bellay, La Deffence et illustration de la langue Françoysé (Paris: Arnoul L’Angelier, 1549), ch. 2, “concerning the meaning of this word barbarous: in ancient times they were called barba-
rous who spoke Greek incorrectly…. Afterwards, the Greeks transported the name to brutal and cruel manners, calling all nations outside Greece, Barbarians.” Also see Denys Hay, “Italy and Barbarian Eu-

21B.M.R., Y. 28, describes the French as being “tout belligieux et martiaux”; see fol. 14. Among the French the Normans were regarded as being especially savage; see Pagden, Fall of Natural Man, 15, 24, 50; with regard to their reputation as warriors see G. A. Austin, “Concepts of Secular Greatness in Normandy: ca. 1000–1150” (Ph. D. dissertation UCLA, 1977), esp. 66–97.

22Still the best statement of the power of the “powerless” can be found in Friedrich Nietzsche’s seminal work, Genealogy of Morals (New York: Vintage Books, 1969).


24My emphasis. In this context Du Bellay was clearly using the appellation “Roman” (as opposed to “ancient Romans”) to refer to his contemporaries on the Italian peninsula.

25The title of Du Bellay’s second chapter—“That the French Language should not be called bar-
barous”—makes the connection absolutely clear.
monly held view. Thus, for example, Castiglione expressed a similar opinion about the French; mainly, that they “recognize only the nobility of arms and reckon all the rest naught; and thus not only do they not esteem, but abhor letters, and consider all men of letters to be very base. . . .” The charge of barbarism, however, was not simply due to what Lemaire de Belges called the “mesprisance accoustumée” of the Italians, but was widely shared among elites in Europe. Thus, in his influential book, De puers statim ac liberaliter instituendis declamation, Erasmus wrote that a German boy could easily learn French in a few months quite unconsciously while absorbed in other activities. [...] And if one can learn with such ease a language as barbarous and irregular as French, in which spelling does not agree with pronunciation, and which has harsh sounds and accents that hardly fall within the realm of human speech, then how much more easily should one be able to learn Greek and Latin?

The notion that the French language was uncivilized and barbarous was not, however, a charge brought exclusively by foreigners, but was an opinion shared by the French themselves. Thus the great humanist, and moving force behind the Collège de France, Guillaume Budé, came to lament that his compatriots believed themselves to be “unsuited to letters, in contrast to the Italians, whose sky and soil enabled even infants to wail with eloquence and poetry.”

Yet despite its sting, or perhaps because of it, the charge of cultural barbarism provoked a strong nationalist reaction among the French; as such, it proved to be an energizing force in the rise of vernacular consciousness. Men such as Tory,

26Thus in 1509 Claude de Seyssel stated in blunt terms that “the French [were] reputed by the Italians to be barbarians, both in regard to their morals as well as their language”; cited in Ferdinand Brunot, “Un Project d'enrichir, magnifier et publier la langue Francaise en 1509,” in Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France 1 (Paris, 1894): 27–37, at 31.


28In response to charges of barbarism, a concerted effort was made by French men of letters (as Jean Lemaire de Belges put it) to honor the history and language of France “in the French language, which the Italians, par leur mesprisance acoustumée, call barbaric, though it is not”; quoted in Marc-René Jung, Histoire dans la littérature Française du XVIIe siècle (Genève: Droz, 1966), 54.

29“A Declaration on the Subject of Early Liberal Education for Children,” in The Erasmus Reader, ed. Erika Rummel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 86, my emphasis.


Dolet, Lemaire de Belge, Estienne, Budé, Du Bellay, and Rouen’s own Pierre Fabri took it upon themselves to reform, standardize, and more generally, to civilize, the orthography, grammar, pronunciation, and usage of their mother tongue. Dolet, in his book *La Manière de bien traduire d’une langue en autre*, well summed up the tenor of this quest: “take my labor joyously in hand and completely reform our language, for by this means and this beginning we can succeed in making over the French so that foreigners will call us barbarians no longer.”

### A Barbarous University and a Civilized College

The movement to reinvent French culture along lines which first emerged among the humanists of Renaissance Italy was, with François I, clearly and forcefully embraced at the uppermost levels of the courtly aristocracy. This view of culture came to constitute one of the crucial props underwriting the authority of the French monarchy. This movement, however, was not exclusive to court circles, to famous debates between well-known figures, or to the capital, for it was clearly manifested in the narrative of Henri II’s provincial entry into Rouen. Thus, for example, in the final pageant of this entry, François I, as Father of Arts and Letters in France, was depicted as finding—through his learning—lasting peace and repose in the Elysian fields of the terrestrial paradise. Not only, the chronicler of the entry tells us, did he restore the ancient knowledge of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew books, but he supported men capable of understanding and expounding upon them. Among his most virtuous deeds, the chronicler continues, was the building of a large and magnificent college at the University of Paris and his giving of 30,000 livres tournoys de rent a year as a stipend to a number of royal doctors. Henri was similarly praised for his support of learning and for having increased by half the number of readers at his University. Yet it is crucial to point out that the grande and magnifique Collège which François founded was not, as some have thought, the University of Paris, but rather, the Collège Royale, or the Collège de France, also known as the Collège of Three Languages. This was clearly refer-

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33 It is thus no coincidence that the frescos at the gallery at Fontainebleau were meant to represent the humanist ideal of the political assimilation of the barbarian by the force of civilization and by humanitas. See J. J. Joukovsky, “L’Empire et les barbares dans la Galerie François Ier,” in *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 50 (1988): 18, 6–27. On the relationship between the Gallery and the Collège de France, see Chastel, *Culture et demeures*, 25–30.


37 See Margaret McGowan, *L’Entrée*, 47.

38 This is supported by what we know about appointments to the Collège. François I made approximately sixteen appointments between 1530 and 1545; while from 1547 to 1551 there were approximately seven appointments. See Abel Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France depuis ses origines jusqu’à la fin du Premier Empire* (Paris: Hachette, 1893), 381.
enced in the entry by its depiction of François as carrying a book written in the three languages which formed the center of the Collège’s interests: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.39

It was a commonplace among humanists that knowledge of languages was essential to the understanding of the holy scriptures. The Collège, as the center of philological scholarship in France, directly challenged the hegemony of the University and Church with regard to the study of scripture.40 Not surprisingly, humanist incursions into theology were fervently opposed by the doctors at the University of Paris. 41 This resistance was written into law with the 1542 edict giving the Faculty of Theology wide-ranging powers of censorship. Among these works prohibited were treatises on grammar, rhetoric, logic, or lettres humaines which made reference to Christian doctrine.42 Increasingly, the response of the doctors at the Sorbonne to the challenge posed by the Collège was to associate its royal readers with heresy and Lutheranism.43 On the other hand, the king’s readers,

39 In addition to being the home of several renowned poetry societies (which I examine in a forthcoming study of Henri II’s entry into Rouen), provincial elites in Normandy were closely allied with the program of social and linguistic reform embraced by the royal readers at the Collège de France. Not only did the University of Caen have an active circle of Erasmians; it also had a college of three languages whose origins predated by several years François’ founding of the Collège de France. See P. Benedect, Rouen During the Wars of Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 86; and Henri Frenot, Histoire de l’Université de Caen (Caen: Imprimerie Artistique Malherbe, 1932).

