

History, geography and colonial expansion in the works of Richard Hakluyt and
Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière

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Declaration of authorship

I, Marina Thomé Bezzi, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signature:

Abstract

This research examines the emergence of a discourse supporting European colonial expansion in the works of the English scholar Richard Hakluyt (1553-1616) and the French historian Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière (1541-1608), in a comparative approach. Both authors were armchairs travellers who collected a wide variety of sources about ancient and modern European maritime explorations. This research is divided into three intertwined themes: their editorial practices of collecting, editing and printing geographical literature across a transnational network, their varied representations of Spanish and Portuguese conquests and works, and the articulation between the fields of geography and history in their imperial representation of the world. I argue that their editorial enterprises were geo-historical projects, which, inspired by Iberian writers, had a global outlook both in their defence of colonial expansion and in their acknowledgment of the role of Africa, Asia and America in the changing intellectual landscape of sixteenth-century Europe.

Impact Statement

This research looks into national and disciplinary boundaries in history. I focused on how La Popelinière and Hakluyt articulated, in sixteenth-century western Europe, local and transnational trade and networks, concepts of history, geography, and the discourse of colonial expansion. However, these categories are not limited to both authors' context and can be extended into histories of ancient, medieval, early modern and modern exchanges or confrontations between different environments and societies in the world, in its American and an Afro-Eurasian spaces, linked from the fifteenth century onwards. In the twenty-first century, governments and corporations justify inequality by naturalising these differences and similarities, broadly define as culture. De-historicizing human and non-human experience has depoliticised our understanding of the present, oppressed minorities and dismissed human action on the planet's environment. Therefore, the categories used in this research remain relevant in understanding today's naturalisation of history/culture.

Outside academia, museums, archives, cultural and community centres, as well as corporate and independent media outlets should host discussions on how early modernity can help us understand the historicity of national and disciplinary boundaries, of imperial and colonial discourses, and inspire us to imagine alternative and decentred forms of knowledge-making. Inside academia, current departmental boundaries must be replaced by cross-disciplinary centres, inclusive of STEM, Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities. A project-based approach for understanding and using history as a critical form of inquiry in primary, secondary and higher education could help overcome the misleading separation between fields of historical research, such as cultural, intellectual and literary history; history of medicine, technology and science; and political, economic and social history. Secondly, this and any research should be translated into languages other than English and the Romance languages and made available on open-access platforms in order to bridge the communicational gap between education and research in the Global North and the Global South. Finally, this broad discussion depends on the the continuity of public funding for research and the promotion, directly or indirectly, of diversity and equality.¹

¹ The Royal Historical Society's *Race, Ethnicity & Equality Report* showed that inequality in historical studies is also pressing in British academia and the underrepresentation of Black and Minority Ethnic students and staff and of non-White and non-Eurocentric epistemologies in History departments. As inequalities are intersectional, the Society's *Gender Equality Report* showed similar results. See Hannah Atkinson and others, *Race, Ethnicity & Equality in UK History: A Report and Resource for Change* (London: Royal History Society, October 2018); Nicola Miller and others, *Promoting Gender Equality in UK History: A Second Report and Recommendations for Good Practice* (London: Royal History Society, November 2018).

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Introduction

1. Hakluyt and La Popelinière: supporting colonial expansion in an age of Iberian hegemony

This research examines the emergence of texts supporting European colonial expansion on both sides of the English Channel in the late sixteenth century, in the works of the English scholar Richard Hakluyt (1553-1616) and the French historian Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière (1541-1608). Both authors were armchair travellers who collected a wide variety of sources about ancient and modern European maritime explorations, including oral news from mariners, instructions to pilots, travel reports, travel collections, chronicles and histories of overseas travels, descriptive geographies with ethnographical passages, maps, and cosmographies. They used this source material in their works to encompass different genres under the umbrella categories of travel and geographical literature. The primary sources analysed in this dissertation include Hakluyt's letters to his mercantile and learned network, his travel collections and other discourses in defence of English colonial expansion, and his commissioned editions and translations, alongside La Popelinière's correspondence, translation of maps, his geographical and historical treatises and his defence of the art of navigation.²

As the works analysed in this research were published between 1580 and 1600, this period was a key moment in the French and English writings in defence of colonialism. Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's works responded to a sense of Iberian geopolitical hegemony and, more importantly, of Iberian scholarly and technical superiority in the art of navigation and in narrating and producing historical and geographical knowledge about European colonial expansion and other-than-European peoples and environments. By comparing and connecting both authors for the first time, I would like to argue that supported colonialism along three intertwined themes, reflected in the division of this dissertation. The first theme is Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's editorial practices, that is, how they selected, used and circulated works related to travel and geographical literature, show the connections, similarities and differences between both scholars and their networks, on both sides of the English Channel. A comparative analysis of their editorial practices allows us to see the centrality of Iberian works and conquests in Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's imperial imagination and arguments in defence of

² For a full list of primary sources, see bibliography (p. 250).

colonialism. The second theme is, therefore, the exemplarity and the varied forms of representation of the Portuguese and Spanish empires and discourses. Through the Iberian writings, they incorporated ethnographical information about other-than-European peoples and environments. The third element of my thesis is the overarching articulation between historical and geographical literature in their literary enterprises.

As a result, Hakluyt and La Popelinière developed similar geo-historical editorial projects, articulating concepts, genres and ideas from the geographical and historical forms of knowledge. It was *through* a rhetoric of the geographical-historical unit of experience and knowledge that their projects in support of colonialism sought to explain and ‘correct’ the sense of English and French failure and belatedness in the European imperial competition, as well as to make sense out of the growing historical and geographical polyphony and vastness brought to them in travel and geographical literature. Hakluyt and La Popelinière should be read and understood within a rapidly changing context of competitive yet shared attempts of maritime expansion among Portugal, Spain, France and England, at the end of the sixteenth century. This Christian European overseas expansion was both caused by and led to the increasing popularity of geographical literature and its entanglements with scholarly genres based on the Renaissance readings of classical authorities and the scripture. The expansion also responded to the tensions around Christian confessional identities and other ethnic and religious borders in an expanding conceptualisation and experience of the *world*.

Richard Hakluyt was an English geographer, editor, translator, and ordained priest. He joined Westminster School in 1564 and Christ Church, Oxford, from 1570 until 1586. In addition to his humanist and religious formation, Hakluyt’s editorial activities were supported by royal patronage of Francis Walsingham, Lord High Admiral Charles Howard, Robert Cecil and the mercantile networks in London, namely the Skinners’ Company, Clothworkers’ Company, and the Muscovy Company.³ By 1606, Hakluyt became a chartered member of the Virginia Company. His older namesake cousin, a lawyer in the Middle Temple, introduced him to works of geographical literature by cartographers and cosmographers such as Abraham Ortelius and Gerardus Mercator, and by merchants and English explorers such as Martin Frobisher, Walter Raleigh, and Humphrey Gilbert.

³ Anthony Payne, ‘Hakluyt’s London: Discovery and Overseas Trade’, in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 13–23 (p. 13); Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide to His Books and to Those Associated with Him, 1580-1625* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 2008), pp. 3–21.

Between 1582 and 1614, Hakluyt edited, translated, and commissioned about twenty-nine works related to maritime voyages and discoveries, in English, Spanish, French, and Latin, printed in London and Paris. Between 1583 and 1588, Hakluyt served as secretary and chaplain to Edward Stafford's English embassy to France. In France, he expanded his collection of geographical literature and his network to French and Portuguese mariners and scholars, such as the French Royal cosmographer André Thevet (1516-1590) and D. António (1531-1595), Prior of Crato and contender to the Portuguese throne, who was exiled in France after King Philip II's victory.⁴ During his stay in France, Hakluyt became familiarised with the works of La Popelinière, who is the only French author cited and quoted in the second edition of his *Principal Navigations* (1599).⁵ In Hakluyt's work, La Popelinière appears as a modern authority on the history of discoveries and on the English precedence in the conquest of North America. Finally, Hakluyt claimed that *The Principall Navigations* (1589) had also been motivated by a passage from La Popelinière's *L'Amiral de France* (1584) in which the French historian described the relative lack of English voyages of exploration despite England's privileged insular position. It is key, thus, to consider La Popelinière's influence in Hakluyt's editorial enterprise.

Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière (1541-1608) was a French Protestant historian born in La Popelinière de Sainte-Gemme-de-la-Plaine, in the Bas-Poitou. He was born into a family of the *petite noblesse*, with land acquired through the cloth trade and military service. In the 1550s and 1560s, like other French reformed noblemen, he pursued a humanist education, learned Greek and studied law at the University of Toulouse. During his studies, he joined the Huguenot party in the Wars of Religion.⁶ Between 1571 and 1608, La Popelinière published at least eight printed histories, translations and treatises. In addition, he left letters, unpublished manuscripts and several notes.⁷ La Popelinière integrated what Frank Lestringant has called the 'colonial controversy' among the Huguenot corpus of works in the 1580s. According to

⁴ Hakluyt's reference to La Popelinière was pointed out in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 181. Frank Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage. L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de Religion (1555-1589)* (Geneva: Droz, 2004). Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise. An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

⁵ Diego Pirillo, 'Balance of Power and Freedom of the Seas: Richard Hakluyt and Alberico Gentili', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 177–86 (pp. 181–82); Giuseppe Marcocci, 'Altri libri, altre scoperte: La Popelinière e Hakluyt', in *Indios, cinesi, falsari: Le storie del mondo nel Rinascimento* (Bari: Editori Laterza, 2016).

⁶ Anne-Marie Beaulieu, 'Introduction', in *Les Trois Mondes*, by Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, ed. by Anne-Marie Beaulieu (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. 1–64 (pp. 9–11).

⁷ Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes* (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. 482–487.

Lestringant, a group of Protestant writers slowly began to turn their attention to the consequences of colonialism and were caught between two discourses: the condemnation of Spanish *conquista* in the New World – later labelled as ‘Black Legend’ – and a justification of colonial ambitions. Hakluyt’s works also engaged in the colonial controversy and can be read as part of a Protestant reaction to the Catholic Iberian colonial hegemony. However, Hakluyt’s and La Popelinière’s anxieties about colonial expansion and its religious and political consequences were not limited to a Huguenot or Protestant corpus and went further than oscillating between two views of Iberian colonialism. In fact, their pro-colonial support was based on their readings of Iberian sources in the context of a transnational network of men with mercantile and geographical interests.

Indeed, while Hakluyt and La Popelinière belonged to two different nations and their support of colonial expansion prioritised their respective Crowns, their ideas of the perfect colony in the New World were shaped by their view of Iberian sources as authorities on geography and history. In addition, they shared a Renaissance providential outlook of the discoveries. Often, this took the form of a Protestant assessment of the Iberian-dominated discoveries, prompting a critique of the papacy amidst the Reformations. Nevertheless, their support for colonialism converged with the Catholic Iberian understanding of the role of Divine Providence in aiding exemplary human deeds in the unfolding ‘discovery’ of the parts of the world, thus emphasising the missionary goal of conquest.⁸ Finally, Hakluyt and La Popelinière were part of interconnected scholarly networks despite having, most likely, never met. Hakluyt cited La Popelinière as a French authority on history and geography in ‘Discourse of the western planting’ (1584) and *The Principall Navigations* (1589). Hakluyt probably learned more about the French historian’s works while serving as a chaplain to Edward Stafford’s English embassy in France in the 1580s, as we have already seen. Therefore, the purpose of this comparative study is to shed light on the connections, contrasts and similarities between their scholarly geo-historical projects and contribute to a less nationalistic history of the processes of world-making, or global imagination, in European early modernity.⁹

⁸ David A. Boruchoff, ‘Richard Hakluyt and the Demands of Pietas Patriae’, in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 187–95 (p. 195).

⁹ For a study on the concept of ‘world-making’, see Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

2. Responses to the Iberian colonial expansion

Since the thirteenth century, Spanish and Portuguese mercantile contact with spaces and peoples beyond its European boundaries was marked by diplomatic competition. Their dispute over the colonisation of the Canary Islands was settled in 1479 with the Treaty of Alcáçovas, which was confirmed by the papal bull *Æterni regis* issued by Pope Sixtus IV in 1481. The bull established the Portuguese right to explore the West African coast and enslave its populations to the south of Cape Bojador and ratified the bulls *Dum Diversas* (1452) and *Romanus Pontifex* (1454). In the fifteenth century, Portugal and the Hispanic Monarchy competed for colonial primacy along the Northwest and West African coast, especially the Guinean coast, in search for gold and native populations to enslave and trade. This Iberian competition for gold and slaves fuelled, among other factors, the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta from 1415 until the end of the Castilian War of Succession in 1479.

The competition between Portugal and the crown of Castile at the end of the fifteenth century was based on a North-South division of Atlantic African space. After Columbus's first voyage to the Caribbean in 1492, the papal bull *Inter cætera* (1493) added a West-East perspective to the division of the world according to the Iberian monarchies. It established Castile's sovereignty over all territories 100 leagues to the west and south of the islands of Azores and Cape Verde. The Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) moved this imaginary line to 370 leagues west of Cape Verde, maintaining the Caribbean under Castile's sovereignty and keeping Portuguese primacy over West African coast and the trade route to East Indies.¹⁰ This short but decisive succession of Luso-Castilian disputes was expressed in and invented by narratives of monarchical sovereignty, of legitimate conversion of pagans into Christianity, and of different oceanic, insular and coastal spaces where encounters with previously unknown environments and cultures took place.

In a nutshell, most Portuguese military and mercantile expeditions from the early fifteenth century onwards expanded from North Africa to the Atlantic African coast and established trade outposts in East Africa and Maritime Asia, leading to the Goa-based *Estado*

¹⁰ For the history of the Portuguese expansion, see A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire, From Beginnings to 1807. Volume 2: The Portuguese Empire*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), II. For a recent summary of both Iberian empires, see Jorge Flores, 'The Iberian Empires, 1400 to 1800', in *The Cambridge World History: Volume 6, The Construction of a Global World, 1400–1800 CE. Part 1: Foundations*, ed. by Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), I, 271–96.

da Índia. Spain sent voyages of exploration to North Africa, sponsored the Magellan-Elcano circumnavigation (1519-1522), developed a cartographic effort to claim the Spanish right to the Islands of the Moluccas, and carried out the ‘invention’, conquest and colonisation of America throughout the early sixteenth century.¹¹

News about the Portuguese expeditions to Canada in the early sixteenth century, the colonisation of Brazil in the mid-century, their military and mercantile expansion in Africa and Maritime Asia, along with news about the Spanish *conquista* of the New World and the ‘riches’ both monarchies had been plundering circulated among European merchants and courtly circles. In France, King Francis I (r. 1515-1547) sent Giovanni and Girolamo da Verrazzano and Jacques Cartier in voyages of reconnaissance to the Antilles and North America, in 1524 and in 1534-1535 respectively. As an attempt to challenge the Treaty of Tordesillas and its legitimisation of Iberian sovereignty over the New World, Francis I commissioned the first Canadian colony under the command of the Huguenot Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval, with Jacques Cartier, who founded the French colony of Charlesbourg-Royal in 1541. Dismantled in 1543, this would be the only French colony in Canada until the turn of the century. King Henri II (r. 1547-1559) then commissioned the France Antarctique colony in present-day Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from 1555 until 1560, dismantled by Portuguese soldiers in alliance with the Tapuia who fought the French in alliance with the Tupinambá. Under King Charles IX (r. 1560-1574), two expeditions were led by the French explorers Jean Ribault and René de Laudonnière to establish a Huguenot colony in the New World, in 1562 and 1564. The project of French Florida was a continuation of Admiral Gaspar de Coligny’s France Antarctique enterprise and was similarly marked by a confrontation with the Spaniards (and not with the Portuguese this time) amidst alliances with and wars against different Amerindian societies, such as the Saturiwas, Potanos, Tacatacurus. Following the invasion of the French colony of Fort Caroline by the Spaniards led by Admiral Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1565, the French Captain Dominique de Gourgues led a final expedition that same year to destroy the Spanish Fort San Mateo.

¹¹ The Magellan-Elcano circumnavigation and imperial geographic project led to the Treaty of Zaragoza (1522) between Spain and Portugal which projected an antemeridian onto the Tordesillas meridian. Antonio Sánchez Martínez, ‘De la “cartografía oficial” a la “cartografía jurídica”: la querrela de las Molucas reconsiderada, 1479-1529’, *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos (online)*, 2009; Edmundo O’Gorman, *La invención de América. Investigación acerca de la estructura histórica del Nuevo Mundo y del sentido de su devenir* (México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958).

News of Iberian colonial expansion also reached England via the Anglo-Iberian mercantile networks as early as the fifteenth century. In the 1480s, the decline of the fish trade between England and Iceland shifted the Bristol-based market towards the Atlantic and Lisbon became Bristol's key commercial partner. Since the 1440s, it is likely that news about the Portuguese exploration of the Atlantic islands of Madeira and Azores and West African coast reached Bristol merchants. The Venice-born pilot John Cabot arrived in England via Lisbon and Seville in the 1490s and led a series of voyages from Bristol towards the mythical island of Brasil or Hy-Brazil, which was believed to exist near Ireland. His voyages were funded by King Henry VII, of England, and London-based Italian mercantile and banking communities.¹² David B. Quinn has suggested that news of a possible westward route to the spice trade route in Cathay and Cipango began circulating in Lisbon and Seville after John Day's report of John Cabot's successful voyage and a 1498 letter from the Spanish Ambassador in England, Pedro de Ayala, to the Catholic Kings.¹³ For most of the first half of the sixteenth century, there were fragmentary westward reconnaissance and trade expeditions leaving from Bristol and Southampton.¹⁴

In 1568, two events marked a shift in the orientation of English overseas expansion: the defeat of the English by the Spaniards in the Battle of San Juan de Ulúa and the Spanish military occupation of Flanders under the Duke of Alba.¹⁵ Following the massacre of the French colonisers by the Spaniards in Fort Caroline, Florida in 1565, John Hawkins's trading voyages in the 1560s, the increase in Spain's offensive to consolidate control over the trade routes and Flanders motivated a search for a North-eastern passage to the East Indies, until the mid-1570s. While the London-based Muscovy Company tried to consolidate a North-eastern passage to the East Indies in 1574, Martin Frobisher, Francis Drake, and Humphrey Gilbert, who had been involved in the English colonisation of Ireland, shifted their focus back to the Atlantic space. Martin Frobisher and Michael Lok, the Muscovy Company's London agent, were granted a

¹² The mythical island of Brasil or Hy-Brazil was believed to exist in the Atlantic Ocean, west of Ireland. It is featured on the Catalan atlas (1375), Piri Reis's map of Europe (1513) and Abraham Ortelius's and Gerardus Mercator's maps of Europe (both from 1595). James MacKillop, 'Hy Brasil', in *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹³ David B. Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620: From the Bristol Voyages of the Fifteenth Century to the Pilgrim Settlement at Plymouth: The Exploration, Exploitation, and Trial-and-Error Colonization of North America by the English* (New York: Knopf, 1974), pp. 49–51. Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 43.

¹⁴ Andrews, pp. 50–53.

¹⁵ Richard Hakluyt and E. G. R. Taylor, *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), p. 84.

license to find the North-western passage and Frobisher led three voyages to North America in 1576, 1577, and 1578. In 1576, he reached present-day Baffin Island (Canada) and believed to have arrived in Asia. The privateers Francis Drake, Thomas Cavendish and the mariner Edward Fenton tried to reach Asia westwards around South America. Francis Drake completed his circumnavigation in 1577-1580.¹⁶ After Humphrey Gilbert's expedition to Newfoundland in 1583, the English tried until 1590 and failed to establish a settlement in Roanoke after several expeditions led by Walter Raleigh, Richard Grenville and Francis Drake.

3. Pro-colonial voices in France and England: the colonial controversy

By the 1580s, Hakluyt and La Popelinière shared and pushed forward the narrative that neither England nor France had established successful colonies overseas in relation to the Iberian colonial expansion. Throughout the sixteenth century, there were initiatives from English merchants and privateers, such as John Hawkins and Robert Thorne, to keep on organising trade expeditions towards Muscovy, Barbary, and the New World. In addition to the campaign by merchants such as Robert Thorne and Anthony Jenkinson for a North-western passage to Asia, there were other scholarly or armchair traveller's pro-colonial discourses besides Hakluyt's. Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo* (Alcalá, 1516) into *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (London, 1555) was a key, if not the first, work about the Spanish colonial exemplarity in English. It should be read as an example of early Tudor proximity to the Hispanic Monarchy in the context of the marriage between Queen Mary I of England to King Philip II of Spain, in 1554.¹⁷

In the 1570s, the English polymath John Dee's important role in the Cathay Campaign and the search for the North-eastern and North-western passages most likely influenced Hakluyt's ideas of imperialism. Dee's pamphlet 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries' (1577) and the preceding pamphlet *A discourse for a discovery of a new passage to Cataia* (1576), by Humphrey Gilbert, set the backdrop for Hakluyt's own petition of Queen Elizabeth's support

¹⁶ Mary C. Fuller, *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage: English Narratives in the Age of European Expansion* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 3.

¹⁷ The Italian historian Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1455-1526), or Peter Martyr, served the Spanish Catholic Kings in several diplomatic missions. Due to his privileged position in the court and membership of the Consejo de Indias, Martyr circulated news of Christopher Columbus's and his successors' voyages in a series of letters, or *decadi*, in Latin, to several Italian prelates. In his first letter, entitled *De orbe novo*, Martyr referred to Columbus's first voyage. The first three *decadi* were published in 1516, the fourth in 1521 and the complete work, *De orbe novo decades octo*, was posthumously published in 1530. Numa Broc, *La geografia del Rinascimento. Cosmografi, cartografi, viaggiatori. 1420-1620* (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1996), p. 18.

for maritime expansion.¹⁸ In the panegyric ‘Discourse of western planting’ presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1584, Hakluyt defended the English primacy in the colonisation of North America and the promotion of overseas settlement and trade. It reinforced his case already made in the travel collection *Divers Voyages* (1582). Because of this increasing pro-colonial campaign in the 1570s and of a growing perception of Spanish colonial hegemony in the New World, Queen Elizabeth granted royal permissions to colonise America to Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh. Between 1584 and 1590, Raleigh led expeditions to try and establish the Roanoke colony in present-day North Carolina. After its failure, Hakluyt expanded his pro-colonial campaign and published the travel collection *The Principall Navigations* in 1589.

Therefore, Hakluyt’s case for English colonial expansion was not unique in English geographical and mercantile circles. These discussions in England were influenced by and contemporary to similar works in continental Europe around the colonial controversy, including La Popelinière’s works. As previously mentioned, Frank Lestringant emphasised the Protestant core of such discussion increasingly critical of a Catholic and Spanish form of colonialism supported by the papacy. Although the Catholic-Protestant division was not always decisive in this corpus, at its core rested the perception of Iberian ubiquity both in colonial expansion and its narrative of world-making, expressed in different genres. It, thus, becomes a commonplace in La Popelinière’s and Hakluyt’s writings: by compiling and circulating works related to geographical literature, they justified both English and French absence in the discoveries and aimed to claim their belated participation.

However, there were some differences in how the authors in the ‘Huguenot corpus’ reacted to the Spanish hegemony and the controversy about the Amerindian and the conquest of the New World. According to Lestringant, La Popelinière’s works, for instance, assumed the English had taken the lead in the Protestant quest of establishing overseas colonies in the 1580s. Representing a shift in the Huguenot corpus and taking a clearer pro-colonial stance, La Popelinière defended French colonial expansion against a ‘new Treaty of Tordesillas’ by confronting the Pope’s cosmographical authority represented in the official Luso-Castilian Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). The Treaty of Tordesillas had set an imaginary line in the Atlantic Ocean to divide the ‘newly discovered’ world into Spanish West (most of America) and

¹⁸ William H. Sherman, *John Dee. The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), p. 181; Elizabeth Heale, “‘Accidentall Restraints’: Straits and Passages in Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principall Navigations*”, in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 271–81 (p. 273).

Portuguese East (Brazil, Africa and Asia). Its unofficial reformulation in the 1580s changed from East-West into a North-South division of the world, incidentally similar to the older Treaty of Alcáçovas (1479), signed between Spain and Portugal. Therefore, in the ‘New Tordesillas’, the New World was split into the Catholic Spanish South America and the Protestant English North America, linking the principle of Ptolemaic mesological determinism, which divided the globe into latitudinal climatic zones, to the geopolitical and colonial division between Spanish and English Americas.

In comparison to the emergence of pro-colonial discourses in English, the New World appeared less as a trade opportunity and more as a geographical and ethnographical source of curiosity in French Renaissance literature. The first works published in French describing and promoting the New World are Jacques Cartier’s account of his second voyage, *Brief Recit et succinte narration* (1545),¹⁹ Guillaume Le Testu’s *Cosmographie universelle, selon les navigateurs tant anciens que modernes* (1555-1556), Guillaume Postel’s *Des Merveilles du monde, et principalement des admirables choses des Indes et du Nouveau Monde* (1553), André Thevet’s *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique* (1557) and his *Cosmographie universelle* (1575), and Jean de Léry’s first-hand account of his stay in France Antarctique, *Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* (1578).²⁰

Influenced by the colonial failures of the France Antarctique (1555-1560) and Huguenot Florida (1562-1565), the colonial controversy about the New World in the ‘Huguenot corpus’ begins with Léry’s *Histoire d’un voyage* and Urbain Chauveton’s edition of Girolamo Benzoni’s *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, which included Nicolas Le Challeux’s *Discours sur l’histoire de la Floride*. Both works were widely cited and paraphrased by La Popelinière in *Les Trois Mondes*. The controversy tried to balance the condemnation of a particular Spanish colonial project and the support for a universalising Protestant imperial project. Three key

¹⁹ The importance of Jacques Cartier’s account in French paralleled the news circulated in Portuguese, Spanish and Italian travel literature. In addition to the importance of *Brief récit et succinte narration de la navigation faite ès isle du Canada* (Paris, 1545) in the French imagination about the America, such as his influence in François Rabelais, Cartier’s first voyage was published by Ramusio as *Prima relatione de J. Cartier della Terra Nova detta la Nuova Francia* (1556). In 1580, Richard Hakluyt commissioned John Florio’s translation into English of Ramusio’s edition of Cartier’s voyage as *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northwest Partes called Newe France*. Broc, *La geografia del Rinascimento*, p. 20; Margaret Small, ‘A World Seen through Another’s Eyes: Hakluyt, Ramusio, and the Narratives of Navigations et Viaggi’, in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 45–56 (p. 50).

²⁰ For an overview of the importance of the New World and Atlantic Africa in Europe, see Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590-1634)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 23–29.

changes resulted from this oscillation: the invention of the ‘bon sauvage’ and the categorisation of Amerindians in Florida, Brazil, Mexico and Peru as victims of the Spanish and allies of the French – and, later, of the English; the emergence of new theories and methods of history, as exemplified by Jean Bodin’s *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1566) and La Popelinière’s *L’histoire des histoires*; an English strategy to ‘inherit’ French colonial knowledge by the end of the sixteenth century. A key example of the latter was Hakluyt’s strategy of collecting sources about the New World while serving as chaplain to the English Ambassador in France in the 1580s.²¹

By merging the cosmographical, geographical and historical modes of enquiry, La Popelinière’s *Les Trois Mondes* developed a call for colonial expansion in dialogue with the previous works about the New World published in French in the sixteenth century. In the ‘Avant-discours’, he emphasised the honour that is guaranteed when different nations and princes memorialised classical and modern voyages and discoveries. The counterpoint to this virtuous, and increasingly global, history of maritime expansion was what he perceived as French lack of interest and action in foreign, distant or new enterprises. La Popelinière’s case for colonial expansion in *Les Trois Mondes* is based on a defence of the modern knowledge about the inhabitability, roundness and endless usefulness of the world, as created by God. His treatise is, thus, a geo-historical description of each of the three ‘worlds’: Europe, Asia and Africa as the Old World, the New World and a Third World – the *terra australis*, or southern continent. La Popelinière supported the establishment of a Huguenot settlement in this yet-undiscovered southern continent, in the context of the internationalisation of the Wars of Religion – a characteristic of the ‘Huguenot corpus’ according to Lestringant – and of the perception of successive French colonial failures in the sixteenth century.

