BECOMING 'BRAZILIAN': THE BRAZILIAN CULTURAL PERFORMANCE FOR HENRI II's, KING OF FRANCE ROYAL ENTRY INTO ROUEN, NORMANDY (1550)

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This project derived from my lofty aspirations to take an early modern approach to France, one that would orient me to Africa or the New World. Ironically, it landed me to a reconstruction of a Brazilin village on the hilly banks of the Seine River. It is here, where I discovered my research interest in visual articulations of cultural identity in formerly colonized societies. As I leave the banks of the Seine, and progress onward with my academic studies, I hope to notice where my thesis ends: the irrecoverable effects of colonialization on the art production in Latin American societies.

My sincerest gratitude goes toward Dr. Stephanie Porras, my advisor on the project. She has become almost as a second mom to me as I navigated my way through graduate school. I thank her for first luring me into early modern studies, and for introducing this performance to me in her graduate seminar, "The Duke of Orléans: Early Modern Collecting, the Art Market and the First Museum". I would also like to thank the other two readers on my committee, Dr. Leslie Geddes and Dr. Elizabeth Boone. Their advice and feedback has been integral to the development of this project. Additionally, Dr. Adrian Anagnost's expertise on contemporary Brazil have further contributed to the progress of this paper. I would also like to thank Jane Pinzino from the Rare Book and Manuscript collection at Howard Tilton Memorial Library at Tulane for allowing me to consult key documents related to my project. My gratitude extends toward Vanessa Schmid, Senior Research Curator for European Art at the New Orleans Museum of Art (NOMA), who I worked closely with as her curatorial intern during my tenure at Tulane.

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INTRODUCTION

On October 1, 1550 Henri II, King of France (b.1519-1559, r.1557-1559), beheld a most unusual site on the banks of the Seine River in Normandy; a simulation of a Brazilian wooded forest on a stretch of land measuring two-hundred feet long and thirty-five feet wide.[1] Tree trunks, artificial shrubs, junipers, and strands of willow were painted red to symbolize *Paubrasilia echinata* or Brazilwood that when soaked produced a rich red dye; straw huts imitated native homes delineated the villages' periphery; and Brazilian wildlife such as monkeys and colorful parrots freely roamed the landscape. [2] Inhabiting the village were 250 Norman merchants and 50 Tupinambas, a local tribe in Brazil, who were forcibly brought from their home. These 'Brazilians' wore grass skirts and their lips and cheeks were pierced with plugs. They engaged in a range of daily activities that were meant to represent quotidian Brazilian life: some hunted after game with bow and arrows, or leisurely rested in hammocks, while others traded goods with French merchants on boats off the coast of the Seine.

Interrupting this tranquil scene was a sudden abrupt battle between the Tupinambas and their longtime enemy the Tobojaros. With war cubs, spears, and bow and arrows, both tribe

[1] *C'est la déduction*, f.67.
[2] Ibid.

vigorously fought one another. In the end, the protagonists of this narrative, the Tupinambas, claimed victory and wildly burned their enemies' huts in celebration. Henri watched in excitement as this representation of a New World battle unfolded before his eyes within his kingdom.

This *mise-en-scène* of a Brazilian village (Fig. 1) was the third out of ten performances comprising Henri's royal entry into Rouen, then capital of Normandy. [3]His entry consisted of three distinct movements: first, a municipal parade, second, a re-enactment of a Roman triumph, and finally, his descent into the city. The processional route followed the traditional medieval path; it began outside the cities' exterior walls in the meadows on the banks of the Seine River and ended at Rouen's cathedral of Notre Dame. [4] The employment of triumphal chariots, moving float-like decorations, was a distinguishing feature in the Rouen event. [5]

Royal processional entries flourished under the reign of Henri II. After his coronation in April 1547 following the death of his father, Francois I (b.1494-1547, r.1515-1547), Henri set upon the customary tour of the kingdom. His entry to Rouen marked the third he took since assuming the throne. [6] In 1548 Henri and his Florentine wife, Queen Catherine de Medici (1519-1559), visited Lyon for the purposes of being entertained; in 1549 the royal couple arrived to Paris in preparation for war with English over the contested territory Boulogne; and in 1550 the two were graciously greeted in Rouen as celebration of the king's annexation of this region. [7] All three cities, Paris, Lyon, and Rouen, vied for each other in magnificence for this royal spectacle.

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[3] Margaret McGowan, "This Historical Setting" in *L'entree de Henri II à Rouen 1550*, (New York, NY: Johnson Reprint Corp, 1997), 8-9.
[4] Ibid.
[5] V.E. Graham, "The Triumphal Entry in Sixteenth-Century France" in Renaissance and Reformation, 10.3 (1986), 240.
[6] McGowan, 9.
[7] Ibid.

[8] However, it was the Rouen entry with its sumptuous display of triumphal chariots, staged-water battle scenes, and reenactment of a Brazilian village, that made it regarded by contemporaries as the most spectacular of all entries.[9]

The Rouen town council oversaw the logistics of Henri's entry. Deliberations for this colossal undertaking began early on June 12, 1550. [10] At the top of councils' agenda was the issue of attendance. All of the city's citizens were required not only to attend, but also to offer either their physical labor in the production of this event, or help to finance this event. To ensure that this goal would be meet and the citizens would compile with these guidelines, heavy fees were enacted as penalties for not participating. Funding for this event also came in the form of substantial loans with high rates of interest were taken out by wealthy merchants to cover most of the entries' cost. The reminder of the procession's funding came by taxing the middle-class residents of the city much to their dissatisfaction. [11]

With issues of attendance and financing attended to, the Rouen town council addressed the entries' artistic production; all artistic designs had to be approved by them.[12] Sixteenth-century civic processions were typically directed by a single author with several artists submitting designs to meet the procession's artistic and thematic themes. Unfortunately, information regarding both the names of the contributing artists and the principal artistic director of this event are unknown, remaining open to speculation. Scholars have suggested that the principal artist may have been Maurice Scève, (c.1501-1564) who organized the Lyon entry (1548), Jean Goujon (1510-1572) who participated in the Paris entry, or possibly Brevedent, the

[8] Graham, 240.
[9] Ibid, 237.
[10] McGowan, 12.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Graham, 238.

prominent Rouen town councilor who choreographed the later entry of Charles IX in 1563. [13] While the identity of the artistic director is unknown, it is likely that the Rouen town council played an instrumental role in coordinating the entries' thematic motifs, iconography, and design since they were responsible for funding this colossal event.

Political Context

Addressing the new monarch, the French-Portuguese conflict over the rights to trade with Brazil was the impetus for the particular nature of the Rouen performance. During the sixteenth century, France was engaged in commercial trade in the territory now known as Brazil. Brazilwood was used for the production of red clothes and fabrics by burgeoning European textile industries. It was first cut and chopped in Brazil before being transported to Europe where it was soaked in water to produce red dye. This newly discovered source of red dye proved more viable and cost-effective than rival dyes sourced from in India. The route to Brazil was shorter than that to India which took forty sailing days as compared to four months. [14]

Yet, France's commercial involvement with Brazil defied the conditions outlined in the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). This document signed between Spain and Portugal divided newly discovered lands between the two nations. The line of demarcation was set at 370 leagues; Portugal was granted land 180 east of this line, while Spain was entitled to everything 180 west of this marker. [15] Portuguese navigator Pedro Álvares Cabral's (1467-1520) accidental discovery of Brazil in 1500 fell within Portuguese assigned zone and thus granted them

[13]Margaret McGowan does not provide a first name or dates for the Rouen town councilor, Brevdent. McGowan, 246.

[14] 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* (1984), 131.

[15] "Treaty of Tordesillas" in E. Bradford Burns eds., *Documentary History of Brazil* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1966), 16.

entitlement over the region. [16] Cabral sent back the ship, *Lemos*, to the Portuguese king that was filled with riches obtained for this expedition. [17] Included in this fleet was a sample of the Brazilwood tree that produced the highly coveted red-dye.

Shortly after Cabral's proclaimed discovery of Brazil, Honfleur navigator Paulmier de Gonneville's *L'Espoir* set sail to the Indies in search for similar riches to those found by Portuguese explorers in India. [18] Like Cabral, Gonneville's discovery of Brazil was accidental; his ship departed from the original course, instead bringing him to the shores of eastern Brazil. Once settled on the coast, Gonneville and his men spent six months living amongst the natives and traded for highly sought after New World singularities such as, cotton, parrots, and the acclaimed Brazilwood logs; these precious materials were loaded upon Gonneville's fleet returning to France. Also returning to France, was the young Tupinamba prince, Essomericq. Gonneville purportedly promised Essomericq's Brazilian father that he would teach his son the art of archery and combat in France. [19] Essomericq was the first Amerindian native recorded to be baptized by the French, and was given the Christian name, Binot de Gonneville. [20] The young Tupinamba prince married Gonneville's daughter, Suzanne, and became a living curiosity in Honfleur until his death.

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[16] Cabral and his men originally departed from Lisbon, capital of Portugal, en route to the Indies to obtain similar riches as acquired during Vasco da Gama's expedition. However, this boat was diverted westward after leaving the from its original path orienting him toward the western coast of present-day Brazil. The exact circumstances and logistics as to why his ship diverted are still up for debate.
"Introduction: The Voyage" in William Brooks Greenlee eds. and trans., *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India* (Nendeln, LI: Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967), xxiii-xix.

[17] "Noble Savages" in John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (London, UK: MacMillan Publishers Ltd.,), 12.

[18] According to Norman legend, it was not Columbus who first discovered America, but rather the Norman navigator, Jehan Cousin, who drifted to Brazil in 1488.
Michael Wintroub, "Pleading Their Case in a Silent War: Brazil in the Faubourg Saint-Sever" in *A Savage Mirror: Power, Identity, and Knowledge in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 21.

[19] Olive Patricia Dickason, "The Brazilian Connection: A look at the Origin of French Techniques for Trading with Amerindians", 131.

[20] Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror*, 23.

The Portuguese viewed the French as interlopers and responded to their presence in Brazil with frequent violence. French fleets spotted on the coast or in the surrounding ocean near Brazil were routinely pirated and destroyed. The contentious conditions facing the Norman merchants in Brazil prevented them from establishing permanent posts like their adversaries the Portuguese. To compensate for this unfavorable position, Norman merchants often lived in the natives' villages and adopted to their customs and practices as means to maintain and bolster trade.[21]

The French monarchy's reluctance to sponsor oversea trading expeditions further impaired Norman merchants' efforts to establish permanent foot holdings in Brazil. At the apex of the French-Portugal conflict, France still strove to maintain amicable relations with the Portuguese King, John III (b. 1502-1557, r.1521-1557). Embroiled in conflict with his long-standing enemy, the Habsburg King of Spain Charles V (b. 1500-1558, r.1516-1556), Francois sought an ally in John III. [22] However, the French king frequently vacillated between this proclaimed allegiance to the Portuguese king and his unbridled enthusiasm to capitalize on the material riches of the so-called New World. Tensions reached their climax when news reached the Portuguese crown that Francois was funding Italian navigator, Giovanni da Verranzano's (1485-1528), expedition to Brazil around 1522. Upon learning that his plans were discovered, Francois quickly reassured his loyalty to Portugal, voided his sponsorship to Verrazano voyage (though he would later go on to covertly endorse this trip) and enacted the biggest blow to the Norman mercantile class: a prohibition to Norman merchants from traveling to Brazil.[23] This

[21] This practice of assimilation will be more properly discussed in Chapter Three: The Performativity of Brazilian Culture for Henri II's entry into Rouen (1550).
[22] "Struggle" in Regina Johnson Tomlinson, *The Struggle for Brazil: Portugal and 'The French Interlopers' (1500-1550)* (New York, NY: Las Americas Co. 1970), 60.
[23] Wintroub, 21.

was the contentious maritime-political climate that the Brazilian cultural performance in the Rouen event took place.

Reassessing the 'Brazil' of the Rouen performance

The Rouen performance of 'Brazil' is often cited in studies concerning early modern transatlantic exchanges such as Patricia Seed's, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World* (1995) Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1964) and John Elliot's, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (1970). [24] Anthropologists, art historians, and cultural theorist have all taken their hand at trying to make sense of this performance. Interpretations typically fall into two readings: political and cultural. Political readings of the event focus on the propagandistic function of this performance. In a discussion about sixteenth-century French maps, discussed later in this thesis, Surekha Davies analyzes this performance as a persuasive tool employed by the rising Norman merchant class. [25] Cultural readings of this event make mention of its display of exotica, emblematic of the early modern cult of curiosity such as John Howland Rowe, "The Renaissance Foundations of Anthropology" and Steven Mullaney, "Strange Things, Gross Terms, Curious Customs: The Rehearsal of Cultures in the late Renaissance" (1983). [26]

Michael Wintroub, Professor of Rhetoric at University of Southern California (UCLA), provides the only monographic study of this event examining how this performance is related to a multitude of socio-cultural factors: the rising Norman merchant class, the ascribed barbaric

[24] Patricia Seed, "Ceremonies: The Theatrical Rituals of French Political Possessions" in *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 41-69.
[25] Surekha Davies "Trade, empires, and propaganda" in *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 109-147.
[26] Steven Mullaney, "Strange Things, Gross Terms, Curious Customs: The Rehearsal of Cultures in the Late Renaissance" in *Representations* 3.67 (1983), 40-67.

status of the French, and the chivalrous and humanistic values that Henri embodies. [27] Wintroub's account is rather radical in that it locates similarities rather than differences in this cultural performance, describing the event as a mirror for France's barbaric status ascribed to them by the Italians.

While Wintroub aptly discusses the social and cultural contexts for the Brazilian cultural performance, his study neglects to engage with questions of how the performance of cultural alterity simultaneously reinforced French cultural and commercial ideals and exposed the instability of cultural identity. This paper seeks to address this question by examining the discrepancy between the visual and textual accounts of this performance included in the official festival book of the entry: *C'est la déduction su sumptueux ordre (1551)*. By examining these textual and visual iterations of this ephemeral event from the perspective of early modern imitation theory, this paper will reveal the ambitious goals of the Rouen performers: to temporarily become Brazilian during the performance. The textual account, a brief three-page summarization of the performance recorded by an anonymous eyewitness, documents the cultural ambiguity of the Norman actors while its accompanying illustration homogenizes racial and ethnic differences to achieve the theoretical goal of mimesis: complete assimilation to the original, the Tupinamba native.

This thesis is organized into three sections that untangle the complexities of this event. The first two sections provide the necessary contextualization of this procession to properly understand the epistemological ramifications of the Rouen performance of cultural alterity. Chapter one situates the Brazilian cultural performance within the larger goals and principles of the entry. Depictions and references to war and battle thematically united several of the entries'

[27] Michel Wintroub, *A Savage Mirror: Power, Identity, and Knowledge in Early Modern France* (Berkeley, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

performances that appealed to the bellicose king. Sixteenth-century French popular culture often praised and exalted the Tupinambas warlike sensibilities. Quionembec, the Tupinamba King, was often related and regarded as the equivalent of the Greek demigod Hercules. The connection between the two is made explicit in the Rouen performance: both Quionembec and Hercules make an appearance in adjacent performances in the event. Thus, the *mise-en-scène* of a Brazilian village constructs a representation of Brazil that works to achieve the larger principles of the entry: to present an image of the king as a bellicose war-hero.