40 Thus before a solemn assembly held in 1534, Guillaume Budé, the principal architect of the royal college, forcefully argued that to neglect the study of philology would make all efforts at interpreting God’s word “not only sterile, but completely ridiculous.” See Abel LeFranc, “Les Commencements du Collège de France (1529–1544),” in Mélanges d’histoire offerts à Henri Piéron, 2 vols. (Brussels: Vromant, 1926), 1: 10.

41 Depending directly on the patronage of the king, the doctors at the Collège were granted an unprecedented degree of independence from the University of Paris. It was through this relative autonomy that they were able to turn the disciplinary hierarchy of the university on its head and elevate the status of the inferior disciplines of rhetoric, grammar, eloquence, and philology to a level of importance previously held only by the representatives of scholastic philosophy and theology at the Sorbonne. This change in status contributed to the development of the Collège as a powerful counterweight to the university’s monopoly of the study of theology. On the resistance of the university to the Collège, see Bulaeus (César Égasse), Du Boulay, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, 6 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1966), 6: 239–42. Also see James Farge, Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 170. The view that the vulgate was too vile and barbarous to meddle with such “high matters” as philosophy and theology was a common one; it was one of the main targets attacked by the royal readers and the members of the academies, who vigorously defended French as a vehicle for philosophy. See Du Bellay, La Deffense, 89, 94, or Pontus de Tyard, who opened his book, L’Univers, ou discours des parties et de la nature du monde (Lyons, 1557), with a defense of the suitability of the French language for philosophy. See Robert J. Sealy, S.J., The Palace Academy of Henry III (Geneva: Droz, 1981), 91, and Francis A. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century (New York: Routledge, 1988), 77.

42 See Bulaeus Du Boulay, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, 6: 239, and Francis M. Higman, Censorship and the Sorbonne: A Bibliographical Study of Books in French Censured by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, 1520–1551 (Genève: Droz, 1979), 50, 52 n. 18. The battle between the two institutions became increasingly fierce, as illustrated, for example, by the controversy which ensued when it was proposed that a rhetorician, instead of a theologian, be given the honor of haranguing the king during his entry into Paris. See The Entry of Henri II into Paris, 16 juin 1549, ed. I. D. McFarlane (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), 20.

43 On the charge of Lutheranism and heresy see, for example, LeFranc, Histoire, 122–23.
their associates, and sympathizers at large characterized the scholastics at the university as little more than barbarians.44 In the words of Ulrich Zwingli, the scholastics at the University of Paris were “even more cruel than veritable savage beasts.”45 Similarly, Erasmus’ Antibarbarorum liber consisted in a sustained attack against the representatives of scholasticism. Here, Erasmus’ mouthpiece, Jacob Batt, styled himself as nothing less than a Hercules defending the humanist curriculum against the barbarism of the schools.46

For humanists, the theologians at the University occupied a position not entirely dissimilar to that of the ancestral warrior nobility: both were likened to barbarians who actively impeded the progress of humanist culture in France.47 The comparison between humanist struggles in favor of the New Learning and Hercules fighting the barbarians was a commonplace in polemics against the university. Hercules’ appeal, no doubt, derived much of its force from his association with the already well established and powerful traditions that linked him with the great houses of the feudal nobility.

Indeed, before he became the champion of the humanist cause, Hercules had a long and venerable history. In the early fifteenth century he was held up as an emblem of a warrior prince for the prince of the house of Este.48 In Burgundy, a knightly Hercules was said to be a distant ancestor, founding the royal line through his marriage to Alise, whom he met after departing Spain.49 The house of Navarre, traced its origins to Hercules’ nephew, Hispalus.50 Towards the end of the century, the emperor Maximilian was portrayed as the ancient warrior, Hercules Germanicus.51 Similarly, in his royal entry into Vienna in 1490 the French king, Charles VIII, was presented as the “worthy duke” and “knight” Hercules, who fought a

44As, for example, Theodore Beza: “Who would have imagined that a single individual [Jacques Lefèvre]… would have succeeded in chasing barbarism from the world’s most famous universi
ty over a period of many years it had been firmly entrenched?” Quoted in Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, Lefèvre: Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1984), xi.
45Abel Lefranc, Histoire, 61.
47As Baumgartner, Henry II, 47, points out, Montmorency believed that learning was conducive to heresy, and that he “little esteemed savants and their books.”
48See Jung, Hercule dans la littérature Française, 8.
49See Mémoires D’Olivier De La Marche, Maître D’Hôtel et Capitaine des Gardes de Charles Le Téné-brain, 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Laurens, successeur, 1883–88), 1:43. Also see William Caxton’s translation (c. 1474) of Jean Lefèvre’s text, The Rewyell of the Historyes of Troye, published with an introduction by H. O. Sommer (London: D. Nutt, 1894). Here Hercules is portrayed as a knight as he goes about his twelve labors. The same chivalrous narrative is followed by the festival enacted in celebration of the marriage of Margaret of York to Charles the Bold; see Mémoires D’Olivier De La Marche, 3:101–201.
dragon plaguing the garden of France.\textsuperscript{52} Not long afterwards, in 1492, the genealogical connection between the French kings and Hercules was elaborated in full detail in \textit{De his quae praecesserunt inundationem terrarum} by Joannes Annius o\textsuperscript{f}Viterbo. Claiming that he had discovered an ancient text by Berosus Babylonicus, Annius' book details the claim that Hercules founded Gaul through his marriage to Galatea, daughter of the Celtic king and ancestor of the royal houses of France. Some years later, the king's poet, Jean Lemaire de Belges, relied on the authority of the pseudo-Berosus to firmly establish the genealogical link between Hercules and French royalty in his widely read ethnogenetic fable, \textit{Illustration de Galle et singularitez de Troye}.\textsuperscript{53}

The Hercules who championed the humanist virtues of eloquence and prudence against the barbarians of the universities and the old nobility clearly had very little in common with his more chivalrous counterpart. If he was to become an emblem for the humanist battle against the barbarians, then Hercules himself would have to be transformed: he would have to be—to become—civilized.