4. The New World from Iberian to English and French travel writing

European encounters with the New World, Africa and Asia along the mercantile routes fuelled the production and expanded the scope of travel literature. Conversely, the increasing circulation and audience of such literature was used as an argument for overseas expansion.

²¹ This is one of Frank Lestringant’s main theses in *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*. For Las Casas’s works in French, see Marieke Dalahaye, ‘Translation as a Tool in the Scramble for the Americas: A Case Study of Some 17th Century English Translations of the “Brevisima Relación” by Las Casas’, in *Politics, Policy and Power in Translation History*, ed. by Lieven D’hulst, Carol O’Sullivan, and Michael Schreiber (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2016), pp. 33–52. For Bodin’s *Methodus*, see Marie-Dominique Couzinet, *Histoire et méthode à la Renaissance: une lecture de la Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem de Jean Bodin* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1996).

The first travel accounts on the New World began circulating in the first decade of the sixteenth century with Amerigo Vespucci's and Christopher Columbus's letters about their westward travels. Amerigo Vespucci's letter *Mundus novus* was printed in Montalboddo's *Paesi novamente ritrovati da Alberico Vesputio fiorentino* (Vicenza, 1507), considered the first European printed travel collection.²² Other works in Italian contributed to the emerging discourse on the New World, such as Antonio and Paolo Manuzio's letters in the 1540s and, more importantly, Giovanni Battista Ramusio's travel collection *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (Venice, 1550-59), followed by Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del Mondo Novo* (Venice, 1572).²³ Ramusio's travel collection became an important source for travel and geography in Hakluyt's – with Eden's edition of Peter Martyr's history of Columbus's travels including Magellan's voyage – and La Popelinière's scholarly circles.²⁴ These letters became the only source on the Indies and the New World and it challenged the Ptolemaic division of the world into three landmasses: Asia, Africa and Europe. Works written by Spaniards and Italians about the Spanish voyages to the Indies also began circulating in the mid-sixteenth century despite the Catholic Kings' effort to keep accounts about Spanish colonial expansion secret.²⁵

Among the most widely circulated travel narratives, Portuguese manuscript travel accounts and printed chronicles of maritime expansion and overseas trade became profuse in late fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries with Gomes Eanes de Zurara's *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guiné* (first drafted in 1452), Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* (1551-1561), and João de

²² Amerigo Vespucci's letter was written in 1502 to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, Florentine Ambassador to France, describing his third voyage to the Brazilian coast, in 1501-2. First printed in Latin, in Paris (1503), then in Venezia (1504) under its known title of *Mundus novus*, it was edited in Strasburg as *De ora antarctica per Regem Portugalliae pridem inventa* (1505), followed by several editions in the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1507, Martin Waldseemüller included one (supposedly forged) version of *Mundus novus* in his *Cosmographia introductio*, and named, for the first time, the fourth part of the world discovered by Vespucci as Ameriga/America. Montalboddo's *Paesi* was divided into six parts, with Portuguese travels to Guinea and Indies (particularly Cadamosto's and Vasco da Gama's travels), an anonymous version of Peter Martyr's *Decades* called *Libretto de tutte le navigazione del Re di Spagna* (1504), Vespucci's *Mundus novus*, and accounts of Portuguese voyages to America. The *Paesi* was reedited in Italian and translated into Latin (1508), German, and French (1515-16). Broc, *La geografia del Rinascimento*, pp. 17–19.

²³ Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'From the "History of Travayle" to the History of Travel Collections: The Rise of an Early Modern Genre', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 25–44 (p. 28).

²⁴ Peter Martyr's pupil, Massimiliano Transilvano, mentioned Magellan's circumnavigation in a 1522 letter from to the Archbishop of Strasburg, and was printed in Rome and Cologne in 1523 as *De Moluccis insulis*. The Venetian explorer Antonio Pigafetta's account *Le Voyage et navigation fait par les Espagnols ès Iles Moluques* was written in 1525, and partially circulated in print. Broc, *La geografia del Rinascimento*, p. 19.

²⁵ J. B. Harley, 'Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe', *Imago Mundi*, 40.1 (1988), 57–76; María M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Barros' *Décadas da Ásia* (1552-1563), among others. Additionally, the relevant corpus of travel accounts in Spanish or written in the Spanish context between 1493 and 1542 comprised those by Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Martín Fernández de Enciso, Antonio Pigafetta, Hernán Cortés, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Peter Martyr, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and Bartolomé de las Casas.²⁶ In addition to the works of travel literature printed in Spanish, Portuguese and Italian in the sixteenth century, works printed in Dutch- and German-speaking regions also fuelled the imagination about the New World, such as the German traveller Hans Staden's first-hand account of his captivity in Brazil, *Wahrhafftige Historia* (Marburg, 1557), the collection of voyages *Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*, edited by the German scholars Simon Grynaeus and Johann Huttich (Paris and Basel, 1532), and the multi-volume *America* series of travels (Frankfurt, 1590), edited by the De Bry firm, initially under Hakluyt's support.

In comparison to the subject of the New World, distant places in the East, from Cathay and Cipango to the Ottoman Empire, remained a common subject in English and French travel imaginary and literature in the sixteenth century. With the growing hostility between Elizabeth I and Philip II's project of the Habsburg Empire, Elizabeth tried to strengthen England's diplomatic and mercantile ties with the Ottomans. In France, the Ottoman Empire was an orientalist commonplace about alterity until the seventeenth century, as exemplified in works such as Pierre Belon's *Observations de plusieurs singularitez* (1553), Guillaume Postel's *La République des Turcs* (1560), and the Royal geographer Nicolas de Nicolay's *Navigations et Peregrinations* (1567).²⁷ Therefore, the New World remained a marginal theme in French travel writing for much of the sixteenth century in comparison to the popularity of the Turks and, more generally, the Levant among French readers and travellers. Quite late in the century and after Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage* (1578), the New World and the Amerindian appeared in French travel writing in the colonial controversy amidst the Wars of Religion. According to Frédéric Tinguely, despite the centrality of the Levant relatively to New World in Renaissance

²⁶ Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 15.

²⁷ See Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Écrire le voyage au XVIe siècle en France* (Paris: PUF, 2000); Michèle Guéret-Laferté, review of *Écrire le voyage au XVIe siècle en France*, by Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes. Journal of medieval and humanistic studies*, 2008; Frédéric Tinguely, 'Écritures du voyage à la Renaissance', *French Studies*, 64.3 (2010), 329–35; Geoffroy Atkinson, *Les nouveaux horizons de la renaissance française* (Geneva: Droz, 1935).

French travel literature, both themes posed the challenge of representing the unknown and the different.²⁸

Similarly to the novelty of the New World in French travel literature in the 1580s, Hakluyt's travel collections featuring the New World were preceded by Richard Eden's *Decades* – itself an expanded translation of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo* – and Richard Willes's *History of trauayle in the West and East Indies* (1577), in English. Before the 1580s, the Levant and the Ottoman Empire remained the main contemporary 'others' in English printed works of travel literature. Since the late fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, a sense of Ottoman threat in the Mediterranean and central Europe had an impact on the printing of manuscripts about the Levant, beginning with the printing of *Travels*, of John Mandeville (London, 1496).²⁹ Nevertheless, it was only in the 1580s that both the Levant – in different works – and the New World – in Hakluyt's editorial efforts – became popular in English printed travel and geographical literature. Richard Hakluyt's collections put together voyages not only to the New World, but also southwards, northwards and eastwards in the second half of the sixteenth century. As I show in chapter 2, some travel accounts by or about voyages of explorers, colonisers and privateers, such as Humphrey Gilbert, Martin Frobisher, John Davis, Thomas Harriot, John White, Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake, and Thomas Cavendish circulated in England before Hakluyt's travel collection. After Hakluyt's death in 1616, the project of *The Principal Navigations* was continued by Samuel Purchas (1577-1626).

In sum, Hakluyt and La Popelinière were not writing in a vacuum. In their literary enterprises, they tried to balance intra-European imperial competition, extra-European colonial competition, Protestant alliances against the papacy, and praise and condemnation of Portuguese and Spanish forms of colonialism. Their editorial strategies are embedded in such a context of a Christian world-making expressed in a vast circulation of works of geography, history and travel literature. Their acknowledgment of Iberian conquests and works is visible in the Spanish and Portuguese sources both authors used and intertwined with sources from their respective nations.

²⁸ Frédéric Tinguely, *L'Écriture du Levant à la Renaissance: Enquête sur les voyageurs français dans l'empire de Soliman le Magnifique* (Geneva: Droz, 2000), pp. 11–13.

²⁹ Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans. Turkish History in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 20; Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Basingstoke: Springer, 2004); Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

5. Historical writing and the diversity of geographical literature

The works by La Popelinière and Hakluyt studied in this dissertation fit into the diverse and malleable genre of geographical literature and bear the self-reflective mark of the genre. Both authors reflected about the relation between voyages and their written form and about how voyages and travel literature took place and were produced across a range of time and space. They did so through a comparative outlook around the qualities of ‘new’ and ‘old’, ‘known’ and ‘unknown’ ‘near’ and ‘distant’, ‘similar’ and ‘different’ – all elements common to both fields of Renaissance geographical and historical writing. Geographical literature, used here as an umbrella genre including travel literature, encompassed different genres in late medieval and early modern Europe.³⁰ In this sense, Hakluyt not only supported the translation and edition of works of diverse genres, but his own travel collections amalgamated a wide range of discourses, like treatises, ecclesiastical histories, chronicles, descriptive geographies, references to chorographies, cosmographies and maps, reports, itineraries, pilgrimages, lists, poems, etc. Similarly, in *Les Trois Mondes*, *L’Amiral de France*, and *L’Histoire des histoires*, La Popelinière cited and paraphrased several ancient and modern authorities on cartography, geography and history, as well as various modern travel reports. Therefore, their writings are not easily defined as a single genre.

The field of geographical literature was composed largely by travel literature, cartography, and history. As genres, they constituted a reflection on the challenges western Europeans explorers faced in encounters with other-than-Europeans, leading to a new rhetoric of geographical and historical representations in the sixteenth century. In this regard, Surekha Davies has argued that Renaissance European mapmakers invented and mobilised specific cartographic devices and techniques to make “arguments about the relationship of human societies, bodies and cultures to their environments” in other-than-European spaces.³¹ This cartographic diagrammatic rhetoric was implicit in Hakluyt’s and La Popelinière’s works. In this sense, their arrangement of the source material produced geo-historical arguments about their expanding world and the relation between its increasingly different yet spatially closer inhabitants, framed by a historical narrative of voyages and discoveries. The sense of diversity of degrees of policy and types of polity around the world, featured in the ethnographical

³⁰ Joan-Pau Rubiés, ‘Travel Writing as a Genre: Facts, Fictions and the Invention of a Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe’, *International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing*, 5 (2000), 5–33 (p. 6).

³¹ Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 2.

passages of geographical literature, was a central element of the argumentative link between history and geography. This is explicit in Hakluyt's proposal of English alliances with Amerindians and in La Popelinière's acknowledgement of existence and features of Amerindian historical thinking and arts and sciences. Joan-Pau Rubiés has summarised the distinctiveness of the 'ethnographic impulse' in early modern travel writing, geography and history, as follows:

The description of peoples, their nature, customs, religion, forms of government, and language, is so embedded in the travel writing produced in Europe after the sixteenth century that one assumes ethnography to be essential to the genre. In England this assumption became part of the justification for the most representative form of this writing, the travel collections published from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Already in 1577 one of the first of these collectors, Richard Willes, had announced that all branches of learning have their 'special times' of flourishing, and 'now' was the time of geography. In Renaissance learning geography, or cosmography, acted as an encyclopaedic synthesis for the description of the world. Therefore, the description of peoples became the empirical foundation for a general rewriting of 'natural and moral history' within a new cosmography made possible by the navigations of the period.³²

Rubiés's link between ethnography, history, travel and geography is relevant to understanding Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's context of the intertwinement of genres around the experience and discourse of travel. In the late medieval and early modern periods in Europe, travel writing consisted largely of devotional pilgrimages and diplomatic and trade reports. They were exemplified and largely inspired by the *Devisement du monde*, Rustichello's account of Marco Polo's travel to Cathay in the thirteenth century, and the *Book of travels*, an account of John Mandeville's alleged pilgrimage from England to Jerusalem, in the thirteenth century. The Iberian reception of Marco Polo's narrative in the sixteenth century treated the account as both a book of wonders about the East and a credible source on geographical knowledge. In England, works of travel literature developed the account's format and the use of Marco Polo as a geographical authority.³³ As William H. Sherman has suggested, the

³² Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Travel Writing and Ethnography', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Peter Hulme (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 242–60 (p. 242).

³³ William H. Sherman, 'Travel Writing', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of British Literature*, ed. by David Scott Kastan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Matthew Coneys, 'Reorienting the East: Paratextual

practice of documentation was a central part of travelling and travel narrative in England. Overseas travellers were instructed to keep record of their activities and these records were, in turn, collected by armchair travellers interested in navigation. Throughout the sixteenth and into the early seventeenth century, there was a strong interest and editorial culture of travel accounts, which took different forms, such as standalone reports by travellers and by ghost writers or compiled into the relatively new genre of travel collections.³⁴

Travel accounts were also important to the development of sixteenth-century atlases and cosmographies. Monumental and universalising efforts to render the expanding known world into single works, they compared and merged the reception of Ptolemaic latitudinal and longitudinal gridded space with Strabo's descriptive geographical tradition and contemporary travel literature.³⁵ A network of scholars across England, France, Portugal, Spain, the Low Countries and the Holy Roman Empire translated motifs and information from travel accounts into the cartographic language. In this regard, the main works recognised as modern authorities on cosmography included Martin Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiae introductio* (Saint-Dié, 1507), Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia universalis* (Basel: several editions from 1540 onwards), Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570), André Thevet's *Cosmographie universelle* (Lyon, 1575), Gerardus Mercator's 1538 world map, his 1569 planisphere *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio ad usum navigantium emendatè accommodata* and his project for the posthumously-published *Atlas sive Cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura* (1595).³⁶

Frank Lestringant placed travel accounts in the wider field of Renaissance 'spatial economy'. Characteristic of the sixteenth century, it brought together the works of geometers, mariners, natural philosophers, cosmographers, historians, and theologians and constituted a geographic way of thinking whereby one could learn through space.³⁷ Iberian, English, Italian,

Developments in C16th Spanish Editions of Marco Polo and John Mandeville' (presented at The Book as World, the World as Book, The Warburg Institute, 2018) <<https://www.sas.ac.uk/events/event/15467>>.

³⁴ For a study on the practice of ghost-writing in French travel literature, see Grégoire Holtz, *L'ombre de l'auteur. Pierre Bergeron et l'écriture du voyage à la fin de la Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 2010).

³⁵ For the reception of Ptolemy in Renaissance Europe, see Patrick Gautier Dalché, 'The Reception of Ptolemy's Geography (End of the Fourteenth to Beginning of the Sixteenth Century)', in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. by David Woodward, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), I, 285–364; Numa Broc, 'Tolomeo e Cristoforo Colombo', in *La geografia del Rinascimento. Cosmografi, cartografi, viaggiatori. 1420-1620* (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1996), pp. 5–15.

³⁶ Denis Cosgrove, 'Images of Renaissance Cosmography, 1450–1650', in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), I, 55–98.

³⁷ Frank Lestringant, *Écrire le monde à la Renaissance: quinze études sur Rabelais, Postel, Bodin et la littérature géographique* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993), pp. 7–8.

French and Dutch various formats of publishing travel accounts point to the malleability of the genre of geographical literature and its connections to other forms of knowledge. Publishing an account as part of a collection, as a single account, treatise, chronicle or history depended on the editor/writer's intended voice of authority and effect of credibility. Grégoire Holtz has suggested that the format of the collections – which moved the source of authority from the author/editor to the emphasis on the 'voice' of the traveller – was characteristic of Northern European travel literature. Inversely, he argued that Iberian authors tended to adapt and publish travel accounts as part of a universal or general history of overseas expansion.

The drive to keep a record of all relevant mercantile and ethnographic activities overseas was motivated by an understanding of the impossibility of being able to document everything.³⁸ In addition to the shared spatial economy, another link between travel writing and historical thinking in Renaissance England and France was the assumption of an inevitable silence about experience and, thus, absence of memory of useful and honourable enterprises. Colonial ideas and projects provided a stage for such a link. The first cross-cultural encounters in overseas exploration were deeply rooted in the European writing and reading cultures, characterised by the instability of authorship, the practice of commenting, translating and circulating texts. From the growing voyages of explorations, travel writing included both first-hand reports from travellers, but, more frequently, second- or multiple-hand accounts of travels. Therefore, scholars such as Hakluyt and La Popelinière deployed rhetorical techniques to ensure their works followed prescriptions of the genre in convincing their audience of the general reliability of their work and to link themselves to a credible tradition of historiographical and geographical authorities.

The formal diversity of travel literature in the sixteenth century attests to the diversity of the travels but also to the contemporary instability of authorship in relation to each genre and its degree of credibility. Travel collections and histories or chronicles claimed their credibility by citing and paraphrasing different first and second-hand reports while cosmography was openly criticised by Hakluyt for being written by scholars who had little or no access to the modern traveller's eye-witnessing. Armchair travellers such as Hakluyt and La Popelinière became aware of the discrepancies between classical geographical knowledge, scripture and what the modern travellers narrated in sixteenth century. The question of evidence became,

³⁸ William H. Sherman, 'Stirrings and Searchings (1500–1720)', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Peter Hulme (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 17–36 (pp. 17–19).

therefore, central in both travel literature and historiography, in the sixteenth century. Finally, the general Christian emphasis on the role of Providence in guiding human deeds and organising the world translated, in travel and geographical literature, into hierarchical categories such as *mirabilia* or wonders, natural prodigies, savages, Barbarians, which were not new, but were mobilised in a new global framing in the sixteenth century.³⁹

6. Outline of the dissertation

In chapter 1, I offer a literature review of studies on La Popelinière, Richard Hakluyt, and on the links between history, geography, travel literature and colonialism in Renaissance Europe. In the literature review, I show how my research can help bridge the historiographical gap of a comparative approach to both authors's works and their overarching links in developing a discourse in support of colonialism. In chapter 2, I analyse both authors' editorial practices and highlight the differences and similarities between their literary enterprises, especially the important difference in the structure of their works. I investigate their use of information available to them, their exchanges with scholarly circles, their places in those circles, and their articulation of religious and political ideas in their colonial projects. As a result, I show La Popelinière's more synoptic and historical view of the colonial expansion in contrast to Hakluyt's use of the traveller's perspective. In chapter 3, I shift the focus onto their convergences and look into how Hakluyt and La Popelinière used Iberian works to assess Spanish and Portuguese voyages, writings and colonial experience, while using them as an example in their support for English and French colonial expansion and travel literature. I argue that Hakluyt and La Popelinière oscillated between negative, ambivalent and sometimes positive representations of Spain and Portugal as colonisers and as sources of geographical and historical authority. The shift in such representation corresponded both to the authors' comparison of the Iberian colonial expansion to that of other European Christian nations, such as the Italians, the French and the English, while also paying attention to the Spanish and Portuguese interaction with peoples from the West and East Indies. In this regard, I focus on the exemplarity of the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil and how it indicated the overlap between La Popelinière's and Hakluyt's forms of imperial imagination.

³⁹ For an overview on early modern ethnography, see Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964); Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man. The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Hakluyt and La Popelinière criticised and praised the Iberian works and forms of empire-making under the principle of the exemplarity of the historical narrative. Therefore, in chapter 4, I deepen the focus on both authors' convergences and explore how Hakluyt and La Popelinière articulated the genres of history and geography, in its expression as the Renaissance topos of *historiae oculus geographia* or 'geography as the eye of history'. The topos was quoted by Hakluyt and La Popelinière in their works, and in other contemporary works, such as Abraham Ortelius' frontispiece to his historical atlas, the *Parergon Theatri* (1579-1624).⁴⁰ In chapter 4, I argue that Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's supported colonialism by articulating a moralising historical narrative of human deeds with forms of geographical description and categorisation of humans and environments in the expanding world.⁴¹ In chapter 4, I also argue for the importance of ethnographical passages about other-than-European peoples and spaces in Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's articulation of history and geography. Maritime exploration contributed to the understanding that there were different peoples or ways of being human, almost human or not human at all around the world. Hakluyt and La Popelinière placed Europeans, Africans, Amerindians and Asians in a hierarchical historical narrative of the known world, hitherto populated by predominantly European characters. Here rested one of the possible meanings of 'geography as the eye of history': cosmography, descriptive geography and cartography made the diversity of the world visually rich but also 'organised' to the reader of the history of voyages and discoveries. As a result, 'human deeds', the subject of historical narrative, increasingly included other-than-European peoples and environments described in many of the sources used by Hakluyt and La Popelinière and, thus, in their works.

The praise of Iberian colonial expertise and the link between geography and history connecting different parts of the world in the narratives of encounters with other-than-European realities nuanced Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's understanding of the boundaries between Northern Protestant and Catholic Iberian ideas of colonialism and composed their distinctive defence of colonialism. In this research, I focus on the centrality of English and French colonial failures, of Iberian exemplarity, of the link between history and geography, and the ontological shift of Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's acknowledgement of other-than-European agency.

⁴⁰ Walter Goffart, *Historical Atlases: The First Three Hundred Years, 1570-1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 30.

⁴¹ Goffart, p. 30.

Chapter 1 – Literature review

1.1. Introduction

The wide range of source material used by Richard Hakluyt and Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière in their works places them at the intersection of various subfields, theories and methods of historical enquiry. In this chapter, I offer an overview of the literature concerning both authors. I also reflect on the perspective I use to approach them and place them in the context of studies on global exchanges in early modern intellectual history. Most of the scholarship surveyed has been produced in the Global North, predominantly in English, French and Spanish. Most of it approaches Hakluyt and La Popelinière through the literary history of early modern travel literature, the history of Renaissance historical and geographical writing, and the broader study of intellectual, economic and political aspects involved in European mercantile and colonial expansion. In the following sections, I will address, firstly, the works which have compared and connected Hakluyt and La Popelinière. I will then move to the literature about each of the authors separately. In the end, I comment on the additional literature relevant to my approach in this research.

This dissertation is greatly indebted to Frank Lestringant's *L'Huguenot et le sauvage* (1991), in which the French historian analysed the circulation of works and ideas about the New World and the Amerindians in the so-called Huguenot corpus of scholars and works emerging from sixteenth-century France. As Lestringant showed, the failure of the colony of France Antarctique and the entanglement of this colonial project with a controversy around Catholic and Calvinist views of transubstantiation gave rise, in the final third of the sixteenth century, to a series of works reflecting, among other aspects, on the pursuit of truthfulness in history. Several authors, including Hakluyt and La Popelinière, also asked questions about how the Iberian, English and French maritime voyages could be made to serve as a platform for a more successful colonial expansion.⁴² Within this context, Lestringant's investigation focused on history in the Huguenot corpus, with attention to narration and religious reflection on what historical writing entailed after the maritime voyages and contact with distant peoples and places.

⁴² Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*. In particular, the chapter 'La relève anglaise: la mission de Hakluyt en France (1583-1588)', pp. 311-356.

This is linked to other studies by Lestringant about the ‘rise and fall’ of the genre of cosmography in early modern Europe, and particularly France, in the sixteenth century. Cosmography offered a gridded, mathematically construed, and synoptic view of all knowledge of the world. The French and English Protestant advocates of colonialism, in contrast, increasingly understood historical writing as dependent on the genre of descriptive geography, separate from a cosmographical perspective of the world. Echoing George Huppert’s thesis in this regard, Lestringant characterised the new history as a method championed by Jean de Léry, La Popelinière and Hakluyt regarding maritime exploration and its particular narratives, contrasting with a unified mathematical representation of the globe as a whole.⁴³

In sum, Frank Lestringant attempted to explain the early modern changes in the genres of geography and history concerning maritime voyages and colonial controversy. In this context, he was the first to compare the works of Hakluyt and La Popelinière.⁴⁴ Giuseppe Marcocci also compared both authors and argued that António Galvão’s *Tratado dos descobrimentos* (1565) influenced both Hakluyt and La Popelinière.⁴⁵ On the one hand, Galvão’s global scope inspired La Popelinière’s attempt to write a global history of the discoveries in *Les Trois Mondes*. On the other hand, Hakluyt translated Galvão’s *Tratado* into English in 1601 and expressed the similarity between Galvão’s global history of discoveries and his own project for *The Principal Navigations*.⁴⁶

In addition to Lestringant’s and Marcocci’s comparative and connected approach to Hakluyt and La Popelinière, Arthur P. Stabler commented on the exchanges between the French Catholic cosmographer André Thevet and Hakluyt during the English scholar’s stay in France under Edward Stafford’s embassy, in the 1580s. Stabler and Lestringant looked into the reception of Thevet among the Huguenot corpus.⁴⁷ Both Stabler and Lestringant showed the

⁴³ Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World. The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, trans. by David Fausett (Cambridge: Polity Press and Blackwell, 1994), p. 24; George Huppert, *The Idea of Perfect History. Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970).

⁴⁴ Beaulieu, p. 29.

⁴⁵ Marcocci, ‘Altri libri, altre scoperte’.

⁴⁶ António Galvão, *The Discoveries of the World from Their First Originall Vnto the Yeere of Our Lord 1555*, trans. by Richard Hakluyt (London: George Bishop, 1601).

⁴⁷ Arthur P. Stabler, ‘En marge des récits de voyages: André Thevet, Hakluyt, Roberval, Jean Alfonse et Jacques Cartier’, *Études canadiennes/Canadian studies*, Actes du colloque Jacques Cartier, 17 (1984); Frank Lestringant, ‘Les séquelles littéraires de la Floride française: Laudonnière, Hakluyt, Thevet, Chauveton’, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 44 (1982), 7–36; Frank Lestringant, *Sous la leçon des vents: le monde d’André Thevet, cosmographe de la Renaissance* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2003).

exchange of travel literature between Hakluyt and Thevet and highlighted Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's critique of Thevet's use of the rhetoric of the traveller's *autopsia* in his cosmographical work. Finally, both Hakluyt and La Popelinière tried to interpret this changing landscape of the late sixteenth century within an authoritative articulation of geography and history. They invoked it through the anthropomorphically-inspired topos of geography as the 'eye' of history. Scholars have not explored this topos, apart from Jean-Marc Besse's study of its use in Abraham Ortelius's historical atlas.⁴⁸ Besse's study of the philological foundations of the *topos* allowed for studying the link between history and geography in contemporary works by authors like Hakluyt and La Popelinière, who saw Ortelius as a modern authority and were interested in voyages and discoveries.

Generally speaking, the literature connecting Hakluyt and La Popelinière is extremely valuable but also scarce and, hence, serve as the base for further work. In this dissertation, I go back to the literature published on each of our authors individually, to construct a denser web of connections. This will allow me to elaborate in more detail and depth than has been done so far on the possible points of contact, historical exchanges, and important contrasts between Hakluyt and La Popelinière.

1.2. Richard Hakluyt

The scholarship on Richard Hakluyt has increasingly focused on the multiplicity of genres in his complex editorial practice, an aspect made explicit in the structure of *The Hakluyt Handbook*, edited by David B. Quinn in 1974.⁴⁹ Quinn's *Handbook* complemented the previous two authoritative monographs on Hakluyt: *Richard Hakluyt and the English voyages* (1928), by George B. Parks and *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts* (1935), by E. G. R. Taylor. In 2007, Peter C. Mancall published a biography, *Hakluyt's*

⁴⁸ Jean-Marc Besse, 'Philologie et cartographie au XVI^e siècle: la critique de l'histoire dans le Parergon et le Thesaurus geographicus d'Abraham Ortelius' (presented at the 3^o Simpósio Iberoamericano de História da Cartografia, Universidade de São Paulo, 2010), pp. 1–28; Jean-Marc Besse, 'Historiae oculus geographia: cartographie et histoire dans le Parergon d'Ortelius', *Écrire l'histoire. Histoire, Littérature, Esthétique*, 2009, 137–46; Jean-Marc Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre: aspects du savoir géographique à la Renaissance* (Lyon: ENS Editions, 2003).