Chapter two examines sixteenth-century France's perceptions regarding the Tupinamba Brazilians that were informed by their current conflict with Brazil. This analysis is guided by an examination of Norman hydrographer Jean Rotz's portolan chart of Brazil (1547) (Fig.2). Produced three years prior to the Brazilian cultural performance, Rotz's chart contains similar iconographic representations of Brazilians as those witnessed in Rouen. It depicts a similar wooded Brazilian village: Brazilians engage in battle and trade with Norman merchants. However, unlike the performance, the chart details the natives' ritualistic cannibal practices. These pictorial narratives resonate with descriptions and illustrations from French explorer, Jean de Lery's (1536-1613) oft-quoted travel account, *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil (History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil)* (1578). The overlap between these two depictions of Brazilians is indicative of larger sixteenth-century cultural stereotypes regarding the New World natives. This chapter also examines the political circumstances surrounding this maps production. Originally intended for Francois I, King of France, but formally given to Henry VIII, King of England (b.1491-1547, r.1509-1547) this chart emblematizes the propagandic function of maps. Like the Brazilian cultural performance, the characterization of the Tupinambas as nice

amicable trading partners was meant to produce a favorable image of the natives and please the king.

Chapter three analyzes the oft-overlooked interaction between the textual description and the woodcut illustration of the performance. Both iterations tell different stories. The text demarcates the two ethnic groups, the Normans and the Tupinambas, who took part in the performance. The woodcut tableau meanwhile makes no distinction between racial categories. It realizes the theoretical goals set out by the performance: to become Brazilian.

Studying past performances poses numerous difficulties. The authors of the textual accounts in festival books are often guided by their own ambitious desires to present a magical and unrealistic image of the performances. As such, a healthy amount of skepticism regarding the feats of the production is necessary and should not be discouraged. Additionally, the ephemeral nature of performances creates an insurmountable distances a between it, and the person studying the event. There is no way to access past performances directly. Instead, knowledge of these events is solely derived from second-hand accounts. Thus, the study of performance is ultimately the study of things that describe the performance. This paper is a study of *C'est le déduction's* visual and textual descriptions of a Brazilian cultural performance. Analyzing the gaps between these textual and visual accounts reveals this performance ambitious pursuit of *imitatio*, to temporarily become Brazilian.

Figure 1
"Figure de Bresilians" in C'est la *déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26, f. 66
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

Figure 2
Jean Rotz, Map of Brazil, Rotz Atlas (1547)
British Library, London, UK
Royal 20 E IX, f.28, 20 x 11 in.

PART I: THEMES IN HENRI II'S ROYAL ENTRY INTO ROUEN

Henri's entry to Rouen began promptly at midday October 1, 1550 on the meadow of Sainte Catherine de Grandmont's priory just outside the cities' periphery. [28] An elevated gallery supported by Ionic columns and decorated with the king's device, a crescent moon, designated Henri's temporary royal lodging as he watched the ceremonies' beginnings. He took his seat on an elaborate mock-throne constructed for him that was positioned on top of a luxurious red carpet with gold embroidery. [29] Accompanied by his royal retinue who stood on both sides of the king, Henri watched from this high vantage point as the ceremonies' beginning scenes unfolded before him.

The procession's first movement was a municipal parade that showcased Rouen's finest individuals who joyously paraded toward the king at his review stand. [30] All were garbed in the king's official colors, black and white, and arranged in accordance to their social hierarchical status. [31] First, and of most importance, were the clergy followed by the merchants, fifty crossbowmen, forty "sergentz de la ville", men of law, and eighteen soldiers dressed as Roman gladiators. [32]

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[28] The description of the Rouen entry comes from its original source, *C'est la déduction*, and also Michael Wintroub's description in a *Savage Mirror*, and Margaret McGowan analysis in the facsimile of the festival book, *L'entrée de Henri II a Rouen, 1550: a facsimile*. These two secondary sources provide critical insight and explanatory purchase in untangling the complicated iconographic design.
Wintroub,15.
[29] *C'est la déduction*, f.11.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid, f.27

Next, came the second movement of the procession: a reenactment of a Caesar-Gallic triumph that paid homage to the king's recent military accomplishments in Boulogne. [33] Turks and elephants (Fig.3), chained captives (Fig.4) and bands of military men holding forts of Boulogne (Fig.5), vases with the spoils of war (Fig.6), laurel wreaths (Fig.7), banners (Fig.8), stakes with spoils of war (Fig.9), and sacrificial lambs (Fig.10) as offering, all triumphantly greeted the king at his throne. This movement's main spectacle was three elaborately crafted chariots. The first carried a personification of Fame chained to a skeleton that symbolizes death (Fig. 11); the second drew the allegorical figures of Royal Majesty, Virtue Victorious, Reverence, Fear, and Vesta, goddesses of Religion who held a model of a fort in her hand (Fig.12). The third chariot pulled Fortune and a representation of the king, Henri II (Fig. 13).[34]

When the final chariot passed, Henri was now ready to begin his ascent into Rouen, marking the third movement of the procession. He descended from his throne and made his journey on foot to the Seine River toward the Faubourg Saint-Sever just outside the city's walls. As he approached the meadow's banks, the king took his seat in a special scaffolding that was specially constructed for him. [35] Inaugurating the king's procession into the city was the most the remarkable spectacle of his entry: a recreation of a wooded Brazilian village. 300 inhabitants- 250 Norman merchants acting as Tupinambas and 50 true natives- performed various aspects of Tupinamba culture. The climax of the scene was a staged-mock battle between the Tupinamba and the Tobajora with the former claiming victory. This spectacle of the New World was the first

[33] Henri II acquired the contested territory Boulogne in Picardy, the northmost tip of France, from English possession in April 1550 for a lump sum of 400,000 écus.
Frederic J. Baumgartner, "Chef des Hommes de Guerre" in *Henry II King of France 1547-1559* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988), 143.
[34] *C'est la deducion*, f. 26-59.
[35] Ibid, f. 62.

performance that the king enjoyed as he made his descent into the city. It was precariously positioned on the periphery or edge of the cities' wall marking its marginalization and alterity.

Upon leaving the Brazilian village at the Faubourg Saint-Sever, Henri made his way toward the Seine bridge, the entry-point into the city. The entrance of the bridge was blocked by an imposing large rock, measuring 60 feet wide and 150 feet high (Fig.14).[36] Orpheus, the mythic Greek musician, sat on a marble throne atop of one of the stone's grotto-like stages playing his harp. Surrounding him were his nine Muses who harmoniously played their violins. Stretched across the cavernous front of the rock was rainbow, Queen Catherine d'Medici's personal device, surmounted by the crescent moon. Suddenly, the gallant warrior Hercules, garbed in leopard skin cloth, emerged from the stone's deep recesses. Hanging from his neck was a placard with a printed poem likening Henri II to the esteemed warrior Hercules. [37] Like Hercules, according to the poem, Henri was able to both bring war and peace as symbolized by the unison of the king's device the crescent moon and queen's device, the rainbow.

After passing before Orpheus and Hercules, Henri finally made his way across the Seine bridge. Dolphins, whales, and the mythological sea creatures, Neptune, Palemon, and Glaucus performed acrobatics for the king's amusement (Fig.15) down below on the surface of the river. Neptune delivered a most emphatic speech to the king recognizing him as the supreme leader of the terrestrial world. Soon after Neptune made his speech, he enjoyed a triumphal procession of his own: he was drawn on a chariot by two 'hippopotami' (likely costumed horses) that carried Calliope, muse of rhetoric. [38] Neptune's joyful procession was abruptly interrupted by the imploding sounds of canons and grenades firing from a French corsair aimed at a Portuguese ship. A *namuchie*, a theatrical sea battle, erupted between these two ships. The Portuguese fleet

[36] *C'est la deducion,* f. 70.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Wintroub, 17.

was completely destroyed, forcing its soldiers to swim to shore for their lives. This aquatic mock procession and its subsequent *namuchie* in which the French claimed victory, symbolized France as supreme ruler of the seas. Following the Brazilian performance and casting the Portuguese as villains, the marine performance too referred to the contested French presence in Brazil.

After this scene, Henri finally crossed the Seine bridge through a triumphal arch flanked by two sibyls, a large crescent moon, and a representation of Saturn (Fig. 16). Based on classical Roman architecture, this arched entryway inaugurated the king's entry into the city Rouen and symbolized peace, prosperity, and the new age of abundance. [39] Waiting outside of this archway for Henri were four city councilors with a lavish red velvet cloth canopy for the king to ride under for the reminder of the procession. This practice derived from medieval religious ceremonies of the Corpus Christi Feast. Sewed above Henri's canopy in silver letters, was the king's motto in Latin: "Donec totum impleat orbem", until it fills the entire world. This motto characterized the king's seemingly incompatible goals: a desire for peace and terrestrial expansion.[40]

With the visions of imperialistic conquest and peace emblematized before him on his canopy, Henri made his way to the cities' cathedral to perform the s ritualistic acts associated with the new French ruler's entry into the city. The repetition of these rights binds the king to his city. Henri performed the same religious rituals, such as entering in prayer at the city's' chief cathedral, as did his father and all past rulers of Rouen. Upon approaching the cathedral of Notre Dame, Henri was confronted with a statue of Hector, Hero of Troy, who was clad in armor and bore the wounds inflicted from Achilles (Fig. 17). Hector was believed to be the great Gallic ancestor to Henri II. The textual prose account written on a dense cloud below this statue

[39] McGowan, 24.
[40] Ibid, 25.

confirmed this ancestral lineage, recognizing Henri as his rightful heir and promising the success of the French monarchy.

As he progressed onward to the processions remaining scenes, Henri was confronted with more representations of his familial lineage. Outside the cathedral at Notre Dame des Carmes was a constructed theater with two stages and triumphal arches. Clotho and Atropos, goddesses of Fate, stood at the lower end of the stage, and held a serpent that was biting its tail, symbolizing eternity (Fig. 18).[41] Above them was a blazing image of the salamander, the royal symbol of Francois I. The iconographic reading of this scene served as visual prophecy for the king. As indicated by the salamander and the serpent biting his tail, Henri was to learn from his father's everlasting (infinite) and renowned kingship.[42] Before the King's eyes, the stage suddenly transformed into an exploding globe from which Pegasus symbol of immortal fame, burst forth.[43] The eyewitness chronicler interprets this scene as signifying the king's prosperity for the maintenance of his personal glory, state, and Church. [44]

The stage's metamorphosis continued with the second and final transformation inaugurated by Triton's trumpet fanfare coming from above the globe. Pegasus was replaced by a life-size painted image of Henri standing atop a silver crescent moon. [45] Vines containing leaves and fruits symbolizing diverse people from different nations, sprouted from Henri's chest. Seven God and Goddesses stood on the second floor below the painting and offered to Henri various gifts: specters from antiquity and ducal, imperial, and royal crowns. [46] These diverse mythological figures and the gifts that they presented represented the many diverse people and

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[41] McGowan, 26.
[42] Ibid.
[43] The mechanical logistics of this transforming scene are rather unclear and not elucidated by the eyewitness chronicle account.
[44] Ibid, 27.
[45] Ibid 26.
[46] Ibid.

places of France's territorial acquisitions. In particular, as McGowan makes note, the characters in this scene alludes to medieval France's conquest of Normandy, and the recent annexation of Boulogne. [47]

From this transforming theater, the king proceeded toward the procession's final pageant: an imitation of the terrestrial paradise, the Elysian Fields (Fig.19), enclosed with trellises of vines and fruits was constructed at the Pont de Robec. A representation of Francois I stood prominently in the middle of this lush garden. His image was accompanied by a personification of Good Memory who held a book written in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek. [48] This book alluded to the King's support and love of literature and the arts. Behind this pair was portrayal of Egria who symbolized profit and renown, derived from Francois I commercial support of trade. Bursting from her breast, was a stream that fed a fountain to the Muses.[49] Like the preceding pageants representing Francois I, this scene was meant for Henri to contemplate and continue the achievements of his father. Despite the incessant references to war and battle, Henri was to continue with his father's humanistic goals: to make France the epicenter in Europe for arts and culture. Crucially this was to be achieved via support for French mercantile interests abroad.

Leaving behind the Elysian Fields with an image of his father Henri was ready to complete the final activities of the procession: the religious rites. Outside of the cathedral of Notre Dame, Henri affirmed himself unto God as the divine source of his earthly rule. After this declaration, he entered the church's interior where he was well received by members of the Rouen clergy. Chantre of the Cathedral, Claude Chappuy, delivered an oration to the king that praised his virtues and implored him to protect over the true faith of his people.[50] Graciously

[47] McGowan, 26.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] McGowan, 29.

accepting Chappuy's willful praises, the king knelt before an image of the Virgin and said his prayers. Afterward, the king and congregation sang *Te Deum;* Henri's entry was complete and he was recognized as the divinely anointed ruler of the city. [51]

Imitatio: The Reenactment of an Ancient Roman Triumph

From the repetition of medieval religious practices such as the canopy used in the Feast of Corpus Christi, to the use of antique style arches, *imitatio* was the conceptual glue underpinning all of the processions performances. If the goal of early modern processions and triumphal entries were to curate an image of the king, then *imitatio* was the apparatus in which royal identity was generated. [52] By appropriating ancient and medieval practices, the city of Rouen crafted an image of the king as both a bold warrior and an eloquent orator. The Brazilian village stood in the middle of this teleological vision of kingship.

Formally, Henri's entry into Rouen takes the form of an ancient Roman triumph. Horse-drawn chariots, captives of war, and spoils of war carried by soldiers were the metaphorical imagery that related Henri's recent military achievements at Boulogne to the antique military prowess of Julius Caesar. Triumphal processions originated from early Near Eastern military parades and Greek religious processions.[53] The Assyrian stone bas-relief, *King Ashurbanipal riding in a triumphal procession* (c.668-627 B.C), from the Palace of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh depicts a Near Eastern military parade. Celebrating his military defeats over his enemy, the Elamite King Te-Ummam, the Ashurbanipal triumphantly rides in a horse-drawn chariot with a

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[51] Ibid 30.
[52] Roy Strong, "Removed Mysteries" in *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 22.
[53] Margaret Ann Zaho, "The History of the Roman Triumph" in *Imago Triumphalis: The Function and Significance of Triumphal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers* (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2004), 7.

canopy above him followed by soldiers and bounded captives. [54] Greek religious ceremonies incorporated a similar large procession; statues or ritual objects were held by city representatives as they processed through the city until reaching a sacred site or temple. [55]

Under Etruscan rule in the sixth century B.C., the Romans began implementing triumphal ceremonies into practice. [56] These processions focused on the religious purification of military and king as they prepared for war, while also celebrating the nation's recent military victories. The procession typically followed the same conceptual route: starting on the sacred grounds outside of the city in the Campus Martius, following the streets of the Capitoline leading to the temple, Jupiter Optimus Maximus.[57] The procession itself was generally divided into three parts: the first displayed captured objects and people, the second focused on the figure of the triumphing general himself, and the third represented the triumphal army. [58]

The general urban trajectory and motifs of Henri's entry to Rouen followed a similar typology of that of an ancient Roman triumph: the king's procession started outside of the city limits with a procession of war booty and chained captives, and ended at the cities' cathedral for the religious ceremonial acts. Andrea Mantegna's (1431-1506) nine painting series, *The Triumphs of Caesar* (c.1486-1505), commissioned by a Gonzaga family member[59] is believed to have informed the iconographic design of Henri's entry to Rouen. [60] McGowan purports that the designers of this entry may have saw Mantegna's series in the Palace of San Sebastiano where

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[54] Zaho, 7-8.
[55] Ibid, 8.
It is also reported that the decapitated head of Ashburbanipal's adversary, Te-Ummam, was also paraded around in this procession as a symbol of victory.
Domink Bonatz, "Ashburnipal's Headhunt: An Anthropological Perspective" in *Iraq* 66 (2004), 93.
[56] Zaho, 7.
[57] Ibid, 15.
[58] Andrew Martindale, "The 'Triumphs' and Classical Antiquity" in *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London, UK: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1979), 63.
[59] It is unclear as to which Gonzaga family member these series were commissioned by.
"The Early History of the Triumphs" in *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen at Hampton Court* (London, UK: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1979), 44-49.
[60] McGowan, 42.

they were housed since 1501.[61] An imitation of a Gallic Caesarean Roman Triumph would be particularly effective for the French monarchy, who tirelessly sought to prove their royal lineage to the Gauls. Indeed, this theme of Gallic lineage is repeatedly evoked throughout the procession, from the personifications of Hector to the allegorical representations of Hercules.