\textbf{Hercules the Mediator}

In his seminal work, \textit{The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy}, Ernst Cassirer helps unlock the wide-ranging significance that symbols such as Hercules had for elites in the early modern period. Cassirer begins his chapter on freedom and necessity by describing the pageant held at the papal palace to honor the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia to Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara in 1501. In this pageant the figure of Hercules was depicted as defeating Fortune and taking her prisoner. At Juno's request, Hercules agreed to set her free, "but only on the condition that neither she nor Juno ever undertake anything inimical to the houses of Borgia and Este..."\textsuperscript{54} Cassirer goes on to argue that the allegorical opposition between Hercules and Fortune as articulated in the language of courtly convention was directly paralleled in such philosophical texts as Giordano Bruno's \textit{Spaccio della bestia trionfante} (1584); thus Bruno's text describes Fortune pleading before the Olympian gods for Hercules' place in the heavens. Bruno explains that though permitted as the "roving and inconstant one" to rightfully claim any place in heaven or on earth, Fortune's petition was denied, for as the gods reasoned:

where truth, law, and right judgment are to reign, Valor [which Hercules represents] cannot be absent. It is the palladium of every other virtue, the shield of justice and the tower of truth. Valor is unyielding to vice, uncon-


\textsuperscript{53}See Jean Lemaire de Belges, \textit{Œuvres}, 3 vols. (Louvain: J. Lefever, 1882–85), 1:12, 59, and book 3 as well as 2: 261. Also see Hallowell, "Ronsard and the Gallic Hercules Myth," 244, and Bryant, \textit{The King and the City}, 130.

querable by suffering, constant through danger, severe against cupidity, contemptuous of wealth, and a tamer of Fortune.55

By juxtaposing the place of Hercules in Bruno’s work to that of the festival celebrating the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia to Alfonso d’Este, Cassirer seeks to demonstrate what he sees as one of the fundamental features that define Renaissance culture: the notion that ideas “can only be presented and embodied in the form of images,” and that these image-ideas were imbued with the power to animate the self-understanding, aspirations, and authority of those who identified with them.56 It was through such figural topoi as Hercules, he argues, that the Renaissance expressed its most profound—and characteristic—philosophical belief: the power of the individual to shape his own destiny. As he puts this:

The forces that move the inner man are viewed as cosmic potencies; virtues and vices are viewed as constellations. In this view, Fortezza (valor) [as represented by Hercules] assumes the place of honor; but it must not be understood only in its ethical signification or in its moral limitation. In keeping with the original etymological sense of virtus, whose idea it expresses, Fortezza means the strength of destiny, the domitricella fortunana. To use the expression Warburg coined in another field, we can now detect a new and yet ancient Pathosformel (formula of pathos); it is a heroic passion, seeking its language and its intellectual justification.57

Cassirer here suggests that the use of classical archetypes in Renaissance philosophy can be likened to what Aby Warburg has called the Pathosformel in the realm of art. According to Warburg, Renaissance painters broke through medieval constraints on artistic expression by utilizing the superlatively compelling images of movement and gesture they found in antique art.58 Warburg attributed the power of these antique images to what he called the “formula of pathos.” These formulas, he argued, carried with them a kind of psychic residue—a mnemonic trace—of the ancient rituals from which they originally derived. As “figural relics” of primeval cultic rites, Warburg argued these formulas maintained an intense and vital connection to the power of ritual to make manifest the underlying order of the universe, hence their enduring—and in Cassirer’s terms, “heroic”—power to persuade, convince, motivate, and inspire. Cassirer thus extends Warburg’s notion of the Formula of Pathos beyond the field of art to that of philosophy. He argues that Renaissance ideals of individuality and freedom were imbued with the aura of being connected to the very structure of the world—e.g., as “cosmic potencies”—

55Ibid., 73–74. 56Ibid., 74. 57Ibid., 74–75.
through the pathos found in such figural topos as Hercules.59

Despite his important attempt to reassess the significance of Renaissance philosophy through an analysis of art and pageantry, Cassirer’s work sidesteps any mention of the historically specific relations of status, power, and authority mediating the development of artistic and philosophical expression. And indeed, his notion of philosophy as “self-conscious awareness of consciousness itself”60 does little to illuminate the historical forces animating the capacity of the Formula of Pathos to compellingly fuse image-ideas, social identity, and dynastic mythology. Cassirer thus ignores the role of the Formula of Pathos in promulgating the political and social power of both ruling elites and their humanist servants. It is therefore important to note, not simply—as Cassirer does—the power of the Formula of Pathos as a philosophical ideal, but to identify its role in constituting a field of social struggle.

Indeed, both old and new elites in France identified closely with the Pathos-formel of Hercules. By doing so they sought to create an equivalence between their particular social positions and the cosmic order. In the case of humanists, and more generally of the noblesse de robe, they did this not only to assert their independence from medieval constraints on thought and artistic expression, but to promote their own status and power vis-à-vis the still formidable authority of medieval institutions and the groups which represented them. In the case of the old, warrior nobility, Hercules represented the man–god–ancestor who embodied the chivalrous ideals of strength, fortitude, and bravery. In this sense, he emblematized the opposition to the rising social power of the robe elite. Yet, as the power and status of the noblesse de robe grew, they increasingly came to challenge the normative ideals with which their royal benefactors most identified. This can be clearly seen in the transformation—and appropriation for their own purposes—of image–ideas such as Hercules. Thus, alongside the Hercules who represented the knightly virtues of Fortezza, appeared a new Hercules who represented the humanist ideals of eloquence, civility, and prudence.

The image–idea of Hercules was thus appropriated and differentially defined with reference to a widening social fissure between the noblesse de robe and the noblesse d’épée. Deployed strategically, he became a potent symbolic weapon in the struggles to redefine French elite identity.61 His employment in the Rouen entry (on the bridge immediately following the mise-en-scène of Brazil) signified his pivotal importance in the king’s journey towards the humanist ideal of virtue as represented by François I in the Elysian fields at the entry’s end. This is not to say, however, that the humanistically conceived Hercules entirely supplanted the chiv-

59Clifford Geertz, “Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power,” in Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 121–146, examines a similar complex of issues having to do with the relation between charismatic power and its associated symbolism—e.g., crowns, scepters, thrones, etc. to what he calls “the active centers of social order.”

60Cassirer, The Individual and the Cosmos, 1.