⁴⁹ *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by David B. Quinn, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974). The *Handbook* is a comprehensive expansion on Quinn's previous study on Hakluyt. Richard Hakluyt and David B. Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor: A Study Introductory of the Facsimile Edition of Richard Hakluyt's Divers Voyages, 1582, to Which Is Added a Facsimile of A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations to Newe Fraunce* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967).

Promise.⁵⁰ In 2008, the conference ‘Richard Hakluyt (c. 1552-1616): life, times, legacy’ at the National Maritime Museum (London) led to The Hakluyt Edition Project. The conference and the Project gathered new studies on Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* (1598-1600). From the proceedings of the conference, Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey edited *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (2012). As a part of the Project, a 14-volume critical edition of Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* is currently under preparation. Except for this set of major works on Hakluyt, the rest of the literature has been chiefly published as articles or chapters, with emphasis on Hakluyt’s support for the English colonisation of North America and participation in maritime trade and on his editorial practices.

The literature about Hakluyt spans over 200 years and, thus, reflects the theoretical and methodological changes in Anglo-American academia. The creation of The Hakluyt Society in 1846, aiming to build a *corpus* of European travel and geographical material, can be seen as a starting point of the imperial celebration of Richard Hakluyt and his modern reception. With the Society’s foundation, William D. Cooley wished to commemorate Hakluyt as a collector and editor of records of the English overseas voyages and “to advance Hakluyt’s work into the modern age”. By 1853, James Anthony Froude praised the creation of the Society in his article ‘England’s Forgotten Worthies’, albeit he also criticised some of the Society’s early editorial and financial choices of contextualising or commenting the edited voyages. Out of his article, a passage on Hakluyt’s *The Principal Navigations* as the “Prose Epic of the modern English nation” would become widely cited:

It was, therefore, with no little interest that we heard of the formation of a society which was to employ itself, as we understood, in republishing in accessible form some, if not all, of the invaluable records compiled or composed by Richard Hakluyt. Books, like everything else, have their appointed death-day [...]; the early folio Hakluyts, not from their own want of merit, but from our neglect of them, were expiring of old age [...]. And yet those five volumes may be called the Prose Epic of the modern English nation. They contain the heroic tales of the exploits of the great men in whom the new era was inaugurated; not mythic, like the Iliads and the Eddas, but plain broad narratives of substantial facts, which rival legend in interest and grandeur.

⁵⁰ Mancall, *Hakluyt’s Promise*.

What the old epics were to the royally or nobly born, this modern epic is to the common people.⁵¹

For the rest of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries, Hakluyt appeared in a 1878 issue of *The Atheneum*, where C. H. Coote, from the British Museum's Maps Department, suggested that William Shakespeare had referred to Edward Wright's map, 'Hydrographical Description', printed in Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations*, in the play *Twelfth Night* as the "New Map, with the augmentation of the Indies" (1601).⁵² The bibliographical study of Hakluyt's sources has long been an important part of the modern reception of his works. In 1880, George Dexter compared different manuscripts and editions of Robert Fabyan's *New chronicles of England and France* (1516), used as Hakluyt's source for his passage on John Cabot's 1497-1498 voyages to North America. Dexter suggested it was "well known that Hakluyt was not an exact and careful writer" due to changes in his version in comparison to Fabyan's text.⁵³ Similarly, Willis Kerr analysed the bibliographical treatment of Frances Drake's circumnavigation in *The Principall Navigations* (1589), a section also known as the 'Drake leaves'.⁵⁴ In like manner, Charles Armstrong compared the various states of the passages of the 'Voyage to Cádiz' in the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* (1598-1600).⁵⁵

Still in the early twentieth century, H. P. Biggar highlighted the similarities between Hakluyt and the French historian Marc Lescarbot, particularly in the latter's work *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (1601). Dubbed the 'French Hakluyt' by Biggar, Lescarbot had, in fact, been influenced by La Popelinière's support for French colonial expansion, a link ignored by the author.⁵⁶ In 1955, W. Nelson Francis published an article alluding to Froude's view of *The Principal Navigations* as a foundational epic, and further confirming it. In a late uncritical celebration of English empire, Francis saw Hakluyt's travel collection as its starting point: "the

⁵¹ James Anthony Froude, 'England's Forgotten Worthies', in *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, 2nd edn (London: Longmans, Greens, and co., 1867), pp. 294–334.

⁵² 'Hakluyt and Shakspeare's "New Map"', *The Athenaeum*, 1878, 828–828.

⁵³ George Dexter, 'Testimony of Fabyan's Chronicle to Hakluyt's Account of the Cabots', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1 (1880), 436–441.

⁵⁴ Willis Holmes Kerr, 'The Treatment of Drake's Circumnavigation in Hakluyt's "Voyages", 1589', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 34 (1940), 281–302.

⁵⁵ Charles Armstrong, 'The "Voyage to Cadiz" in the Second Edition of Hakluyt's "Voyages"', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 49 (1955), 254–262.

⁵⁶ H. P. Biggar, 'The French Hakluyt: Marc Lescarbot of Vervins', *The American Historical Review*, 6.4 (1901), 671–92 (p. 674).

turning outward of England from insularity to empire, and the growing resolve of Englishmen to make up by courageous and often unscrupulous action for their tardiness in accepting the challenge of the new-found lands across the sea.”⁵⁷ This said, where Froude had criticised the excessive contextualisation in modern editions of the voyages as a waste of space, Francis explored Hakluyt’s scholarly network in England in depth. The article offered an analysis of Hakluyt’s use of Robert Thorne’s 1527 letter and map dedicated to Henry VIII, with advice given on the North-eastern and North-western passages to the East Indies, interpreting it as a reaction to the increasing Iberian presence in the Atlantic south.⁵⁸

Interpretations of Hakluyt in a nationalist framework – often grounded in the notion of the ‘defence of the English nation’, whether through mercantilism or literature – dominated most of the scholarship in the twentieth century. In 1971, Robert Detweiler argued that, at the core of Hakluyt’s writings, stood a nationalistic defence of mercantilism, to which political and religious causes served as mere subsidiaries. According to Detweiler, Hakluyt was interested in natural resources outside England and, therefore, looked for signs of commodities in continental travel literature, predominantly in the New World. Detweiler argued that Hakluyt’s enthusiastic defence of the Virginia enterprise was not concerned with the practicalities of settlement. As a result, a sense of wonder and over-optimism ended up undermining early English settlements in that region.⁵⁹ Similarly, Richard Helgerson added Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* to his canon of early modern works that developed a sense of English nationhood.⁶⁰

From the study of the formation of nationhood, scholars have, in recent decades, expanded into the analysis of the imperial imagination and expansion in the sixteenth century. In the early 1990s, Emily Bartels analysed the representation of Africa in Hakluyt’s works. According to Bartels, the dialectic contradiction between an attention to international politics and the praise of nation led to the synthesis of the defence of English imperialism.⁶¹ Joan-Pau

⁵⁷ W. Nelson Francis, ‘Hakluyt’s Voyages: An Epic of Discovery’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 12.3 (1955), 447–55 (p. 447).

⁵⁸ Francis, pp. 449–53.

⁵⁹ Robert Detweiler, ‘Was Richard Hakluyt a Negative Influence in the Colonization of Virginia?’, *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 48.4 (1971), 359–69 (p. 364).

⁶⁰ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Colm MacCrossan, ‘New Journeys through Old Voyages: Literary Approaches to Richard Hakluyt and Early Modern Travel Writing’, *Literature Compass*, 6.1 (2009), 97–112 (p. 100).

⁶¹ Emily Bartels, ‘Imperialist Beginnings: Richard Hakluyt and the Construction of Africa’, *Criticism*, 34.4 (1992), 517–38 (p. 519).

Rubiés considered this tension in his study of the concomitant exemplarity of the Venetian Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, a foreign work, and the defence of English expansion, in Hakluyt's works.⁶² In Kenneth R. Andrews's key economic history of the early British empire, Hakluyt is mostly used as a primary source. Andrews, however, did argue Hakluyt had "put the cause of the gospel first".⁶³ David Armitage, on the other hand, focused on the ideological and humanist aspects of Hakluyt's support for English colonial expansion. He argued that there was little space for religion in Hakluyt's work in comparison to Samuel Purchas's multi-volume *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), published after Hakluyt's death in 1616 as a continuation of his works.⁶⁴ According to Armitage, Purchas's work attributed a stronger importance to salvation history and millenarianism in comparison to Hakluyt's. In contrast to this, David H. Sacks emphasised the role of Hakluyt's formation as a clergyman in the missionary zeal of his works. Sacks suggested Hakluyt had an antiquarian-cum-ecclesiastical form of historical writing, rooted in the history of the Protestant Church in England, resulting in a "chronicle of civilization complementing [John] Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*."⁶⁵ Similarly, Jean-Marc Besse has argued that there was a fusion between the theological and the geographical horizons in Hakluyt's works.⁶⁶

Since the 1990s, reflections about the relation between early modern nation and empire in English travel literature, including the Hakluyt corpus, have also been increasingly undertaken at the intersection between literary and historical studies, especially in the context of the privileged use of travel literature and interdisciplinarity in New Historicism.⁶⁷ Colm

⁶² Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'From the "History of Travayle" to the History of Travel Collections: The Rise of an Early Modern Genre'.

⁶³ Andrews, p. 203.

⁶⁴ David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 77–81.

⁶⁵ David Harris Sacks, 'Richard Hakluyt's Navigations in Time: History, Epic, and Empire', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 67.1 (2006), 31–62 (p. 58); David Harris Sacks, "'To Deduce a Colonie": Richard Hakluyt's Godly Mission in Its Context, c.1580-1616', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 197–218.

⁶⁶ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 187.

⁶⁷ Mary Baine Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World. Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London: Routledge, 1992); James P. Helfers, 'The Explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas', *Studies in Philology*, 94.2 (1997), 160–86; Mary Baine Campbell, *Wonder and Science. Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004). For a literature review of literary approaches to Hakluyt's works, see MacCrossan, 'New Journeys through Old Voyages'.

MacCrossan aptly summarised the radical approximation between author, text and context resulting from the reception of Jacques Derrida's and Michel Foucault's works:

The subsequent displacement of authorial intention as the prime interpretive key in criticism has been accompanied by discoveries by historians of travel and specialists in book history which have contributed to an understanding of the society in which Hakluyt's books were produced as less cohesive than that nostalgically idealised by imperial-era historians.⁶⁸

In his study of reading practices and the circulation of books between England and other countries, William H. Sherman showed how the book trade in English language had flourished by the late sixteenth century. In this context, Hakluyt's translations and editions of non-English travel literature helped placing English voyages in the expanding world, both in print and geographically.⁶⁹ Henry S. Turner suggested the global outlook of Hakluyt's commissioned editions and translations.⁷⁰ Matthew Day analysed Hakluyt's uses of paratextual and textual devices and techniques in comparison to those by the English writers Thomas Nashe and Gabriel Harvey. Day argued that, in Hakluyt, "the accumulation of texts could create a 'work of importance' containing a nationalist narrative fashioned out of ad hoc events."⁷¹

Mary C. Fuller characterised Hakluyt's editorial practices as a constantly ambiguous effort to write and organise a monumental collection. Confronted with what Fuller felt was Hakluyt's editorial looseness and the incoherence of *The Principal Navigations* (1598-1600), the scholar relativised the link of his travel collection to nationalism.⁷² In close proximity to Fuller's propositions, scholars assembled various convergent interpretations of *The Principal Navigations* in the book *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (2012).

⁶⁸ MacCrossan, 'New Journeys through Old Voyages', p. 104.

⁶⁹ William H. Sherman, 'Bringing the World to England: The Politics of Translation in the Age of Hakluyt', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14 (2004), 199–207 (p. 205).

⁷⁰ Henry S. Turner, 'Book, List, Word: Forms of Translation in the Work of Richard Hakluyt', in *Formal Matters: Reading the Materials of English Renaissance Literature*, ed. by Allison K. Deutermann and András Kiséry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 124–47 (p. 127).

⁷¹ Matthew Day, 'Hakluyt, Harvey, Nashe: The Material Text and Early Modern Nationalism', *Studies in Philology*, 104.3 (2007), 281–305 (p. 305).

⁷² Mary C. Fuller, "'Ravenous Strangers': The Argument of Nationalism in Two Narratives from Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*", *Studies in Travel Writing*, 6.1 (2002), 1–28 (p. 23). Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Mary C. Fuller, 'Making Something of It. Questions of Value in the Early English Travel Collection', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 10.1 (2006), 11–38; Fuller, *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage*.

Among them, some have exerted a lasting influence on my approach to Hakluyt in this dissertation, especially regarding the concepts of truth and evidence, and the colonial exemplarity of Spain and Portugal for English observers. Julia Schleck offered an interpretation of Hakluyt's works shifting from the role of nation to the early modern notions of credibility and truth. Schleck placed the Hakluyt voyages somewhere in between history writing (based on a Ciceronian moral edification of its audience and built on 'facts', i.e., particulars) and travel tales that included the Greek historian Herodotus (484-425 BCE) and the Kurdish historian and geographer Abulfeda (1273-1331), as well as the moderns Ramusio and Peter Martyr.⁷³ These works, Schleck argued, were read as true according to a standard of truth guaranteed by the authors' social credibility and their subscription to tradition.⁷⁴

The late medieval and early modern concepts of eye-witnessing, evidence, credibility and truthfulness permeated different forms of inquiry, such as law, science, history and travel literature. Andrea Frisch investigated the changes in the concepts of eye-witnessing, evidence and credibility in early modern France. Nandini Das expanded this discussion into her analysis of *The Principal Navigations*.⁷⁵ Regarding the place of patriotism in Hakluyt's editorial practice, David A. Boruchoff argued that Hakluyt's 'poetical history' of patriotic conceits in his editorial practice surpassed nationalistic or religious sectarianism. According to Boruchoff, a sectarian interpretation was often indicated in scholarship as characteristic of a widespread Elizabethan anti-Catholic rivalry with Spain. Instead, Boruchoff concluded that Hakluyt's "[t]riumphalist rhetoric and the censure of others were double-edged swords that reminded any who would listen that God's Providence is not without conditions."⁷⁶ Similarly to Schleck's focus on the reception of Hakluyt by his contemporaries, Daniel Carey underlined Hakluyt's use of the genre of instructions to travellers. In Hakluyt's case, these instructions were commissioned by trading companies and constituted a type of travel advice, a field which also

⁷³ Julia Schleck, "'Plain Broad Narratives of Substantial Facts': Credibility, Narrative, and Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59.3 (2006), 768–794 (pp. 784–86); Julia Schleck, 'Forming the Captivity of Thomas Saunders: Hakluyt's Editorial Practices and Their Ideological Effects', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 129–38.

⁷⁴ Schleck, 'Plain Broad Narratives of Substantial Facts', p. 782.

⁷⁵ Andrea Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness. Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2004); Nandini Das, 'Richard Hakluyt', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Barbara J Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Jeanette M. A. Beer, *Narrative Conventions of Truth in the Middle Ages*, 38 (Geneva: Droz, 1981).

⁷⁶ David A. Boruchoff, 'Piety, Patriotism, and Empire: Lessons for England, Spain, and the New World in the Works of Richard Hakluyt', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62.3 (2009), 809–58 (pp. 812–14); Boruchoff, 'Richard Hakluyt and the Demands of Pietas Patriae'.

included the humanist *ars apodemica* (art of travel) and the Spanish surveying questionnaires sent to various parts of the empire.⁷⁷

Hakluyt's links to Renaissance humanism have been primarily analysed in relation to geographical knowledge. According to Leslie B. Cormack, English scholarly circles recognised Hakluyt as an authority on descriptive geography, especially during his fellowship at Christ Church, where he arrived from Westminster.⁷⁸ In his study of the discipline of geography in early modern English universities, Cormack referred to E. G. R. Taylor's pioneering studies on the English community of geographers from 1485 to 1650.⁷⁹ In the 1930s, Taylor had already highlighted the importance of descriptive geography and topography to classical, medieval and renaissance historical writing in Europe. As Taylor observed, Hakluyt's namesake older cousin and lawyer based in the Middle Temple, Richard Hakluyt, played an important role in his formation in matters of travel and geographical literature and contact with London's merchants. Taylor placed the elder Hakluyt in a wider English community producing geographical literature in the second half of the sixteenth century, alongside Richard Eden, Richard Willes, and John Dee.⁸⁰ It is on the ground of this network of geographical authorities that Grégoire Holtz suggested Hakluyt's influence on the French geographer Pierre Bergeron in the early seventeenth century.⁸¹

Apart from Hakluyt's recognition as an authoritative geographer, relatively little has been written on his experience at Christ Church, Oxford, where he entered as a Queen's scholar in 1570, was admitted Bachelor of Arts in 1574, and incepted as Master of Arts in 1577.⁸² Lawrence V. Ryan's analysed Hakluyt's commentary on Aristotle's *Politics*, an epitome for his appointment as the College Censor in 1582, and helped understand scholastic and humanist Aristotelianism studies in Tudor universities and the interest for political philosophy in

⁷⁷ Daniel Carey, 'Hakluyt's Instructions: The Principal Navigations and Sixteenth-Century Travel Advice', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 13.2 (2009), 167–185 (pp. 167–68).

⁷⁸ Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire. Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 62.

⁷⁹ E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583* (London: Methuen, 1930); E. G. R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650* (London: Methuen, 1934).

⁸⁰ Taylor, *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583*, pp. 18–23; Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650*, pp. 1–2.

⁸¹ Grégoire Holtz, 'Hakluyt in France: Pierre Bergeron and Travel Writing Collections', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 67–76 (p. 75).

⁸² Lawrence V. Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 12.3 (1981), 73–84 (p. 74).

Hakluyt's transnational network, especially during his stay in France from 1583 to 1588.⁸³ In France, Hakluyt met with André Thevet in Paris, and with the merchant Étienne Bellenger in Rouen. Stabler and Lestringant showed Hakluyt's access, in Paris, to the accounts of Jean-François de La Rocque de Roberval's and Jacques Cartier's voyages to Canada and to the Mexican pictorial history of the Spanish conquest known as the *Codex Mendoza* (c. 1540).⁸⁴ It was also in France that Hakluyt learnt about La Popelinière's *Les Trois Mondes* and *L'Amiral de France*. This particular connection, however, is rarely explored.

1.3. La Popelinière

The scholarship on La Popelinière is mostly younger and overall less voluminous than that on Hakluyt, but it offers important reflections on some key aspects explored in this dissertation. The first modern monograph on the French Huguenot soldier and historian was, interestingly, written by an Anglophone scholar, George Wylie Sypher.⁸⁵ As the title of Sypher's dissertation ('La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer') suggests, he focused on La Popelinière's works of history, namely *L'Histoire de France* (1581) and *L'Histoire des histoires* (1599). This emphasis remained in the works of Myriam Yardeni, George Huppert, Donald R. Kelley, Erich Hassinger, and Zachary Schiffman.⁸⁶ They analysed the theory and method of history developed in La Popelinière's *La Vraye et entiere Histoire de derniers Troubles* (1571), *L'Histoire de France*, and, chiefly, in the tripartite *L'Histoire des histoires, avec l'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie. Plus Le Dessein de l'Histoire nouvelle des François*.⁸⁷ The exception to this focus on La Popelinière as a historian was made by Corrado Vivanti in an

⁸³ Ryan, p. 75; Robert Imes, 'Hakluyt's Peripatetic Discourse', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 43.2 (2017), 140–57.

⁸⁴ Stabler.

⁸⁵ George Wylie Sypher, 'La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer' (unpublished Ph.D., Cornell University Press, 1961); this was followed by George Wylie Sypher, 'La Popelinière's Histoire De France: A Case of Historical Objectivity and Religious Censorship', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 24.1 (1963), 41–54 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/2707858>>.

⁸⁶ Myriam Yardeni, 'La conception de l'histoire dans l'œuvre de la Popelinière', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 11.2 (1964), 109–26; George Huppert, 'The Renaissance Background of Historicism', *History and Theory*, 5.1 (1966), 48–60; George Huppert, 'La Popelinière: The Representation of Everything', in *The Idea of Perfect History. Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 135–50; Donald R. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship. Language, Law, and History in the French Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Erich Hassinger, *Empirisch-rationaler Historismus: Seine Ausbildung in der Literatur Westeuropas von Guiccardini bis Saint-Evremond* (Bern: Francke, 1978); Zachary Sayre Schiffman, 'Renaissance Historicism Reconsidered', *History and Theory*, 24.2 (1985), 170–82; Zachary Sayre Schiffman, 'An Anatomy of the Historical Revolution in Renaissance France', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42.3 (1989), 507–33.

⁸⁷ For a detailed list of publications, see bibliography.

article published in 1962. Vivanti investigated the role of discoveries and voyages in La Popelinière's ideas of history. La Popelinière's interest for geography would be resumed in 1997, with Anne-Marie Beaulieu's critical edition of *Les Trois Mondes*.⁸⁸

In his dissertation, Sypher did not dispose of modern scholarship on La Popelinière. He gathered rare biographical passages about La Popelinière from early modern sources outlined his idea of history. According to Sypher, La Popelinière was an objective and impartial historian of contemporary French history. This, Sypher argued, had already been recognised by La Popelinière's contemporaries, such as the poet and soldier Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552-1630) and the memorialist Pierre de L'Estoile (1546-1611). Sypher saw continuity between this early positive reception and the reception of La Popelinière as a dispassionate and rigorous historian by Catholics scholars, such as La Croix du Maine in the sixteenth century and Dreux du Radier in the eighteenth century. Finally, Sypher concluded his point with Gabriel Monod's choice of La Popelinière as a model for historiography in the nineteenth century. Sypher saw further evidence of La Popelinière's impartiality in his reaction to the censorship imposed on *L'Histoire de France* by the Huguenot party in La Rochelle (1581-5). To defend himself against the accusation, La Popelinière wrote 'Reponse pour l'histoire', reiterating his moderate historical narrative of the Catholics and the Protestants in the Wars of Religion.⁸⁹

Embedded in the emphasis on the *longue durée* characteristic of the history of *mentalités*, Corrado Vivanti was the first to look for a thread across La Popelinière's works. Vivanti placed La Popelinière in a long-term history of the concept of civilization in Europe. Vivanti began with La Popelinière's 1604 letter to the Leiden-based French scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger. La Popelinière requested Scaliger's help so he could join an expedition of the Dutch East India Company to Asia and argued that the *autopsia* of distant lands and peoples was necessary for the pursuit of perfect history. Vivanti underlined La Popelinière's link between the observation of foreign countries and the fulfilment of *histoire accomplie*. La Popelinière stated that those who had attempted, before him, to explain the origin and changes in human polity and the State had failed, likely referring to Jean Bodin's *Methodus* (1566). According to La Popelinière, the previous methods of history failed to do so due to their generic

⁸⁸ Corrado Vivanti, 'Alle origini della idea di civiltà: le scoperte geografiche e gli scritti di La Popelinière', *Rivista storica italiana*, 1962; Corrado Vivanti, 'The Origins of the Idea of Civilization: The Geographical Findings and Writings of Henri de La Popelinière', *Comparative Civilizations Review*, 1981, 15-39; La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*.

⁸⁹ Sypher, 'La Popelinière's Histoire de France'.

scope of the historical subject and period and their limited geographical scope, which excluded Asia. From La Popelinière's letter, Vivanti went on to analyse all other works by La Popelinière as a "long voyage of intellectual maturation" in association with contemporary all-encompassing analysis of history, science and politics provoked by the discoveries.⁹⁰

Whilst differing in many aspects, Sypher and Vivanti both ended up singling out La Popelinière's ideas as being remarkably close to 'our' post-eighteenth-century, historicist view of history than to his Renaissance contemporaries. Similarly, Yardeni has argued that La Popelinière's originality "le détache nettement de son époque" and focused on the differences between his idea of history to those of the contemporaries Loys Le Roy, Étienne Pasquier, and Jean Bodin.⁹¹ Yardeni, nevertheless, underlined that Bodin's *Methodus* (1566) was the main influence in *L'Histoire des histoires* and that La Popelinière was a geographer as well as a historian.⁹² In an article following his dissertation, Sypher expanded on F. Smith Fussner's thesis of the link between Francis Bacon's historical revolution and the scientific revolution in seventeenth-century England and compared La Popelinière's ideas of history to Bacon's role in the so-called historical revolution. According to Sypher, Popelinière and Bacon converged in their attack on authority, the rationalization of utility, the appeal to experience, and the extension of the quantitative method, which he attributed to a post-Renaissance new idea of history.⁹³

A search for origins led George Huppert to the study of French Renaissance arts of history. He defined them as the beginning of Historicism, a broad category encompassing the shift of history into historical science with a set of theoretical and methodological requirements, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Huppert associated to Historicism the works of Voltaire and Jules Michelet in France and Leopold von Ranke in Germany. Huppert saw common traits between these authors and the works of sixteenth-century French jurists Jean Bodin and François Baudouin, and historians La Popelinière, Nicolas Vignier and Estienne Pasquier.⁹⁴ Huppert developed this thesis into a book in 1970 and saw the period as a

⁹⁰ Vivanti, 'The Origins of the Idea of Civilization', p. 30.

⁹¹ Yardeni, p. 112.

⁹² Yardeni, pp. 118, 121–22.

⁹³ George Wylie Sypher, 'Similarities Between the Scientific and the Historical Revolutions at the End of the Renaissance', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 26.3 (1965), 353–68 (p. 353).

⁹⁴ Huppert, 'The Renaissance Background of Historicism'.

foundational one in the history of historiography.⁹⁵ An important contribution from Huppert's study was the comparative approach between La Popelinière and other contemporary methods of history. Thus, by the end of the 1960s, different scholars had tried to shift the 'birth' of historical science from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (the era of the French Romantic and German Positivist schools) to the sixteenth-century French 'historical revolution', with La Popelinière as one of the main scholars. This view of sixteenth-century historical works corresponded not merely to a historiographical pursuit of origins. It reacted to the limitations of periodisation for the categories of Renaissance and Humanism outside Italy.

The influential lectures by Arnaldo Momigliano opened the possibility of exploring the philological and antiquarian foundations of (early) modern historical scholarship.⁹⁶ Throughout the 1960s, Donald R. Kelley argued it was through medieval and humanist legal studies that the philological methods created the historical revolution in Renaissance France. Kelley founded the "historicist attitudes" – the distinction of history from other intellectual enterprises –, in the investigation of mutation in laws, institution, society and culture in French Renaissance historical studies. In *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship* (1970), Kelley used methods of philology and literary criticism to compare La Popelinière's *histoire accomplie* to Baudouin's *historia perfecta* and Bodin's *historia consummata*. Kelley commented on how La Popelinière expanded Bodin's list of historians, criticised contemporary methods of history (including Bodin's), and refuted the theory of Trojan origins of France. Similar to Huppert's approach in his book published the same year, Kelley analysed La Popelinière in a comparative perspective.⁹⁷

Some years later, however, Zachary Schiffman argued Kelley and Huppert, among other authors, had "obscured the true nature of historical consciousness in the French Renaissance."⁹⁸ Schiffman argued they had shown correctly the effect of *mos gallicus* – the French legal interpretation of Roman law as historically determined – on the method of historical inquiry.

⁹⁵ Huppert, *The Idea of Perfect History*; François Baudouin, *De institutione historiae universae et ejus cum jurisprudentia conjunctione prolegomenon* (Paris: André Wechel, 1561); Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Paris: Martin le Jeune, 1566); Nicolas Vignier, *La bibliothèque historique* (Paris: Abel L'Angelier, 1587); Estienne Pasquier, *Des recherches de la France, livre premier et second, plus Un pourparler du prince et quelques dialogues, le tout par Estienne Pasquier, advocat en la Court de Parlement à Paris* (Paris: Abel L'Angelier, 1587).

⁹⁶ Arnaldo Momigliano, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

⁹⁷ Kelley.

⁹⁸ Schiffman, 'Renaissance Historicism Reconsidered', p. 170.