Regarded as "the best thing that Mantegna ever painted"[62] by Florentine art historian and artist Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) Mantegna's, *The Triumphs of Caesar* depicts various episodes of Casear's Gallic-triumphal procession. Soldiers adorned in luxurious Roman armory hold placards and banners of war (Fig.20), carts carried physical representations of the captured city (Fig. 21), soldiers carried coins, plates, and large marble vases, (Fig. 22) oxen's and trumpeters paraded in the procession (Fig. 23), elephants carried men who held vases of perfume (fig. 24), chained captives processed into the city (Fig. 25), bearers held allegorical symbols of the Caesar (Fig. 26), and lastly, the warrior himself Julius Caesar rode in a chariot drawn by horses (Fig. 27). The visual vocabulary of the Rouen event and its woodcut illustration closely follows Mantegna's design through its employment of chariots, placards, banners and spoils of war, and chained captives. [63]

The commission of Mantegna's *Triumphs* undoubtedly served to liken the military prowess of esteemed general Julius Caesar to that of the Gonzaga family. Mantegna was employed as the Gonzaga court artist from 1459 and remained there until his death at 1506. [64] The exact location of these series is speculative; Mantua art historian Equicola wrote that a special room was built from them in the palace of San Sebastiano by the Marchese Francesco

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[61] Ibid.
[62] Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' piú eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori,* Vol.1 (Florence, 1568), 489 quoted by Martindale, 20.
[63] Andrew Martindale speculates that Mantgena's visual portrayal of a Roman triumph was informed by the ancient literary texts of Plutarch and Appian.
Marindale, 63.
[64] Ibid, 18.

while their portability suggests that were intended for festival decorations. [65] Charles I (1600-1649), King of England, acquired the series in 1629-30 through his block purchase of the Gonzaga family's famed art collection. The paintings are still housed at the English royal palace Hampton Court. The Rouen events iconography and choreography derives from Roman antiquity that is mediated by Italian Renaissance artists such as Mantegna. By imitating this culture, the designers of the event envisioned themselves and France as culturally and politically comparable to the esteemed ancient Roman society.

Quonimabec and Hercules

The recreation of a Brazilian village and the representation of Hercules, contained similar themes of imperialist conquest, creating an overarching image of the king as a ruthless warrior with expansionist goals.[66] While the parade of the booty and prisoners of war from the annexation of Boulogne explicitly re-enacted elements of a Roman triumph, so too, did the recreation of a Brazilian village, as it touted the material and living acquisitions of Brazilian goods and people. Parrots, monkeys, and actual Brazilian natives were uprooted from their homes to forcibly participate in this show of French power. The parallels between these two unlikely warriors reinforce images of the king as a chivalric war hero.

Both the Tupinamba king, Quonimabec, who led his tribe to victory in the mock-battle scene, and his French equivalent Hercules, in the adjacent *tableau vivant,* share a warlike sensibility intended to resonate with Henri's predilection for battle and war. Unlike his father,

[65] Martindale, 31.
[66] This theme of imperialistic conquest has a double meaning when one considers how Normandy was an acquired territory won by the French from Britain during the medieval period.

Francois I, who was regarded as the "Father of Learning"[67] and exemplar of eloquence, Henri II, "Father of the Nobility"[68] ruled with stern violence and brutal force. His martial disposition was often been attributed to his birth month March ruled by Mars God of War. [69] Indeed, Henri was quick to inflict violence at the sight of any minor conflict. During his regime, an estimated 176 people were condemned of heresy with the enactment of the infamous Chambre Ardente in 1547.[70] Henri was even quicker to enforce military rule. In 1548, he dispatched six thousand troops to Scotland to rescue the its Dowager French Queen when her rule was under threat by the Somerset troops from Southwest England. [71]

Quonimabec, the Tupinamba war-hero who lead his tribe to victory in the mock-battle scene, and his European counterpart Hercules in the adjacent *tableaux vivant* propagated ideal images of the king as a chivalric war-hero. Their proximate placement to one another encouraged the spectator to draw comparisons between the two men. Both Quonimabec and Hercules were valorized during the sixteenth-century in France for their heroism. Similarly, both also participated in acts of combat during the Rouen event: at the Faubourg Saint-Sever, Quonimabec vigorously fought his opponents with war-cubs while before the ancient Seine bridge, Hercules slayed the seven-headed hydra.

French Franciscan explorer and royal cosmographer, Andre Thevet (1504-1592), was the first to formally designate Quonimabec as the king to the Tupinambas. Modeled after Plutrach's Lives, Thevet's, *Les Vrais pourtraits et vies hommes illustres*, published in Paris in 1584

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[67] Lawrence M. Bryant, "Politics, Ceremonies, and Embodiments of Majesty in Henry II's France" in *Ritual, Ceremony and the Changing Monarchy in France, 1350-1789* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), 133.
[68] Ibid, 132.
[69] McGowan purports that the designers of this entry may have saw Mantegna's series in the Palace of San Sebastiano where they were housed since 1501.
McGowan, 42.
[70] Henri's adamant stance against intrusions to the Catholic faith earned him the title "Fils aine de l'Eglise".
McGowan, 7.
[71] Ibid.

recounted the lives of the most esteemed men of his time such as Francois I and Henri II.[72] Native chiefs from the New World such as Montezuma, Atahualpa, Nacol-absou, Paracoussi Satoriona, and Quoniambec are listed amidst these esteemed European men of nobility.[73] Thevet's impetus for including these native American chiefs may have derived from systemic European proclivity to impart Old World order and systems onto the New World. The perceived absence of a monarchical system in New World societies was a source of frequent frustration to European explorers whose conceptions of different people relied upon similitude.[74] Spanish explorer Christopher Columbus (1451-1506), accustomed to greeting the American "Kings" in his journeys[75] lamented on how he could not properly identify the Grand Khan[76] during one of his travels. By importing a king and native monarchical system, the Europeans could effectively make the New World more familiar.

Thevet's description of New World native chiefs was largely informed by his experience serving as a chaplain for French naval officer Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon's (1510-1571) failed expedition in 1555 to set up the first colony in Brazil. Additionally, on his way back to France, Thevet made stops in Mexico, Canada, and Florida which informed some of his accounts of native chiefs in *Les Vrais pourtraits*.[77] Thevet describes Quonimabec in *Les Vrais pourtraits* as being "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

[72] Roger Schlesinger, "Introduction" in *Portraits from the French Renaissance and Wars of Religion* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University, 2010), xiv.
[73] Schlesinger, *Portraits from the French Renaissance and the Wars of Religion*, xiv.
[74] Peter Mason, "The Ethnography of the Old World and New Mind: Indians and Europe" in *Antropos* 4.6 (1989), 551.
[75] Peter Cook, "'A King in Every Countrey': English and French Encounters with Indigenous Leaders in Sixteenth-Century America" in the *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 24.2 (2013), 3.
[76] Peter Mason, "The Ethnography of the Old World and New Mind: Indians and Europe", 551.
[77] Roger Schlesinger, "Introduction" in *Portraits from the French Renaissance and the Wars of Religion* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2010), xiv.

and good grace."[78] An exaggerated half-size engraved portrait of Quonimabec, *Quioniambec, A Giantlike Man* (Fig. 28), depicts the king in similar costume as the ones displayed in the Brazilian performance. [79] The warrior wears lips and cheek plugs, a gorget, headdress, and holds a war club in his hand. While Thevet equates Quonimbec to a French king, his employment of the word "gigantic" illuminates the difficulties of adequately translating Old World ideals, such as monarchy, onto the New World. Peter Mason remarks that the usage of this word, "recalls the negative view of the primitive prehistoric world"[80] while also "attesting to an intact youth which contrasts with the decaying and moribund Europe"[81].

Like Thevet's depiction of Quoimabec as occupying a comparable role to that of a French King, Hercules was also regarded as an emblem of the French monarchy during the early modern period. Son of Jupiter and Acleme [82], the demigod Hercules symbolized two contradictory identities as both a warrior (typically referred to as the Libyan Hercules) and an eloquent orator. Greek sophist Lucian describes Hercules to eloquence remarking that he was "a wise man who achieved everything by eloquence and applied persuasion as his principle force," [83] and also claimed to have spotted the demigod in Gaul. Lucian's ascription of Gallic origins to Hercules gave animus to comparisons made between the demigod and the French monarchy. In the Rouen event, on a placard with the hung from Hercules neck relating him to the French king, Henri II:

> 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?

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[78] Michael Wintroub, A *Savage Mirror: Power, Identity, and Knowledge in Early Modern France*, 62.
[79] Peter Mason, 551.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Patricia Simons, "Hercules in Italian Renaissance Art: Masculine Labor and Homoerotic Libido" in *Art History* 31.5 (2008), 203.
[83] Lucian, "Heracles" in *Lucian* trans. A.M. Harmon (Cambridge, CT: Harvard University Press, 1913), 67.

Who honorably establishes peace in place of war....[84]

Similar comparison between the French king and Hercules were made such during Henri's entry to Paris on June 16 1549 where a statue of a Gallic-Hercules in the guise of Francois I stood atop of a triumphal arch at the Saint-Denis gate.[85] Similarly, Francois's earlier 1532 entry into Rouen also related the French king to Hercules. [86]

Both Quonimabec and the Libyan Hercules are also united by their contemporary relation to perceptions of "barbarianism" and "savagery" in early modern Europe. The Italians ascribed this derogatory term to the French, particularly the Normans, on account of the nation's frequent military attacks on the peninsula, their "unsophisticated" language, and their feudal emphasis on war and combat. [87] Similarly, the inhabitants of the New World were often described as vicious "savages" due to their cannibalistic practices and emphasis on war. Remarking on this symmetry Michael Wintroub purports that Hercules, with his power of eloquence, civilizes Quonimabec. [88] The designers of the Rouen event took advantage of this oscillation by using the humanistic virtues of Hercules to codify their own perceived barbaric nobility. Just like Hercules is able to civilize Quonimabec, so too does Henri possess the power to tame the savages in the Brazilian village at the Saint-Faubourg Sever. The likeness between Hercules and Quionemebc draws from the entries larger themes concerning *imitatio* by imitating idealized virtues of the king.

The recreation of a Brazilian village was strategically choreographed to fit within the entries' larger principles and themes: to propagate an image of the king as both a fierce imperialistic warrior and also a calm orator. This persona was created through the imitation of

[84] "Moy Renommée, o hault Roy tres chrestien, du Ciel en terre, a ton loz étendue, I'y sur la mort, au feu Roy père tien, donne triomphe, et gloire á troy bien due" in *C'est la déduction du somptueux.*
[85] Robert E. Hallowell, "Rosnard and the Gallic Hercules Myth" in *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962), 252.
[86] Ibid, 253.
[87] Wintroub, 180.
[88] Ibid.

ancient and medieval practices intended to glorify and cement the French king's role as the anointed sovereign and military leader of France. The re-enactment of a Roman triumph related the king to the military and imperialistic prowess of Julius Caesar. This notion of imperial conquest and proclivity to war extended to the unnamed Brazilian village, which represented another kind of conquest, both imperial and commercial. The comparison of Quonimbec as the Tupinamba equivalent of Hercules, related to Henri's warlike sensibilities. This triangular relationship between Quionembec, Hercules, and Henri fits with the entries' larger themes of *imitatio.* Quinoembec and Hercules imitate chivalric virtues of kingship: Quionemebc is designated as the Tupinamaba King by Thevet while Hercules symbolizes the esteemed Gallic mythological warrior. The parallels between both warrior's points toward Henri's bellicose disposition.

Figure 3
"La premiere figures des Elephantz" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

Figure 4
"Les Captives" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

Figure 5 "Le premiere bande" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

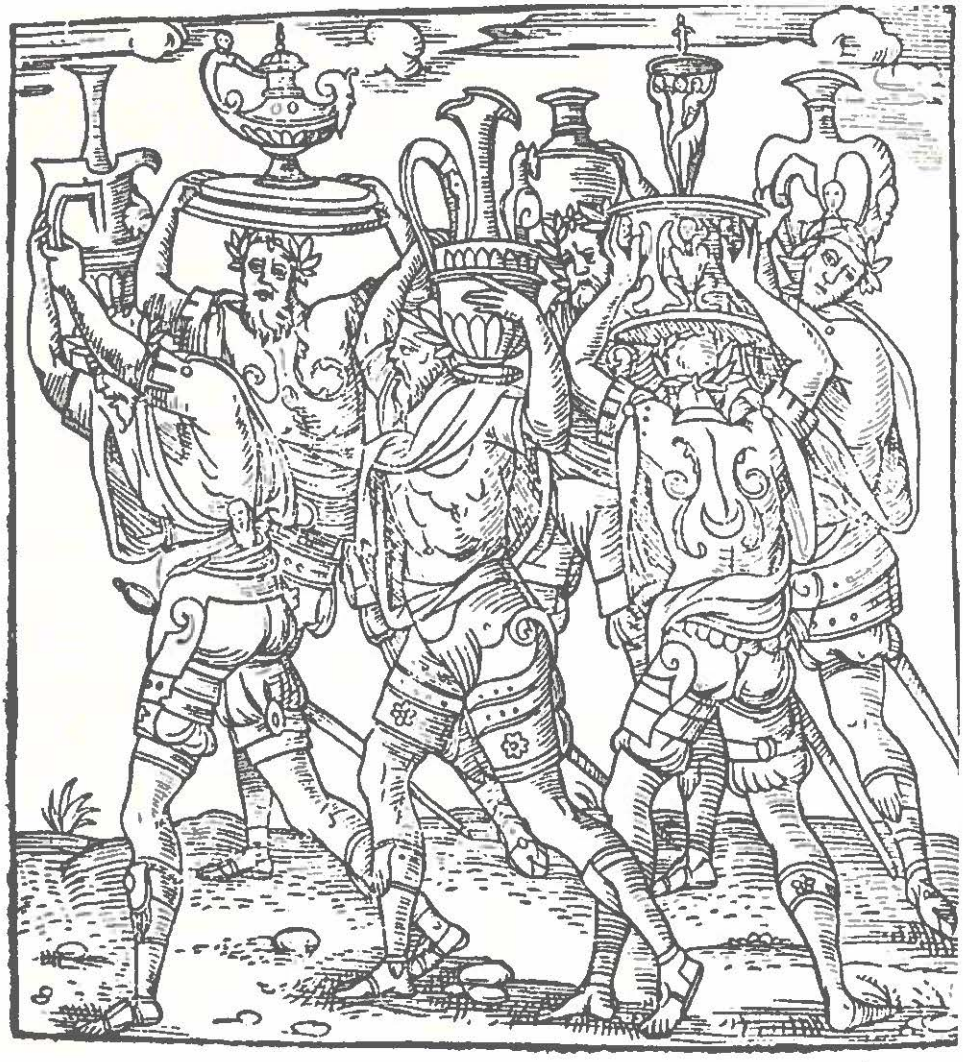

Figure 6
"Le seconde bande" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

Figure 7
"Le tierce bande" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

Figure 8
"La quarte bande" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

Figure 9
"Le cinqiesme bande" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

Figure 10
"La sixisme bande" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