61Roger Chartier’s discussion of images and symbols and their strategic role in demarcating the “positions and interests of social agents” is relevant here; see his Cultural History, trans. L. G. Cochrane (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 6.
alrous/feudal Hercules, but rather that the former increasingly came to challenge the latter's authority to definitively establish the values and qualities normative of elite identity.

A CIVILIZED HERCULES

A landmark in the transformation of Hercules from the image of a barbarian to an avatar of humanist ideals of civilization was the publication of Erasmus' Latin translation of Lucien's Heracles (1506). In this work, as in subsequent French translations by Guillaume Budé and Geoffroy Tory, the form and content of the image-idea of Hercules was fundamentally altered. Where in 1464 Jean Lefèvre wrote of Hercules as a chivalrous knight, Erasmus went back to the Greek sophist, Lucien, to find an image of Hercules consonant with the humanist ideals of eloquence and prudence. According to Lucien's account, the people of Gaul believed that "the real Hercules was a wise man who achieved everything by eloquence and applied persuasion as his principal force." He then describes a pictorial representation of Hercules which he claims to have seen in his travels through Gaul:

That old Hercules of theirs drags after him a great crowd of men who are all tethered by the ears. His thick braids are delicate chains fashioned of gold and amber, resembling the prettiest of necklaces. Yet, though led by bonds so weak, the men do not think of escaping as they easily could ... in fact, they follow cheerfully and joyously.... But let me tell you what seemed to me the strangest thing of all. Since the painter had no place to which he could attach the ends of the chains, as the god's right hand already held the club and his left the bow, he pierced the tip of his tongue and represented him drawing the men by that means.62

Through Erasmus' translation this image gained wide currency, especially in France. Pictured in the emblem books of Corrozet and Aneau, written about by Tory, Budé, Rabelais, Du Bellay, and Ronsard among others, the eloquent Gallic Hercules was represented as leading the four estates of France from savagery to civilization by golden chains which extended from his tongue to their ears (fig. 3).63

What Erasmus saw as a timely device for reviving the ancient ideal of eloquence—and as emblematic of humanist struggle against scholasticism—was thus also a didactic attempt to reform and civilize a preexisting symbol of elite identity,

63See Jean Lefèvre, Livret des emblèmes de maistre André Alciat, mis en rime francoyse ... (Paris: Christiaen Wechel, 1536); Gilles Corrozet, Heautographie (Paris: D. Janot, 1540), and Barthélemey Aneau, Emblèmes d'Alciat, de nouveau translatez en François, vers pour vers ... (Lyon: G. Roville, 1549). It even became the fashion at François' court to wear golden earrings to symbolize the courtier's allegiance to their eloquent king; see Jung, Hercule dans la littérature Française, 80-81; also see Hallowell, "Ronsard and the Gallic Hercules Myth," 251. On the Gallic Hercules as a symbol of kingship, see Strong, Art and Power, 24; Jean-René Béguin, "Réflexions sur Quelques Images," in La Renaissance et le Nouveau Monde, ed. Alain Parent (Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, 1984), 271; and Francis A. Yates, Astrea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), 208-14.
and by extension elites themselves. Accordingly, the Gallic Hercules made his appearance in court pageantry early in the sixteenth century, as for example, in the royal entry held for François I in Rouen (1517). François, in particular, was closely identified with the Gallic Hercules—an association which continued even after his death. Thus for his son’s royal entry into Paris in 1549 he was presented as the Hercules “who made flower in his realm Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, and even the French language, which had previously been extremely savage and rude.” Reborn as king of France, the Gallic Hercules could now triumph over his nemesis. Fortune, and inscribe the destiny of his reign and his people in immortal memory. He would do this not by force, but by his powers of eloquence and persuasion; as Du Bellay implored his readers at the end of his La Défense et illustration de la langue Françoyse: “Remember … your Gallic Hercules who drew the nations after him by their ears with a chain attached to his tongue.”

64 According to Edgar Wind’s important essay, Holbein’s depiction of Luther as the Hercules Germanicus was guided by Erasmus’ knowledge of Lucien’s description. He goes on to argue that the print was meant to satirically depict the Lutherans’ violent destruction of the culture of humanism. As he puts it, the “monsters slain by the fury of this Hercules are the most venerable figures of classical and Christian learning.” However, as Ginzburg, “From Warburg to Gombrich,” 33–34 and 179–80, n. 73, points out, the print is not satiric, but an attempt to portray Luther in terms sympathetic to Erasmus’ project. Indeed, the men slain were not representatives of humanism, but were the founding fathers of scholasticism, Aristotle, Saint Thomas, Ockham, Duns Scotus, etc. See Wind, “‘Hercules’ and ‘Orpheus,’” 217–18; also see Hallowell, “Ronsard and the Gallic Hercules Myth,” 249, who follows Wind’s argument with regard to Holbein’s print.

A NARRATIVE OF CIVILIZATION

It is perhaps not a coincidence that one of the men chosen by Rouen's city council to create something special for Henri II's entry into Rouen, was Claude Chappuys, author of a booklet entitled *Le grand Hercule Gallique*... (1545).66 Chappuys was a poet, courtier, chamberlain, and librarian to François I;67 he was also the chanoine of the Cathedral de Notre Dame in Rouen from 1537 until his death in 1575. No stranger to the court and its ceremonial, he not only wrote the well-known tract *Discours de la court*, but penned an account of Charles V's travels through France that was included in a manuscript collection dedicated to Charles' French entrées royales.68 Closely connected to the courts of both François and Henri, Chappuys (in his capacity as chanteur de la chambre du roi) assisted the funeral of François I, while three months later he was present to witness the crowning of the new king, about which he was to write a detailed chronicle.69 Because of these qualifications, he was an obvious choice to help organize Henri's entry festival.

The choice of Chappuys was particularly apt because of his apparent influence on Henri's royal entry in Paris the previous year. Thus, the description of François I as the Gallic Hercules in the Parisian entry (cited above) followed the text of Chappuys' *Le Grand Hercule Gallique* word for word in its portrayal of François as a new Hercules who revived the study of languages and civilized the French. Similarly, another of Chappuys' works, his 1538 *Panegyrlic* to François, directly foreshadowed the message of Henri's entry into Rouen through its explicit praise of François as having no equal among either kings, poets, or orators in that he combined in his person both knowledge of letters and of arms.70 Indeed, according to Chappuys, the king even surpassed the virtues of Caesar through his patronage of languages and his revival of the seven liberal arts, as witnessed by his creation of the Collège de France.