However, unlike Kelley's and Huppert's suggestions, Schiffman argued historical scholarship and the idea of individuality, rather than historical consciousness and the historicist idea of development, developed in Renaissance France. Schiffman, then, proceeded to study the "structure of thought" in La Popelinière, Vignier, and Pasquier, which he felt developed "less a historical than a classificatory view of the world."⁹⁹

By the 1990s, the idea that a new history emerged from a historical revolution in Renaissance France, whilst overall still accepted by many scholars, bore no consensus on its link to modern Historicism. But La Popelinière, having been studied as an exemplary case among a group of French scholars, was an author widely considered to be of great importance. In the Francophone scholarship, the focus now moved from the search of origins to the analysis of La Popelinière's own context and writings, namely in the work of Philippe Desan, Anne-Marie Beaulieu, and Marie-Dominique Couzinet. Desan dedicated one chapter to La Popelinière in his comparative study of Renaissance historical thinking.¹⁰⁰ He argued that La Popelinière's concern with the historian's impartiality was one of the main themes of his tripartite work.¹⁰¹ Despite not citing Corrado Vivanti's pioneering effort to correlate La Popelinière's views of geography and history, Anne-Marie Beaulieu's critical edition of *Les Trois Mondes* is a key contribution to the studies about La Popelinière. Beaulieu showed his editorial and reading practices of different genres, and the connections he made between the available geographical and historical literature. Beaulieu took upon Frank Lestringant's analysis of the Huguenot corpus, in *L'Huguenot et le sauvage*. His main thesis, as we have seen, was the link between colonialism, spatial representation and historical thinking and writing, in the context of Iberian expansion and the Reformations.¹⁰²

In her detailed analysis of Bodin's *Methodus*, Marie-Dominique Couzinet saw La Popelinière as one of Bodin's main interlocutors and investigated Bodin's reception in *L'Histoire des histoires*. According to Couzinet, La Popelinière's criticised Bodin's method for being too contemplative and universal. In her comparison of both authors, Couzinet argued that Bodin praised history through its moralising effects, and defined history through its parts (divided into natural, human and divine histories) and etymology. Alternatively, La Popelinière

⁹⁹ Schiffman, 'An Anatomy of the Historical Revolution in Renaissance France', p. 511.

¹⁰⁰ Philippe Desan, *Penser l'histoire à la Renaissance* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993).

¹⁰¹ Desan, *Penser l'histoire à la Renaissance*, p. 19.

¹⁰² Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 193.

defined history through its formal cause, the historian, and its efficient cause, the narrative. Among the many convergences and divergences between both authors, Couzinet showed that, while both shared an interest for developing a method for studying and writing history, they disagreed about which should be the subject of history. For La Popelinière, only human history, and not divine or natural histories, should concern the historian. Bodin's theory of climate, numerology, and other explanations relating to natural and divine history fell outside of La Popelinière's scope.¹⁰³

Since these key studies in the 1990s about the scholarly connections and ways of thinking about history and geography beyond national frontiers, Brigitte Lourde produced a scholarly edition of five of La Popelinière's manuscripts and an article on *L'Amiral de France*, arguing that La Popelinière had a global perspective.¹⁰⁴ In a similar perspective, Marie-Christine Pioffet analysed the praise of the virtues of mobility and the pursuit of ideal spaces in two works in support of French colonial expansion: *Les Trois Mondes* and *L'Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* by Marc Lescarbot.¹⁰⁵ Adrien Delmas has recently explored La Popelinière's new type of historical writing within a larger context of the intersection between travel writing and the making of merchant companies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe. According to Delmas, La Popelinière put the theme of discoveries at the centre of historical writing and reinforced the role of travel writing in projects of colonial expansion.¹⁰⁶ In addition, Delmas argued that Hakluyt was a close reader of La Popelinière's link between discoveries, travel and historical writing in support of colonialism.

1.4. Towards a comparative and connected history

In the previous sections, I offered an overview of bibliography on Hakluyt and La Popelinière. What, then, remains to be done? In my research, I aim at contributing, through

¹⁰³ Couzinet, *Histoire et méthode à la Renaissance*, pp. 291–300.

¹⁰⁴ Brigitte Lourde, 'L'Avant-discours de L'Amiral de France (1584) de La Popelinière: une défense et illustration de la langue française', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 69.1 (2007), 103–29 (p. 110); Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *Du Contre-Machiavel au Contre-Prince de Machiavel Cinq textes manuscrits inédits de la fin du XVIe siècle, suivis de Responce pour l'Histoire (1585)*, ed. by Brigitte Lourde (Geneva: Droz, 2010).

¹⁰⁵ Marie-Christine Pioffet, Lucie Bourassa, and Jeanne Bovet, 'L'apologie du voyage chez La Popelinière et Marc Lescarbot', *Études françaises*, 43.1 (2007), 139–56 (pp. 143–49).

¹⁰⁶ Adrien Delmas, 'Writing History in the Age of Discovery, According to La Popelinière, 16th–17th Centuries', in *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 297–318; Adrien Delmas, 'L'écriture de l'histoire et la compétition européenne outre-mer au tournant du XVIIIe siècle', *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques*, 2011, p. 18.

comparison and connection, to the less discussed problem of how Hakluyt and La Popelinière articulated history and geography, in their defence of English and French colonial expansion, by referring to Iberian texts as a shared, common background. In this final section of the literature review, I thus propose to outline some additional bibliography on the relevant categories of both authors' contexts. In Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's convergence of interests, Spain and Portugal were the main examples of the desired unity between experience and knowledge about the discoveries. Scholars have studied the negative representation of Spain in writings by Protestant authors in relation to the historiographical concept of the Black Legend, which, in general, means the negative representation of Spain as a cruel coloniser and a greedy universal empire or monarchy. In comparison to the representation of Spain, the role of Portuguese texts and of the Portuguese empire in England and France has not been much explored, despite the existence of recent Anglophone scholarship on the global dimensions of the culture, economy and politics of the Portuguese empire both inside and outside Europe from the sixteenth century onwards.¹⁰⁷ Giuseppe Marcocci has recently traced and addressed this historiographical 'forgetting' of the Portuguese empire.¹⁰⁸

The representation of Spain played an important role in the imperial imagination in England and other courts in Europe, as established Frances A. Yates's pioneering study.¹⁰⁹ Since the 1930s, scholars have also assessed the impact of America on Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹¹⁰ In his study of the circulation and reception of Iberian texts about the New World around Europe, Anthony Pagden has analysed the ontological and epistemological consequences of the ethnographical information in Spanish chronicles and legal debates about the New World. The discourses about the Amerindians were used to define and categorise humanity's origins and diversity, in England and France, from the seventeenth century onwards.¹¹¹ Jonathan Hart connected the fields of literary and intellectual history to

¹⁰⁷ To name a few among many, for a study focused on Asia, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700. A Political and Economic History* (London; New York: Longman, 1993); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Impérios Em Concorrência: Histórias Conectadas Nos Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2012). For a study of the global dimensions of the metropole, see *The Global City: On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon*, ed. by Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and K. J. P. Lowe (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2015).

¹⁰⁸ Giuseppe Marcocci, 'Prólogo: um império esquecido', in *A consciência de um império: Portugal e o seu mundo (sécs. XV-XVII)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012), pp. 15–34.

¹⁰⁹ Frances A. Yates, *Astraea. The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).

¹¹⁰ For a bibliography of works up to 1992, see J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New: 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 109–15.

¹¹¹ Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*.

emphasise the ambivalence, ambiguity and indeterminacy of the exemplarity of Spain and the New World in English and French texts, in the period from Columbus's 1492 voyage to the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).¹¹² For Raman Shankar, the French, English, and Dutch interest to learn from Iberian colonial experiences made them “postcolonial not just as (potential) heirs to the Roman *imperium*, but because they were post-Iberian, their colonial endeavours shaped by possibilities and limits that Spain and Portugal had already established.”¹¹³ By evoking the topos of successive universal monarchies/empires, Shankar placed the transmission of knowledge at the centre of how the French and English supporters of colonialism saw their place in the contemporary history of Iberian colonial expansion. This, it seems, is a topic of great relevance that remains underexplored when it comes to late sixteenth-century English and French authors.

In an important study about the early modern ideas of empire, Anthony Pagden investigated the history of the concept of empire from Rome until its early modern and modern uses. He analysed how the reception of the ancient, biblical and medieval topos of the four successive monarchies/empires by the Renaissance humanist readers of the classics reinforced the Roman imperial model in early modern political culture.¹¹⁴ The idea of *translatio imperii*, a variation of the topos, expressed this model and indicated the possibility of transferring imperial virtues and vices through time and space. This possibility of imperial continuity regardless of historical ruptures allowed for modern sources of authority and a learned rhetoric of the importance of experience beyond the lessons available from classical antiquity. In this sense, Anthony Grafton argued that, from 1550 till 1650, Western thinkers no longer believed that all truths could be found in ancient books.¹¹⁵

Following the key studies by Michel Foucault and Elizabeth Eisenstein, scholars like Ann Blair and Roger Chartier, among others, showed how the material and bibliographical conditions and techniques of reading, writing, editing and publishing were a crucial aspect of

¹¹² Jonathan Hart, *Representing the New World: The English and French Uses of the Example of Spain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

¹¹³ Raman Shankar, *Renaissance Literature and Postcolonial Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), p. 18.

¹¹⁴ Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World. Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500-c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 11.

¹¹⁵ Anthony Grafton, April Shelford, and Nancy G. Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts. The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

the circulation of works in early modern Europe.¹¹⁶ The comparative, connected, world and global histories of the voluntary and forced migration of people, as well as the circulation of commodities, objects and ideas along oceanic and land routes connecting the continents in the sixteenth century has, in the meantime, established new frontiers. It has opened up space for a vast interdisciplinary discussion with a global outlook. In social and economic histories, this perspective has also characterised the fields of Atlantic studies, connected history, and colonial history. As a result, historians have acknowledged and understood better the role of both Black African and Amerindian peoples in the making of colonial Americas and of Europe – and European writing – as well. Due to the spread of Marxist historiography in the post-War period and the influence of postcolonial studies, economic and social historians have reviewed, since the 1980s, the Weberian Eurocentric narrative of the emergence of capitalism and modernity amidst the European discoveries and Reformations.¹¹⁷ Overall, studies by Jack Goody, Ines G. Županov, Barbara Fuchs, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Walter Mignolo, Serge Gruzinski, Dipesh Chakrabarty, among many others, contributed, in often different ways, to the understanding of the pluri-centrality of knowledge-making in the global imperial and colonial landscape of the sixteenth century. As a result, static Eurocentric genealogies of categories such as Renaissance, science and modernity have been challenged.¹¹⁸

Therefore, the study of early modern imperial imagination cannot be separated from that of the support for colonial expansion among Christian Europeans. In addition, the circulation

¹¹⁶ Michel Foucault, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?' (Société française de philosophie, 22 février 1969; débat avec M. de Gandillac, L. Goldmann, J. Lacan, J. d'Ormesson, J. Ullmo, J. Wahl.), *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, 1969, 73–104; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

¹¹⁷ *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World, 1450-1800*, ed. by Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Aldershot; Brookfield: Variorum, 1996).

¹¹⁸ Serge Gruzinski and Carmen Bernand, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde. De la découverte à la conquête, une expérience européenne (1492-1550)*, 2 vols, 1991, I; Serge Gruzinski and Carmen Bernand, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde. Les métissages (1550-1640)*, 2 vols, 1993, II; John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O Trato dos Viventes. Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, Séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000); T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe, *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); *Comparative Early Modernities: 1100-1800*, ed. by David Porter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800*, ed. by Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge, 2012).

of people and objects prompted epistemological and ontological questions about the apparent diversity of peoples and places ignored or misunderstood by the biblical and classical authorities. This shifting source of authority between books and experience was expressed in the early modern fields of ethnography and science, which increasingly involved global, and not only European, people, animals and spaces. This shift has been studied by several authors in the fields of cosmography, geography, science, visual studies, and travel writing, with growing attention to the intersections between these different forms of knowledge. La Popelinière and Hakluyt were sensible of this geographical and historical plurality and polyphony. Their work sought re-purpose such plurality within the all-encompassing project of colonial expansion.

Jean Céard has, thus, analysed the role of curiosity in Renaissance practices of collecting and categorising marvels, singularities and prodigies, in the context of the voyages.¹¹⁹ The early modern expanded knowledge and experience about the diversity of humankind, its correlation to the diversity of nature, and the visual and narrative representation of the world in the areas of art, science, technology, cartography, and geography have been studied by Svetlana Alpers, Frank Lestringant, Jean-Marc Besse, Daniela Bleichmar, Surekha Davies, among many others.¹²⁰ Surekha Davies has argued that Renaissance maps created new forms of representing the human variation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Davies asserted that “maps were key artefacts in the fluctuating shape of the human in the European imaginary in an era of transformative, often catastrophic, cultural contacts.”¹²¹ Davies’ analysis is founded on the understanding that natural history included human history until the nineteenth century.¹²² Additionally, Davies has recently suggested that it is possible to read Hakluyt’s *The Principall Navigations* as ethno-history on grounds of the presence of distant material cultures in the

¹¹⁹ Jean Céard, *La nature et les prodiges: l’insolite au XVIe siècle en France* (Geneva: Droz, 1977); Jean Céard, *La curiosité à la Renaissance* (Paris: CDU SEDES, 1986); *Voyager à la Renaissance: actes du colloque de Tours, 30 juin-13 juillet 1983*, ed. by Jean Céard, Jean-Claude Margolin, and Centre d’études supérieures de la Renaissance (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987).

¹²⁰ Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*; Joyce E. Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500-1676* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); *L’unité du genre humain: Race et Histoire à la Renaissance*, ed. by Frank Lestringant (Paris: PUF, 2014); Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

¹²¹ Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*, pp. 1–2.

¹²² Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human*, p. 7.

sources he uses, such as the lists of desired gifts for Native Americans in the instructions issued for English travellers.¹²³

More than half a century ago already, Margaret T. Hodgen interpreted the constitutive elements of descriptive geographies (curiosity about different customs, languages, objects and environments) as the foundations of modern anthropology. In her pioneering study published in 1964, she stated that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, “curiosity concerning the strange customs of mankind in faraway lands and times was immeasurably sharpened” and “a little later, the same type of material found its way into popular geographies and cosmographies”.¹²⁴ In his analysis of Léry’s *Histoire d’un voyage*, Michel de Certeau suggested meaningful intersections between the status of orality, alterity and sameness in Léry’s ethnography of the Tupinambás. De Certeau opened an avenue for the use of travel literature as a privileged source to understand the changing Renaissance concepts of humanity, the world, and the notion of evidence.¹²⁵ In her recent study about the emergence of the ‘world’ as a foundational category of modernity in the sixteenth century, Ayesha Ramachandran has showed how the process of ‘world-making’ or global imagining cannot be separated from its colonial expressions: “the language of worldmaking, universalism, and cosmic comprehension is frequently invoked in the context of political desire”.¹²⁶

These descriptions of ‘strange customs’, as framed by Hogden, were brought by traders, missionaries and travellers and collected by antiquarians, historians and armchair travellers, such as La Popelinière and Hakluyt. With this literature review, I hoped to acknowledge the contribution from the scholarship and to highlight the opportunities to explore the works by Hakluyt and La Popelinière in a comparative and connected approach. A comparative and connected analysis of their works benefit, therefore, from the understanding of imperial imagination and colonial competition, ethnographic challenges and shifting articulation of the fields of history and geography, in the late sixteenth century.

¹²³ Surekha Davies, ‘Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, and Encounters with Indigenous Artefacts’ (presented at the Hakluyt@400 – Hakluyt and the Renaissance Discovery of the World, The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK, 2016).

¹²⁴ Hodgen, pp. 8–9.

¹²⁵ Michel de Certeau, ‘Ethno-graphie. L’oralité ou l’espace de l’autre: Léry’, in *L’écriture de l’histoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), pp. 215–48.

¹²⁶ Ramachandran, p. 16.

Chapter 2 – The editorial practices of Richard Hakluyt and La Popelinière

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I aim to compare La Popelinière's and Hakluyt's editorial practices of reading, collecting, printing, translating and circulating travel, historical, and geographical literature in their works. I focus on Hakluyt's travel collections (*Divers Voyages* and both editions of *The Principall Navigations*), on editions of works supported by him, and on La Popelinière's *Les Trois Mondes*, while referring to their other writings as well.¹²⁷ In the subsequent sections, I analyse each author's editorial practice separately and proceed to compare and connect these in the conclusion. By doing so, I aim to place Hakluyt and La Popelinière within a wider scholarly network of men interested in the European overseas expansion, by the end of the sixteenth century, and emphasise both authors' similarities and contrasts.

Both authors developed their discourses in support of colonial expansion through editorial choices and a complex articulation of different genres and types of records. They incorporated a wide range of source materials, in a practice linked to an increasing Renaissance awareness of, and anxieties around, the acts of discovering, describing and categorising new peoples and new worlds. La Popelinière's and Hakluyt's contemporaneous discourses converged both at the level of their interest in colonial expansion and imperial competition, and at that of what source materials to use. Moreover, during his stay in France as the chaplain to the English ambassador Edward Stafford in the 1580s, Hakluyt assembled geographical literature and oral news about Spanish, Portuguese and French voyages and maritime expertise. This suggests two points of convergence between the two authors: a shared interest in Iberian

¹²⁷ Richard Hakluyt, *Divers voyages Touching the Discoverie of America and the Ilands Adjacent unto the Same, Made First of All by Our Englishmen and Afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons: And Certaine Notes of Advertisements for Observations, Necessarie for Such as Shall Heereafter Make the like Attempt, With Two Mappes Annexed Hereunto for the Plainer Understanding of the Whole Matter* (London: Thomas Woodcocke, 1582); Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or over Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time with the Compasse of These 1500 Yeeeres* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberrie, 1589); Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation: Made by Sea or Overland, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1600 Yeres : Divided into Three Severall Volumes According to the Positions of the Regions Whereunto They Were Directed*, 3 vols (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberry and Robert Barker, 1598); Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes* (Paris: Pierre L'Huillier, 1582).

and Italian materials available to both around the same time; and an influence of the global scope of La Popelinière's works on Hakluyt's literary enterprise.

Despite the similarities in their editorial practice, they differed in the scope of the source material and the immediate purposes of their writings. To be sure, both authors privileged sources produced by mariners and explorers who had had first- or second-hand contact with distant places, which in the sixteenth century became a prescriptive form of writing history and geography, as I suggest in chapter 4. Hakluyt used the mariner's account and perspective to guide his audience through his travel collections. He organised the voyages, alongside several other types of travel writing, in a structure that followed a chronological order of English discoveries and a geographical division of the world into three directions of voyages. In contrast, La Popelinière prioritised the geographical division of the world into three according to the antiquity of each part: Old and New Worlds, and *terra australis*. Although he also used travel literature to present the world to the reader, this structure conveyed not the mariner's perspective, but that of the historian-geographer: a comparative and global history of discoveries and maritime voyages.

The structures of both editorial projects relied on a cosmographical premise of the relation between each part of the world to the whole globe. For Hakluyt, the link between parts and between parts and whole was made possible through the experience of maritime voyages and should serve a colonial purpose. La Popelinière incorporated the cartographic representations of the Ptolemaic principles of symmetry between the parts of the globe and its division into climatic zones. This organisation of space and a long history of the Antipodes in European spatial imagination allowed La Popelinière to make a case for the existence of *terra australis* as the ideal destination for a Huguenot colony. This is similar to what Ricardo Padrón described as the culture of rationalising colonialism on grounds of abstract notions of space in early modern Spanish cartography.¹²⁸ Following such principles, La Popelinière privileged the genre of Italian and, chiefly, Iberian chronicles or histories of discoveries over standalone travel accounts. And, while Hakluyt focused on English sources in *The Principal Navigations*, he looked at continental models of travel collections for inspiration. La Popelinière's primary interest was history. Therefore, his narrative of voyages should be understood in dialogue with his inquiry into the textual authority of the historian. His inquiry into history and Hakluyt's

¹²⁸ Padrón, p. 235.

inquiry into geography put forward a complex representation of Iberian colonial expertise and of the defence of colonialism in writing.

2.2. Richard Hakluyt: editor, translator, writer

From his early writings, Hakluyt's primary interest was geography, which entailed the description of the world. This was marked by his theological education and Christian outlook on the world as God's creation, his training as a humanist in Christ Church on the political usefulness of learning history and geography and by his exchanges with the merchant corporations through his older namesake cousin. The first motivations for Hakluyt's editorial practice were, therefore, of geographical, historical and colonial nature. He made a case for English historical precedence over the colonisation of North America, promoted English use of the North-eastern and North-western passages to the East Indies and supported the establishment of a colony overseas. Hakluyt's multiple royal and mercantile patronages conditioned his editorial choices. Before the publication of the monumental *The Principall Navigations* in 1589, Hakluyt had already promoted the edition and translation of geographical literature in several European languages, in Paris and London. His writings aimed at being an editorial evidence of the superiority of the moderns over the ancients due to the discoveries.

Hakluyt's first significant editorial work was the travel collection *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (London, 1582). It did not feature Hakluyt's name on the front page, but his initials can be seen on the dedicatory epistle to Philip Sidney.¹²⁹ The main goals of *Divers Voyages* were to record the literature about North America in English, to promote the English participation in the colonial expansion of Europe, and to prove the existence of the North-western passage to the East Indies. David B. Quinn has suggested that the *Divers Voyages* originally consisted of three sections and could have been designed as three separate treatises.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Hakluyt, *Divers voyages*.

¹³⁰ David B. Quinn and Richard Hakluyt, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor: A Study Introductory of the Facsimile Edition of Richard Hakluyt's Divers voyages, 1582, to Which Is Added a Facsimile of A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations to Newe Fraunce*, ed. by David B Quinn (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967), pp. 10–17, 30–32; David B. Quinn, R. A. Skelton, and C. E. Armstrong, 'The Primary Hakluyt Bibliography', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, by David B. Quinn, 2 vols (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), II, 461–648 (p. 461).

The first items after the frontispiece in the *Divers Voyages* are two tables entitled “The names of the certaine late writers of Geographie, with the yeere wherein they wrote” and “The names of certaine late traveyllers, both by sea and by lande, which also for the most part have written of their owne traveyles and voyages” (Figure 1 and Figure 2). The tables rendered visible, to the reader, the transnational nature of the circulation of news about the voyages and the making of geographical and travel authorities. They indicated, before the dedicatory epistle, the credibility the reader should extend to Hakluyt and to the narratives he chose to print. The lists followed, primarily, a chronological order, then adding the name of geographers and travellers, and giving their ‘nationality’. The chronological order is divided into years. Each year correspond to the publication of an exemplary work or of an exemplary voyage of discovery undertaken. In the first list, Hakluyt included twenty-four names along a chronological scope from 1300 to 1580, but most works are post-1500, suggesting a clear emphasis on modern, recent materials. The writers of geography all wrote works about places outside Europe in the years referred to on the list. It suggests Hakluyt’s focus on geography as a predominantly modern knowledge. As a result, the list guided the reader into understanding Hakluyt’s work as contribution to a modern field of geography, focusing on a space outside Europe.

<i>Table 1. List of authorities in geography (Divers Voyages, 1582)</i>
The names of the certaine late writers of Geographie, with the yeere wherein they wrote
The yeere of our Lorde
1300 Abelfada Ismael [Abulfeda], prince of Syria, Persia, and Assyria
1320 John Mandevill, Englishman
1500 Albertus Crantzius [Albert Krantz] of Hamburge
1520 Peter Martyr, Millanoyse
1525 Gonsalvo Oviedo [Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés] Spaniarde
1527 Robert Thorne English man
1530 Hieronymus Fracastor [Girolamo Fracastoro] Italian
1539 Gemma Frisius
1540 Antonie di Mendonza [Antonio de Mendoza] Spaniard
1541 Gerardus Mercator Fleming
1549 John Baptista Guicchardine [Giovanni Battista Guicciardini] Florentine
1553 John Baptista Ramusius [Giovanni Battista Ramusio], hee gathered many notable things
1554 Sebastian Münster Germane
1554 Thomas Giunti [Tomasso Giunti] Venetian
1555 Clement Adams Englishman
1555 Orontius Finaeus [Oronce Finé] Frenchman
1564 Abraham Ortelius Fleming
1574 Hierome Osorius [Jerónimo Osório] Portingall
1575 Andreas [André] Thevet Frenchman
1575 Francis Belforest [François Belleforest] Frenchman
1576 Humphrey Gilbert knight, Englishman
1577 Dionysius Settle Englishman
1578 George Beste [Best] Englishman
1580 Nicholas Chancellor Englishman

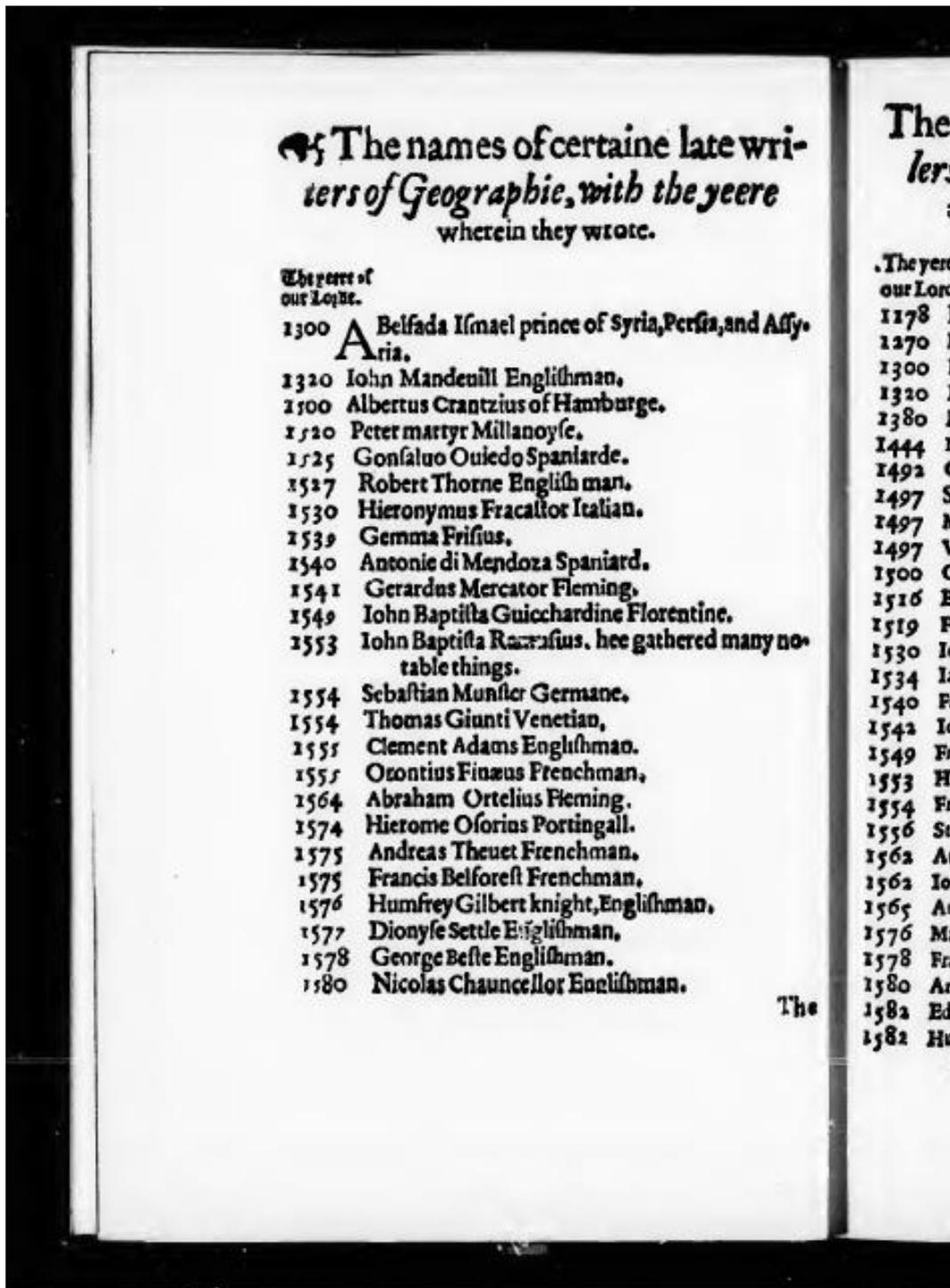


Figure 1. “The names of certaine late writers of Geographie, with the yeere wherein they wrote.” (Divers Voyages, 1582)

The writers of geography on the first list included men who had written works of different types. It encompassed historical writing (Oviedo y Valdés, Peter Martyr and Albert Krantz), reports (Humphrey Gilbert), chronicles (George Best), cosmographies (André Thevet, François de Belleforest, Gemma Frisius and Sebastian Münster), and travel accounts (John Mandeville and Marco Polo). The mention of the Spaniard Antonio de Mendoza is of importance for Hakluyt's editorial practice. Mendoza was first Viceroy of New Spain (1530-1550) and may have commissioned the *Codex Mendoza*, a post-conquest history in ancient Aztec pictorial style, around 1540. By the 1580s, the manuscript was in the possession of the French Royal cosmographer, traveller and Franciscan priest André Thevet (1516-1590), who accused Hakluyt of having stolen the *Codex* from him during his stay in Paris.¹³¹ The inclusion of Mendoza as a writer of geography indicated that Hakluyt considered the practice of commissioning histories of the new worlds as a part of geographical literature. This resonated on Hakluyt's own habit of collecting and commissioning works. Part of his collecting practice led Abulfeda to be included in the list. Richard Hakluyt had asked the merchant and printer John Newbery, during his visit to Aleppo, to search for Abulfeda's "book of Cosmography" to no success. He probably referred to the *A Sketch of the Countries (Taqwīm al-buldān)* by the Kurdish geographer and historian Abu al-Fida (1273-1331). In any case, even if Hakluyt did manage to get a copy later, it was not published until John Greaves's partial edition of 1650.¹³²

Following the table of writers of geography, Hakluyt printed a list of travellers and writers of travel literature (Table 2 and Figure 2). Despite never having joined an overseas voyage, Hakluyt had a profound interest in travel accounts, be they first-hand accounts of voyages (as given in the second list), or texts incorporated into wider historical, geographical or cosmographical works (as given in the first list). Different texts or voyages could fit into both uses. For instance, André Thevet and John Mandeville figured on both lists. The year of 1320 next to Mandeville's name is, incidentally, repeated on both lists. Mandeville's travel accounts began circulating in the 1350, but Hakluyt merged the date of Mandeville's supposed

¹³¹ Frank Lestringant, 'La relève anglaise: la mission de Hakluyt en France (1583-1588)', in *Le Huguenot et le sauvage: L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de Religion (1555-1589)* (Geneva: Droz, 2004), pp. 311–56.