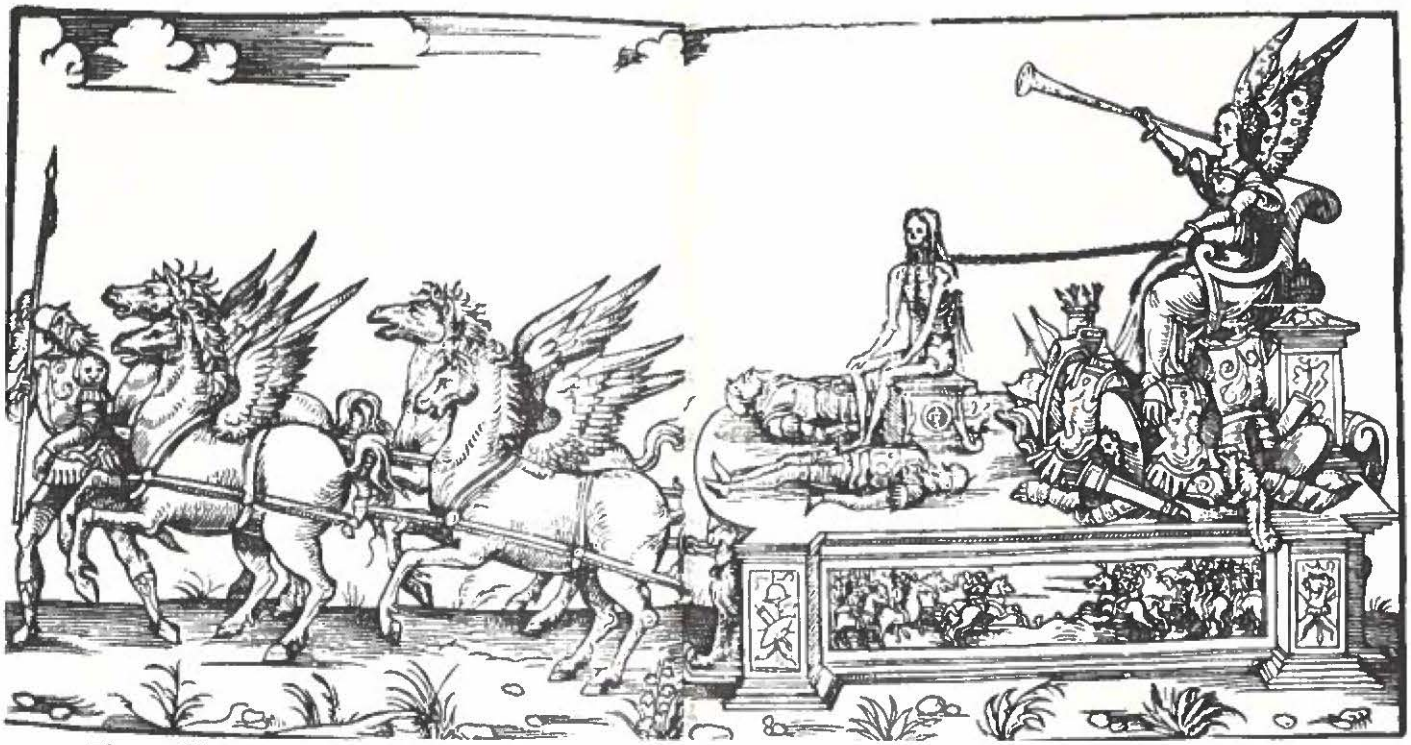

Figure 11
"Le Chard Renommée" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

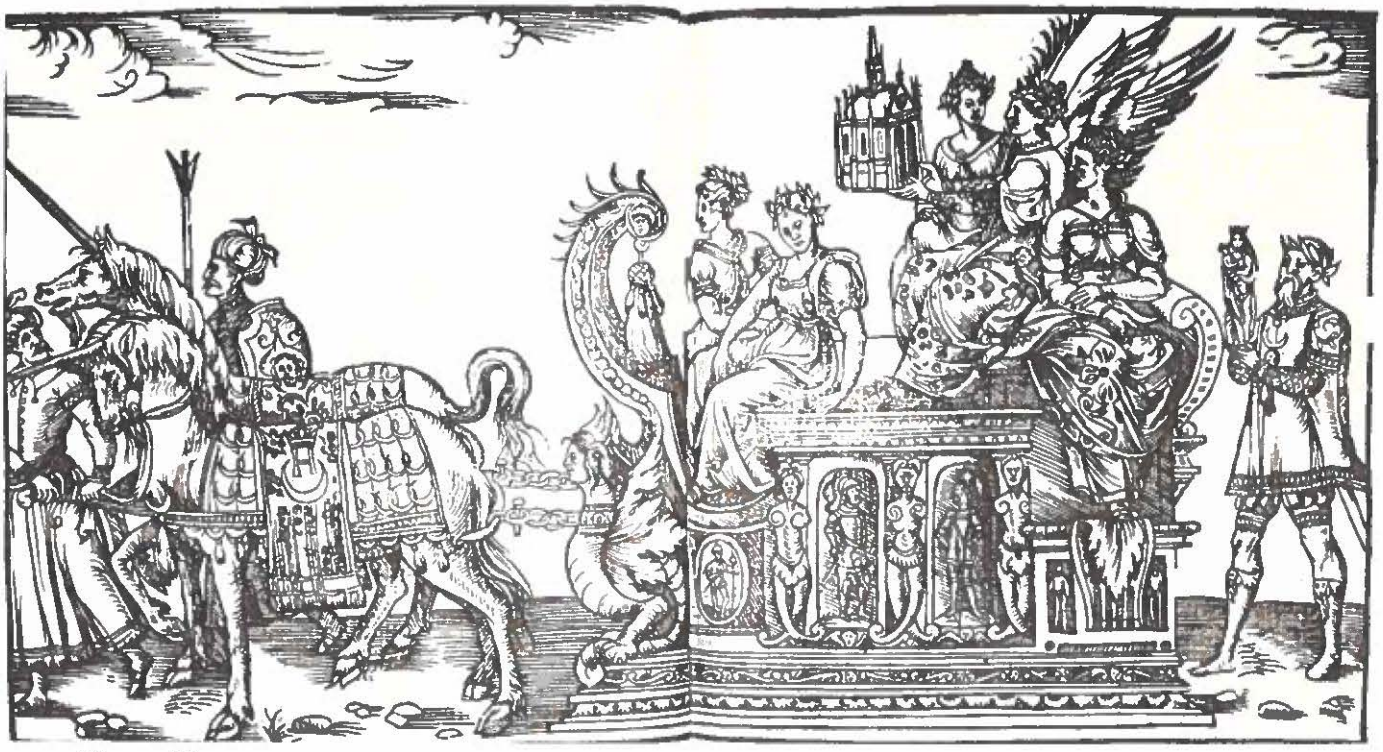

Figure 12
"Le Charde de Religion" in *C'est la deduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

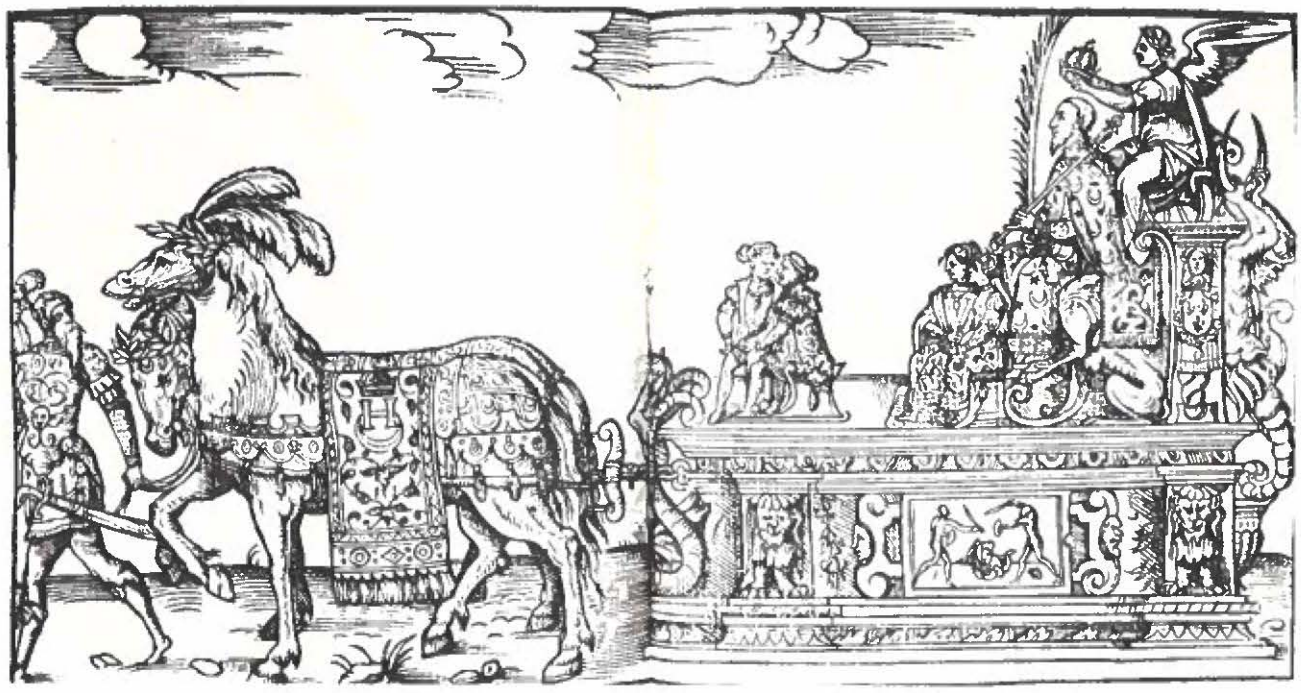

Figure 13
"Le Charde d'Heuse fortune" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

Figure 14
"Le Massis du Roch a l'entrée du Pont" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

Figure 15
"Le Triumphe de la Riuiere" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

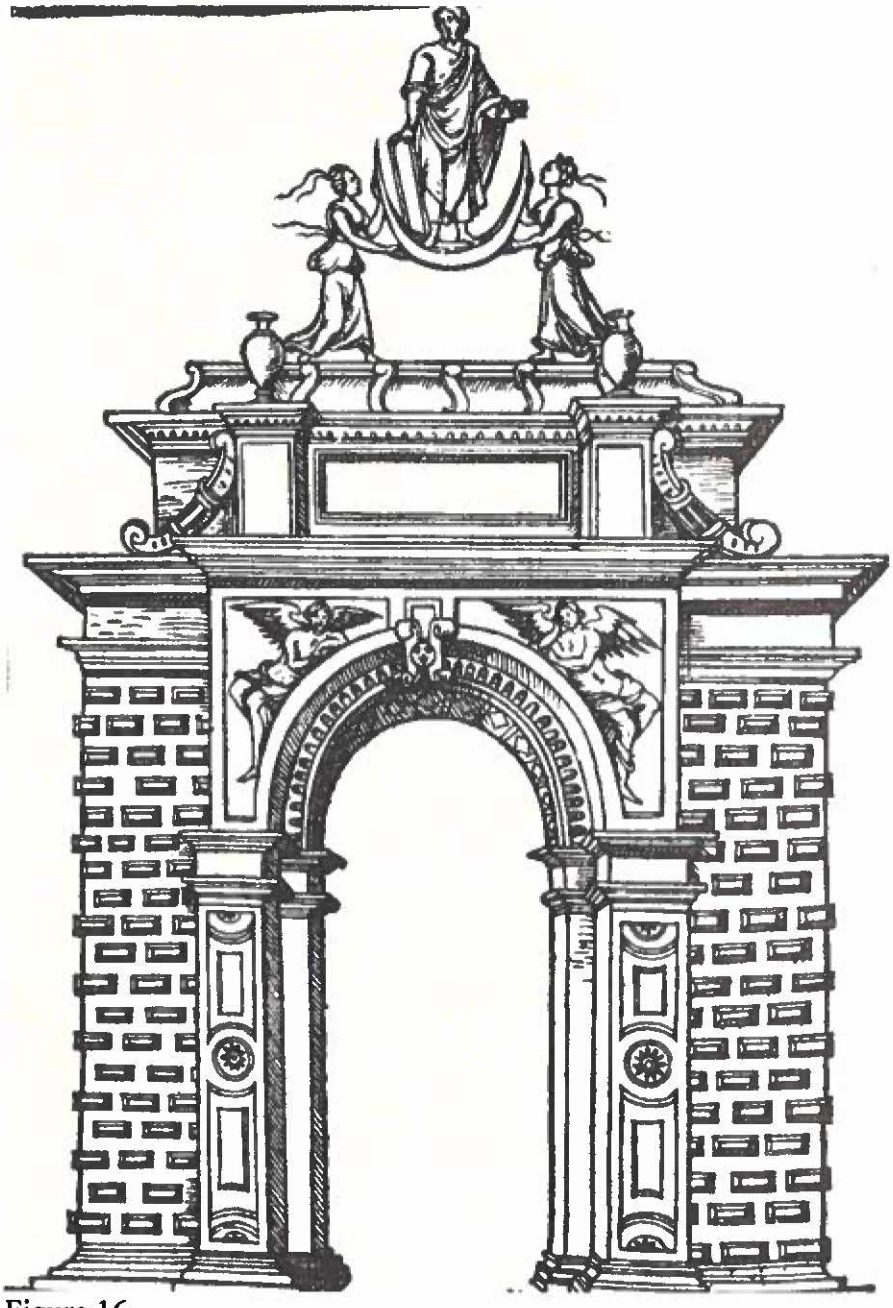

Figure 16
"La figure de l'aage dor" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

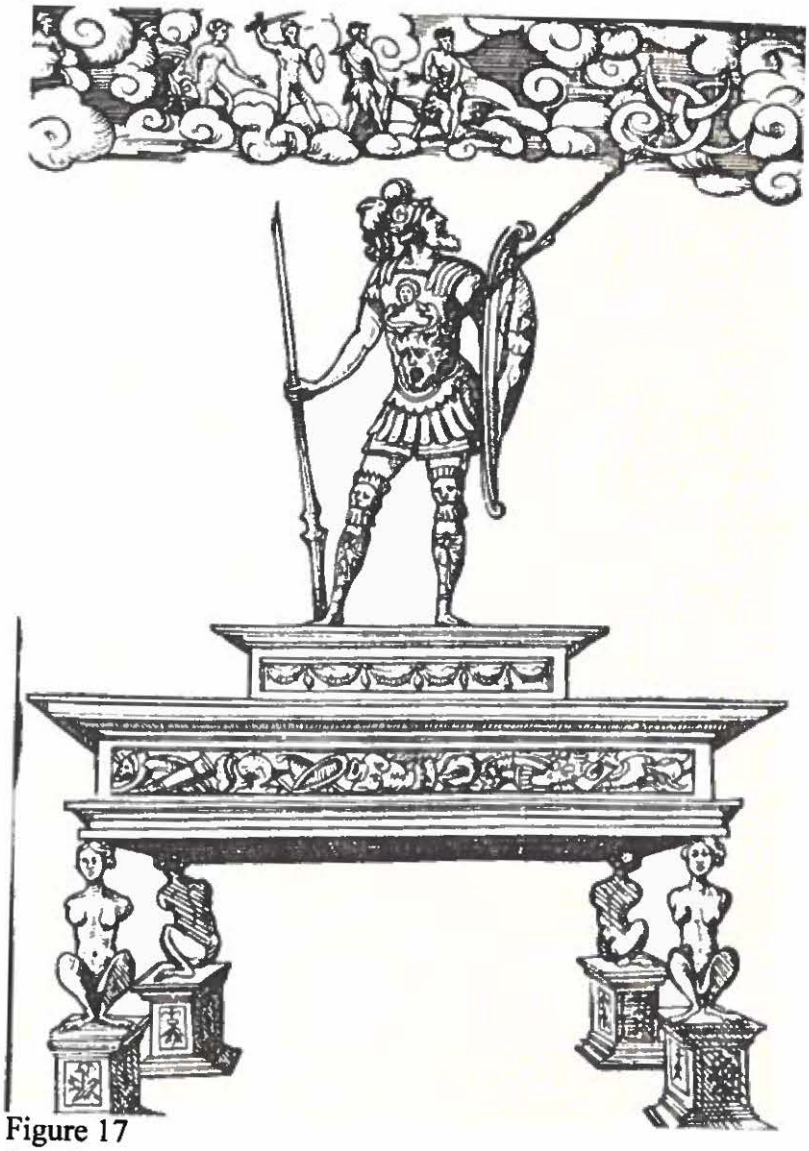

Figure 17
"La figure d'Hector" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