It was precisely these same themes of social and linguistic reform which structured the narrative of Henri's entry into Rouen. Accordingly, Chappuys appeared...

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66 Archives Municipales de Rouen, Reg. A. 16, fol. 78. Among Chappuys' other books one can find such explicitly didactic works of courtesy as the *Discours de la Court, présent au Roy par Chappuys son libraire et valet de chambre ordinaire* (Paris: André Roffet, 1543).
67 See Hay, "Italy and Barbarian Europe." 66.
68 Claude Chappuys, *S'ensuivent les triomphantes et hononables entrées faictes par le commandement du Roy très-Christien Francys premier de ce nom, à la sacre Majesté Impériale, Charles V.* (Lille: Jose Lambert, 1539), Chappuys' nephew, Gabriel, was an even more prolific translator and writer of courtesy literature; his books include *Le Missale ou haineux de court, lequel, par un dialogisme et confabulation fort agréable et plaisante, démontre sérieusement l'estat des courtisans et autres suivans la court des Princes*. Avec la manière, costumes et moeurs des courtisans (Paris: G. Linocier, 1585): a translation of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* titled *Le Parfait Courtisan* (Paris: N. Bonfons, 1585); as well as translations of S. Guazzo, *La Civile conversation*... (Lyon, 1579), *J. de Ureza, Dialogues du vray honnere militaire* (Paris, 1585), and *Le quinziesme (Vingtuniesme et dernier) livre d'Amadis de Gaule* (Lyon, 1577–1581).
70 Claude Chappuys, *Panegyrique recité au tresillustre, tres magnanime, ressouertuelle, & treschrestien Roy Francys premier de ce nom, a son retour de Provence, Lan mil cinq cents trente huit, au mois de Septembre*... (Paris: A. Rojet, s.d.), fol. 5v.
in person to greet the king, delivering an oration which, according to the chronicler of the prose account, “was constructed and ordered in such a polished and eloquent style, delivered with such elegance and grace, that despite its brevity, it seemed as though it was distinctively enriched with emblems both divine and grave.” Yet moving beyond this obvious reference to Chappuys’ oratorical virtuosity, we can trace the thread of humanist reform deep into the fabric of the entry. Thus, immediately following the tableau vivant of Brazil, Henri was presented with the figure of Orpheus seated deep within a grotto at the far end of the bridge leading into Rouen. Orpheus, as the son of Apollo and Calliope, the goddess of Rhetoric, was closely associated with the civilizing powers of language. Not only was he able to tame wild beasts with the merest touch of his harp, but he was said to have led men out of savagery and into civilization through the sheer force of his eloquence. As Jacques Lefèvre d’Étampes said of him: “By means of lute and song Orpheus tamed the passions of wild beasts, which means that by singing to the accompaniment of his lyre he reduced the savage customs and practices of men to those of temperate humanity.” Indeed, in Henri’s entry it was the harp of Orpheus which calmed the raging sea, thus allowing the king to continue his journey from “Brazil” and into Rouen (see fig. 4).

Yet, though Orpheus civilized Man, it was Hercules who civilized the most distant ancestors of the French, the Celts. Thus, next to Orpheus, Henri saw himself as Hercules slaying a seven-headed hydra. As the poem accompanying the scene explains:

Your royal majesty, O very Christian King,
You are, for the good of all, a Hercules on earth,
Who puts the cruel Adder of Mars into disarray,
Who honorably establishes, peace in place of war....

Though the hydra which Hercules fought was explicitly related to the conquering of Mars, the god of war, and though it was also a clear reference to both Lutheranism and the taming of the often unruly menu people (the metaphor of the populace as a many-headed monster being a constant trope in the municipal and parliametary records), the hydra was also commonly associated with sophistry. Among stalwarts of the New Learning, the charge of sophistry was frequently leveled against the doctors at the University of Paris, as for example, in Rabelais’ Gargantua, or in a letter of the Swiss humanist Henricus Glareanus to Erasmus where he describes the doctors of the Sorbonne as being “sophists who impede all

71 C’est la déduction, fol. O iv.
73 See Hughes, Lefèvre, 5.
74 C’est la déduction, fol. L i(y).
75 B.M.R., Ms. Y. 28, fol. 19, and C’est la déduction, fol. L i(y); the verses are the same in both accounts, though the word Mars in the third line of C’est la déduction, reads as maintes in the manuscript.
76 See Benedict, 41, n. 1.
Similarly Erasmus, in a letter to Etienne Poncher, bishop of Paris, remarked that Glareanus does battle with no less spirit than Hercules in fighting against those "prickly sophists," the scholastic theologians of the University of

"Tracy, "Against the Barbarians," and Jung, Hercule dans la littérature Française, point to the appropriation of Plato's 'joke' of the Hydra as she-sophist (Euthydemus, 297c) by Boccaccio—see De Genealogia Deorum, ed. V. Romano, 2 vols. (Bari: Laterza, 1951), 2: bk. xiii, cap. i, 640; relevant passages in Tracy can be found at 18-19, and 19, n. 85, and Jung, Hercule dans la littérature Française, 29, n. 30 and 178 n. 83. Rabelais's characterization of the doctors at the University of Paris can be found in bk. 1, chaps. 17-21. His support for the program of the Collège de France can be found in Gargantua's letter to Pantagruel, bk. 2, chap. 8. The letter from Glareanus is cited in Abel Lefranc, Histoire, 58.
Paris. Or again, in a letter to Jacques Toussaint, royal reader in Greek at the Collège de France, Erasmus boasts that he was among the first to provoke the vehement attacks of that hydra of the old learning against the study of languages and good letters. Likewise, in Barthélemy Aneau's translation of Alciati's Emblemata, the figure of Hercules fighting a hydra (fig. 5) was accompanied by verses that explained that the vain arguments of the Sophists would be confounded more by eloquence than by force.

Les doux labours de Hercule, par Allegorie.

Fig. 5. Hercules fighting the hydra. Barthélemy Aneau, Emblèmes d'Alciat ... (Lyon, 1549). Courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Research Library.

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9Cited in Lefranc, Histoire, 118.

8Aneau, Emblèmes, 168–169.
These same themes were continued after the king crossed the old bridge (where he met Neptune and other lesser gods of the sea, and received from them dominion over the seas, as signified by the gift of a trident and as demonstrated by the French naval victory over the Portuguese) and approached a triumphal arch which had been built at the city's entrance. On the summit of this arch stood the figure of Saturn, who was made to look like the king. In his right hand there was a placard upon which the following verses were written:

I am the golden age
By honor reinvested
I am in virtue
And will be again.81

Beneath him, engraved in gold, were the following words:

The golden age, which flourished
Before the silver, the iron and the copper
By the virtues of a king will rise into the world
And begin to live again.82

It was then explained to the king that it was through his support of arts and letters that he would—like Saturn—be able to restore the world to a golden age of peace and tranquility.