¹³² Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. 54; John Greaves, *Chorasmiae et Mawaralnahrae, hoc et regionum extra fluvium Oxum description, ex tabulis Abulfeda Ismaelis* (London, 1650); 'Arabick Learning in the Correspondence of the Royal Society 1660-1677', in *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by G. A. Russell and M. B. Hall (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 147–57 (p. 151).

pilgrimage to the Holy Land and Egypt and the date of the book itself.¹³³ André Thevet, in contrast, was listed under different chronologies. The year next to Thevet's name on the list of travellers probably referred to Hakluyt's late access to Thevet's *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique*, his first-hand account of the Captain Nicolas Villegagnon's attempt to establish a French colony in Brazil. Thevet's authority as a writer of geography, on the other hand, was linked to the year 1575, when his *Cosmographie universelle* was published in Paris.

¹³³ Charles Moseley, 'The Travels of Sir John Mandeville and the Moral Geography of the Medieval World', *PORTAL: Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies*, 12.1 (2015).

<i>Table 2. List of authorities in travel and travel literature (Divers Voyages, 1582)</i>
The names of certaine late traveyllers, both by sea and by lande, which also for the most part have written of their owne traveyles and voyages.
The yere of our Lorde.
1178 Benjamin Tudelensis [Benjamin of Tudela] a Iewe
1270 Marcus Paulus [Marco Polo] a Venetian
1300 Harton [Hatto] an Armenian
1320 Iohn Mandevile [John Mandeville] knight Englishman
1380 Nicolaus and Antonius Zeni [Nicolò and Antonio Zeno], venetians
1444 Nicolaus Conti [Niccolò de'Conti] venetian"
1492 Christopher Columbus a Genoway
1497 Sebastian Gabot [Cabot] an Englishman the sonne of a venetian
1497 M. Thorne [Robert Thorne] and Hugh Eleot [Eliott] of Bristowe, englishmen
1497 Vasques de Gama [Vasco da Gama] a portingale
1500 Gasper Corterealis [Gaspar Corte-Real] a portingale
1516 Edoardus [Duarte] Barbosa a portingale
1519 Fernandus Magalianes [Ferdinand Magellan] a portingale
1530 Iohn Barros [João de Barros] a portingale
1534 Jacques Cartier a Briton
1540 Francis Vasques de Coronado [Francisco Vázquez de Coronado) Spaniarde
1542 Iohn Gaetan [Juan Gaetan] Spaniarde
1549 Francis [Francisco] Xavier a portingale
1553 Hugh Willoughby knight, & and Richard Chauncellor Eng
1554 Francis Galvano [António Galvão] a portingale
1556 Steven and William Burroughs Englishmen
1562 Antonie Jenkinson Englishman
1562 John [Jean] Ribault a Frenchman
1565 Andrew [André] Thevet a Frenchman
1576 Martin Frobisher Englishman
1578 Francis Drake Englishman
1580 Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman Englishmen
1582 Edward Fenton, and Luke Ward, Englishmen
1582 Humphrey Gilbert knight, Edward Heyes, and Antoine Brigham Englishmen

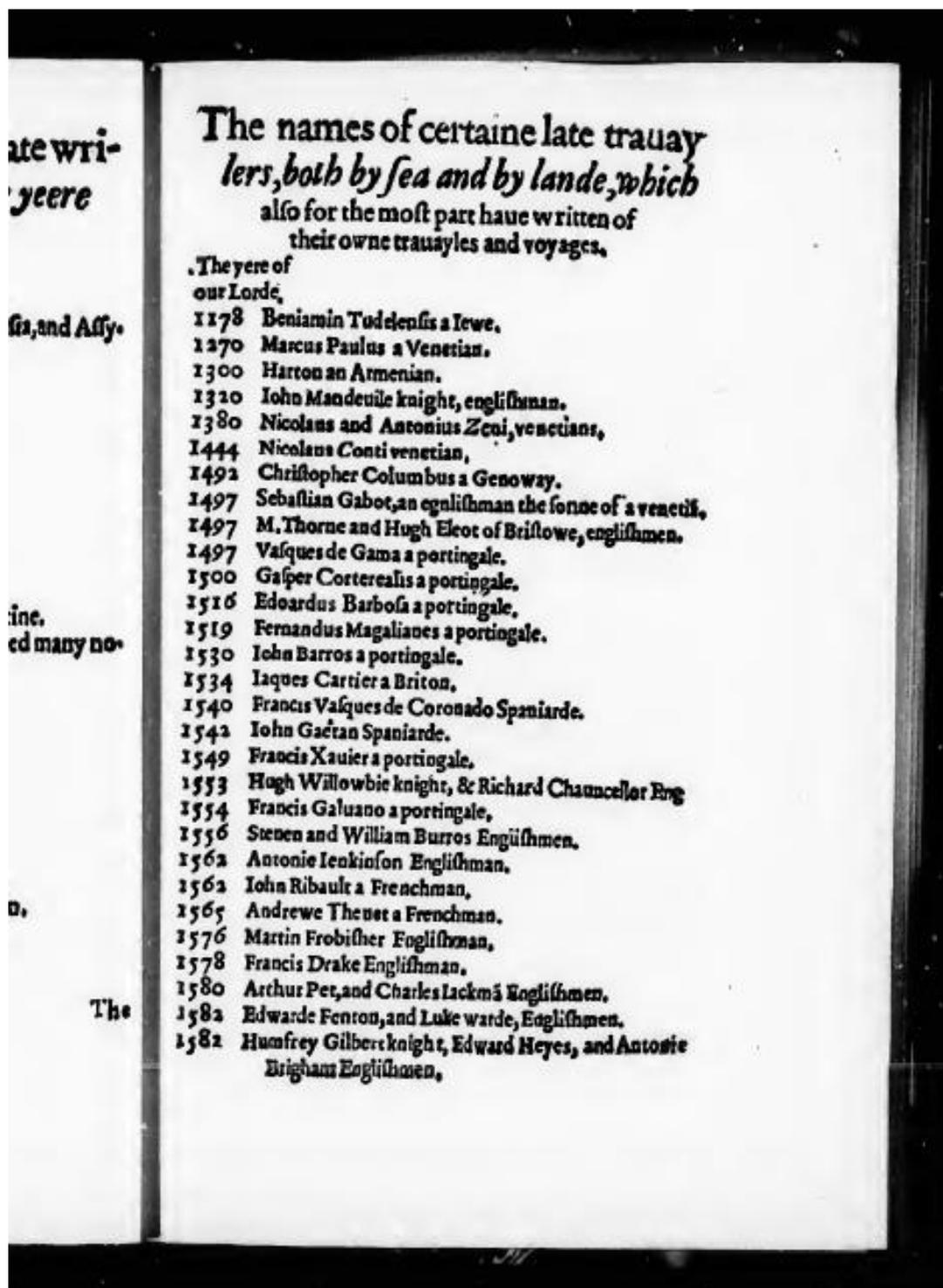


Figure 2. “The names of certaine late travaylers, both by sea and by lande, which also for the most part have written of their owne trauayles and voyages” (Divers Voyages, 1582)

Another interesting name linked to the discoveries is that of the Portuguese chronicler and geographer João de Barros (1496-1570), who figured on the list of travellers next to the year 1530. Barros, like Hakluyt and La Popelinière, was an armchair traveller, and known as a historian of the Portuguese colonial expansion, with his *Décadas da Ásia* (1552-63). Nevertheless, King John III granted him and the Portuguese nobleman Aires da Cunha the *capitanias* of Rio Grande do Norte and Maranhão, in Brazil, in 1533. Although Barros's voyage to the captaincy was never fulfilled, it is likely that the news reached Hakluyt. This might explain Barros's inclusion in the second, rather than the first, list, next to the year of 1530. Hakluyt also used Barros extended his Portuguese authority on voyages to Portuguese America, otherwise underrepresented, as the other names accounted for voyages and geographical knowledge about other parts of the world knowledge of the history of discoveries. Barros and the Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator (1512-1594) were cited as cosmographers in Hakluyt's dedicatory epistle to the *Divers Voyages*, even though the Portuguese chronicler did not figure on the list of writers of geography. Hakluyt exchanged letters with Rumold Mercator, son and editor of the Flemish cartographer. He had contact with Barros's chronicle of the Portuguese expansion to Asia, the *Décadas da Ásia* (1552-1563) via Giovanni Battista Ramusio's translation of six chapters in one the editions of the first volume of *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi* (1554 and 1563).¹³⁴

Apart from such details, perhaps the most important message given to the reader of the two chronological lists is a historical lesson: both suggest the progressive replacement of Italian and Iberian authorities by French and English authorities towards the end of the sixteenth century. This did not mean the Spaniards and the Portuguese stopped travelling or writing about geography, rather it asserted, through discourse and the diagrammatic language of the tables, the recent vigour of English expansion and, even more importantly, a form of *translatio imperii* grounded in new voyages and an exchange of travel and geographical literature.

The lists are followed by the report "A verie late and great probabilitie of a passage, by the Northwest part of America in 58. degrees of Northerly latitude" and the epistle dedicatory to Philip Sidney, which reinforced what the lists and the short report had already suggested to the reader: the political importance of travel and geographical literature, and Hakluyt's wish to

¹³⁴ Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Primo volume e terza edizione delle Navigazioni et viaggi, raccolto gia da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio... et alcuni capitoli appartenenti alla geographia, estratti dell'istoria del S. Giovan di Barros Portoghese* (Venice: Giunti, 1563).

prove the North-western passage as a possible means for the English to make further contributions to European navigations and knowledge expansion. Although most sources in these introductory lists were not cited by Hakluyt in the *Divers Voyages*, they would later compose the vast source material used in *The Principall Navigations*, which suggest Hakluyt had been collecting part of the material by then.

It is likely that Hakluyt did not necessarily have access to all the works of geography or travel accounts listed. The example of João de Barros suggests that Hakluyt gathered his source material not only through first-hand accounts for the more recent material but also had second-hand access to news of maritime expansion via conversations or readings. Hakluyt achieved a learned and respectable position within a network connecting Westminster students, Oxford lecturers, printing and trade communities in London, and the wider Elizabethan circle of scholars and explorers interested in maritime voyages. The ample range of Hakluyt's contacts was reflected in the heterogeneity of the source material. In a nutshell, the lists encompassed John Mandeville and Marco Polo, alongside travel accounts from English travellers which had been circulating in oral and manuscript forms, Iberian, French and Italian accounts first printed in the Venetian scholar Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi* and, finally, works accessible through his network while in France such as those of André Thevet and Jean Ribault.¹³⁵

In *Divers Voyages*, we move from the overarching panorama of recent travel and geographical authorities on the lists, to the role of oral news and conversations as Hakluyt's way to attribute more credibility to his travel collection. In the report "A verie late and great propabilitie of a passage, by the Northwest part of America in 58. degrees of Northerly latitude", Hakluyt referred to a conversation with D. António de Castilho, the Portuguese Ambassador in London until 25 March 1582, about a Portuguese ship sent in search of the North-western passage to Asia. From this conversation, Hakluyt claimed to have learned about not just the likely existence of such a passage, but also the expedition made in 1574 by Vasco Eanes Corte-Real, then Captain of Terceira Island in the Azores, during which his ship encountered "a great entrance" in the coast of modern Canada, most likely the Hudson Strait. This, Hakluyt believed, could be taken as proof already of the existence of a North-western passage, and thus introduce the theme even before the epistle dedicatory to Philip Sidney. In

¹³⁵ Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, p. 92.

the epistle, the main theme and objective of the travel collection was presented in a more official form: to make a literary and scholarly case for the English right to share, with the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the colonisation of America.¹³⁶

England, Hakluyt complained, had been largely absent from overseas conquests in the previous ninety years. Such a neglect of maritime affairs could now be solved, he argued, by sending English prisoners to the overseas colonies and using them for the profit of the common good. Hakluyt referred to another conversation with “a learned Portuguese man”, probably the same Ambassador, D. António de Castilho. In this second conversation, the interlocutor defended the establishment of overseas colonies in general and spoke about João de Barros as “the causer of the inhabiting of Bresilia” in particular. This passage about expansion policy but also the individual agency of intellectuals, served Hakluyt as an argument supporting a similar English enterprise in North America.

In addition to the twelve texts Hakluyt printed in the *Divers Voyages*, he also referred to other authoritative texts in the dedicatory epistle which are not printed in the main body, but allude to the type of material he had access to. Among these, we see the Spanish *conquistador* Gil González de Ávila’s report on the passage from the Spanish chronicler López de Gómara’s *Historia general de las Indias* (Antwerp, 1554); two reports from Amerindian knowledge about geography taken from Jacques Cartier’s account of his second voyage to Canada: the people of Saguenay’s mention of a body of water stretching westward, whose end is said to be unknown, and the people of Florida’s mention of a passage from the River of May (St John’s River) to the legendary Cevola and the South Sea;¹³⁷ a summary of the voyages of exploration by Martin Frobisher, Francis Drake and Antonio Zeno to North America; and, finally, Gerardus Mercator’s assertion of the existence of the North-western passage in letters presented to Hakluyt by Mercator’s son and editor, Rumold Mercator.¹³⁸ The extra pieces of evidence in the epistle, which were not printed in the main body, attest to Hakluyt’s rhetoric of the profusion of several witnesses from different fields of knowledge about the North-western passage. This arrangement would be expanded with *The Principall Navigations* and show the composite

¹³⁶ Quinn, *The Hakluyt Handbook*, pp. 274–75.

¹³⁷ “Cevola” or Cibola was a legendary city, part of the European myth of the Seven Cities of Gold, in North America. La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 320.

¹³⁸ Richard Hakluyt, ‘Epistle Dedicatory to Philip Sidney in *Divers Voyages* (1582). “To the Right Worshipfull and Most Virtuous Gentleman, Master Philip Sydney Esquire”, in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), I, 175–81.

nature of his editorial argument, be it about the North-western passage and the English precedence over North America or about the English voyages around the world.

Following the epistle dedicatory of *Divers Voyages*, Hakluyt translated and printed a selection of twelve sources to convince his readers of the worthiness of English colonisation of North America and prove the existence of the North-western passage to the East Indies. The documents selected are the following: King Henry VII's patent letter granted to John Cabot and his sons on 5 March 1496 followed by their translation into English; a map by Seville-based English merchant Robert Thorne from 1527 which referred to his letter to the English Ambassador Ley; passages about Sebastian Cabot's voyage to North America from the manuscript of *Fabyan's Chronicle* (1516), owned by John Stow, and from Ramusio's third volume of the *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556); Thorne's letter to King Henry VIII followed by Thorne's account of Iberian conquests to the English Ambassador Ley (1527); the translation into English to Giovanni da Verrazzano's voyage (1534); the translation into English of the Italian explorers Nicolò and Antonio Zeno's travel account, taken from Ramusio's collection; a reprint of Jean Ribault's *The whole and true discoverye of Terra Florida* (1563); instructions to the merchants Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman for the discovery of the North-eastern passage written in 1580, under the Muscovy Company; Michael Lok's 1582 copy of Verrazzano's world map with an indication of the North-western passage (Figure 6); another list of instructions for colonisation written by Richard Hakluyt, the Elder, to the Muscovy Company's expedition to Cathay (1580);¹³⁹ and finally a compilation of American commodities and animals from the travel accounts by Verrazzano, Robert Thorne, Jacques Cartier, Jean Ribault, André Thevet, George Best, divided into the categories of beasts, birds, fishes, worms, trees, fruits, gums, spices and drugs, herbs and flowers, grains, metals, precious stones, other stones, and colours (Table 3).

¹³⁹ Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, p. 100.

Table 3. List of source material in the main body of Divers Voyages (1582)

1. “A latine copie of the letters patentes of King Henrie the seventh, graunted unto John Gabote and his three sonnes, Lewes, Sebastian and Santius for the discovering of newe and unknowen landes”, followed by “The same letters patents in english”
2. “This is the forme of a Mapped sent 1527. from Sivill in Spayne by maister Rober Thorne marchant, to Doctor Ley Embassadour for king Henry the 8. To Charles the Emperour. And although the same in this present time may seeme rude, yet I hae set it out, because his booke could not well be understood without the same. The imperfection of which Mapped may be excused by that tyme: the knowledge of Cosmographie not then being entred among our Marchauntes, as nowe it is.”
3. “A note of Sebastian Gabotes voyage of discoverie taken out of an old Chronicle written by Robert Fabian sometime Alderman of London, which is in the custodie of John Stowe Citizen, a diligent searcher and preserver of Antiquities”, followed by “Johm Baptista Ramusius in his Preface to the thirde volume of the navigations, writeth thus of Sebastian Gabot”
4. “A declaration of the Indies and landes discovered, and subdued unto the Emperour, and the king of Portugale. And also of other partes of the Indies and rich Countries to bee discovered, which the worshipfull master Robert thorne merchant of London (who dwelt long in the City of Sivil in spaine) exhorted king Henrie the eight to take in hande”
5. “The booke made by the right worshipfull Master Robert Thorne in the yeere 1527, in Sivill to Doctor Ley, Lord embassadour for King Henrie the right to Charles the Emperour, being an information of the parts of the world, discovered by him and the King of Portingale: And also of the way to the Moluccaes by the north”, followed by Hakluyt’s note: “This exhortation to king henrie the eight, with the wise course to Doctor Ley his Ambassadour in spaine, was preserved by one master Emmanuel Lucar executour to master Robert Thorne, and was friendly imparted unto mee by master Cyprian Lucar his sonne an honest Gentleman and very forward to further any good and laudable attion. And that it may bee knowne that this motion tooke present effect with the king, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the tetimonie of our Chronicle that the king set

<p>out shippes for this discoverie in his life time. Master Hall and master Grafton in their Chronicles write both thus: This same moneth king Henry the eight sente two faire ships, well manned and victualed, having in them divers cunning men, to seeke strange regions: and so they set forth, out of the Thames the xx. Day of May in the xix. Yeere of his raigne. In the yeere of our Lorde. 1527.”</p>
<p>6. “To the most Christian king of France, Frances the first. The relation of John Verarzanus a Florentine, of the lande by him discovered in the name of his Maiestie, written in Diepe the eighth of July 1534”. The chapter heading reads “The discoverie of Morumbega”</p>
<p>7. “The discoverie of the Isles of Frisland, Island, Engroueland, Estotiland, Drogeo and Icaria, made by M. Nicolas Zeno, Knight, and M. Antonio his brother”. Caption still reads “The discoverie of Morumbega”</p>
<p>8. “The true and last discoverie of Florida made by Captaine John Ribault in the yeere 1562. Dedicated to a great noble man of Fraunce, and translated into English by one Thomas Hackit”. Caption reads “The discoverie of Terra Florida”</p>
<p>9. “Notes in writing besides more privie by mouthe that were given by a Gentleman, Anno. 1580 to M. Arthure Pette and to M. Charles Iackman, sent by the marchants of the Muscovie companie for the discoverie of the northeast strayte, not altogether unfit for some other enterprises of discoverie, hereafter to bee taken in hande”</p>
<p>10. “Illustri viro, domino Philippo Sidnaeo Michael Lok civis londinensis hanc chartam dedicabat: 1582”</p>
<p>11. “Notes framed by a Gentleman heretofore to bee given to one that prepared for a discoverie, and went not: And not unfit to be committed to print, considering the same may stiree up considerations of these and of such other thinges, not unmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter”</p>
<p>12. “The names of certaine commodities growing in part of America, not presently inhabited by any Christians from Florida Northward, gathered out of the discourses of Verarzanus, Thorne, Cartier, Ribault, Thevet, and best, which have bin personally in those Countreys, and have seene these things amongst many others”</p>

A central person in Hakluyt's network of travel and geographical literature was his namesake cousin. Richard Hakluyt the Elder (1531-1591) was a lawyer based at the Temple in London and had been involved in promoting England's participation in long-distance trade and the search for a North-western and a North-eastern passage.¹⁴⁰ In his dedicatory epistle to Francis Walsingham in the first edition of *The Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt the Younger mentioned he had first learned about cosmography in his cousin's chamber at the Temple. Hakluyt the Elder was commissioned to write instructions for travellers to North America by the Muscovy Company (these were later printed by the Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages*), the Dyers' Company, and the Levant Company. Strong ties with merchant corporations extended from the cousin to Hakluyt the Younger who received for example an award given through Richard Staper by the Clothworkers' Company. In addition to his part in the Clothworkers' Company, Staper, alongside Edward Osborne, founded the Spanish Company in 1577, the Turkey Company in 1581, which would develop into the Levant Company in 1592. Staper was key in providing Hakluyt with material about English trade in the East, which appears chiefly in the second part or volume of both editions of *The Principal Navigations*.¹⁴¹

In addition to such contacts in the trade corporations in London, Hakluyt the Younger was acquainted with the Elizabethan circle of high-ranking officers and privateers interested in maritime expansion. He communicated with the poet Philip Sidney, Francis Walsingham, who served as a Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth I from 1573 to 1590, and the English explorers Humphrey Gilbert, who promoted the North-western passage in the late 1570s, Walter Raleigh, who explored different parts of America and was Gilbert's half-brother, and Francis Drake, who plundered the Spanish-led slave trade between Africa and the West Indies with the privateer John Hawkins. By the end of the sixteenth century, Hakluyt was supported by Robert Cecil, appointed Secretary of State in 1596 and heir to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who had been Queen Mary's Secretary of State and Elizabeth's principal secretary and lord treasurer.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ E.G.R. Taylor has edited the writings of Richard Hakluyt, the Elder, in her authoritative edition of both Hakluyt's writings, which I predominantly use in this dissertation. Hakluyt and Taylor.

¹⁴¹ Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. 4; Payne, 'Hakluyt's London: Discovery and Overseas Trade', pp. 19–20.

¹⁴² *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. by Hans J. Hillebrand (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); *The Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance*, ed. by Gordon Campbell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. by Robert Crowcroft and John Cannon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Phillip Sidney (1554-1586), a Christ Church contemporary to Hakluyt, had been assigned 3 million acres in Humphrey Gilbert's colonial project in North America when *Divers Voyages* was published. See Sacks, "'To Deduce a Colonie": Richard Hakluyt's Godly Mission in Its Context, c.1580-1616', p. 210; Hakluyt, 'Epistle Dedicatory to Philip Sidney in *Divers Voyages* (1582)', I; Richard Hakluyt, 'Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Francis Walsingham in *The Principall Navigations* (1589)'. "To the Right Honorable Sir Francis Walsingham Knight, Principall Secretarie to Her Majestie, Chancellor of the Duchie of Lancaster, and One of Her Majesties

Finally, during his time at Christ Church, Oxford, he had access to key Renaissance humanist texts, such as Ramusio's *Delle navigationi et viaggi*. His collection of continental works of cosmography, geography and history of discoveries in the French, Spanish and Portuguese languages was then expanded during his stay in France as Edward Stafford's chaplain in Paris (1583-1588) and in Rouen (1584). This expansion is reflected in editions of the *The Principal Navigations*. While in France, Hakluyt was also in contact with D. António, Prior of Crato and pretender to the Portuguese throne, and his party of Portuguese men, who told him about Iberian voyages and works.¹⁴³

The impetus of collecting oral news, compiling older travel literature and chronicles, and translating reports from other languages was expanded from the *Divers Voyages* (1582) into the two editions of *The Principal Navigations* (1589 and 1598-1600). In the seven years between both literary projects, Hakluyt continued to promote the establishment of an English colony in North America, and indeed he returned to England a few times during his stay in France. In October 1584, he wrote the 'Discourse of western planting', addressed to Queen Elizabeth I, which aimed at persuading her to support Raleigh's enterprise financially. Raleigh had been involved in Humphrey Gilbert's voyages of 1578 and 1583 and had been granted patent letters from the Queen earlier in May, but not full financial backing. In 1583, Humphrey Gilbert's expeditions had taken possession of Newfoundland in the name of the Queen, but the enterprise came to a halt after Gilbert's death during his return to England. From 1583 to 1589, John Dee, one of the main promoters of English colonialism and the search for the North-western passage was absent from the court. Therefore, Hakluyt increasingly took up the role of promoter of English colonialism. He had planned to join Gilbert's 1583 expedition as an observer, but Stephen Parmenius had gone in his place.¹⁴⁴ As a symbol of the entwining of

Most Honourable Privie Councell", in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, 396–401; Richard Hakluyt, 'Epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil in the second volume of *The Principal Navigations* (1599). "To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecil Knight, principall Secretarie to her Majestie, master of the Court of Wardes and Liveries, and one of her Majesties most honourable privie Councell", in *The original writings & correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, 453–63; Richard Hakluyt, 'Epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil in the third volume of *The Principal Navigations* (1600). "To the Right Honorable Sir Robert Cecil Knight, principall Secretarie to her Majestie, master of the Court of Wardes and Liveries, and one of her Majesties most honourable privie Councell", in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, 453–63.

¹⁴³ For the reception of D. António in Portugal, see Fernando Bouza, 'D. António I Prior de Crato y el horizonte portugués de la Leyenda Negra', in *España ante sus críticos: las claves de la Leyenda Negra*, ed. by Yolanda Rodríguez Jiménez, Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, and Harm den Boer (Madrid; Frankfurt-am-Main: Vervuert, 2015), pp. 171–137.

¹⁴⁴ Ines, p. 142; George B. Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), pp. 62–67.