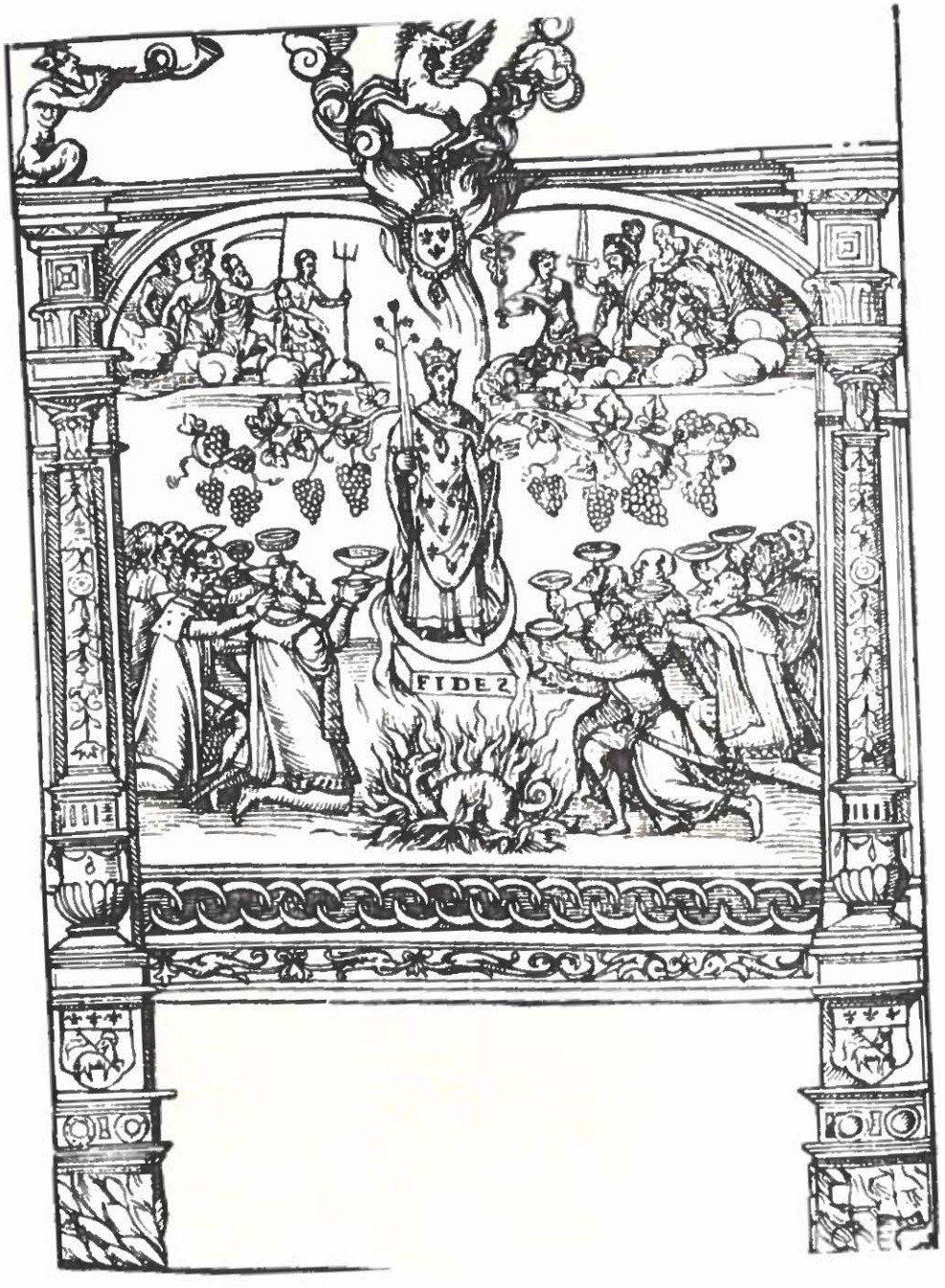

Figure 18
"Le Theatre de la Crosse" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

Figure 19
"La figure du pont de Robec" in *C'est la déduction* (1551), Rouen, Normandy
British Library, London, England 811.d26.
Engraved woodcut, 6 x 8 in.

Figure 20
Triumphs of Caesar (1): Trumpeters, bearers of standards, and banners (c.1486-1505) Andrea Mantegna
Tempera on canvas
106 x 110 in.
Hampton Court Palace, England

Figure 21
Triumphs of Caesar (2): Triumphal Chariots with Trophies (c.1486-1505)
Andrea Mantegna
Tempera on canvas
106 x 110 in.
Hampton Court Palace, England

Figure 22
Triumphs of Caesar (3): The Bearers of Trophies and Bullion (c.1486-1505) Andrea Mantegna
Tempera on canvas
106 x 110 in.
Hampton Court Palace, England

Figure 23
Triumphs of Caesar (5): Elephants and Sacrificial Animals (c.1486-1505) Andrea Mantegna
Tempera on canvas
106 x 110 in.
Hampton Court Palace, England

Figure 24
Triumphs of Caesar (6): The Corslet Bearers (c.1486-1505) Andrea Mantegna
Tempera on canvas
106 x 110 in.
Hampton Court Palace, England

Figure 25
Triumphs of Caesar (7): The Captives (c.1486-1505)
Andrea Mantegna
Tempera on canvas
106 x 110 in.
Hampton Court Palace, England

Figure 26
Triumphs of Caesar (8): The Musicians (c.1486-1505) Andrea Mantegna
Tempera on canvas
106 x 110 in.
Hampton Court Palace, England

Figure 27
Triumphs of Caesar (8): Caesar Supported on his Chariot (c.1486-1505) Andrea Mantegna
Tempera on canvas
106 x 110 in.
Hampton Court Palace, England

Figure 28
Quoniambec A Giantlike Man (1676) Engraving
8.5 x
6.8cm
JB Archive of Early Modern Images

PART II, SIXTEENTH-CENTURY DEPICTIONS OF BRAZILIANS: JEAN ROTZ'S PORTOLAN CHART OF BRAZIL (1542)

The iconographic design of the Brazilian village in the Rouen entry derived from popular images of the New World that were circulating in France during the sixteenth century. Maps, travel accounts and their accompanying visual illustrations ethnographically described the inhabitants of Brazil to a reading and viewing public. The politics surrounding France's commercial involvement with Brazil meant there was considerable interest in the representation of these native New World people. These representations of the New World were strategically crafted to function as instruments of French imperial and commercial propaganda, much like the Rouen entry.

Norman hydrographer Jean Rotz's (ca. 1505-after 1560) portolan chart of Brazil in his illuminated atlas, *The Boke of Idrography* (1542), is emblematic of sixteenth-century France's perceptions of the New World inhabitants. It contains similar ethnographic representations of Brazilian indigenous peoples as those performed in the Rouen event (1550). Depicted in this regional map is a vivid reconstruction of a Tupinamba village replete with lush verdant Brazilwood trees, wooden huts made of straw, and exotic green parrots. Various figural scenes portraying the daily life of the region's inhabitants are placed against this narrative backdrop. The Tupinamba natives are seen laying in hammocks, fighting with bow and arrows, trading with Norman merchants, and cooking dismembered human body parts.

This section examines France's perceptions of the Tupinamba Brazilians by analyzing Jean Rotz's nautical chart of Brazil that serves as a paradigm for sixteenth-century French visual

representations of the New World Americans. French iconography of the Tupinamba natives were largely shaped by the French-Portugal trade dispute over Brazil; the indigenous Brazilian people were typically represented as friendly and amicable trading partners, in order to lobby support from the French monarchy in the funding of overseas expeditions to Brazil. Though it is unlikely that the designers of the Rouen event came into contact with Rotz Atlas, for it stayed in its original location in England from the mid sixteenth century to the present day, it is probable that the designers of the Rouen event were likely looking toward the same sources as Rotz in their formulation of this performance. Like the performance of Brazilian culture for Henri's entry into Rouen, the Rotz atlas was initially produced for a French audience to represent Norman commercial trade in Brazil in a favorable light. Analyzing Rotz's chart of Brazil reveals prevalent sixteenth-century French iconography of the Tupinamba Brazilians which is represented in the *mise-en-scène* of a Brazilian village.

The Rotz Atlas (1542)

In 1542 Jean Rotz presented to the King of England, Henry VIII (1491-1547), with an array of navigational gifts: his *cadrant differential* (differential quadrant) a device of his own invention consisting of a universal dial and magnetic compass; the treatise, "Traicte des differences du compas aymante" explaining its use; and his illuminated manuscript, the *Boke of Idrography.* [89] Rotz presented these gifts to the king in the hopes that he would appoint him as his royal hydrographer. Prior to this offering, Rotz spent two years in Paris trying to obtain this position in the court of Francois I of France. [90] It was here, that the *Boke of Idrography*, commonly referred to as the Rotz Atlas, was initially conceived and intended as a political gift to

[89] Helen Wallis, "Sixteenth-Century Maritime Manuscript Atlases" in *Images of the World: The Atlas Through History* (Washington, DC: McGraw-Hill Companies, 1997), 14.
[90] Ibid.

the French monarch. After Rotz's attempts proved futile, he relocated to England to seek a position in the court of English King Henry VIII and was awarded this role after the presentation of his gifts to the king.[91] Rotz worked as the king's royal hydrographer until the king's death in 1547 and afterwards returned to France to work as a ship-builder for Henri II. [92]

In the dedication of the atlas, Rotz insists on the verisimilitude of the maps' geographies stating that, "All this I have set down as exactly and truly as possible, drawing as much from my own experience and from the certain experience of my friends and fellow navigators." [93] Much of the manuscripts' maps are informed by Rotz's direct knowledge of navigation. Born of Scottish royal descent, Rotz grew up in the epicenter of Normandy's maritime activity: Dieppe, a small port city located in northern Normandy and across from the English Channel. His father, David Ross, was an important Dieppois merchant and purportedly put his son in contact with the prominent ship-builder or *amateur* Jean Ango. [94] Rotz accompanied French navigator Jean Partimeneter on one of Ango's ship that set sail to Sumatra from 1529 to 1530. Rotz is also reported traveling to Guinea and Brazil in 1539 though the circumstances of this voyage are rather unclear. [95]

Rotz's illuminated manuscript consists of sixteen vellum folios measuring 20 by 11 inches. The first six pages contain a brief written navigational manual on nautical science while the other double-sided ten pages depict eleven regional charts and one world map. When put together, the regional maps form a world map measuring 84 by 155 inches. The entirety of the

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[91] On the point of the manuscripts' different recipient than the one originally intended for, Rotz remarked to Henry VIII that God "chose to direct it [the *Boke of Idography*] elsewhere, to better fortune that I hoped" as quoted in Helen Wallis ed. *The Maps and Text of the Boke of Idrography Presented by Jean Rotz to Henry VIII* (Oxford, 1981), pp.66-67 in Helen Wallis, "Sixteenth-Century Maritime Manuscript Atlases" in *Images of the World,* 16.

[92] Robert J. King, "Henry VIII's Atlas" in Nicholas Roberts eds., *Mapping Our World: Terra Incognita to Australia* (Canberra, ACT: National Library of Australia, 2013), 74.

[93] Helen Wallis, *Images of the World,* 14.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Hellen Wallis mentions Rotz visiting these regions but provides no additional information on the details of this trip. *Images of the World,* 16.

book is written in its recipients' native tongue: English, or more specifically an anglicized late Middle Scots in a gothic cursive script. Each page is embroidered with a rich double-sided border that contains decorative designs of fleur-de-lis and ornamental flowers. A thin strip of luminous gold followed by a measured ruler delineates these borders. Elaborate rose compasses, composed of an illustrious gold, red, and blue, with rhumb lines extending from their axes are arbitrarily sprinkled throughout the maps' pictorial vignettes. The inclusion of these navigational symbols serve as a performative gesture that signify the hydrographer's expanse nautical knowledge. The pictorial vignettes included in his map of Brazil were purportedly drawn from *ad vivum*, from life, further corroborating the atlas' verisimilitude. This practice deviates from traditional cartographic practices where a separate miniaturist is employed to complete the maps' illustrations.

Rotz belonged to a group of mapmakers, most of which originated from Dieppe, collectively known as the Norman School of Cartography. This school consisted of eleven known Norman cartographers who produced in sum thirty-one extant works. [96] Among the most prominent cartographers emerging from this school were Pierre Desceliers, Guillaume Le Testu, Jean Guerard, and Jean Rotz whose manuscript, the *Boke of Idrography*, is believed to have been the first manuscript in extant belonging to this group. [97] The map-making practices of the Norman School of Cartography were largely informed by Portuguese cartography. Portuguese maps came into the hands of Norman mapmakers either from Portuguese ambassadors and cartographers working for the French king, or from the ruthless acquisition of Portuguese maps on overseas expeditions. The most palpable indicator of the Portuguese cartographic influence

[96] Sarah Toulouse, "Marine Cartography and Navigation in Renaissance France" in David Woodward eds., *The History of Cartography, Volume 3 Part 2* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 1550.
[97] Ibid.

on Norman maps is the ubiquity of place-names written in Portuguese.[98] The Portuguese cartographic influences on Dieppe mapmakers is illustrative of a larger political-maritime landscape during the sixteenth century. Maps contained invaluable nautical information related to territorial claims. They showed recently discovered lands and oceans. As such, maps were considered intellectual property.

As seen in the complicated production history of Rotz's Atlas, maps were often exchanged as political pawns between royal courts. The Portuguese atlas, the Miller Atlas, is the most noticeable example of this phenomena. Likely commissioned by the Portuguese king, John III, the Miller Atlas was collectively produced by three different Portuguese cartographers: Lopo Homem and father and son duo Jorge and Reniel Pedro. [99] The atlas consisted of four sheets and one world map all composed on parchment. The manuscript's title page curiously depicts the coat of arms of Catherine de 'Medici, wife to Henri II. Scholars have conjectured that Andre Homem, a distant relative to Lopo Homem included this symbol sometime after 1559. [100] His motivation for doing so may have been to either gain a prestigious post in her court, or to support the idea of setting up a French colony in Brazil.

This unusual detail may explain the provenance of the atlas that traces it back to France. It is first recorded in Paris on June 8, 1855 by bookholder Jacques Charavay who showed this chart to Viscount de Santarem. [101] Santarem acquired this chart from Charvay and then have it to Clement Miller in whom the chart is named after. Miller's widow was employed at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris where she bequeathed this chart to, and were it is still currently held.

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[98] Ibid.
[99] Marcel Destombes, "Lopo Homem Atlas of 1519" in *the Geographical Journal* 90.5 (1937), 461.
[100] Armando Cortesao, "The Cartographers Pedro and Jorge Reinel and their Work" in *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, (Libson, PT: Libosa, 1960), 55.
[101] Ibid.

The Miller Atlas also contains a chart of Brazil. A rich ethnographic scene of the Brazilian natives is depicted inside of the regions' landmass. A band of naked natives assembled into a line carry Brazilwood logs. Their actions seem to be facilitated and watched by two native chiefs adorned in colorful feathered hats and skirts. This narrative captures the lucrative Brazilwood trade. The Latin inscribed cartouche on the top upper portion of the map describes Brazil as the place that "grows in great quality the tree called Brazil, which is considered proper for dying clothes in purple". [102] Like their exclusive claim to Brazil, Portugal is also subtly proclaiming their monopoly over the Brazilwood commercial trade through the insertion of this quote in the cartouche.