This theme continues with the first tableau that the king witnessed upon his entry into Rouen. This pageant depicted Henri's distant ancestor, the wounded Hector, with his blood spouting into the air to form the king's device: a triple crescent. A placard explained that Hector's bloodline would, as heaven had ordained, live on through Henri to fill the world. This was an obvious reference to the king's motto—Donec totem impleat orbem—which was stitched into the canopy being held above him during the entry.83 As the physical embodiment of Lemaire de Belges' genealogy of France, Hector was a potent symbol of French nationalism, serving to undercut Italian claims to cultural superiority on the basis of their Roman ancestry. Indeed, not only was Hector's Troy chronologically prior to Rome, but its civilization was thought to be manifestly superior. The Romans, after all, only imitated the greatness of the Greeks; they did not originate it.

The king contemplated this remarkable display for some time before moving on to the convent of Notre Dame des Carmes, where he found a theater divided into two levels. The lower stage depicted the insignia of François I (the salamander) engulfed in flames. On its back stood the goddesses of fate, Clotho and Atropos; they held the figure of eternity (a serpent biting its tail) above their heads. This hieroglyph, the king was told, signified the immortal memory of François, who was not only Henri's father, but the father of arts and letters in France.84 As Henri approached, the scene was transformed, becoming a star-covered globe the color

81C'est la deduction, fol. M iii(v).
82Ibid., fol. M iiiii(r).
83Ibid., fol. N ii(v).
84Ibid., fol. N ii(v).
of sky. By subtle means this globe turned on its axis while flames enveloped it. Then suddenly it opened and from the flames appeared a winged Pegasus—symbol of immortal fame. It moved with such supple agility that it seemed to those who watched that “nature herself had communicated to it the very means of life.”85 Suddenly the king’s attention was distracted by the sound of a lone trumpet coming from high atop the theater. When he returned his gaze, the stage was once again transformed. In place of Pegasus there was a likeness of himself with a vine growing from his heart to fill the space of the theater with its leaves and fruit.86 Above this representation of the king, on the second level of the arch, were the seven gods and goddess who gave the planets their names. They offered gifts to Henri—imperial, royal, and ducal crowns as well as scepters from antiquity and others of a more modern age. Kneeling on either side and before him were peoples from many nations who gathered to receive the sweet liqueur of amiable confederation et obesance dripping from the fruited vine growing from his heart. A clear allusion to the christomimmetic qualities of his kingship, this pageant held out the promise that Henri would, as the chronicler said:

convert rude and uncivil enemies to gentleness and humanity, either by force or by reason, and being the terrestrial monarch, restore the Golden Age of Saturn, and rise, as the very Christian king, to time everlasting, despite any and all misfortune.87

From this remarkable and ingenious display, the king moved on to the final pageant of the entry at the Pont de Robec. Here Henri discovered the Elysian fields of the terrestrial paradise (fig. 6). Written on the placard accompanying this display were words praising both Henri and François for their support of letters:

This is the repose of happy paradise
Of kings enamored with learning,
François the first is freed and delivered
And Henri the second will want to follow him
Good memory has made this place for them.88

The Imperial ambassador well summed up the tenor of Henri’s entry when he commented that it praised François I “for having restored letters and saved [Rouen] from barbarism,” while encouraging Henri to follow in his footsteps.89 Yet it was not simply Rouen that was being led from barbarism and into civilization, for the entry cast Henri in a messianic role of leading the diverse peoples of the world towards the Elysian fields of peace, tranquillity and Edenic repose. As I’ve tried to show, the narrative program of Henri’s entry, as it advanced from the tableau vivant of Brazil to that of the Elysian fields of the terrestrial paradise, can be interpreted through an analysis of the civilizing mission of the Gallic Hercules. However, the

85Ibid., fol. N iii(v).
86Ibid., fol. N iii(v)-N iii(r).
87Ibid., fol. O iii(r).
88Ibid., fol. O iii(v).
entry's message was neither so clear nor so unambiguous as this. Like Hercules himself, the entry was a hybrid of conflicting values; and indeed at a time when the self-perception of large sections of the ancestral nobility maintained a close connection to the feudal values of the warrior knight, it would have been both a dangerous and an ineffective strategy for the organizers of the entry to try to persuade the king simply to forego his chivalrous/military ideals in favor of the Ciceroonian values represented by the Gallic Hercules. Yet the aptness of Hercules for the entry's delicate task of mediation will once again become evident when we consider that his identity reflected many of the same ambiguities found in the entry's narrative.

90See for example, Barbara C. Bowen, Words and the Man in French Renaissance Literature (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1983), 21.
A Composite Hercules and a New Nobility

In the sixteenth century there were essentially two different versions of Hercules. The first (often referred to as the Lybian Hercules) was embraced by the feudal nobility; he represented the warrior virtues of prowess, valor, and chivalrous honor. The second, by contrast, was renowned for his ability to persuade through eloquence, and was known—after Lucien’s description—as the Gallic Hercules. That the Gallic Hercules triumphed in France was at least in part due to the power of his humanist exponents to project their interests onto an established figural form. It was, however, also due to the dynastic competition with François’ bitter enemy, Emperor Charles V, who closely associated himself with the Lybian version of Hercules. In this sense, humanists in France mirrored the tactics that their Italian counterparts employed in response to repeated French invasions at the beginning of the century; that is, they responded to Charles’ military superiority on the cultural level, depicting François as the Gallic Hercules who—through his support of arts and letters—would, in contrast to Charles the barbarian, lead humankind towards a new ideal of civilization and a resurrected Golden Age.

Yet despite his many cultural accomplishments, it was François’ ignominious defeat and capture at Pavia which must have weighed on his son’s mind. Indeed, Henri paid dearly for his father’s loss, for at the age of seven he was sent to Spain as a hostage. There he was to remain prisoner for over four years while the king reluctantly negotiated the treaty of Cambrai. François’ repeated impotence in the face of the military challenges from Charles V and Henry VIII (to whom he lost the port city of Boulogne) was not a legacy which Henri wanted to continue. Upon his accession the new king endeavored to quickly and decisively distinguish his reign from that of his father’s. Frederic Baumgartner has referred to this as a Revolution at Court in which the new king decisively rejected the values of eloquence and artistic achievement (as well as the systems of patronage upon which they were based) in favor of a policy of war and a revival of chivalric values. And indeed, from its beginnings, Henri’s rule was characterized by the resurgent power of the ancestral nobility—with Henri coming to be known as the Father of the Nobility, just as François I had been known as the Father of the Arts and Letters. Accordingly, the very first expression of his reign was that of conquest, war, and vengeance.