Renaissance humanist studies and the development of a vernacular English imperial project, Hakluyt wrote his comment on Aristotle's *Politics*, *Analysis, seu Resolutio Perpetua in Octo Libros Politicorum Aristotelis*, dedicated to the Queen, based on his lectures on political philosophy at Oxford, slightly revised for academic use, in 1588.¹⁴⁵

Hakluyt's editorial practice in the 1580s was marked not only by collecting and printing geographical literature, but by his translations and supported editions.¹⁴⁶ In 1580, he commissioned the translation into English of Jacques Cartier's first two voyages to Canada by John Florio. Published as *A shorte and briefe narration of the two navigations and discoveries to the northwest partes called Newe France*, this text was translated from the Italian of the third volume of Ramusio's *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1556).¹⁴⁷ Arthur P. Stabler and Frank Lestringant have suggested Hakluyt had access through Thevet to the account of the third voyage of Jacques Cartier and of La Rocque de Roberval's voyages to Canada (1534 and 1541-43), in addition to the *Routier* by Jean Alfonse, which he would have obtained during his stay in France in the early 1580s, after Florio's edition of the first and second travel accounts.¹⁴⁸ Hakluyt used all these sources of French expeditions to Canada in the third volume of *The Principal Navigations* (1600).

Hakluyt's role as a translator and supporter of the circulation of travel literature is well expressed in the preface to the edition of Marco Antonio Pigafetta's *Itinerario* (London, 1585) and in Martin Basanier's epistle dedicatory to Walter Raleigh in the first edition of René de Goulaine de Laudonnière's *L'histoire notable de la Floride* (1586), commissioned by Hakluyt.¹⁴⁹ The French cosmographer André Thevet had shown the manuscript of Laudonnière's account to Hakluyt in person.¹⁵⁰ In fact, Thevet later accused Hakluyt of stealing some of his manuscripts, including Laudonnière's account and, as mentioned already, the

¹⁴⁵ Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. 86; Richard Hakluyt, "ANALYSIS Seu Resolutio Perpetua in Octo Libros Politicorum Aristotelis" (Oxford, 1583), British Library, MS Royal 12 G. XIII and Sloane MSS 1982. For a comparative study of both manuscripts presented to Elizabeth I in 1584, see Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 72; Imes.

¹⁴⁶ Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'From the "History of Travayle" to the History of Travel Collections: The Rise of an Early Modern Genre', p. 32.

¹⁴⁷ Jacques Cartier, *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northwest Partes Called Newe Fraunce*, trans. by John Florio (London: H. Bynneman, 1580).

¹⁴⁸ Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 329; Stabler, pp. 71–72.

¹⁴⁹ Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, pp. 86–87; René de Goulaine de Laudonnière and Dominique de Gourgues, *L'histoire notable de la Floride située ès Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines & pilotes françois*, ed. by Martin Basanier (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1586).

¹⁵⁰ Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. 87.

Codex Mendoza. It seems likely that Hakluyt's service in France involved collecting travel literature for intelligence and espionage purposes, from which his interest in travel literature, as an armchair traveller, cannot be separated.¹⁵¹ It was during his stay in France that he probably had access to La Popelinière's *Les Trois Mondes* and *L'Amiral de France*. Therefore, it is possible Hakluyt was involved in the license issued on May 1583 to translate *Les Trois Mondes* into English, which did not materialise. Later in 1595, an English translation of the first four books of La Popelinière's *L'Histoire de France* appeared as *The Historie of France: the Four First Bookes*, edited by Edward Hoby.¹⁵² It is unclear though to what extent Hakluyt was connected to this late edition.

In addition to publishing Laudonnière's account in French in 1586 and translating it into English in 1587, Hakluyt commissioned the edition of the Spanish explorer Antonio de Espejo's travel account to New Spain in Spanish, printed in Paris, in 1586. Espejo's account had circulated in different editions of Juan González de Mendoza's *Historia del gran Reyno de la China*, first published in Madrid and Rome in 1585-86.¹⁵³ Hakluyt further supported Martin Basanier's French translation of Espejo's account, also printed in 1587.¹⁵⁴ Finally, in 1588, Hakluyt commissioned Robert Parke's translation into English of the Juan González de Mendoza's *Historia del gran reyno de la China*. In the dedication of this edition, Robert Parke praised Hakluyt as an authority on "all histories of discoverie and partes of cosmographie".¹⁵⁵ Another important edition Hakluyt commissioned while in France was the Latin translation published in 1587 of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo decades* (1516, 1530), a history of the Iberian conquests, which Hakluyt dedicated to Walter Raleigh.¹⁵⁶ Martyr's history had previously circulated in Ramusio's collection in fragments and in Richard Eden's partial translation into English in 1555. The message from the epistle dedicatory and the chronological proximity to

¹⁵¹ Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, p. 87.

¹⁵² David Grummitt, 'Three Narratives of the Fall of Calais in 1558', in *Representing War and Violence: 1250-1600*, ed. by Joanna Bellis and Laura Slater (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), p. 186.

¹⁵³ Antonio de Espejo, *El viaje que hizo Antonio De Espejo en el anno de ochenta y tres* (Madrid; Paris, 1586).

¹⁵⁴ Antonio de Espejo, *Histoire de terre nouvellement decouvertes... par Antonio de Espejo, & nommee le Nouveau Mexico*, trans. by Martin Basanier (Paris: Nicolas Roffet, 1586); Juan González de Mendoza and Martín Ignacio de Loyola, *L'histoire del gran regno della China*, trans. by Francesco Avanzi (Venice: Andrea Muschio, 1587).

¹⁵⁵ Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, pp. 87–93.

¹⁵⁶ Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De orbe novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis, protonoarij, & Caroli Quinti senatoris decades octo, diligenti temporum observatione, & utilissimis annotationibus illustratae*, ed. by Richard Hakluyt (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1587).

the publication of Hakluyt's first travel collection seems to suggest that Martyr's history was of great importance to him as a model, as I explore in chapter 3.

This exhaustive list of Hakluyt's first works and translations and editions he helped publish in the last twenty years of the sixteenth century point to three determinant aspects of his editorial project. Firstly, before he published the first edition of *The Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt already mobilised his network of source material through learned men and mercantile circles. Contrary to a foundational reading of *The Principall Navigations*, its basis had already been set out in Hakluyt's previous editorial practice. It would expand the heterogeneity of the records but focus on the convergence of a composite narrative of maritime expansion. While he had become well acquainted with the study of geography in Oxford, via his namesake cousin and in his correspondence, his stay in France seems to be a turning point in his outlook. He aimed to bring back information regarding French, Spanish and Portuguese recent voyages back to England. There, he also internationalised his practice as an editor and translator. After his definitive return from France in late 1588, Hakluyt probably took the whole year of 1589 to edit his second major work, which was published no later than 1590 as *The Principall Navigations*.

Two episodes about the publication of *The Principall Navigations* exemplify the influence of his courtly network in his editorial choices as well. Following the sale of several copies, Hakluyt obtained permission to add the account of Drake's circumnavigation. This was printed separately and attached to the original copies of *The Principall Navigations*, resulting in certain copies with the so-called 'Drake leaves' and other copies without them.¹⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the critical account of Jerome Bowes's embassy to Russia in 1583-4 was revised to avoid complications in future dealings of the Muscovy Company. As a result, the final form of *The Principall Navigations* contained both the 'Drake leaves' and the revised 'Bowes leaves'.¹⁵⁸

The Principall Navigations expanded on the source material that Hakluyt had already edited in *Divers Voyages*, and since then collected, translated, or otherwise helped to edit. The main model for the structure of both subsequent editions of *The Principall Navigations* was

¹⁵⁷ Quinn, Skelton, and Armstrong, II, p. 475.

¹⁵⁸ Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, pp. 9–12.

Ramusio's first volume of *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (1550).¹⁵⁹ A Venetian civil servant and secretary to different governing bodies, Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485-1557) travelled throughout Europe and collected travel literature at least since the 1520s. In the 1530s, he helped editing Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo* and Oviedo's *Sumario de la Natural Hystoria de las Indias* into Italian in 1550. The influence of Ramusio's travel collection on Hakluyt can be detected on various fronts: it offered an editorial perspective merging commercial and maritime usefulness and geographical learning, that is, the pragmatic and epistemic dimensions of expansion; it served as a model for an ample and ambitious, key source for geographical literature about the New World; it presented a method of dividing the material along the geographical order of the discoveries that occurred in three separate regions: Africa and the East Indies, Russia and the Far East, and America.¹⁶⁰ It is in relation to the first aspect of Ramusio's influence that Hakluyt praised travel accounts and *peregrinationis historia* over certain cosmographical works. In the preface to *The Principall Navigations*, he criticised works of cosmography as "those wearie volumes bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie [...] beyng indeed most untruly and unprofitable ramassed and hurled together".¹⁶¹ According to Lestringant, Hakluyt's critique of cosmography echoed Michel de Montaigne's 'Des Cannibales' (1580). Both authors alluded to the French cosmographer André Thevet's *Cosmographie universelle* (1575), especially his notorious practice of using fictional first-hand accounts about the voyages covered.¹⁶² As I show in chapter 4, Hakluyt's quote just given does not quite reflect, however, his wider view of cosmography as a genre.

Michiel van Groesen noted the main divergences between Hakluyt and his Venetian model, namely Hakluyt's political aim to support an imperial effort, and his ambition to print *all* (available) English travel literature. According to van Groesen, the weight of the English material, along with the linguistic topicality of Hakluyt's project, considerably weakened his reputation in continental Europe in comparison to Ramusio. Finally, Hakluyt's work lacked the visual dimension of Ramusio's compilation, which had resulted from the latter's association

¹⁵⁹ Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel qual si contiene la descrizione dell'Africa, et del paese del Prete Ianni, con varii viaggi, dal mar Rosso a Calicut & infin all'isole Molucche* (Venice: Giunti, 1550).

¹⁶⁰ Groesen, pp. 37–45.

¹⁶¹ Groesen, p. 43.

¹⁶² Frank Lestringant, 'Le déclin d'un savoir. La crise de la cosmographie à la fin de la Renaissance', *Annales*, 46.2 (1991), 239–60 (pp. 240, 257). For a study of Giacomo Gastaldi, see David Woodward, 'The Italian Map Trade, 1480–1650', in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. by David Woodward, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 773–803 (pp. 781–91).

with the Venetian mapmaker and printer Giacomo Gastaldi.¹⁶³ In his dedicatory epistle to Robert Cecil, in the third volume of *The Principall Navigations* (1600), Hakluyt himself expressed regret for not having featured illustrations in his collection: “Thus Sir I have portrayed out in rude lineaments my Westerne *Atlantis* or *America*: assuring you, that, if I had bene able, I would have [lined] her and set her out with farre more lively and exquisite colours: yet, as she is, I umbly desire you to receive her with your wonted and accustomed favour at my handes”.¹⁶⁴ Hakluyt may have referred here to his association with the English explorer and artist John White, whose watercolours of North America Hakluyt had recommended as illustrations to Theodor de Bry’s edition of the first volume of the *America* series in 1588.

The first edition of *The Principall Navigations* was published in 1589 and it spanned 825 pages in addition to the unnumbered prefatory material composed of the epistle dedicatory to Francis Walsingham, a preface to the reader, four commendatory verses by Revered Hugh Broughton, Marco Antonio Pigafetta, William Camden, and Philip Jones, a table of contents, and an index in the end. It was divided into three parts, each “according to the positions of the regions whereunto [the voyages] were directed”, as the title itself states: going from the “South and Southeast”, through the “North and Northeast”, to the “West”. Hakluyt was primarily concerned with the directionality of the English voyages to different parts of the world. From England as a point of departure of the experience of the mariners, he also construed a more abstract and overarching division of the world. Within this overarching division based on the sailing experience of the mariners, each part was individually organised into two sets of source material presented chronologically. On the one hand, travel accounts. On the other, a section with a varied assemblage of documents concerning such travels, such as testimonies and discourses, instructions to pilots, short biographical notes, lists of places, distances, commodities, customs, weights, measures, diplomatic reports, diplomatic correspondence, letters patent for discovery, safe passage grants, and cessions of trade privileges.¹⁶⁵

This division of each part into two sets of documents took the reader from the primary directional and chronological division into the categorisation of the records about the maritime

¹⁶³ Groesen, p. 45.

¹⁶⁴ Hakluyt, ‘Epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil in the third volume of *The Principall Navigations* (1600)’, II; Peter C. Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt and the Visual World of Early Modern Travel Narratives’, in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 87–101.

¹⁶⁵ For the role of travel advice and instructions in Hakluyt’s works, see Carey, ‘Hakluyt’s Instructions’.

experience. The plurality of orders in Hakluyt's travel collection was grounded on its all-encompassing nature of records linked to English voyages. This provided an argument, in the form of the structure and scope of the text, against English absence from the expansion. The multiplicity of orders of presentation of the source material and variety of records also responded to the fallibility of such editorial and, thus far, colonial enterprise. In Hakluyt's work, the most problematic English absence was that from the literature about the expansion, as stated by La Popelinière's in *L'Amiral de France*. In his epistle dedicatory to Francis Walsingham, Hakluyt outlined the motivation behind his editorial enterprise:

In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation: by which meanes having gotten somewhat more than common knowlege, I passed at length the narrow seas into France with sir *Edward Stafford*, [...] I both heard in speech, and read in books other nations miraculously extolled of their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others for their sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempes especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned: which singular opportunity, if some other people our neighbors had beene blessed with, their protestations are often and vehement, they would farre otherwise have used. And that the trueth and evidence hereof may better appeare, these are the very words of *Popiliniere* in his booke called *L'Amiral de France*, and printed in Paris. *Fol. 73. pag.1,2*. The occasion of his sppedch is the commendation of the Rhodians, who being (as we are) islanders, were excellent in navigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the English should not surpasse in that qualitie, in this sort [...] Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerein: [...] my selfe being the last winter returned from France [...] determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to undertake the burden of that worke [...].¹⁶⁶

In this long yet key passage, he attributed to his stay in France and to La Popelinière's geo-historical observation on English lack of navigational knowledge from *L'Amiral de France*

¹⁶⁶ Hakluyt, 'Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Francis Walsingham in The Principall Navigations (1589)', II, pp. 397–98.

his contact with transnational histories of discoveries and the motivation of his own travel collection, respectively. I would like to argue that Hakluyt's editorial practice should be read as a response to La Popelinière's comparative assessment of the voyages, and particularly of the English belatedness despite their geographical circumstances. In the same epistle, Hakluyt referred to *De gestis Romanorum*, attributed to Lucius Florus, and to the Dutch humanist and linguist Johannes Goropius Becanus's *Origines Antwerpianae* (1569). From these two references, the audience and Hakluyt's patron Francis Walsingham were to be convinced of the agreement between the Roman Empire and the Chinese and King Henry VIII's contact with the Ottoman and Persian empires, respectively. Unlike the reference to La Popelinière, these works were not cited with as many details.

I shall return to the influence of La Popelinière's comparison of the history of voyages on Hakluyt's travel collection in chapter 3. For now, it is relevant to understand how the anxiety about the English absence was expressed in the presentation of the material in Hakluyt's travel collection. In the summary of *The Principall Navigations*, the two sets of records to each part were presented as two separate tables. However, in the main body, each item of the second set immediately followed the respective travel. Ultimately, both sets were organised per part of the world, which, as seen above, referred to the chronology and direction of the English voyages, and the whole travel collection was divided by each part, which, in this case, referred to the three overarching sections of the book and the three spatial units of the world. The structure of the text and in the division of the world according to maritime voyages are bounded by a cosmological analogy between the part and the whole, grounded on the same cosmographical principle. The same can be extended to the reader of Hakluyt's travel collection and the mariner in the travel accounts, as the work's intention was not to generate curiosity and contemplation only, but action and experience.

The first part of *The Principall Navigations*, entitled "The voyages of the first part to the South and Southeast regions", comprised of 38 chapters with classical, medieval and early modern English travel accounts dating from 338 to 1589. These included voyages to Judea, Syria, Guinea, Benin, Barbary, Egypt, the Persian Gulf, Hormuz, Chaul, Goa, other parts of what we call India, and finally the main ports and places of the Western African littoral until the Cape of Good Hope. The second set of documents was entitled "the Ambassages, letters, Privileges, and other necessarie matters of circumstance appertaining to the voyages of the first

part” and divided into 55 chapters. Most of the medieval material encompassed pilgrimages and crusades to the Levant. After a gap of roughly two thousand years (the whole fifteenth century included), the modern accounts predominantly narrated incursions in the coast of Guinea. In this volume Hakluyt printed, for the first time, the correspondence from Queen Elizabeth to the rulers of China, and the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire and Morocco. According to Matthew Dimmock, Hakluyt was the first to print source material of the Anglo-Ottoman trading alliance and Elizabeth’s growing trade with the Ottomans and the kingdom of Morocco resulted from the Spanish Iberian hegemony in the New World.¹⁶⁷ Out of the 38 travel accounts included in the first set, at least 10 were printed for the first time as originals or translations, namely: the translations of John Mandeville’s voyage from Latin into English, the translation of the explorer António Galvão’s voyage from Portuguese into English; William Towerson’s voyages to Guinea (1555-57); George Fenner’s voyage to Guinea and Cape Verde (1566); Thomas Stevens’s voyage around the Cape of Good Hope to Goa (1579); Laurence Aldersey’s voyage to Jerusalem and Tripoli (1581); William Huddie’s voyage to Rio Grande, in Guinea (1583); John Newbery’s and Ralph Fitch’s voyages to Tripoli, Aleppo, Babylon, Basra, Hormuz and Goa (1583); John Eldred’s 1583 voyage to Tripoli, Babylon and Basra (1583); and Laurence Aldersey’s 1586 voyage to Alexandria and Cairo (1586).¹⁶⁸

The second part of *The Principall Navigations*, entitled “The voyages of the second part made to the North and Northeast quarters”, was composed of 22 documents about the English voyages performed from 517 and 1584, to Iceland, Gotland (Sweden), Orkney (northern Scotland), Denmark, Norway, “all the regions situated under the North pole”, Lapland, Muscovy, the river Ob (in present-day western Siberia), the North-eastern passage, Colmogro, Bactria, Persia, Lifland, “the Northeast seas beyond the Iland of Vaigats [Vaygach]”, and the Caspian Sea. In this second set of additional source material of embassies, treatises, and privileges, Hakluyt printed 61 documents, of which 40 were printed for the first time from manuscripts. The additional reprints were taken from *Divers Voyages* (1582), Richard Eden’s *Decades of the newe worlde or west India* (1555), George Tuberville’s *Tragical tales* (1587), Richard Willes’ *History of travaile in the west and east Indies* (1577),

¹⁶⁷ Matthew Dimmock, ‘Hakluyt’s Multiple Faiths’, in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 219–28 (p. 223).

¹⁶⁸ Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations*.

Ramusio's *Delle navigationi et viaggi*, II (1582), Mercator's 1569 world map, and Jerónimo Osório da Fonseca's *De rebus Lusitaniae regis* (1574).¹⁶⁹

Finally, in the third part of the first edition, Hakluyt presented the source material to narrate the history of English voyages to the West, Southwest and Northwest, from 1170 to 1589. It concerned the voyages to “almost all the corners of the vaste and new world of America”, and was composed of 33 travel accounts, 24 of which were printed for the first time. These were followed by 44 additional texts including discourses, letters, privileges, relations and “other material circumstances incident to the voyages of the third part”, 25 of which were printed from manuscripts. The spatial units and routes composing the “new world of America” were: West Indies, Florida, Brazil, Saint Domingo, Saint John of Porto Rico, Newfoundland, Cape Breton Island via the coast of Mexico, San Juan de Ulúa (Mexico), New Spain via the coast of Guinea, Nombre de Dios (Panama), Meta Incognita (Canada), Virginia, and the search for the North-western passage. Overall, most of the sources concern English voyages according to English sources. The additional sources include excerpts and translations from manuscripts and printed works such as Ferdinand Columbus' biography of his father Christopher Columbus, printed as *Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo* (Venice, 1571), Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia de las Indias* (Zaragoza, 1552), and Thomas Harriot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (London, 1588).¹⁷⁰

Alison and David B. Quinn have traced the origin of each source printed by Hakluyt in his travel collection. From their research, one can grasp the amplitude of Hakluyt's collection and the practice of translation applied to the non-English material. For the set of texts about the Americas, the source materials were reprints from chronicles or travel collections by David Powell (1584), Ramusio (1550) via Eden (1555), Hakluyt's own commentary on Eden's *A treatyse of the newe India* (1553), Thorne's 'Declaration' via Hakluyt's own *Divers voyages*, the Spanish chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés's *Historia natural de las Indias* (1526) via Ramusio, Grafton's *A chronicle* (1568), Edward Hall's *The union of York... and Lancaster* (1548), John Hawkins's *A true declaration of the troublesome voyage* (1569), David Ingram's *A true discourse* (1583), fragments from the Portuguese pilot Lopes Vas's 'Relation' (1587), Dionyse Settle's *A true reporte of the laste voyage by Captaine Frobisher* (1577);

¹⁶⁹ David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn, 'Principall Navigations (1589)', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by David B. Quinn, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), II, 335–77 (pp. 354–66).

¹⁷⁰ Quinn, *The Hakluyt Handbook*, pp. 366–77.

Thomas Ellis's *A true report of... Meta Incognita* (1578). To this exhaustive list of printed sources, Hakluyt added first prints of 24 manuscripts. His access to the manuscripts came through his elder cousin's collection, as well as direct conversations and dealings with the travellers John Hawkins, Martin Frobisher, Michael Lok, Edward Hayes, Walter Raleigh, Thomas Harriot, John White, John Davis, William Sanderson, and Thomas Cavendish.¹⁷¹

A similar editorial logic was applied to the second set of documents in the first volume. Most of the reprints were taken from Ferdinand Columbus's *Historie... dell'Amiraglio D. Christophoro Colombo* (1571), Hakluyt's own *Divers Voyages*, inscriptions of Cabot's map (1544) reprinted in Clement Adams's map (1549), Hakluyt's own edition of Martyr's *De orbe novo* (1587), a translation into English of López de Gómara's *La historia de las Indias* (1552), a translation of Laudonnière's *A notable historie* (1587), Gilbert's *A discourse of a discoverie for a new passage to Cataia* (1576), Willes's *History* (1577), George Peckham's *A true reporte of the late discoveries of the Newfound Landes* (1583), Christopher Carleill's *A discourse upon the entended voyage to the hethermost partes of America* (1583), and Thomas Harriot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1588). In this set, the 25 manuscripts printed for the first time made up more than half of the corpus, and included records obtained from the Privy Seal Docquet Book and royal patents. In addition to Hakluyt's network already mentioned, the sources from this set of documents also point to conversations with Miles Philips (associated with John Hawkins), and Richard Staper – the already mentioned supporter of Hakluyt and warden of the Clothworkers' Company in 1576, a London merchant active in the Atlantic and Levant trade.¹⁷²

While this was the first comprehensive travel collection printed in England, Hakluyt was expanding on the growing circulation of classical and medieval travel reports already in place

¹⁷¹ Martin Frobisher (1535-1594) plundered west Africa and the eastern Mediterranean in the 1550s and joined Francis Drake in 1580s, including the victory over the Spanish Armada (1588). Hakluyt was aware of Frobisher's 1570s expeditions to find the North-western passage to the East Indies and his 'discovery' of the Baffin Island and the Hudson Strait. John Hawkins (1532-1595) joined the slave trade in the West Indies as an ally of the Spaniards in the 1560s. In the 1580s, Hawkins joined the English victory over the Spanish Armada and the expedition to Portugal against Philip II in 1589. He joined Drake's plundering expeditions and, in 1595, died in an expedition to Puerto Rico. Roy C. Bridges, 'Frobisher, Sir Martin', in *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. by John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <www.oxfordreference.com>; Roy C. Bridges, 'Hawkins, Sir John', in *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. by John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) <www.oxfordreference.com>.

¹⁷² Carey, 'Hakluyt's Instructions', p. 184.

in England before Hakluyt's writings, including at least four translated books on the Turks.¹⁷³ The two main English works of history of the discoveries to influence Hakluyt's enterprise were Richard Eden's partial translation of Peter Martyr's history of the Spanish discoveries as *The decades of the newe worlde* (1555) and Richard Willes's *History of travaile in the west and east Indies* (1577). In addition, contemporary French and Spanish travel reports already circulated in England with or without Hakluyt's involvement, such as the accounts of Ribault's voyage to Florida (1562-63), Varthema's voyage to India (1577), Cortés's voyage to Mexico (1578), Cartier's voyage to Canada (1580), and Pizarro's voyage to Peru (1581).

In the 1590s, after his stay in France and the first edition of the *Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt's interest in supporting editions of travel literature shifted from an emphasis on standalone travel accounts onto producing more overarching travel collections and histories of discoveries. This is a key aspect in Hakluyt's intellectual trajectory, and one that is sometimes overlooked. In 1589, Hakluyt commissioned Philip Jones to translate Albertus Meierus's *Certaine briefe, and speciall instructions for gentlemen, merchants, students, souldiers, marriners*. Like Hakluyt, Meierus's translator, Philip Jones, was a Christ Church alumnus and, in his dedicatory epistle to Francis Drake, asserted that he "was motioned to remember yourself in this impression of this Method, by my very good and learned friend, M. Richard Hackluit, a man of incredible devotion to your selfe, and of speciall carefulnesse for the good of our Nation."¹⁷⁴ Hakluyt's influence over Jones's defence of the training of travellers in recording their experiences into writing was probably decisive and sheds light on the exchanges between both men interested in bringing travel accounts to the genres of history and geography.¹⁷⁵

Meier's original, *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces* (Helmstedt, 1587) was part of a wider, late sixteenth-century movement concerned with the *ars apodemica*, or art of travel, involving writers of rhetoric and dialectics increasingly influenced by the French philosopher Petrus Ramus. As Daniel Carey put it, "Ramus's major contribution was to

¹⁷³ George B. Parks, 'Tudor Travel Literature: A Brief History', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by David B. Quinn, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), i, 97–132 (pp. 98–99).

¹⁷⁴ Albertus Meierus, *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Marriners &c Employed in Services Abrode, or Anie Way Occasioned to Converse in the Kingdomes, and Governementes of Forren Princes*, trans. by Philip Jones (London: John Wolfe, 1589); David B. Quinn, 'Early Accounts of the Famous Voyage', in *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577-1580* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 33–47 (p. 34); Cormack, p. 61.

¹⁷⁵ Constance C. Relihan, *Cosmographical Glasses: Geographic Discourse, Gender, and Elizabethan Fiction* (Kent; London: Kent State University Press, 2004), p. 5.

reorganize and to simplify aspects of Aristotelian logic to create a natural method that would systematize human knowledge.”¹⁷⁶ These humanist writers were interested in the developing of rigorous methods of travelling and travel writing. Theodor Zwinger’s *Methodus apodemica* (1577) was the first prescriptive work of travel writing and focused on how to describe cities, followed by Meierus’s *Methodus describendi*. In England, both William Cecil and Philip Sidney wrote texts advising travellers, in the 1570s, and the genre expanded into the early seventeenth century with Thomas Palmer and Francis Bacon.¹⁷⁷ Both Hakluyt and La Popelinière incorporated, as armchair travellers, the scholarly defence of travel, though under different circumstances. Both aimed to make use of a scholarly organisation of the travel experience to support civic education within a Christian outlook of the world.¹⁷⁸ As Carey has shown, *ars apodemica*, Spanish questionnaires to the colonies and instructions to pilots were all forms of travel advice.¹⁷⁹ In addition to editing Meierus’s art of travel, Hakluyt incorporated instructions to pilots to *The Principall Navigations*. They had been primarily made on behalf of merchant corporations. By comparing Hakluyt’s translation and the incorporation of two types of travel advice, the connections within his work editorial practice become clearer.

By the 1590s, Hakluyt had tried to organise the multiple types of scattered records related to voyages into a unified corpus. His design of a structure of liminary materials comprising of tables with lists of authorities, index, table of contents, and an overarching navigational scope with attention to the chronological order of the history of voyages, aimed at rehabilitating travel and the writings it produced as a genre.¹⁸⁰ Between the end of 1598 and early 1599, the first volume of the three-volume *Principal Navigations* was published in London, encompassing, in total, almost 600 different texts.¹⁸¹ Despite its focus on voyages to the North and North-east, the first copies also included accounts of the English victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588 and of the Cádiz expedition of 1596. Anglo-Dutch forces had raided

¹⁷⁶ Daniel Carey, ‘Inquiries, Heads, and Directions: Orienting Early Modern Travel’, in *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, ed. by Judy A. Hayden (Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 25–51 (p. 33).

¹⁷⁷ Carey, ‘Hakluyt’s Instructions’, p. 169.