The chart of Brazil (Fig.29) in the Miller Atlas also emphasizes Portuguese and Spanish territorial claims to the New World. Flanked on the eastern coast of Brazil are flags that contain the Portuguese symbol for the Order of Christ which alluded to their imperialist territorial pursuits. [103] Lopo Homem, one of the map's alleged cartographers, is cited commenting upon the disputed French-Portuguese conflict over Brazil. In an undated letter addressed to the Portuguese king John III, Homem states that:

> As I am informed that your Majesty was sending to France because of what the King of France demands from Y.M. [a Portuguese ambassador] because he also says that he wants to interfere about your lands and navigations which [he says] are also his and belong to him. [104]

Homem is referring to Francois I, then king of France, refusal to acknowledge the conditions listed in the Treaty of Tordesillas that granted Portugal rights to Brazil. The information

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[102] Cortesao, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica*, 55.
[103] Matthew H. Voss, "'In this Sign you Shall Conquer': The Cross of the Order of Christ in Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Cartography" in *Terrae Incognitae: The Journal of the Society for the History of Discoveries* 39.1 (2007), 24.
[104] Cortesao, 55.

pertaining to Francois inference of the Portuguese "lands and navigations" is likely indicated on cartographic material.

Rotz's portolan chart of Brazil takes part in this vast political-maritime landscape of competing imperialist interests. As aforementioned, maps were often political instruments that were exchanged or forcibly acquired between royal courts and denoted or postured nautical knowledge and territorial claims. Like the Miller Atlas, Rotz's manuscript moved between royal courts denoting the transmission of knowledge and cartographic knowledge with imperial interest. Therefore, Rotz's maps demonstrate not only the transmission of knowledge, but the imbrication of cartographic knowledge with imperial interest.

The "Amicable" Brazilian Woodcutters: Depicting Commerce in Rotz's Portolan Chart of Brazil

The upper middle quadrants of Rotz's chart of Brazil portrays Norman merchants and Brazilian natives trading with one another. The former is seen exchanging rifles for Brazilwood with the latter. Both groups, the Normans and the Brazilians, are distinguished from one another by their dress. The Norman merchants are luxuriously garbed in a sumptuous red and blue ensemble. Their red shirts reflexively refer to the color dye extracted from Brazilwood: red. The Tupinambas, in contrast, are completely naked, a definable trait ascribed to the New World inhabitants by European cartographers.

Situated behind these two figural groups is a dense wooded forest replete with Brazilwood trees, signifying the environmental viability that sustained the depicted commerce. On the outer-banks of this wooded landscape a band of naked Brazilian natives mine and exploit this forest for its economic riches: they carry logs of chopped Brazilwood in their arms bundled

tightly to their chests. As this narrative gradually unfolds away from this forest, the Brazilians form a more organized assembly. A group of natives, holding Brazilwood red-logs in their hand are arranged in a linear fashion to transport this material to a Norman merchant who stands on an anchored boat on the coast. Curiously caught amidst of this transaction are two green parrots who sit perched upon the logwoods carried by the two Brazilians in the front. The inclusion of these birds signals the exotic locale for this labor. The reciprocal exchange of this trade is represented in the opposite vignettes to the left. Two Norman merchants walk toward the north carrying black rifles over their backs, gifts for the Brazilian natives. The Rotz Atlas was intended to serve as a political gift to French king Francois I and, as such, sought to depict the economic and commercial interests of Brazil. The king's issuing prohibition on the importation and trade of Brazilwood gave animus to those interested in this lucrative commercial trade to come up with strategies to sway the opinion of the king, or circumvent these restrictions.

French historian Charles de la Ronciere famously remarked that, "if you want to find the governing principle in the maritime politics of the day, you must seek it not at the Court of King Francis I, but at Dieppe."[105] Despite the king's issuing prohibition, Norman merchants ingeniously found ways to circumvent these regulations such as relying on private wealthy ship-owners or *armateurs* as they were called, to fund private expeditions. Native Dieppois resident Jean Ango was amongst the most prominent of these *armateurs* who sponsored several expeditions to the Americas and in 1536 was appointed as the lieutenant to the Admiralty of France. [106]

[105] Helen Wallis, *Images from the World,* 13.

[106] Surekha Davies, "Trade, Empires, and Propaganda" in *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human* (London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 112.

Francois I prohibition severed relations between the French monarchy and the rising mercantile class. French poet, navigator, and close confide of Jean Ango, Jean Cringon, famously professed his frustration toward the French king, stating:

> "If the king would but loosen the bridle on French merchants, in less than four or five years they would win for him the friendships and ensure the obedience of the Brazilian natives without arms and persuasion and good conduct." [107]

Cringon was convinced that if the king would see that the Brazilian natives were amicable and obedient trading partner's eager to assist the needs of the Norman merchants, then he would be more convinced to fund overseas expeditions to the region. His sentiments are emblematic of a collective Norman consciousness strove to articulate through visual culture, a fabricated and constructed of the Brazilian Tupinamba natives that were friendly and enthusiastic to trade with Norman merchants. The chart of Brazil works toward this goal by depicting a favorable representation of the Brazilian natives as ardent woodcutter's eager to trade with the French merchants.

The Brazilian Cannibal

While Norman visual artists portrayed the Brazilian native peoples as ardent woodcutters, their European counterparts, the Portuguese, Dutch, and German, conveyed these people as fierce flesh-eating cannibals. The neologism "cannibal" was first used in the European vernacular by Spanish explorer Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) while describing the Arawak-speaking Caribs in the Antilles Islands. In one of his letters from his first voyage, Columbus describes the inhabitants on the islands as "men with one eye and other[s] with dogs'

[107]"Si le Roi....voulait lâcher la bride aux négociants français, en moins de quatre ou cinq ans ceux-ci lui auraient conquis l'amitié et assure l'obéissance des indigenes bresiliens, sans autre arms que la persuasion et les bon procédés".Quoted from *A. Anthiaume, Carte marines, constructions navals, voyages de decouverte chez les normands, 1500-1600* by Surekha Davies in *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human,* 109.

noses who ate men"[108] and preyed upon the innocent Taino people. According to Columbus, these one-eyed monsters were cannibals that feast upon the flesh of the innocent Taino people. [109] However, the word Carib, as it was employed by the Taino people, referred not to those who practiced cannibalism, but instead to a distinct ethnic group of Arawak-speaking people. Columbus mistranslation of Carib was seismic in the formation of European cultural stereotypes and perceptions regarding the New World American peoples. Cannibals thus became synonymous with indigenous American people. This affixation gained particular currency among early modern mapmakers who were eager to portray these people as savages in their pictorial vignettes. [110]

The earliest known extant maps to illustrate indigenous Americans as cannibals was the anonymous manuscript, likely composed by a Portuguese cartographer, known as the Kunstmann II map (Fig. 30). These episodes portray Brazilian natives using a device known as a spit to roast and devour human flesh. The figural narratives on this map was purportedly informed by Columbus's graphic descriptions of anthropophagy in his published letters from his first voyages to the Americas. In the Kunstmann II map, a Brazilian kneels on the floor holding this device which punctures a human body over a roasting fire. Similarly, in Waldseemüller's map of Brazil, a naked Brazilian native holds a related constructed structure over a fire while another native is seen eating a dismembered human leg. [111]

While Portuguese and German maps frequently depicted the Brazilian natives as savage cannibals, the maps produced by the Norman School of Cartography resisted this stereotype.

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[108] As quoted in Columbus, Letters from America, 58-61, by Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*, 74.
[109] Ibid 76.
[110] Curiously, these descriptions of the flesh-eating peoples of America only made a marginal portion of Columbus accounts. Equal, if not more weight, was given to peaceful Taino peoples. Why mapmakers latched onto these descriptions of the New World natives is beyond the bound of this paper, but would nonetheless make for an interesting case study.
[111] Davies, 319.

Rather, these indigenous people were portrayed in a "favorable" light, and were represented as ardent woodcutters and traders. Rotz's anomalous depictions of cannibalism in his chart of Brazil differentiate him from his Dieppois contemporaries, and signifies a distinct depiction the Brazilian natives. While Rotz is unique among his Dieppois counterparts for depicting cannibalism at all, this ritualistic practice is more downplayed in Rotz's map than Portuguese equvalents. Rotz's depictions of cannibalism are downplayed as compared to Portuguese cartographic representations of Brazilians.

Two episodic scenes depicting Brazilian anthropophagy appear in the pictorial vignettes in Rotz's map of Brazil. The first scene takes place in a wooden constructed palisade, delineated by tree trunks, positioned in the center of the chart. In the forefront, a group of naked Brazilian natives are depicted sitting on the villages' floor huddled before a most peculiar sight. Before them is a constructed structure that supports five straw hammocks in which Brazilians lay. The scene is enclosed by three elongated straw huts positioned to the right, left, and in front of this group. In the back of this building, is a constructed wooden apparatus that is used to cook human bodies. From its arched curved roof hang three hammocks containing human bodies that dangle over small pits of fire.

Although post-dating the production of this chart, French Calvinist Jean de Lery's (1536-1613) travel account, *Histoire d'un voyage faicit en la terre du Brésil (History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil Otherwise Called America),* too recalls similar scenes of cannibalism as the ones evoked in Rotz's nautical chart. First published in 1578 in Lyon, Lery's narrative describes his experience in Brazil while assisting in the first Protestant missionary and French colony established in the region named Fort Coligny, an enterprise spearheaded under the direction of

the French naval commander Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon in 1555.[112] In Brazilian tribal societies, prisoners of war were frequently cooked and eaten by their victors not for nourishment, but rather, according to Lery, "out of vengeance"[113] intended to "strike fear and terror into the hearts of the living."[114] Before their bodies are vengefully eaten, the captives of war enjoy a considerable degree of hospitality from their victors. Lery remarks seeing these prisoners of war being fed "the best food that can be found"[115] and "given wives."[116] In Rotz's chart, the huddled Brazilian people in the front who sit on the floor entertain and provide company for the presumed prisoners of war who rest in hammocks before being cooked and eaten as revenge.

The second scene of cannibalism in Rotz's chart unfolds through a series of mini episodes beginning in the lower left quadrant of the map. In this corner, two warring Brazilian tribes vigorously fight one another with bow and arrows. The victim of this encounter lays with an arrow protruding from his chest supine on the villages' floor. In the upper preceding episode, a naked Brazilian native stands helplessly with his waist tied to a rope pinned down by four wooden nails to the village floor. On his right another Brazilian ruthlessly assaults the tied native. He holds a wooden paddle with both hands raised above his head in mid-strike. Across from him, is a Brazilian native woman who appears to be calling for help, pointing to the village behind her with her left hand. A dismembered body missing its lower extremities is shown laying on the floor in the above scene. It is implied that one of the figure's dismembered legs is being roasted on a wooden structure that is monitored by native who kneels before a fire below.

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[112] Janet Whatley, "Introduction" in *Jean de Lery History of a Voyage to the land of Brazil Otherwise Called America,* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), xxi.
[113] *History of a Voyage to Brazil,* 127.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid, 122.
[116] *History of a Voyage to Brazil,* 122.

Rotz's depictions of the instruments employed to cook dismembered human parts are vested with a certain degree of verisimilitude as corroborated by Lery's account. In his travel account, Lery vehemently criticizes early modern mapmakers' misrepresentations of these tools. Perhaps referring to the aforementioned maps, the Portuguese map Kunstmann II and the *Carta Marina*, Lery remarks these mapmakers routinely represent Brazilians using spits to cook their victim just as "we cook mutton joints and other meat"[117] on maps. Instead, he explains that they use a device known as *boucan* or barbecue, in which a constructed frame is used to hold dismembered human body parts above a fire, as portrayed in Rotz's chart of Brazil.

Lery's eyewitness account on the customs of the native Brazilians also aligns with Rotz's figural episodes depicting the violence imparted upon the Tupinambas on their fellow natives. In the right periphery of the map, Rotz depicts a scene of a native Brazilian tied to ropes foreshadowing his imminent death. Prisoners of war were often killed by having their ligaments torn apart in this manner. Lery's textual account describes this phenomena stating that he observed the bodies of captives of war being bind "with ropes made of cotton or the bark of a tree that they call yvire"[118] that left their "arms left free"[119]. After they were bound by these ropes, the victors "pulled hard enough so that the captive, caught by the middle of the body, is held up short and cannot move"[120]. The result of this violent assault was the dismemberment of body parts.

French philosopher Michel de Montaigne's (1533-1593) oft-quoted essay "On Cannibals" offers a counter perspective to the European reception of tales of Brazilian cannibalism, which aligns with Rotz's treatment of this practice in his chart. Written in 1581,

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[117] *History of a Voyage to Brazil,* 127. .
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid, 123.

and likely informed by Lery's travel account, Montaigne's essay self-reflexively compares Brazilian barbarism to that of European's own cultural savagery.[121] The fictional and unidentified gentleman, who stays in Montagine's residence, spent considerable time in the same colony that Lery did, Fort Coligny, and in the essay relays to him his experience in this region. Reflecting upon this travelers, Montaigne compares the Brazilian practice of cannibalism to ancient European's own ritualistic practice of anthropophagy. [122]

Montaigne mentions that the Greeks, the great ancestors to the French, also participated in cannibalistic rituals. Citing the ancient Greek philosophers, Chrysippus and Zeno, Montaigne who comment upon cannibalism stating that these "two heads of the Stoic sect, were of opinion that there was no hurt in making use of our dead carcasses, in what way so ever for our necessity, and in feeding them too."[123] Similarly, Montaigne makes mention of France's Gallic ancestors who, besieged by Caesar, fought famine by eating the bodies of "their old men, women, and other persons who were incapable of bearing arms."[124] These occurrences of anthropophagy practiced by France's distant ancestors, are not far from those employed by the native Brazilian peoples. Perhaps, it is not this practice that makes one barbarous, but rather,

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[121] Michael Wintrob, "Civilizing the Savage and the Making of a King" in *the Sixteenth Century Journal* 29.2 (1998), 465-494 and book *A Savage Mirror* (Berkeley, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).
The savagery of the "New" World barbarian, as indicated in the performance of Brazilian culture for the Rouen event, holds a mirror to France's own "barbaric" cultural identity as ascribed to by their European counterparts in particular the Italians. See chapter one for further commentary.

[122] Lery makes a similar comparison toward the end of his description on Brazilian cannibalism stating that, "Nevertheless, so that those who read these horrible things, practiced daily among these barbarous nations of the land of Brazil, may also think more carefully about the things that go on every day over here, among us" (132) and "Furthermore, if it comes to the brutal action of really (as one says) chewing and devouring human flesh, have we not found people in these regions over here, even among those who bear the name of Christian, both in Italy and elsewhere" (132).
Jean de Lery: History of Voyage to a Land of Brazil.

[123] Michel de Montaigne, "Of Cannibals", in *Michel de Montaigne's Essays* (New York, NY: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987), 7.

[124] Montaigne "Of Cannibals".

Montaigne suggests Brazilian alterity to European culture that subjects them toward this ascription.[125]

While Montaigne's essay postdates the production of Rotz's chart of Brazil, the two men appear to share similar sentiments regarding Brazilian anthropophagy. As Surekha Davies aptly states, that while Rotz's depictions of cannibals in his chart is anomalous in the broader context of Norman visual representations of the Tupinamba natives, the depiction of cannibalism is somewhat muted by the appearance of other native practices and traditions. [126] Indeed, instead of singularly depicting the Brazilians as flesh-eating cannibals, Rotz portrays a gamut of activities that avoids type-casting these natives as solely cannibals, a prevalent cultural stereotype in much other cartographic and printed depictions of Brazilians. It is this somewhat more nuanced perception of Brazilian culture, as both "savage" and familiar that perhaps gave way to the performance of "Brazilian" culture for the Rouen event, where 150 Norman merchants acted out the customs and practices of the Tupinamba natives.