First, he reinstated Montmorency, the man who arranged for his ransom and negotiated his release from his Spanish prison. In quick order, he renewed France’s

91To French commentators, the reigns of Charles V and his son, Philip II, were closely associated with the rule of the sword, as opposed to the Ciceronian political theory of eloquence, which was championed at the French courts; see Bryant, Politics, 144.

92It is perhaps revealing that upon his ascension, Henri, as a mark to his commitment to chivalric values, took to wearing his battle armor everywhere; see Bryant, Politics, 132–33; according to Baumgartner, Henry II, 75, in the years following his death, the old nobility looked back upon Henri’s reign with “unabashed nostalgia”—his wars having “provided numerous opportunities for the nobility to exercise its God-given right to fight and win glory; for many nobles”; Baumgartner continues, “the monarchy’s only purpose was to provide wars.”

93Bryant, Politics, 132–33.
alliance with Scotland, sending the Maréchal d'Essé with six thousand troops to rescue the six-year-old Mary Queen of Scots from the English.94 Next, he sent Montmorency to Bordeaux to exact brutal revenge for the rebellion against the salt tax—the gabelle.95 Immediately thereafter, in the months just preceding his entry into Rouen, he besieged Boulogne, forcing the English to come to terms and give up the city that his father had lost. Clearly, the eloquent Gallic Hercules, who preferred the force of words to that of arms, was not an apposite model for the new king.

Fortunately, another Hercules had begun to emerge towards the end of François' reign. Thus, for example, in Chappuys' Le grand Hercule Gallique François is described as merging the persuasive qualities of the Gallic Hercules with the war-like attributes of the Libyan Hercules. This composite of the chivalric and the humanist Hercules particularly suited Henri's desire to distinguish his reign from that of his father. This was made explicit in Henri's 1549 entry into Paris, for while the late king was presented as the Gallic Hercules, the municipal records explained to Henri that there were in fact

two Hercules, the one from Libya, who fought a number of monsters with his strength—his valor bringing him praise; the other was from Gaule, who was endowed with eloquence, prudence and justice, and who led the Celts from the open fields into enclosed cities, teaching them to live together and how to wage war. But these two are combined to make a third, perfectly assembled in you; and that which Libya and Gaule had, and that which they didn't have, are recovered for France in you....96

Hercules, thus divided and reassembled, was a site of contestation and mediation, of conflict and negotiation; as such he embodied and came to arbitrate the social aspirations and self-understandings of two rival—though increasingly inter-dependent—classes. Seen from this perspective the scene from the Rouen entry in which Orpheus and the Muses were juxtaposed with Hercules fighting a hydra merged the Gallic Hercules with the Libyan Hercules in order to present Henri with an image of kingship which joined military prowess to the humanist ideals of eloquence, prudence, and justice. In this sense, while he represented a trajectory leading away from the naked savagery of Brazil and towards a humanistic ideal of

94The expedition to save Mary was led by none other than Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon, the man who was to lead the French attempt to establish a colony in Brazil (1555-60).
95According to the account of Maréchal de Vieilleville, Mémoires (Paris, 1757), 1:437, Montmorency had "exécuté plus de sept vingt personnes à mort en diverses sortes de supplices, comme de pendus, decapitez, rouez, empellez, desmembréz à 4 chevaux, et bruslez." Prosecution of heresy was also on the increase during the early years of Henri's reign, as exemplified by the establishment of the Chambre ardente (1547) which passed—in the period of 1548-50—some 450 sentences, 60 of them being capital; see N. Weiss, La Chambre ardente (Genève: Droz, 1970). Bryant, Politica, 142-43, fruitfully compares Francois' treatment of the revolt of La Rochelle in 1544 to Henri's treatment of Bordeaux. Henri's father, rather than resort to violence, had—to quote Bodin—"with the majestie of his speech terrified them" back to obedience.
96Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris (Paris, 1886), 3:169 (my emphasis); also see Jung, Hercule dans la littérature Français, 90.
the New Learning as exemplified by the final tableau vivant of the Elysian fields, he was also a fierce warrior whose exploits embodied all the virtues of military prowess so admired by the old nobility, as exemplified by the entry's beginnings in the "New World." Thus Henri's ceremonial trajectory from the perfect warriors represented by the Brazilians at the Faubourg Saint-Sever, to an ideal of humanist civilization represented by the entry's final tableau in the Elysian Fields of the terrestrial paradise, was mirrored by a movement from the chivalric/military ideals characteristic of France's old feudal nobility, to the Ciceronian/humanist ideals of its new nobility of the robe. Yet this was not simply a linear movement, for it was characterized less by the asymmetries of bipolar opposition than by a kind of mediated ambiguity whereby "civilized" and "savage," "cultured" and "barbarian," "high" and "low" were dialogically present both as exoticized and as normalized components of French elite identity. 97 It is, I believe, by paying close attention to these ambiguities and to the various and complex ways they were mediated that we can move beyond a superficial understanding of the Brazilian mise-en-scène (e.g., as anecdotal evidence of the sixteenth-century "culture of curiosity") to understand something of its place in the larger social and political context of sixteenth-century France.

The Endless Circle and the Hall of Mirrors

Henri, as king, like Hercules of ancient myth, had embarked on a civilizing journey, converting not only his rude and uncivil enemies, but his rude and uncivil people, into citizens of a common land—France. Rouen was but one stop on his extended itinerary around his realm. Henri made more than thirty royal entries in the years immediately following his accession to the throne, 98 and just as his physical presence in Rouen acted as the link that connected the entry's separate tableaux vivants into a coherent narrative program, so too his pilgrimage to the various metropoles of his realm aimed to enact and embody the imagery of the nation-state which he was said to represent. Yet as the entry makes clear, in the same manner as his civilizing cultural mission aimed to extend his rule throughout the disparate regions of his realm, it also aimed to efface the distance which separated the Old World from the New. And indeed, the nationalistic and imperial themes articulated by the entry placed Henri firmly in the role of the last world emperor (the Christlike Hercules) who would found a new world order—a terrestrial paradise not unlike the one which awaited him at the entry's end. 99 Hercules was, after all, as Claude-Gilbert Dubois points out, "a voyager without frontiers,


99 These millenarian themes, largely undeveloped here, are treated extensively in my forthcoming work on this entry.
who united the Orient with the Occident, and who brought together under his name and his authority the entire world. He founded cities, not as capitals of nations, but as universal metropoles...."100

This point is worth pursuing, for it brings us back, full circle, to the Brazilians who began Henri’s journey. Indeed, given the close association between the New World, its peoples, and the terrestrial paradise of the Golden Age, the position of Hercules at the bridge beginning Henri’s journey can be said to have presaged his return at the end. In this sense, the king’s journey from Brazil to the Elysian fields was less a linear trajectory, which moved from the extreme poles of savagery to civilization, than the closing of a circle. For both the first and the last pageants represented different versions of similar ideals: Edenic paradise, the return to the Golden Age, a merging of the savage and the civilized, and a union of two ideals of nobility.