¹⁷⁸ Joan-Pau Rubiés, ‘Christianity and Civilization in the Sixteenth Century Ethnological Discourse’, in *Shifting Cultures: Interaction and Discourse in the Expansion of Europe*, ed. by Henriette Bugge and Joan-Pau Rubiés (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1995), pp. 35–60 (p. 45); Joan-Pau Rubiés, ‘Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See’, *History and Anthropology*, 9.2–3 (1996), 139–90. See also Carey, ‘Hakluyt’s Instructions’. Carey, ‘Inquiries, Heads, and Directions: Orienting Early Modern Travel’, pp. 31–39.

¹⁷⁹ Carey, ‘Hakluyt’s Instructions’, p. 181.

¹⁸⁰ Carey, ‘Hakluyt’s Instructions’, p. 180.

¹⁸¹ Colm MacCrossan, ‘“Framing the English Nation”: Reading between Text and Paratext in The Principal Navigations (1598-1600)’, in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 139–51 (p. 140).

the city of Cádiz under Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, whom Hakluyt praised in his preface to the reader. By September 1599, however, Devereux had been arrested after a campaign in Ireland. Meanwhile, the second volume had begun circulating in 1599. By the turn of the year 1600, a second edition of the second volume appeared in a joint volume with a modified first volume stripped of most of the references to Cádiz.¹⁸² Another element originating different versions of the first volume (and indeed also the following volumes) is the world map attributed to Edward Wright (Figure 5). This was initially supposed to be printed with the second volume, but appears in less than 15% of all 1599-1600 copies, possibly because it was not finished before several sets had been sold or because it was sold separately.¹⁸³

Across all volumes of the second edition, Hakluyt expanded on the sources he had used in the first edition of 1589 and collected since the *Divers Voyages*. As David and Alison B. Quinn have shown, the separation between two sets or types of geographical or travel literature “was attempting to satisfy a dual readership, the one interested in the events, the other in causes and circumstances”. As I explained above, the separation into sets went further than setting out episodes, causes and circumstances of the voyages: it indicated the armchair traveller’s proposition of the micro-macro analogy between book and world, on the one hand, and audience and travellers, on the other hand. According to David and Alison B. Quinn, Hakluyt’s reader was exposed to at least three ordering principles in the various editions of *The Principal Navigations*: the chronological order of navigation, voyages and discoveries, the geographical and regional order of destinations of voyages, and the nature of the sources presented. This was further elaborated by 1600 when he categorised the additional or subsidiary set of documents into fourteen sub-categories, an important difference between the first and second editions of the parts or volumes about the New World.¹⁸⁴ As Lorimer, Quinn and Skelton have shown, in the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* Hakluyt intervened more in the source material than in the first edition.¹⁸⁵ Julia Schleck has argued that Hakluyt’s incorporations of a record, such as Thomas Saunders’s 1587 pamphlet of the captivity of an English ship, added “one further level of mediation between the reader and the author’s recorded experience” by

¹⁸² Quinn, Skelton, and Armstrong, II, p. 491.

¹⁸³ Quinn, Skelton, and Armstrong, II, pp. 495–96.

¹⁸⁴ Quinn and Quinn, ‘Principall Navigations (1589)’, II, p. 335.

¹⁸⁵ Joyce Lorimer, “[T]ouching the state of the country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English”: Sir Robert Cecil, Richard Hakluyt and the Writing of Guiana, 1595-1612’, in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 105–17 (p. 110); Quinn, *The Hakluyt Handbook*, p. 253.

changing paratextual devices such as marginalia, title and format but claiming to keep the content unchanged. Schleck concluded that, as a result, the sole moral and religious aspects of the pamphlet conveyed a lesson of “cordial relations with rulers of all lands, irrespective of religion, greatly enhance the safety and the coffers of those willing to venture abroad on behalf of the English nation”, in Hakluyt’s travel collection. Such goal was explicit in the epistle dedicatory of the first edition of *The Principall Navigations*, as we have seen.¹⁸⁶

In the second edition, the first volume with the voyages to the North and Northeast contained 39 items in the set of voyages, of which 23 were reprints from the first edition, and only 3 taken freshly from manuscripts, including the Cádiz leaves, and the other 13 were reprints from other works and standalone accounts. In the set of embassies, treatises, privileges, letters, etc., Hakluyt printed 151 items, of which only 62 were reprints from the first edition and about 49 were freshly taken from manuscripts. The newly added manuscripts usually related to the most recent voyages or to royal documents, such as charters for merchant corporations or letters. In the second volume, with English voyages to the South and Southeast, Hakluyt introduced a new separation in the table of contents, dividing it into before and after the “conquest”, in allusion to the first Crusade, in the eleventh century. This emphasised the conversion of infidels and pagans into Christianity as the principal motive of expansion, which included trade. The argument of the gospel-cum-trade had already been put forward by Hakluyt in previous works and in the epistle dedicatory of *The Principall Navigations*: “I doubt not in time shalbe by us caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christiniaty, and of the Gospell, while we use and exercise common trade with their marchants”. In the second volume of the second edition of *The Principal Navigations*, the use of the first Crusade to the Levant as a division of the history of voyages also expanded the moralising view of history as one of the principles of his work. In the pre-‘conquest’ section, there were 64 voyages, and 80 additional items, while the post-‘conquest’ section featured 30 voyages and 31 additional items. Finally, in the third volume, Hakluyt organised 198 items no longer into the criteria of two sets of records, but into 14 categories related to the location of the voyages’ routes (Table 4). On top of the removal of certain accounts deemed fictional, such as John Mandeville’s, the second edition was marked, primarily, by the increase in the volume of source material. The increased quantity only explained partially the increase in orders of categorisation in each volume. The

¹⁸⁶ Schleck, ‘Forming the Captivity of Thomas Saunders: Hakluyt’s Editorial Practices and Their Ideological Effects’, p. 138.

addition of the first Crusade in the second volume and the change from type of record into the direction of voyages in the third volume were also justified by the increase of the articulation of the fields of history, with its moralising episodes, and geography, with the details of America.

<p>Table 4. Title and headings, with the related additional material, of the third volume of <i>The Principal Navigations</i> (1600)</p>
<p>A general Catalogue divided, according to the methode observed in this present volume, into 14. special branches, briefly conteyning all the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English nation, and (where they have not bene, or not perfectly discovered) of strangers, within the same volume intreated of, which have been performed to every part of America hitherto knowen or discovered by any Christian: whereunto are annexed in their due and proper places, all the Patents, discourses, ruttiers, letters, advertisements, instructions, observations, and other particulars incident or belonging to the foresaid voyages</p>
<p>1. The testimonies and relations immediately ensuing upon this voyage.</p>
<p>2. A catalogue of the English voyages undertaken for the finding of a Northwest passage, to the North parts of America, to Meta incognita, and the backside of Groenland, as farre as 72. degrees, and 12. Minutes.</p> <p>The patents, letters, discourses, observations, and dependences upon the Northwestern voyages next before mentioned.</p>
<p>3. A catalogue of sundry voyages made to Newfoundlande, to the isles of Ramea and the isle of Assumption, otherwise called Naticotec, as also to the coasts of Cape Briton and Arambec.</p> <p>The patents, discourses, letters, advertisements, and other observations incident to the voyages unto Newfoundland next before rehearsed.</p>

4. A catalogue of certaine voyages made for the discovery of the gulfe of Saint Laurence to the West of Newfoundland, and from thence up the river of Canada, to Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other places.

Certaine notes and observations depending upon the voyages next before mentioned, together with an excellent Ruttier for some part of Newfoundland, for The great bay, and the River of Canada.

5. A catalogue of voyages and navigations of the English nation to Virginia, and of the severall discoveries thereof, chiefly at the changes of the honourable sir Walter Raleigh knight.

The letter patents, discourses, observations, and advertisements belonging to the foresaid voyages made unto Virginia.

6. A catalogue of certaine voyages to the coast and inland of Florida.

7. A catalogue of certeine voyages made form Nueva Galicia and Nueva Biscaya in New Spaine to the 15 provinces of New Mexico, and to Cibola, and Quivira.

The discourses, letters, &c. depending upon the former voyages to New Mexico, Cibola and Quivira.

8. Certeine voyages made for the discovery of the gulfe of California, and of the sea-coast on the Northwest or backside of America.

9. A catalogue of divers voyages made by English men to the famous city of Mexico, and to all or most part of the other principall provinces, cities, townes, and places throwout the great and large kingdome of New Spaine, even as farre as Nicaragua [sic] ad Panamá, and from thence to Perú, &c.

10. A catalogue of the principall English voyages to all the isles called Las Antillas, and to the foure greater islands of Sant Iuan de Puerto Rico, Hispaniola, Iamaica, and Cuba, and Northward thorow the Lucayos: as also along the coasts of Tierra firma, Nombre de dios, Veragua, the Honduras, the coast of Iucatan, to the port of Sant Iuan de Ullua, and the coast of Panuco, &c.

The discourses, letters, intelligences, observations, and principall ruttiers belonging to the voyages next before mentioned.

<p>11. A catalogue of certaine voyages made for the discovery of the large, rich, and beautifull empire of Guiana, by sir Walter Raleigh, and others at his charges and appointment.</p> <p>The Epistles, Discourses, Intercepted letters, Observations, and Intelligences, preceding and depending upon the voyages to Guiana.</p>
<p>12. Certaine voyages, navigations, and traffiques both ancient and of late, to divers places upon the coast of Brasill.</p> <p>The letters, discourses, instructions, observations, and ruttiers, depending upon the voyages to Brasil.</p>
<p>13. A note of two voyages of English men into the River of Plate.</p>
<p>14. A Catalogue of divers English voyages, some intended and some performed to the Streights of Magellan, the South sea, along the coasts of Chili, Peru, Nicaragua, and Nueva Galicia, to the headland of California, and to the Northwest thereof as farre as 43. Degrees, as likewise to the yles of the Ladrones, the Philippinas, the Malucos, and the Iavas; and from thence by the Cape of Buena Esperanza and the yle of Santa Helena (the whole globe of the earth being circompassed) home againe into England.</p> <p>The principall observations, discourses, instructions, letters, ruttiers, and intelligences belonging to the voyages immediatly going before.</p>

In order to understand the entwinement of historical and geographical principles in his works, it is important to go back and look at his editorial practice as an editor and translator. As we have seen, Hakluyt's commissions of editions of travel literature spanned the last two decades of the sixteenth century. By 1580, Hakluyt boosted his support for the English colonisation of North America, despite the uncertain future of the Roanoke colony. Meanwhile, the engraver and printer Theodor de Bry lived in London in the late 1580s, where he became acquainted with Hakluyt during one of his trips and upon his return to England. De Bry, then, learned about French Florida via René de Laudonnière's *Histoire notable de la Floride* and Thomas Harriot's account of his expedition to Roanoke, both published by Hakluyt in 1586 and 1588, respectively. It was probably during his stay in London that De Bry was convinced by Hakluyt to publish a series of illustrated works about the European contact with North America, featuring Thomas Harriot's account and De Bry's own engravings based on John White's illustrations of the Algonquians. John White had been sent by Walter Raleigh as an

illustrator in Richard Grenville's first expedition to establish an English colony in North America, in 1585-86. White returned with watercolours of his ethnographic observations of the Algonquians. By 1590, Hakluyt recommended De Bry used John White's watercolours to make English claims over Virginia and to make the praise of the fertility of America known to continental Europe.¹⁸⁷

De Bry's first edition of the first part of *America*, with Harriot's account, was published in 1590, in Latin, English, French and German. In the epistle dedicated to Walter Raleigh in the English edition, De Bry mentioned the illustrations of the Amerindians and explained that "by the helpe of Maister Richard Hakluyt of Oxford Minister of Gods Word, who first Incouraged me to publishe the Worke, I creaved out of the verye original of Maister Ihon White". In 1591, De Bry published the second part of *America* featuring Laudonnière's account of French Florida (published by Hakluyt in 1586), among other sources, in Latin and German. A third volume appeared in 1592 with the Latin translation of Hans Staden's *True History*, about his stay in Brazil among the Tupinambás, and in German, in 1593.¹⁸⁸

By the turn of the century, besides putting together the second edition of his major work, Hakluyt got increasingly involved with translations of Dutch and Portuguese material related to the East Indies.¹⁸⁹ He became associated with the East India Company (established in 1600), which influenced his interest in translating and editing Dutch material to gain intelligence of the growing Dutch participation in the East Indies. Hakluyt partially translated the Dutch scholar Hugo Grotius's *Mare liberum* (1609) presumably under the East India Company's recommendation. It was originally written as a defence of the Dutch East India Company's capture of a Portuguese merchant ship in the Straits of Singapore, in 1603.¹⁹⁰ The shift in Hakluyt's editorial practice was associated to the re-arrangement of the English, Portuguese and Dutch around the world's maritime routes and to the successive failures of English colonisation of North America by the end of the sixteenth century.

¹⁸⁷ Groesen, p. 175; Parks, pp. 161–63.

¹⁸⁸ Groesen, pp. 391–92; Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, of the Commodities and of the Nature and Manners of the Naturall Inhabitants* (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1590).

¹⁸⁹ Payne, 'Hakluyt's London: Discovery and Overseas Trade', pp. 17–18.

¹⁹⁰ Hugo Grotius, *The Free Sea*, ed. by William Welwood and David Armitage (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004); Hakluyt and Taylor, pp. 497–99.

Regarding the translation of Portuguese materials, in 1597, Hakluyt supported Abraham Hartwell's translation from Italian into English of Filippo Pigafetta's account of the Portuguese Duarte Lopes's voyage in *A report of the kingdome of Congo*.¹⁹¹ Hakluyt's interest in Portuguese histories of discoveries led him to re-edit an anonymous translation of António Galvão's *Discoveries of the World* in 1601.¹⁹² In his epistle to Robert Cecil, Hakluyt suggested that he had been urged to edit his *Principal Navigations* as a "short sum", in reference to Galvão's short and global history of the discoveries, which was not followed by Hakluyt in the end.¹⁹³ The epistle sheds light on the understanding Hakluyt had of his travel collection as a work of history and of his editorial practice as part of a symbiotic, collective activity of collecting-translating-printing. Moving from the scholarly example to the strategic colonial and mercantile interest, Hakluyt also personally translated the anonymous account, by a Portuguese Gentleman of Elvas, of Hernando de Soto's expedition to support the Virginia colony, in the *Virginia richly valued* (1609).¹⁹⁴ Another example of Hakluyt's new principle of editing non-English material related to Virginia in support of an English colonial project is his association with Pierre Erondelle's translation of the French historian Marc Lescarbot's *Nova Francia: Or the Description of That Part of New France, which is one continent with Virginia* (1609).¹⁹⁵ The Lopes-Pigafetta's account was published the year after Hakluyt's commissioned edition by the De Bry firm as the first volume of the series *India Orientalis*.¹⁹⁶ By the end of the sixteenth century, the Dutch expansion into the East Indies gained pace. Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* appeared in Amsterdam in 1596, describing in detail the mercantile and geographical aspects of the Portuguese East Indies, which he had gathered while serving the

¹⁹¹ Duarte Lopes and Filippo Pigafetta, *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo and of the Countries That Border Rounde about the Same*, trans. by Andrew Hartwell (London: John Wolfe, 1595).

¹⁹² Galvão, *The Discoveries of the World*; António Galvão, *Tratado que compôs o nobre & notauel capitão Antonio Galvão, dos diuersos & desvayrados caminhos, por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta & especearia veyo da India ás nossas partes, & assi de todos os descobrimentos antigos & modernos, que são feitos até a era de mil & quinhentos & cincoenta* (Lisbon: João de Barreira, 1565).

¹⁹³ David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by David B. Quinn, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), II, 263–331 (p. 522).

¹⁹⁴ Richard Hakluyt and Gentleman of Elvas, *Virginia Richly Valued, by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1609).

¹⁹⁵ Marc Lescarbot, *Nova Francia: Or the Description of That Part of New France, Which Is One Continent with Virginia*, trans. by Pierre Erondelle (London: George Bishop, 1609); Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France contenant les navigations, découvertes & habitations faites par les François és Indes Occidentales & Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Jean Milot, 1609).

¹⁹⁶ Duarte Lopes and Filippo Pigafetta, *Regnum Congo hoc est Vera descriptio regni africani, quod tam ab incolis quam lusitanis Congus appellatur* (Frankfurt: Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry, 1598).

Archbishop of Goa.¹⁹⁷ Hakluyt supported the translation into English of Linschoten's *Itinerario* in 1598, by William Philip.¹⁹⁸

In the first decade of the seventeenth century, Hakluyt was involved with the edition of two other Dutch travel accounts: Admiral Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck's *Journall* of his voyage to Indonesia (1601) and Gerrit de Veer's *True and perfect description of three voyages* (1609) to Nova Zembla, in present-day Northern Russia, along the North-eastern passage. In the translator's preface to van Neck's *Journall*, William Walker described it as "seconded by the perwasion of M. Richard Hakluyt, a man for his matchles industrie in collecting the English voyages most incomparably wel deserving of this state".¹⁹⁹ He also declared the Dutch had gathered information about the East Indies through the second and third volumes of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*. Similarly, in the translator William Philips's dedication to de Veer's *Description*, we learn that he had been "intreated by some of my friends, and principally by M. Richard Hakluyt (a diligent observer of all Proceedings in this nature) to Translate and publish these three yeares Travelles and Discoveries, of the Hollanders to the North-east".²⁰⁰ De Veer's account of Nova Zembla (1598) and the voyage of Van Neck and Van Warwijck (1600), like Linschoten's *Itinerario*, had been first published by Cornelius Claesz in Amsterdam and later reprinted by the De Bry firm, in Frankfurt. Finally, in 1600, Hakluyt supported the translation into English by John Pory of Leo Africanus's *A geographical historie of Africa*, which I explore further in chapter 4, alongside the translation of Galvão's work.

In this section, we have seen the connections between the multiple interests guiding Hakluyt's colossal editorial practice beyond his major travel collections. From this brief analysis, it is possible to see changes and continuities in Hakluyt's activities as an editor and translator in the last decade of the sixteenth century and in relation to the second edition of *The Principal Navigations*. There was a clearer expression of historical and geographical modes of arranging the voyages both in his travel collection and the works he supported. He maintained his view of exemplarity of Portuguese writing of the history of the discoveries, with the addition of Leo Africanus's credibility of a 'geographical history' of Africa. Just as his first

¹⁹⁷ Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario: Voyage Ofte Schipvaert, van Ian Hughen van Linschoten Naer Oost Ofte Portugaels Indien* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1596).

¹⁹⁸ Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *John Huighen van Linschoten. His Discours of Voyages into the Easte & West Indies. Devided into Foure Bookes*. (London: John Wolfe, 1598); Groesen, p. 26.

¹⁹⁹ Quinn and Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', II, p. 318.

²⁰⁰ Quinn and Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', II, pp. 323–24.

writings had focused on the recent episodes in navigation, such as indicated by the tables in *Divers Voyages*, the same anxiety turned his editorial practice to the growing Dutch printed knowledge, maritime experience and trade interests outside Europe into the Portuguese East Indies. While Hakluyt kept his support for the English colonisation of North America until his late life, he also expanded his scholarly and mercantile interest in the competition over the East Indies, seeing an increased possibility for English overseas mercantile expansion towards the East.

Finally, the colonial and mercantile guiding principles of his editorial practice in defence of English expansionism were articulated with the formal rehabilitation of travel writing via collection and translation.²⁰¹ Mary C. Fuller and Nandini Das analysed the key aspect of Hakluyt's editorial practice on grounds of his argumentative equivalence between 'travel' and editorial 'travail'.²⁰² From this equivalence, the armchair traveller Hakluyt surmounted the practical impossibilities of the travel experience through his editorial practice. He designed an overview of predominantly though not exclusively English history of discoveries. Throughout his works, scholarly geographical knowledge and practical travel literature were (re)presented to his audience as a modern and useful showcase of global routes and exchanges. In the following section, I outline La Popelinière's editorial practices and its convergences and divergences from that of Hakluyt's.

2.3. La Popelinière: an editorial project between history and geography

Between 1571 and 1608, La Popelinière published at least eight printed histories, translations and treatises. His printed works are the history of the Wars of Religion entitled *La Vraye et entiere Histoire des derniers Troubles* (1571, 1572) and expanded into his *L'Histoire de France* (1581, 1582, 1583, 1587), *Les Trois Mondes* (1582), *L'Amiral de France* (1584), the tripartite *L'Histoire des histoires* (1599), and, expanding his previous *Histoire*, *L'Histoire de la Conquête... par Henri IV* (1601). By the end of his life, he prepared a translation into French of the Jodocus Hondius edition of the *Atlas minor* by the Flemish cartographer Gerardus Mercator (1512-1594), published in Amsterdam, in 1606. La Popelinière's translations of

²⁰¹ Sherman, 'Bringing the World to England'; Fuller, *Voyages in Print*, p. 142.

²⁰² Nandini Das, 'Richard Hakluyt's Two Indias': Textual Sparagmos and Editorial Practice', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 119–28 (p. 123); Fuller, *Voyages in Print*, pp. 153–54.

Mercator-Hondius's *Atlas minor* were posthumously published in 1608, in Amsterdam. The manuscript drafts of his works and notes, such as his 'Response pour histoire' presented as his defence in his trial in La Rochelle against the censorship of *L'Histoire de France*, and a few letters have also survived, including some to the French scholars Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609) and Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605).²⁰³

In this section, I analyse La Popelinière's editorial practice by focusing on *Les Trois Mondes* (1582) for its articulation of history and geography to support maritime voyages and Christian European colonial expansion. I will occasionally refer to his letter to Joseph Scaliger (1604), *L'Amiral de France* (1584), and the tripartite *L'Histoire des histoires, avec l'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie plus Le Dessen de l'Histoire nouvelle des François* (1599). The first main difference between Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's literary enterprises is their size, which is a first indication of some differences of method and intention. Regardless of the manifold modes of comparison among both authors, it is key to bear in mind that Hakluyt's editorial project was also motivated by La Popelinière's assessment of a relative lack of English voyages and travel literature in *L'Amiral de France*. Hakluyt had been a very active writer and editor, who sought his audience to acknowledge the plurality of voices in the geographical literature he edited or incorporated. La Popelinière was predominantly a historian, who, as we shall see, sought credibility more by moralising historical episodes and geographical knowledge and less by referencing the works he used. In addition, if one compares both authors' histories of discoveries, La Popelinière's *Les Trois Mondes* is substantially smaller and carried far greater synthetic weight. On the other hand, Hakluyt's monumental collection of known English voyages holds greater similarity to La Popelinière's *L'Histoire des histoires* in its objective to encompass all known forms of historical thinking and writing.

²⁰³ La Popelinière translated Bernardino Rocca's *Des Entreprises & ruses de guerre* (1571) into French and left seven unpublished works: two treatises on the history of the French language and on the habits of the French people, a study on the history of the sea near Bordeaux since the Roman empire, a polemical text entitled *Contre-Machiavel* (1585), *Le Traicté de la nouveauté, legierté, inconstance, larcins et mensonges des Grecs sur toutes nations*, *Les Mémoires de Villegagnon*, *L'Histoire de Charles VIII*, and two translations into French of Leandro Alberti's *Descrizione di tutta l'Italia* (1550) and of Cesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico*.²⁰³ Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes* (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. 482–487. Sypher, 'La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer', pp. 380–82; La Popelinière, *Du Contre-Machiavel au Contre-prince de Machiavel*. For La Popelinière's 'Response pour l'histoire' and other documents related to La Rochelle trial, see Sypher, 'La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer', pp. 258–364., La Popelinière's letter to J. J. Scaliger of 4 January 1604 was first printed by Corrado Vivanti, see Vivanti, 'Alle origini della idea di civiltà'; Vivanti, 'The Origins of the Idea of Civilization'. For a full list of titles, see final bibliography.

A sum of known geographical knowledge, a survey of 150 years of European overseas voyages and a call for French colonial expansion, the treatise *Les Trois Mondes* was printed twice in 1582: as a 191-folio *in-quarto* published by Pierre L’Huillier in Paris, and soon as an *in-octavo*.²⁰⁴ It is composed of a short epistle dedicatory, followed by four main parts: the ‘Avant-discours’ or preface, with a heading on ‘Le sujet du livre’, and three books, divided into 55 articles in total. The epistle dedicatory was signed at 2 June 1582 in Paris, to the nobleman Philippe Hurault, secretary to the chancellor of France and governor of the province of Orléanais. The 46-page ‘Avant-discours’ introduces the aims and the subject of the treatise.²⁰⁵ The first book has 27 articles, filling 114 pages, and is the densest of all three as it covers European voyages to the entire Old World (Europe, Asia and Africa). In a nutshell, the first book comprises of the history of ancient knowledge and practice of navigation and discoveries, a comparison of ancient and modern discoveries, the ancient and the modern definitions of “world”, a comparative history of the first Iberian conquests with the geographical description of Africa and Asia, and a commentary on the Portuguese mercantile and colonial administration in the East Indies and the Jesuit missions. Each of the other two books concern the history of Spain and Portugal respectively. The 14 articles of the second book fill 116 pages and refer to America and the Spanish conquests there, with a description of the New World, histories of the conquest of Mexico and Peru, and a condemnation of the Spaniards’ behaviour towards the Amerindians and other Europeans, especially in the contested discovery of North America by the French, English, Italians, Portuguese, and Spaniards. It ends with the description of Brazil, which serves as an introduction to the third book. In the third and final book, which has 14 articles covering 106 pages, La Popelinière narrates the French failure and Portuguese success in the colonisation of Brazil, with ethnographic passages about the Amerindians and geographical descriptions, further complemented with a narrative of the Spanish and Portuguese competition over the Moluccas (Maluku Islands, in present-day Indonesia) and a description of the trade in the East Indies after Elcano-Magellan’s circumnavigation. Finally, the third world, *terra australis*, is briefly described at the end of the third book, pointing to the utopian project of a Huguenot colony outside the colonial spheres described in the treatise.

²⁰⁴ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 57.

²⁰⁵ Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, ‘Avant-discours de l’auteur sur le motif, le but & sujet des Trois Mondes’, in *Les Trois Mondes*, ed. by Anne-Marie Beaulieu (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. 69–104.

In the “Avant-discours”, La Popelinière made a case for French colonial expansion and the establishment of a colony in the *terra australis*. To do so, he compared the role of France and of the French in the history of discoveries to the long history of mythical, biblical, ancient, and modern navigation, set within a framework linking the virtuousness of maritime practice and knowledge, the culmination of which occurred with the providential modern expansion of Christianity. Against the backdrop of a long, wider history of seafaring, the Italians, the Spanish and particularly the Portuguese offered the French a lesson in voyages and discoveries. The French, La Popelinière argued, had hitherto been hampered by their ignorance and thus unable to learn from the history now laid out in *Les Trois Mondes*. The project, therefore, conveyed a useful history of discoveries to convince the French audience of their meagre past, but hopeful future place in maritime expansion. According to La Popelinière, expansion would bring to France gains already brought to other nations: a general improvement of the kingdom, a strengthening of the military, and an opportunity to establish colonies overseas as a means to resolve the divisions deepened by the Wars of Religion.²⁰⁶

In the summary given in the ‘Avant-discours’, the French historian incorporated various themes and references to classical and modern sources, which he then expanded on throughout the three books of the treatise. His interest in geography remained that of an armchair traveller despite two attempts to join a maritime voyage after the publication of *Les Trois Mondes*. In 1589, La Popelinière boarded Captain La Richardière’s expedition to Brazil. According to Jean-Arnaud Bruneau’s account, La Popelinière joined the expedition in search of the *terra australis*, but returned to France with a Portuguese ship before reaching Brazil.²⁰⁷ After this failed attempt, he continued to develop his interest in geography and the variety of the effects of the sea, in sites closer to La Rochelle. He produced a topography of the plateau of Cordouan, in the Gironde estuary, and a drawing of Lesparre, in Médoc, in 1592.²⁰⁸ Finally, in 1604, La Popelinière asked if J. J. Scaliger could arrange for him to join a Dutch East India Company expedition to Asia. Despite these episodes, however, he remained an armchair traveller

²⁰⁶ La Popelinière, ‘Avant-discours’, p. 78.