Analyzing Rotz's portolan chart of Brazil alongside with the French-Portugal conflict over Brazil and other European maps of South America, and sixteenth-century French travel accounts of the region elucidates prevalent French cultural stereotypes regarding New World Amerindians. France's conflict with Portugal over the rights to trade with Brazil created a new visual tradition and iconography in which the Brazilian native's peoples were portrayed as eager woodcutters and amicable trading partners. Rotz's treatment of Brazilian cannibalism does not

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[125] Montaigne begins his essay by quoting King Pyrrhus who expresses similar sentiments:
"When King Pyrrhus invaded Italy, having viewed and considered the order of the army of the Romans sent out to meet him; 'I know not," said he, 'what kind of barbarians' (for so the Greeks called all other nations) 'these may be; but the disposition of this army that I see has nothing of barbarism in it" (1).
Montaigne, "On Cannibals"

[126]"Rotz's image of Brazil, while reflecting the gamut of activities that had been described in published and unpublished sources, placed relatively little emphasis on cannibalism. The bright crimson tunics of the French traders and the reddish logs carried by the Tupinamba draw the viewer's attention away from the more unsavoury aspects of Tupi life" (128).
Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human.*

exclusively portray native Brazilians as engaged in this perceived barbaric practice, and makes it a point to characterize this tradition within its cultural ritualistic ceremony. The attitudes conveyed through Rotz's pictorial vignettes illuminate wider French conceptions regarding the Brazilian native's people that came to inform the performance of Brazilian culture for the Rouen event. The next chapter examines the integral role that the Norman go-betweens played in Brazil, and how their performance of Brazilian culture in Henri's entry raises questions about the formulation of culture, anticipating Montaigne's description of the cultural similitude between the so-called cannibal and the early modern Frenchman.

Figure 29
Lopo Homem, Chart of Brazil in the Miller Atlas (1519)
Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Figure 30
Detail of Brazil from the Kunstmann II map (c.1506)
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. icon. 133.

PART III: PERFORMING AS BECOMING: REPETITION IN THE BRAZILIAN CULTURAL PERFORMANCE IN THE ROUEN EVENT (1550)

The trope of the amicable Tupinamba native as an eager trading partner depicted in Rotz's portolan chart of Brazil, was reused in the Rouen entry's performance of Brazil: the performances' actors play as Tupinambas who eagerly supply French merchants with Brazilwood. The textual and visual descriptions of this event published in the official festival book of Henri's entry to Rouen, *C'est la déduction du sumptueux ordre* (1551), recount this performance differently. The text captures the slippage of differences between the two ethnic groups, the Norman merchants acting as Tupinambas and the "true" Tupinambas, while the engraved woodcut homogenizes race: all figures are visually represented as Brazilians.

Tracing the textual and visual representations of the Brazilian performance exposes the epistemological ramifications of early modern imitations of cultural alterity, demonstrating the perceived fluidity of cultural identity. The textual account and print were likely completed by two different individuals. The print claims to be a copy after an original, the performance, but markedly deviates from the reality of this event by failing to distinguish between tthe Norman merchants imitating Brazilians and the Tupinambas. By doing so, the print realizes both the ambitious goals of the theatrical performance, to bring Brazil to Rouen, and the theoretical goals of early modern notions of mimesis, to collapse the distance between imitator and imitated.

Early Modern Festival Books

Currently held at the British Library in London, *C'est la déduction* contains 60 laminated pages each measuring eight by six inches that are bounded by straight-grain morocco over pasteboard. [127] The first five introductory pages include a dedication to the king, statement of the books privileges, and an epigram written in Latin and translated in French. The book's main section consists of 47 pages of prose and woodcut illustrations that describe and illustrate each of the processions' performances. The remaining eight pages give a brief description of the Queen's entry following Henri's and poems and song texts related to the entry.

C'est la déduction was published just one year after Henri's royal entry in 1551 in Rouen. Jean de Prest, a Rouen printmaker, printed the book for the publisher/booksellers Robert le Hoy and Robert and Jehan du Gord.[128] The manuscripts' privileges page makes mention of the booksellers receiving permission from both the attorney general and the Rouen parliament to distribute the book.[129] Unfortunately, it is unclear where the book was sold and to whom or where it was stored. The first known mention of its provenance comes from a cursory note in the *Bibliographer: A Journal of Bibliography and Rare Books News*. In the first volume of the 1902 edition notes section, *C'est la déduction* is citing belonging to Charles Lomier's personal library and sold at the Hotel Drouot on May 20-24 for 2,680 francs.[130] Additionally, the King of France Henri VI's entry to Rouen festival book, *Entree de Henri VI*, was also sold for 4,750 francs. [131]

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[127] *C'est la déduction* digitized by the Getty Research Institute Internet Archive, 2009. https://archive.org/details/cestladedvctiond00chap

[128] It is unclear as to why three separate booksellers were employed to distribute this manuscript. A separate investigation into early modern publishing practices as it pertains to this book would make for a fruitful study. *C'est la déduction*, 2.

[129] Ibid.

[130] This source frustrated fails to mention the exact year of which this sale took place though further research with the permit of time could yield a promising and exact answer.
Victor Hugo Paltsits, "Notes from Bibliographical Journals" in Paul Leicester Ford eds. *The Bibliographer: A Journal of Bibliography and Rare Book News*, 1 (1902), 319.

[131] Ibid.

Festival books emerged as published product during the early modern period as royal processions evolved and grew in complexity.[132] Before the invention of printing in the mid-fifteenth century, these events were often recorded through paintings and manuscript illumination.[133] Fifteenth-century French artist Jean Fouquet (1420-1481) painted Charles V's entry to Paris in 1364 (Fig. 29) and John II the Good entry to Paris in 1350 (Fig. 30) and both were included in *Grand Chroniques de France* (1455-1460), a manuscript which narrates French history from the thirteenth to the fifteenth-century. [134] Both paintings follow the traditional pictorial typology employed before the advent of festival books: a profile view of the king, luxuriously adorned in a flowing robe, riding on horseback into the city.

Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly distinguishes between three different types of festival records: one-off two-dimensional records (such as Fouquet's illuminations); one-off three-dimensional records; and mass produced festival books. [135] The first category, included manuscript illuminations of the procession's central performances bound in a book either with or without text. The portability of this format allowed for easy mobility while the manuscript made it unique and likely for an elite viewer. One-off three-dimensional festival documentation includes physical objects used in the procession such as architectural structures like triumphal arches or obelisks, or even commemorative medals and coins. These objects often portrayed the procession's key iconographic designs and thus were important in preserving the record of these events. The last category, printed festival books could be printed on vellum or paper, be unillustrated or contain illuminations or hand-colored woodcuts. They were portable and

[132] Roy Strong, "The Politics of Spectacle" in *Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power* (Boston, CT: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973), 31.
[133] Ibid.
[134] "Entrée de Charles V à Paris" and "Entrée de Jean II le Bon" in *Fouquet: Peintre et en lumineur du XV siècle* http://expositions.bnf.fr/fouquet/
[135] Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "Early Modern European Festivals - Politics and Performance, Event, and Record" in J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring eds. *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics, and Performance* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), 20.

produced in multiple thus allowing for the memory of the procession to reach and travel to greater audiences.

Festival books emerged from a need to record or to save the procession's *memoria.* [136] This effort served both a practical and political purpose but also worked, in a more abstract sense, to make ephemeral events permanent. First, the governmental body responsible for organizing these events typically coordinated and issued the publication of these documents. [137] These records were archived within a cities' municipal records as reference material for the planning of future festivals, a guide to how each royal court politically defined themselves through iconography, and as physical evidence to send to overseas territories to demonstrate the court's political opulence and authority. [138] The written genre and rhetorical conventions that the festival books employed worked toward this propagandistic goal. Descriptions were often written in an elegant prose style which highlighted the splendor of the performance rather than detailing any mishaps or unexpected occurrences. [139] The title page of the book would usually contain a dedicatory piece to the king. Poems, songs, and prayers exalting the king were often included to for further posterity.

Despite the saliency of these records to one's understanding about past ephemeral processions, their reliability to accurately reconstruct events is questionable due to the author's implicit subjectivity, bias, and the larger political and propagandistic ambitions of these books. These accounts were often written after some time of the event, calling into question or raising

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[136] Ibid.
[137] Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "Early Modern European Festivals - Politics and Performance, Event, and Record" in J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring eds. *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics, and Performance* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2002), 20.
[138] Mulryne, *Court Festivals of European Renaissance*, 20.
[139] Ibid, 23.

concerns regarding their accuracy. [140] Additionally, one cannot be for certain if the author of the account actually attended the performance and stayed for its duration. With the governmental importance of these books, it is assumed that verisimilitude and truthfulness was the primary aim of these documents. Yet, the overt discrepancies between the textual and visual accounts of the Brazilian cultural performance calls this claim into question.

Go-Betweens and Cultural Liminality

At the Rouen entry, the principal performers of the Brazilian interlude were Normans. But not just any Normans but those with prior experience as interpreters or *truchements* in Brazil which informed the performance's script for the Brazilian cultural *mise-en-scène.* [141] These men attended to commercial activities in Brazil such as living with the natives and assisting them with loading ships of brazilwood. [142]These Norman *truchements* or interpreters, who negotiated deals with the Tupinamba and the French, were transactional go-betweens in Brazil. [143] The term go-between broadly refers to individuals who assimilated and trafficked between multiple cultural communities. During the early modern period, such go-betweens included young European men who traveled to the New World for religious or economic purposes.

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[140] Helen Watanable-O'Kelly argues that sometimes these books or materials were distributed before the event on the day of in order to narrate what the organizers hoped would have happened rather than what actually did. However, this practices seems to be anomaly in the broader tradition of printed festival accounts. Watanabe-O'Kelly, 22.

[141] Alida C. Metcalf, "Possession" in *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil 1500-1600* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005), 62.

[142] Beatriz Perrone-Moises, "Performed Alliances and Performative Identities: Tupinamba in the Kingdom of France" in Laura R. Graham and H. Glen Penny eds. *Performing indigeneity: global histories and contemporary experiences*, (Lincoln, ND: University of Nebraska Press), 121.

[143] Metcalf, 62.
Mamelucos were the Portuguese similar equivalent of the Norman *truchements;* they were mixed with Indian and Portuguese.

Given the broad definition of a "go-between," Alida Metcalf distinguishes between three different types: physical, transactional, and representational.[144] Physical or biological go-betweens is the broadest category: it refers to any individual who makes physical contact with outside cultures. In the early modern period, these physical go-betweens moving from Europe to the Americas were significant carriers of biological diseases and for the introduction of foreign fauna and flora. [145] The next category of go-betweens, transactional, refers to interpreters or negotiators. This typology is perhaps the most recognizable purveyors of European knowledge about the New World – Thevet, Lery, and and Columbus. The third and most powerful go-betweens, the representational, designates any representation - visual, textual, or theatrical - of the New World. This category most famously encompasses travel accounts and cartographic material that depicts people from the New World, such as the Rotz's map.

The Norman *truchements* were both physical and transactional go-betweens. Typically, they were young men who were left behind in Brazil to live in the natives' communities and who sometimes adopted their customs and practices. These *truchements* frequently participated in Tupinamba activities that were abhorred by European cultural etiquette, allegedly participating in cannibalistic feasts, war, and marrying into natives' families.[146] These assimilative strategies were employed as means of facilitating and sustaining trade. This economic motivation for cultural integration informed the Rouen production of the Brazilian cultural performance. The Normans had to gain the trust and loyalty of the Tupinamba natives by accepting their cultural practices in order to continually mine and exploit the region for their natural resources.

Sixteenth-century travel accounts on Brazil document the Norman *truchements* extensive cultural integration and their saliency as go-betweens. The German explorer, Hans Staden (1525-

[144] Ibid, 8.
[145] Ibid, 9.
[146] Metcalf, *Go-Betweens*, 9.

1576), vividly elucidates the saliency of the *truchement*-Tupinamba alliance in his oft-quoted travel account, *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser-Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen, (True History: An Account of Cannibal Captivity in Brazil).* This account was published two years after his travels in Marburg, Germany in 1557 and quickly became a bestseller famous for its extensive ethnographic descriptions about Brazilian cannibalism.[147] Staden accompanied a Spanish expedition to São Vicente, Brazil which departed from Spain in 1549. Staden had prior experience with Brazil, traveling to this region: from 1547-48 Staden traveled to Pernambuco and in 1551-53 lived in the Guarani coast of Santa Catarina, the eastern portion of Brazil. [148] Once he arrived to São Vicente, he joined the Portuguese colonist in the region who forged a powerful alliance with the Tupinamba rivaled enemy: The Tobojaro. He spoke Tupi-Guarani fluently demonstrative of his skill as a transactional go-between. Staden was abruptly taken captive by Tupinamba natives during his stay. Fearing for his life, as they were preparing for a cannibalistic feast on his body, Staden adamantly convinced the Tupinambas that he was French and allies with the French. He tells his Tupinamba captors that "if [he] was truly the Frenchman's friend, what was [he] then doing among the Portuguese?"[149] Evidently, his story was convincing and he was returned from his captivity and boarded on a ship for Dieppe.

Staden's anecdote about his captivity with the Tupinamba underscores the strength of the Tupinamba-*truchement* alliance due to the latter's extensive cultural integration and familiarity with the Tupinambas. As French explorer Jean de Léry remarks, "although the Tupinamba receive very humanely the friendly strangers who go visit them, nevertheless the

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[147] Ibid, 4.
[148] Metcalf, 49.
[149] Hans Staden, *Hans Staden's True History: An Account of Cannibal Captivity,* Neil L. Whitehead and Michael Harbsmeier eds.and trans. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 58.

Frenchman and others who do not understand their language find themselves at first marvelously disconcerted in their midst"[150]. Here, Léry attests to the saliency of transactional go-betweens in the productive facilitation of trade. During his time in Brazil, Léry frequently employed and relied on the assistances of Norman *truchements* to help navigate his interactions with the natives. Relying solely on informal trading practices, Norman go-betweens mastered the Tupinamba language. A translated dictionary of Tupinamba-French common phrases was published in Rouen in 1547. This translation was an appendix to a navigational manual that was employed by Norman go-betweens in Brazil.[151] Due to their linguistic fluency these *truchements* typically did the bulk of the trading, arranging when and where the Brazilwood would be docked on ships.[152]

The Rouen's entry use of 250 Normans with prior experience as transactional go-betweens in Brazil well prepared them to become Tupinambas for this event. Indeed, as Beatriz Perrone-Moisés has convincingly articulated, these Norman merchants transformed their role as a transactional to a representational go-betweens by virtue of their cultural performance.[153] Beatriz Perrone-Moises argues that this performed Tupinamba identity enacted by the Norman actors embodied the actual realities of this men as they served as go-betweens in Brazil. As such, she radically proposes that Tupinamba identity was a part of these Norman men and should not necessarily be viewed as a performance in the Western sense. Similarly, she relies on Andean philosophy that proposes or holds the belief that identity is always in flux to argue that identity is constantly a "performance" of a type. While this paper does not take up the claims articulated by

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[150] Jean de Léry, History *of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, otherwise called America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 43, 161.
[151] Olive Patricia Dickason in "The Brazilian Connection: A Look at the Origin of French Techniques for Trading with Amerindians" in *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 1.1 (1984), 135.
[152] Ibid, 133.
[153] Beatriz Perrone-Moises, "Performed Alliances and Performative Identities: Tupinamba in the Kingdom of France" in Laura R. Graham and H. Glen Penny eds. *Performing indigeneity: global histories and contemporary experiences*, (Lincoln, ND: University of Nebraska Press), 110.

Moises, it nonetheless offers another counter-perspective to the interpretation of how identities were constructed and performed in the Brazilian cultural event. She argues that the Norman actors were authentically performing a part of their identity experienced in Brazil rather than understanding the performance as a performance of cultural alterity.