If the image-idea of Hercules embraced the fundamentally contradictory dispositions of the Renaissance humanist and the feudal warrior, then peoples from the New World embodied similar contradictions. That the Brazilians were valiant and courageous warriors was amply demonstrated by the battle fought between the Tobajaro and the Tupinamba at the beginning of Henri’s entry. Thus the author of the prose account describes them as being so accomplished in the military arts that they “surpassed the skills of Meryonez the Greek and Pandarus the Trojan.”101 Some years later, writing about several Brazilians he met while in Rouen (1562), Montaigne affirmed this impression. As he put it, “Their fighting is noble and disinterested … their only motive for war being the desire to display their valor.”102 Indeed, according to Montaigne, there were only two articles of faith in the ethical economy of the savage: “valor against the enemy and love for their wives.”103 Such chivalric values would, no doubt, strike a resonant chord with those nobles who located their social identity in terms of military prowess.104 As Montaigne said, “As to the hardness and courage, as to the firmness, constancy and resolution against pain, hunger, and death, I should not fear to compare examples that I could find among them with the most ancient examples of our world.”105

Naked but for his lion skin and club, Hercules appeared every bit the savage, though as an emblem of proper governance, he symbolized not simply the ferocity of brute strength, but the powers to be derived from eloquence. Yet even in this respect, if we accept Montaigne’s judgment, the Brazilians embodied many of the ideals championed by humanists and personified by Hercules. As he put it, the Brazilian’s “language … is the most gentle [doux] in the world, and is the most pleasant

100Claude-Gilbert Dubois, Celtes et gaulois au XVle siècle: Le développement littéraire d’un mythe nationaliste avec l’édition critique d’un traité inédit de Guillaume Postel: De ce qui est premier pour réformer le monde (Paris: J.Vrin, 1972), 37.
101C’est la déduction, fol. K iii(r).
103Ibid., 312–13. Also see Michel de Certeau, Heterologies: Discourse on the Other (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 67–79.
105Montaigne, Essais, 3:399.
to the ear. It is very much like Greek in its endings." According to Montaigne, Montaigne seeks to demonstrate the refinement of the Tupi language by quoting from one of their love songs:

Adder stop; stop, adder, while my sister follows the patterns of your marking to fashion and weave it into a girdle for me to give my beloved. Thus it is, and always will be, that your beauty … is preferred to all other serpents.107

Arguing from the authority of his personal knowledge of poetry, Montaigne maintained that this Tupi song—far from being barbaric in its conception—was reminiscent of Anacreon, the much emulated Greek poet whose verse was to inspire members of the Pléïade throughout the 1550s and 1560s with its grace, elegance, and delicacy.108

Similarly, the Protestant minister Jean de Léry—who took part in the unsuccessful efforts of the French to found a colony in Brazil (1555–60)—made a related point regarding the similarity of the Tupi and Greek languages. In his introduction to a dialogue he claimed to have had with a Brazilian, Léry deferred to the judgment of an interpreter who had lived in Brazil for “seven or eight years and understood the language perfectly.” This interpreter, Léry explains, “had studied considerably, and even knew some Greek; therefore, since this nation of Tupinamba has drawn several words from that language (as those who understand it have already been able to observe), he could explain it all the better.”109

In a number of respects, the “savages” from Brazil shared key attributes of the antique models associated with elite identity.110 Significantly, this brought them within the same conceptual space occupied by the image-idea of Hercules.111 This

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106 Ibid., 1:262. William Brandon, New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and Their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500–1800 (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986), 15, argues that Tupi poetry became quite fashionable in Henri’s court as a result of this festival. I have not been able to verify this assertion by any other source.

107 Montaigne, Essais, 1:325.


111 Lawrence Bryant, “Politics, Ceremonies, and Embodiments of Majesty in Henry II’s France,” argues that the figure of the nude Hercules was a radical departure from traditional imagery of kingship; it was meant, he says, to communicate a humanist ideal in which the king derived his authority from nature and not from divine grace or from extraroyal ecclesiastical and juridical sources. Bryant, Politics, 150, interprets the Rouen display of the nude Brazilian king as a possible parody of this ideal of the orator king. He argues that the Brazilian king, instead of leading his people through learning and
is remarkably confirmed by the early-seventeenth-century explorer of Brazil, Marc Lescarbot, who described the Brazilians by comparing them to pictures he had seen of Hercules, who killed a lion, and put the skin on his back.”112 Indeed, as an emblem of kingship, Hercules was related not only to Henri II, but to Henri’s counterpart and ally across the seas, the Brazilian king Quoniambec. Accordingly, in his gallery of history’s most esteemed rulers, André Thevet not only included such men as Alexander, Caesar, François I. and Henri II, but also Quoniambec, whom he describes as a kind of New World Hercules.113 As he put it, Quoniambec, dressed in the skin of a lion and carrying a club, was “one much esteemed by his enemies, the Margageas, the Portuguese, and his other enemies for the unbending force of his massive body; but who was feared much more for his prudence and good grace.”114 This utterly alien being—a cannibal, a giant, a savage whose body was covered with tattoos and whose face was pierced and set with polished stones of emerald green and white—was thus also a Hercules, and as such, a mirror, despite his “otherness”, of kingship and nobility.

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eloquence towards civilization, leaves them in a state of warfare, barbarism, and savagery. While not discounting this possibility, I would suggest that by reincorporating the mise-en-scene of Brazil into the larger narrative structure of the entry, we can add further support to Bryant’s overall thesis by firming up the connections (e.g., through the mediation of “New World” savages) between Hercules’ nudity, his eloquence, and his natural virtue. Thus, for example, in addition to praising the Brazilians (who ne portent point de haut de chaussés) for their poetic eloquence, Montaigne, Essays, 1.306, also comments that they were endowed by nature herself with “the true, most useful, and natural virtues and properties.”