The chronicler of the Rouen entry stated the performance was a "simulacra of good truth."[154] However, the status of the Norman merchants in their position both during the performance and in their prior role as go-betweens is innately liminal. They were regarded as both European and partially natives due to their experience in Brazil. Indeed, Léry expresses his abhorrence and repulsion to the Norman go-betweens who, "accommodate themselves to the natives....surpassing the savages in inhumanity"[155]. Similarly, Jacques Cartier reported his shock on witnessing the Normans "living much like the Brazilians."[156] Such remarks are illustrative of the anxieties surrounding the perceived fluidity of cultural identities produced by a new kind of global mobility. The blurring of fixed racial and ethnic categories, emblematic of the go-between experience, questioned the authenticity and formation of cultural identity, calling into question what it meant to be a European or a New World native. If not an ethnographically accurate image of Brazilian life, a Norman dressed as a Tupinumba was in fact a simulacra of early modern cultural identity as mutable and mobile.

The textual account reflects upon the liminal status of cultural identity within this performance. The chronicler describes the Norman merchants reciting "the language [Tupi] as well and [expressed] the savages' gestures and manners as naturally as if they were Natives"[157]. The chronicler's employment of the subjunctive clause, "as if", signals the presences of two

[154] McGowan, 14.
[155] Jean de Lèry, *History of a Voyage to Brazil*, 43, 161.
[156] As quoted by Olive Patricia Dickason in "The Brazilian Connection", 131.
[157] McGowan, 14.

opposing realities: one of the everyday where societal constructs and ways of being are maintained, and the other a hypothetical or subjunctive mood that breaks from these constraints.[158] Performing, or rather embodying Tupinamaba identity was outside the Norman merchant's everyday way of being. The employment of this subjunctive mood and the cultural liminality that it reveals illuminates the Rouen actor's performance of cultural alterity. The Norman actors strove to temporarily become Brazilian through imitation.

"Almost the same but not Quite"[159]: Colonial Mimicry and Slippage of Difference

The eyewitness account also describes the slippage of difference produced through the fixed representation of an ephemeral performance. As the chronicler states, the Norman merchants are like Brazilians but not quite. The audience is innately aware of the Norman's identity given the context of the performance, yet their actions resemble those of a Tupinamba. Similarly, the physical stage of the scene shows signs of disguise. While the Norman landscape is manipulated to mimic a Brazilwood village, it's rather clumsy design reveals its differences through the legible superimposition of material- red paint and wooden lodges- presented as Brazilian landscape materials or elements within a French city, Rouen.

Homi Bhabha has described how the repetition of cultural alterity produces a slippage of differences, an excess rather than similitude. Mimesis and imitation are the operative agents that propel the colonial project seeking to create a reformed and recognizable Other. [160] This

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[158] This phenomena of the liminal evokes tenets of cultural theorist Victor Turner's,the founder of cultural performance theory, theory on liminality in ritual performances. While conducting ethnographic field research on the Ndembu people of the Zambia tribe in Africa, Turner observed how ritual gave way to the hypothetical to be explored and articulated. Although Turner's primary focus was on premodern civilizations and rituals, his theorizations have been applied to a multitude of studies spanning disciplines.
See Graham St. John, *Victor Turner and Contemporary Cultural Performance* (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2008).

[159] Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse" in *October*, 28 (1984), 127.

[160] Ibid, 126.

repetition however shares the same theoretical goals of imitation: authenticity and likeness to the original. However, its representation is partial and "repeats rather than re-presents."[161] Under the cultural hegemony of the colonizer, the colonized imitated the former's tradition, customs, and ideology but were still recognized as different and inferior. Imitation exposes differences rather than similarities. The colonized subject is still not seen as a "true" citizen of its colonial nation. Reversing Bhabha's relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, the Rouen entry's performance of Brazilian culture is one where the colonizers perform and imitate the colonized. As indicated in the textual description of the event, although the Norman merchants strove for complete likeness to the Tupinamba natives performing alongside them, their racial and ethnic differences were still observable.

"Figures de Bresiliens": Depictions of Race in the Illustrated Woodcut of the Brazilian *Mise-en-scène*

The uncolored woodcut illustration of the Brazilian *mise-en-scène* accordingly follows the performance's principal narratives as cited in the textual description. This print is one of the few illustrations in *C'est la déduction* that takes up two complete pages emphasizing its saliency: the Roman chariots and the staged war-battle are the only other tableaux that also take up two pages of illustration. A thin black border frames the densely packed narrative of this *mise-en-scène*. Nearly every space on the surface is marked; the elongated figures and leafy trees constitute most of the prints compositional density.

Spread on the foreground and spilling onto the upper edges of the print, is the depiction of the mock-battle scene between the Tupinambas and the Tobojaros. The performances' actors

[161] Ibid, 128.

lurch at one another with war cubs, spears, and bow and arrows. Blazing flames sprout from straw huts in the back while a band of Tobojaros flee for their life from this scene of destruction. Encircling the main battle scene in the front on both sides are cluttered groups of trees that visually partition the narratives remaining scenes; the natives entering their straw huts, transporting logwood to French merchants on the coast, laying in hammocks and performing ritualistic dances.

In a comparative analysis on the woodcut prints in *C'est la déducion* and the festival book for Henri's entry to Paris, Mark Pattison aptly notes the relatively coarseness of the former. Indeed, the figures are rendered in a rather sketch-like manner. [162]The unknown woodcutter uses rough outline to delineate form without little attention to visual detail. All of the figures in the print are naked save for the few participating in the battle who wear grass skirts. Their bodies only seem to be cursorily delineated with little attention or nuance given to their physical stature. Only the leading warriors in the battle scene are depicted with ripping muscles as indicated by the inscribed diagonal hatch-marks in the interior of their frame. Additionally, little detail is given to their facial features.

The figures lack of visual detail visually characterizes them as belonging to one race or ethnicity. Additionally, the absences of a nuanced tonal variety to indicate racial phenotypes gives visual animus to the presumed homogenization of race. If the visual details are ambiguous as to the figures' racial categorization, the figures nudity/costumes as well as title for the illustration makes clear their identity: the print is titled "Figures de Bresilien." The print thus realizes the ambitious goals of the Rouen entry's performance: complete likeness to the original, Tupinamba natives of Brazil. The Norman merchants are no longer like but not quite like Brazilians: they *are* the Brazilians.

[162] Mark Pattison, *The Renaissance of Art in France* (London, UK: Kegan Paul & Co., 1879), 44.

The woodcut print also achieves the theoretical goals of early modern European notions of mimesis. The mimetic function of the visual arts derived from a Platonic line of thought which held that the aim of the visual arts was an imitation of nature, the universal and ultimate imitator.[163] Plato argues that all concepts and ideas are informed largely through one's visual perception of reality. An object or idea cannot be conceived of it does not exist first in nature. Thus, all visual art derives from or imitates lived reality.

The often quoted account of the Ancient Roman philosopher and writer, Pliny the Elder (d. 79 AD), regarding the pictorial contest between Zeuxis and Parrhasius in the *Natural History* (77-79 AD) illustrates the highest goals of pictorial mimesis. Zeuxis painted a child and a bunch of grapes so that they resembled nature so closely, that the birds flew towards the spot where the picture was exhibited ;[164] yet when Zeuxis urged Parrhasius to pull back the curtain "to let the picture be seen[165]", he himself mistook Parrhasius's painted curtain to be the real object. Both painters' surfaces resembled nature so closely that they deceived the eye. This antique anecdote reveals of the deep classical concern with the mimetic functions of the visual arts.

This preoccupation with mimesis and imitation informed early modern workshop practices, where artistic pedagogy was based upon copying. The rudiments of art such as perspective, proportion, and form were learned by copying after a master's work. [166] Once the basics were mastered through this technique, other methods were employed for copying that aided in transcription such as pouncing and pricking. [167] This practice of directly copying after other artists' work was still employed after early phases of one's career. Works by Michelangelo,

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[163] Plato, "Book 10" in Paul Shorey trans. *The Republic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 598.
[164] Pliny the Elder, "Book 35, Chapter 36: Artists who Painted with the Pencil" in John Bostock eds., *The Natural History: Pliny the Elder (*London, UK: Taylor and Francis, 1855), online version: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:abo:phi,0978,001:35:36
[165] Ibid.
[166]Carmen Bambach, "Traditions of Copying" in *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 82.
[167] Ibid.

Raphael, and Polidoro da Caravaggio were canonized for their remarkable display of *disegno* and copied by artists such as Titian, Rubens, and Durer.

Repetition was another operative mechanism of copying. Artist would routinely copy directly after their own compositions. As French critic Roger Plies remarked in 1699, "there is hardly a single painter who has never repeated one of his works either because it pleased him or because someone asked him for a similar work."[168] The *Danaë* series by Venetian artist Tiziano Vecellio (1488-1576), colloquially known as Titian, exemplifies this practice. The artist and his workshop produced at least six extant iterations of the Dresden nude between 1544 and the 1560s. [169] Referencing Bhabha's notions of the repetition of difference, Maria H. Loh posits that this early modern pictorial repetition produces differences that constantly change the status of the original. Repetition is seen, borrowing from Deleuze's horizontal rhizomatic model, as a process of becoming, with each iteration changing the status of one's preceding and following it. [170]

The textual and visual descriptions of the Brazilian cultural performance in the Rouen account take or transpose one back to Brazil through imitation. The repetition of this performance in these two iterations follows a similar rhizomatic model of becoming proposed by Deleuze. If the textual account distinguishes between the two groups, the Normans and the Tupinambas, then the print realizes the ambitious goals of the performance for the Rouen actors to temporarily become Brazilian. It is through this repetition that this goal of mimesis is achieved.

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[168] As quoted in Mariah H. Loh, "The 'Delicious Nude': Repetition and Identity" in *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art* (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Research Institute, 2007), 20.
[169] Ibid, 26-31.
[170] Ibid, 9.

The imitation of Brazilian culture demonstrates the Rouen event's insistence of *imitatio.* Early modern theories of imitation extended beyond that parameters of the visual arts. As Michael Wintroub writes:

> "Humanism in France steered philological-empiricist method toward propaedeutic ends of mimesis. Whether we are speaking of ancient rites, or the recreation of a Brazilian village, *imitatio* was the hand servant of virtue"[171].

Imitatio guided and informed scholastic thought and re-enactments of sacred rituals or cultural alterity. Indeed, the whole Rouen event *was* an imitation that propagated idealized representations of the king. As Homi Bhabha's analysis on colonial mimicry attests to, imitation also took on verbal forms of performed behavior. The *mise-en-scène* of a Brazilian village and its complicated visual and textual iterations are grounded in larger principles of mimesis. The addition of the 50 true native Tupinambas that were "freshly" brought from Brazil complicates this already muddled system of inter-medium repetition. Performing alongside the Norman merchants, the chronicler of the account credits their presences as completing the reality effect of the simulacra.[172] Perhaps, the author of the performance was anxious about the efficacy of this imitation: the addition of the Tupinamba natives makes the Rouen actors performance more convincing. The "copy", the Rouen actors performing as Tupinambas, and the "original" the real Brazilian natives are placed side by side encouraging comparative assessments between the two.

The theatrical performance, written text, and visual description of the Brazilian cultural performance in the Rouen event must be situated within the early modern interest in *imitation* and the performance of cultural identity. A depiction of the same event is iterated twice in different mediums: text and image. The former's description of the slippage of difference produced and observed in the theatrical performance marks an error in the transcription of the

[171] Michael Wintroub, "The Order of Ritual and the Order of Things" in a *Savage Mirror: Power, Identity, and Knowledge in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 170.
[172] McGowan, *C'est la Déduction du Sumpteux.*

imitation of Brazil. Instead of producing complete verisimilitude to the original, representation is partial and reveals differences rather than similarities. The Norman's acting as Tupinamba are still read as Normans.

The print, in contrast, seeks to contain the excess produced in both the lived experience of the performance and the textual account by homogenizing ethnic and racial differences of the entry's 'Brazilians.' It self-consciously realizes the goals of early modern imitation: likeness to the original, the Tupinamba native. The print refers to an original that cannot logically exist, yet is the intentional or theoretical goal of the performance: the Norman merchants convincingly passing or *being* Tupinambas. The performance of cultural alterity cannot contain the excess of differences as cited in the textual description of the Brazilian *mise-en-scène*, while the woodcut representation of the same event, masks differences more effectively than possible in the theatrical performance. This performance illustrates the fluidity of cultural identity through expressed behavior. The Norman actors derived their script from serving as *truchements* in Brazil where they adopted the Tupinambas culture, customs, and traditions. On stage, they performed their experiences in Brazil, or Tupinamba identity. The textual account marks the distinction between the Norman merchants and the Brazilian natives but notes how the former appeared almost like the latter. The visual account deviates from this perspective and represents the Norman as Brazilians, thus realizing the ambitious goals of the performance. Taking part of the entries' larger concerns of imitation, the Normans become through imitation.

The Rouen entry's performance of Brazilian culture was singularly ambitious in its attempts to imitate and perform Tupinamba identity in a convincible manner. While scholars such as Maria H. Loh and Homi Bhabha have aptly pointed to how repetition reveals differences rather than similarities, the print and the text make two completely different claims. The textual

account, closely following the ephemeral theatrical performance, accounts for the slippage of differences that are invariably produced by performing cultural alterity. This slippage demonstrates the fluidity of cultural identity, one that the Norman actors experienced both in their performance, and in their experience as go-betweens in Brazil. However, the print abandons this call for verisimilitude and adamantly strives to adhere to the theoretical end goal of early modern imitation, to contain excess rather than representing it. The print is emblematic of the goals of the performance: to become Brazilian. The print makes the Normans Brazilian.

Figure 31
Jean Fouquet, "Entrée de Charles V à Paris" in *Grandes Chroniques de Frances* (1455-1460)
Bibliothèque Nacional Paris, fol. 417v

Figure 32
Jean Fouquet, "Entrée de Jean II le Bon" in *Grandes Chroniques de France* (1455-1460)
Bibliothèque Nacional Paris, fol. 378v

CONCLUSION

This paper has argued that the imitation of Brazilian cultural identity in the Rouen event reveals anxieties about the performative nature of cultural identity by Norman merchants who desired to temporarily "become" Brazilian for commercial gain and political favor. The *imitatio* of the classical past and French royal tradition informed the choreography of the entries' performances. The Portuguese-French political conflict over Brazil served as the impetus for the Normans to adopt informal trading practices such as assimilation. The Norman *truchements* who deployed these assimilationist strategies were the chief actors in the Rouen performance of Brazilian culture. The textual account cites their ethnic and racial differences between the real Tupinamba while the printed woodcut erased ethnic differences. The commercial and political ambitions of the Norman merchants – to secure French royal support for their place in Brazil – were served by appearing Tupinamba: simultaneously foreign and familiar, violent potential allies and subjects. Seeing the Tupinambas as like but unlike fits within the entries' larger concerns with *imitatio*:

Studying this performance through the interpretive lens of early modern notions of imitation provides greater insight to the cultural and epistemological ramifications of performing cultural alterity. Frequent transatlantic contact between Europe and the New World during the sixteenth century drastically reconfigured notions of cultural identity. Go-betweens and intermediaries assimilated into the natives' societies adapting their cultural customs. Through their performed cultural alterity they occupied liminal cultural identities being both regarded as Europeans, and also to some degree a New World native through their performed behaviors. The

cultural performance of Brazil in the Rouen event reveals how behavior, easily imitated, emerged as a salient marker of cultural identity.

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Biography

Chasitie Brown was born in Raleigh, North Carolina and grew up in Dallas in Texas. She received her B.A. in English literature, with a minor in Art History, from Southern Methodist University. With the generous support of Tulane University, she conducted her master's work in early modern transatlantic exchanges between France and Brazil. After Chasitie receives her M.A. in Art History in December 2019, she will continue her professional interest in curatorial work by serving as the curatorial fellow for the European Department at the Dallas Museum of Art.