²⁰⁷ Jean-Arnaud Bruneau de Rivedoux, *Histoire véritable de certains voyages périlleux & hazardeux sur la mer* (Niort: Thomas Portau, 1599); Delmas, ‘Writing History in the Age of Discovery, According to La Popelinière, 16th–17th Centuries’, pp. 301–2; Beaulieu, p. 24.

²⁰⁸ Sypher, ‘La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer’, p. 45; Étienne Clouzot, ‘Un voyage à l’île de Cordouan au XVI^e siècle’, *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes*, 66.1 (1905), 401–25 (p. 408).

throughout his life, depending on the collection of works and news gathered by others to represent America, Africa and Asia.²⁰⁹

While Hakluyt intervened mainly at the level of the prefatory and paratextual organisation of his source material, La Popelinière proceeded differently. He amalgamated his sources in *Les Trois Mondes* through a combined method of copying, paraphrasing and, at times, citing. In the ‘Avant-discours’ and the first book, he gave full citations from most of the classical authorities, but rarely did the same for his modern authorities, whom he either copied without acknowledgment or paraphrased. For example, under the heading ‘Le sujet du livre’ in the ‘Avant-discours’, La Popelinière referred to sixteenth-century French editions of Herodotus’s *Histoires*, Pliny’s *Histoire du Monde* and Plutarch’s *Œuvres morales et meslees* and Latin editions of Diogenes Laertius as geographical authorities and as sources for the opinions of the Greeks and Latins about the composition of the world in its parts and in relation to the supra-lunar spheres.²¹⁰ La Popelinière also referred to “le bien fait des historiens espagnols” without naming his actual references, namely Francisco López de Gómara and Oviedo y Valdés.²¹¹ And while not mentioning López de Gómara as his source, he took from him a reference to Origen’s (184-253) account of the division of the world originally given by the Prophet Baruch and Pope Clement I (88-99 BCE). The French historian used them to exemplify the problem of the diversity of ideas of pagan philosophers and that of Jewish scholars and early Christian theologians. There were a few exceptions to his pattern of explicitly citing classical authorities and implicitly paraphrasing modern authors, as in his brief reference to Antoine Bonfin’s *History of Hungary and Transylvania*, to conclude that “presque tous les Grecs & Latins anciens & modernes sont de cest advis, & la pluspart mesme de noz chrestiens” about the inhabitability of all three worlds, which was further proven by maritime voyages.²¹² In addition to the sources mentioned already, La Popelinière’s main classical and medieval sources in the first book were Homer, Plato, Claudius Ptolemy, Cicero, Seneca, Flavius Josephus, Florus, St Augustine, and Eusebius, as surveyed by Anne-Marie Beaulieu.²¹³

²⁰⁹ Beaulieu, p. 26.

²¹⁰ Herodotus, *Histoire des neuf livres de Hérodote*, trans. by Pierre Saliat (Paris: C. Micard, 1575); Pliny the Elder and Antoine du Pinet, *L’Histoire du monde de C. Pline second* (Paris: Charles Pesnot, 1581); Plutarch, *Œuvres morales et meslees*, trans. by Jacques Amyot (Paris: Michel de Vascoan, 1574).

²¹¹ La Popelinière, ‘Avant-discours’, pp. 76–77.

²¹² La Popelinière, ‘Avant-discours’, p. 83.

²¹³ Beaulieu, pp. 33–41.

As La Popelinière explored the ancient news about distant worlds and then moved to discussing their place in relation to the Greco-Roman core of the Old World, he necessarily touched upon the question of their inhabitability. By doing so, he contributed to a wider, and very old, discussion about the problem of the Antipodes. Considering his treatise supported a French colony in the “third world”, it made much sense to invest in proving the existence of an inhabitable *terra australis* in a distant part of the southern hemisphere. Against the testimonies of the Christian theologians, La Popelinière referred to the eyewitness accounts of explorers who saw people inhabiting distant southern places, confirming the distribution of people across comparable landmasses opposed to those of the Old World. These humans were divided, according to their relative positions on the globe, into the categories of *periociens*, *anteciens* and *antipodes/antichtons*. In addition to mariners’ accounts, La Popelinière’s key source on this matter was the German cosmographer Peter Apian.²¹⁴ While I will look into the spatial categories used by our authors in chapter 4, it is important to note at this point already that La Popelinière copied most of Apian’s categories of relative positions of peoples around the world, but cited him and his editor, the German mathematician Gemma Frisius, on a marginal note, to criticise their terminology of *anteques* and *pareques*.²¹⁵ Nevertheless, they are the only explicit reference to any modern authorities in the ‘Avant-discours’.

The Apian-La Popelinière division of the world according to the relative global position of peoples linked principles of perspective and proportion. The position of western Europeans was taken as the reference point. In relation to them, the *periociens* or *pericques* inhabited the same parallel, but opposing meridians/counter-meridians (for example, the inhabitants of China in relation to those in the Canary Islands). The *antoici*, *anticoles*, *anteciens* or *anteques* inhabited the same climate zone in the opposite hemisphere (for example, the peoples of the Río de la Plata and the Magellan Strait were *anteciens* in relation to the Spaniards and the Germans). Finally, the antipodes or *antichtons* were those standing in the fully opposite longitudinal and latitudinal position on the globe, or, as La Popelinière put it, with their feet against the Europeans’ feet. Such opposition was not just a matter of different spaces, but of

²¹⁴ Peter Apian articulated the Ptolemaic division between cosmography, geography and chorography according to their scales and subjects. In 1524, he published his *Cosmographicus liber*, which was reedited by the mathematician Gemma Frisius in 1529, in Antwerp. See chapter 26 “De celx qui sont appellez Perioeci, Antoeci, Antipodes, ou Antichthones, Perisien, Amphisien, & Heterosen”, Petrus Apian and Gemma Frisius, *La cosmographie de Pierre Apian, libre très utile, traictant de toutes les régions et pays du monde par artifice astronomique*. (Antwerp: Gregorius de Bonte, 1544), fols 25r-26r.

²¹⁵ La Popelinière, ‘Avant-discours’, p. 89.

completely opposite geographical positions on a global scale corresponding to different forms of policy: “nous n’y avons rien de commun avec eux, ains [mais] toutes choses contraires”.²¹⁶

La Popelinière was here in dialogue not just with the fast-evolving maritime cartography of his age, but also more specifically with those mapping projects attempting to encompass and represent, against the challenge posed by its sphericity, the globe as a whole. The main cartographic source used by La Popelinière in *Les Trois Mondes* was Gerardus Mercator’s representation of the world into three separate continental masses, in his 18-sheet world map of 1569, the *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio ad usum navigantium emendate accommodata* (‘New and augmented description of the Earth corrected for use in navigation’).²¹⁷ To be sure, Hakluyt had also been interested in this matter. The English cartographer and mathematician Edward Wright sought to apply Mercator’s projection for nautical cartography in his table of latitudes, both in *Certaine Errors in Navigation* (1599) and in his map ‘Hydrographiae descriptio’, printed by Hakluyt as part of his *Principal Navigations* (1599). Henriques Leitão and Joaquim Gaspar showed how Mercator’s projection was not invented *ex nihilo*, but, instead, assembled the knowledge available at his time. In this sense, they argue that his ideas were based on the Portuguese mathematician Pedro Nunes’s nautical treatises of 1537.²¹⁸

But La Popelinière seems to have been more interested than his English counterpart in pursuing the matter. Abraham Ortelius’s ‘Typus orbis terrarum’, the famous opening map of the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570), featured a speculative empty continental mass entitled *Terra australis nondum cognita*.²¹⁹ La Popelinière placed a French translation of the map at the very opening of the first book of *Les Trois Mondes* (Figure 3). Mercator’s maps also had a long-lasting influence on La Popelinière’s image of the world and, close to the end of his life, he translated his *Asia minor* (1607) to French in 1608 (this was published posthumously, in 1609). In its turn, La Popelinière’s division of the world into Old World, New World and Third

²¹⁶ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 89.

²¹⁷ Mike A. Zuber, ‘The Armchair Discovery of the Unknown Southern Continent: Gerardus Mercator, Philosophical Pretensions and a Competitive Trade’, *Early Science and Medicine*, 16.6 (2011), 505–41 (p. 513).

²¹⁸ Henrique Leitão and Joaquim Alves Gaspar, ‘Globes, Rhumb Tables, and the Pre-History of the Mercator Projection’, *Imago Mundi*, 66.2 (2014), 180–95; Pedro Nunes, *Tratado da sphaera com a Theorica do Sol e da Lua* (Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1537).

²¹⁹ Frank Lestringant and Monique Pelletier, ‘Maps and Description of the World in Sixteenth-Century France’, in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. by David Woodward, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 1463–79 (p. 1478).

World according to the familiarity of the European observer to each part of the world would influence, as noted by David Woodward, the Florentine cartographer Giuseppe Rosaccio's 'Universale descrizione de tutto il mondo' (1610), a Renaissance cartographic sum of Ptolemaic classical representation world and the knowledge from modern voyages.²²⁰

The division of the world into three parts did not, however, reflect the division of things in the three books of the treatise. As we have seen, these rather followed the perspective of the history of voyages and discoveries, in their evolution from the ancients to the moderns. The first book alternated geographical descriptions of Europe, Asia and Africa with the ancient and modern knowledge and voyage to the Old World, with a focus on the Iberian presence in Asia and Africa, leading to the subject of the last two books, the New World. The second book took the reader across the Spanish conquests and the third book dealt with the Portuguese East Indies, the colonisation of Brazil, the Iberian competition in the Pacific over the Moluccas, and, finally, the suggestion of an unknown, southern world as the ideal place for a French colony. Similarly to Hakluyt's editorial project, *Les Trois Mondes* was composed by a multi-layered unit of knowledge and experience and of history and geography. It followed multiple orders of organisation, such as chronology of travels, chronology of travel narratives, directionality of voyages and geographical arrangement of spaces, superiority of the moderns over the ancients. All this is further complicated by La Popelinière and Hakluyt's omission of naming of the characters and writers linked to their source material. I argue that such multiplicity of orders and criteria in the arrangement of their texts is a characteristic of the geo-historical perspective they developed across their different works.

Under the apparent heterogenous arrangement of source material in *Les Trois Mondes*, Anne-Marie Beaulieu has suggested that one of the threads running through all books is the description of French failures. But how can this explain La Popelinière's silence over Jacques Cartier's and La Rocque de Roberval's voyages to Canada, in 1534 and 1541-43, respectively? To resolve this, Beaulieu has suggested La Popelinière may have considered North America to be under the English by 1582, as he himself briefly sought refuge in London after the St Bartholomew's Day massacre.²²¹ Although La Popelinière made no reference to Hakluyt in his

²²⁰ David Woodward, 'Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change', in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. by David Woodward, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 3–24 (p. 4).

²²¹ Beaulieu, p. 33.

works, it is likely that La Popelinière knew about Florio's edition of Cartier's travel accounts, to which Hakluyt had written a preface, corroborating Beaulieu's hypothesis of an assumption of English precedence over Canada. I would like to argue for a complementary explanation for the silence over the mentioned accounts grounded on the centrality of Spain and Portugal in La Popelinière's text. The Cartier-Roberval enterprise and its confrontation with the Iroquois would not fit into La Popelinière's narratives of the French making alliances with Amerindians against the cruelty of the Spaniards or attempting to establish a colony near an exemplary colony of the Portuguese.

In addition to Anne-Marie Beaulieu's suggestion of an overarching thematic thread, a relevant specific trait of the 'Avant-discours' and the first book is La Popelinière's references, in his attempt to summarise all accessible knowledge about the division of the world and maritime voyages, to more classical authorities than in the second and third books. Naturally, contemporary sources abound in the last two books as they cover contemporary events. But since La Popelinière generally refrained from identifying such modern sources, as explained above,²²² the second and third books in particular have the character of a collage. Unlike Hakluyt's with his quasi-encyclopaedic coverage of a vast array of clearly tagged sources, La Popelinière worked with a concise number of texts not identified as being the work of specific travellers and authors. The main preoccupation shared by both authors regarded the authority of eyewitness experience and its importance for the work of armchair editors.

A key feature of the structure of *Les Trois Mondes* is the division of the globe into "worlds" or *mondes*. We have seen how, in the 'Avant-discours', La Popelinière aimed to present a balance of different theories about the world. His own representation was based on the lessons of Peter Apian, Abraham Ortelius and Gerardus Mercator. But he nevertheless presented it as resulting from the mariner's experience: calling each part of the globe a *monde* was characteristic of the language of the *matelots* or sailors. Whilst La Popelinière put emphasis on the geographical/cosmographical/historical synoptic view of the globe, he also aimed to present it to his audience in proximity to the voyagers' autoptic experience. It remained an inevitable fact that the history of the making of maritime routes had put parts of the globe under the influence of certain nations: the eastwards route was Portuguese, the westwards route was Spanish, and the northern area of exploration was – as Hakluyt and others were insisting –

²²² Beaulieu, p. 35.

English and German. This historical division of the maritime routes, the resulting representations of the world, and a failure to learn from history had left the French empty-handed. But this misfortune also ‘assigned’ the unknown *terra australis* to the French latecomers in the imperial race. Four areas of flux and colonial dominion could thus be designated within the tripartite division of the world: the Old World (Europe, Asia and Africa), the New World (America), and the third, unknown world, or *terra australis*, which La Popelinière related to the *tierra del fuego* described by Magellan in 1501 and which, in his words, “aucuns l’appellent terre de papeguays, pour le nombre grande qu’on y en a veu.”²²³ The reference to the *Psittacorum regio* (Land of Parrots) was taken from Abraham Ortelius’s inscription of “*Psittacorum regio, sic a Lusitanis appellata ab incredible earum avium ibidem magnitudinem*” (“Land of the Parrots, named by the Portuguese for the great size of its birds”), placed next to the *terra australis* in his ‘*Typus orbis terrarum*’. It appears the name was first used by Italians (*terra di Papagà*) writing in 1502 about the Pedro Álvares de Cabral’s 1500 expedition. In any case, the motif was already present in the *Carta marina*, by Waldseemüller (1516).²²⁴

As mentioned, in the first book of *Les Trois Mondes*, La Popelinière described the Old World. He began by describing Europe, in a passage considerably smaller than those of Africa and Asia. La Popelinière introduced the section on Europe by a short list of its kingdoms. He summarised the European continental history as a pagan and idolatrous past “comme presque tout le monde” before Christ and the conversion of Rome. He then mentioned that the Roman empire was eventually dismembered by the Northern peoples, giving rise to a diversity of states which fought against each other and the “survenue des nouveaux estrangers”, namely the Ottoman Turks and the *sarrazins*, the Muslims of al-Andalus. On Roman and medieval Spain, La Popelinière used François de Belleforest’s *Cosmographie universelle* (1575) and Sebastian Münster’s *La Cosmographie universelle* (1556).²²⁵ Although the geographical description of Europe is short, the Europeans and, above all, the Portuguese and Spaniards guide his

²²³ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 148.

²²⁴ Thibaut Maus de Rolley, ‘Rukhs, griffons et Urgs: Les îles aux monstres volants, de Marco Polo à Gabriel de Foigny’, in *Îles et insulaires*, ed. by Frank Lestringant and Alexandre Tarrête (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2017), p. 212; Alexandre Gaspar da Naia, ‘Quem foi o primeiro descobridor do Rio da Prata e da Argentina?: Interpretação e correção de fatos e documentos’, *Revista de História (São Paulo)*, 20.41 (1960), 65–83 (pp. 66–67).

²²⁵ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 202–5.

descriptions of Africa and Asia, as their voyages and discoveries or their works guide the reader's understanding of the world.

In comparison to the use of French and German cosmographies for the history of Spain, La Popelinière used Urbain Chauveton's translation of the chronicles by the Portuguese Jerónimo Osório da Fonseca and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda for Portugal.²²⁶ This difference might relate to his different access to such Iberian materials, but also to the distinct values he attributed to the Spanish and Portuguese chronicles and discoveries. Another expression of the predominance of Portuguese matters is the considerably smaller sections of continental Iberian history and of early Spanish explorations of Africa and Asia. In contrast, he chose to narrate the history of Spain and overall Portugal outside Europe, and mostly criticised the Spaniards in the New World and praised the Portuguese in the East Indies. This explains why La Popelinière alternated geographical descriptions of Asia and Africa with narratives about the Spanish and Portuguese voyages, discoveries and settlement in those areas.

For his description of Africa, La Popelinière used Jean Temporal's translation into French of Leo Africanus's *Historiale Description de l'Afrique*, published in 1556, the same year as John Pory's translation into Latin, which would then be translated into English under Hakluyt's support.²²⁷ The Berber-Andalusian traveller and diplomat al-Hasan al-Wazzan, or Leo Africanus (1494-1554), had his *Della descrittione* firstly published in Ramusio's first volume of *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550). Overall, La Popelinière divided Africa in four main provinces: a white and comparatively noble Barbary; Numidia; Libya and the desert of Sahara; and the kingdoms of the *Noires*. The latter encompassed a vast area and many societies, including Timbuktu, Meli (the city and kingdom of *Nigritie*, in present-day Guinea), Senegal and the coast and kingdom of Benin, and the coast of Guinea (present-day Ivory Coast). The black kingdoms were emphasised by La Popelinière as a space where the Portuguese had profited from trade. Following Ramusio-Temporal, this fourth part of Africa is also described

²²⁶ Osório da Fonseca's *De rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae*, a biography of King Manuel I, was first published in Latin in Lisbon in 1571 and in Cologne in 1574. The chronicler Fernão Lopes de Castanheda published his nine-volume *História do descobrimento & conquista da Índia pelos portugueses* between 1551 and 1561, in Coimbra. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Jerónimo Osório, and Simon Goulart, *L'Histoire de Portugal, contenant les entreprises, navigations et gestes mémorables des Portugallois, tant en la conquête des Indes Orientales par eux decouvertes qu'ès guerres d'Afrique et autres exploits, depuis l'an mil quatre cens nonante six jusques à l'an mil cinq cens septante huit* (Paris: Guillaume de la Nouë, 1581).

²²⁷ Leo Africanus, *Historiale description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde*, trans. by Jean Temporal (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1556).

as a political assemblage of idolatrous, Muslim and Christian kingdoms, including that of Prester John, a medieval and early modern mythical figure seen by many as a potential Christian ally against African and Asian infidels.²²⁸

Following the brief description of Africa as four parts, in accordance with al-Wazzan-Ramusio-Temporal, La Popelinière dedicated a whole article to the description of Asia. For his description of Asia, he copied the Portuguese chronicler João de Barros's division of Asia into five land provinces and nine maritime parts (Table 5), from the ninth book of his first *Década da Ásia* (1552), via Osório/Goulart's *Histoire de Portugal* (1581).²²⁹ Without acknowledging any of the sources, La Popelinière changed certain references passages to Ptolemy and, for example, Barros's "nós" into "noz geographes" and omitted certain references to Portuguese voyages, Ptolemy and other works, such as the Chinese book of cosmography. The five terrestrial provinces comprised Muscovy, Tartary, "the Turks", Persia, and the East Indies. The latter, La Popelinière argued, was unknown to ancient geographers and populated by an "infinite" of kings and vast lordships, some of which were vassals to the Mongol Khan, Persian Sophy or King of Portugal, an observation absent from Barros's chapter.

La Popelinière pointed out how, even though different kings and lords ruled the lands in the Indian subcontinent, it was the Portuguese who controlled its ports and maritime routes.²³⁰ The Portuguese are also praised for their trade with China, whose lands and peoples La Popelinière saw as better than those of Europe.²³¹ The positive outcome of Portuguese-backed Jesuit missions in Goa, Japan and China is also emphasised.²³² In the end of the first book, different parts of Africa and, to a greater extent, Asia are repeatedly described according to the presence and the behaviour of the Spaniards and the Portuguese in those parts, their political organisation and the arts and sciences, with a clearer praise of the "peuples d'Orient", or China. La Popelinière's use of Barros's representation of Asia according to a maritime-based

²²⁸ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 149.

²²⁹ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 163–67; João de Barros, *Ásia de João de Barros. Dos feitos que os portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, ed. by Luís F. Lindley Cintra and António Baião, 4 vols (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1988), pp. 336–38.

²³⁰ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 163.

²³¹ For the early modern European representation of China, see Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China: de la Armada Invencible al Galeón de Manila* (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2002); Francisco M. Roque de Oliveira, 'A construção do conhecimento europeu sobre a China, c. 1500 - c. 1630. Impressos e manuscritos que revelaram o mundo chinês à Europa culta' (unpublished Ph.D., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2003); Rachana Sachdev and Qinjun Li, *Encountering China: Early Modern European Responses* (Bucknell University Press, 2012).

²³² La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 170–71.

logic served the overarching structure of his treatise, in which history is fundamentally staged aboard ships, through voyages, and in moments of ‘discovery’ – more or less violent first contacts between Europeans and different peoples and environments. It reinforced the role of Portuguese works in such perspective, as I develop in chapter 3. More specifically, the French historian stressed a representation of Asia according to modern geographers, João de Barros and Osório/Goulart, even without full citation. This shows La Popelinière’s editorial practice in adapting Barros’s peculiar balance of classical and modern knowledge in his metageography of Asia from the margins, as argued by Zoltán Biedermann.²³³

Table 5. The description of the nine maritime parts of Asia in Popelinière’s <i>Les Trois Mondes</i> (1582) and João de Barros’s <i>Década da Ásia</i> (1552)	
Chapter 1, book 9 of the first <i>Década da Ásia</i> (1552), by João de Barros	Article 23, book 1 of <i>Les Trois Mondes</i> (1582), by La Popelinière
“A primeira tem seu principio na boca do estreito do ma a que propriamente chamaos Roixo, e acaba na boca do outro Parsio”	“La premiere commence au golfe de la mer Rouge & finit à celuy de la mer Persique”
“A segunda acaba na foz do rio Indo	“La second s’esleve de ce golfe de Perse jusques au fleuve Indus qui se desgorge en l’ocean & costoye le royaume de Cambaye”
“A terceira na cidade Cambaya situada na mais interior parte da enseada do mar chamado do seu nome”	“La troisieme depuis la ville de Cambaye jusques au promontoire de Comory”
“A quarta começa no grande cabo Comorij”	“La quatriesme commence à ce promontoire”
“A quinta no ilustre rio Gange”	“La cinquiesme au Gange”
“A sexta no cabo de Cingapura alem da nossa cidade Malaca”	“La sixiesme au promotoire de Cincapura, au dessus du Malaca”

²³³ Zoltán Biedermann, ‘Imagining Asia from the Margins: Early Portuguese Mappings of the Continent’s Architecture and Space’, in *Architecturalized Asia. Mapping the Continent through Architecture and Geography*, ed. by V. Rujivacharakul and others (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), pp. 35–51 (pp. 45–50); Francisco M. Roque de Oliveira, ‘Lançando linhas imaginárias: metageografias da Ásia nas descrições geográficas e na cartografia portuguesa do século XVI’, *Scripta Nova*, XX.551 (2016), 1–27.

<p>“A setima no grande rio chamado Manam interpretado maem das agoas: o qual corre per meyo do reyno de Siam”</p>	<p>“La septiesme au grande fleuve nommé Menam, que ceux du pays disent signifier la mere des eaux, lequel traverse le royaume de Siam”</p>
<p>“A octava fenece em hum notável cabo que é o mais oriental de noda a terra firme, que ao presente sabemos, a qual e quasy no meio de todo o maritimo da grande regiam da Cina, a que nossos chamam cabo de Liampo por razam de huma ilustre cidade que está na volta delle chamada pelos naturaes de Nimpo, da qual os nossos corromperam Liampó”</p>	<p>“La huictiesme s’estent de là jusques au cap de Lampo, promontoire renommé & le plus oriental de toute la terre ferme, au milieu de la coste maritime du grande royaume de China”</p>
<p>“E toda a mais costa deste grande reino o qual corre quasy ao noroeste, fique pera este lygar descriptura com nome de nona parte, ainda per nós nam navegada”</p>	<p>“La neufiesme peu hantée des Portugais (encor qu’ils soient montez plus haut vers l’Orient jusques aux Legues & Japanois) est si grande, qu’on ignore si c’est isle ou terre ferme continuée jusques à l’autre bout de la China”</p>

The first book thus moved from the description of the Old World, intertwined with some early explorations, towards episodes and parts of the world closer to the present of the moderns, which directed the readers to the second book’s subject, the New World. In the second book, La Popelinière intermingled geographical descriptions and historical narratives about the Spanish voyages and discoveries into the New World. He began with a discussion of the three different names: America, New World, and West Indies. The area of America included Peru and Castilla de Oro as told by the histories of discoveries by Christopher Columbus and Francisco Pizarro, and an intermediary space between the part of America conquered by the Spaniards and Florida, encompassing the provinces of Panama, Nicaragua, and Xalisco or Nueva Galicia. La Popelinière’s main sources for America were Jean Poleur’s translation of the Spanish chronicler Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés’s *Histoire naturelle et generale des Indes* (1556), certain passages from Ramusio’s *Terzo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Martin Fumée’s translation of the first part of López de Gómara’s *Histoire generale des Indes*

occidentales (1568, 1580) and La Popelinière's own translation of *La Segunda parte de la Historia general* (1554).²³⁴ Beaulieu suggested that La Popelinière could have also used Chauveton-Benzoni's *Historia*, Ramusio's passages about Hernán Cortés, and Goulart-Castanheda or Jean de Léry to quote Gómara.²³⁵

The third book, dedicated to the Portuguese voyages, was largely composed of passages and paraphrases from La Popelinière's own *L'Histoire de France* (1581), which, in turn, was a paraphrase of the French explorer Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage* (1578) and the Portuguese historian Pero de Magalhães Gândavo's *Historia da provincia de Sancta Cruz* (1576).²³⁶ For *Les Trois Mondes*, La Popelinière added a digression about Americo Vespucci taken from the first volume of Ramusio's travel collection. His sources for French Florida, in the third book, were far less comprehensive by 1582. La Popelinière's main source for Jean Ribault's voyages and the Spanish attack to French Florida is Urbain Chauveton's *L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde* (1579). Chauveton's *Histoire* translated and commented Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (1565) followed by *Brief discours et Histoire d'un voyage de quelques François en la Floride*, with Nicholas Le Challeux's *Discours de l'Histoire de la Floride* (1565-66) and passages from André Thevet's *Cosmographie universelle* (1575). Thevet's work, in turn, copied Captain Laudonnière's account of the second French voyage to Florida, to which he had access as a Royal Cosmographer. La Popelinière made a last-minute addition to *Les Trois Mondes* of Captain Dominique de Gourgues's voyage and revenge against the Spaniards in Florida, via the manuscript *L'Histoire de la reprinse de la Floride*, written by Pierre de Vaquieux. Anne-Marie Beaulieu noted how La Popelinière was one of the first to have access to an account of De Gourgues' voyage and the first to print it. Moreover, Beaulieu

²³⁴ Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *L'Histoire naturelle et generale des Indes, isles et terre ferme de la grande mer oceane, traduite de Castillan en François*, trans. by Jean Poleur (Paris: Michel Vascosan, 1556); Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia generalle des Indes occidentales, et terres neuves, qui jusques à present ont esté decouvertes*, trans. by Martin Fumée, 5th edn (Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1584); Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono le navigationi al mondo nuovo, alli antichi incognito, fatte da don Christoforo Colombo genovese, che fu il primo a scoprirlo a i re catholici, detto hora le Indie occidentali* (Venice: Giunti, 1565); Francisco López de Gómara, *La Segunda parte de la Historia general de las Indas que contiene la conquista de México, y de la Nueva España* (Antwerp: Martin Nuncio, 1554).

²³⁵ Beaulieu, p. 37; Kathleen Ann Myers, *Fernández de Oviedo's Chronicle of America*, trans. by Nina M. Scott (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007). Oviedo's first part of his tripartite chronicle of the Spanish colonial expansion to the Caribbean islands and to South America was first published in Spanish in 1535 as *Historia general y natural de las Indias* in Seville, and translated into French by Jean Poleur, in 1555.

²³⁶ Léry's *Histoire* was written at least 20 years after his time among the French and the Tupinambá, in France Antarctique, and firstly published in La Rochelle (1578). It was a key source of the colonial controversy among the Huguenot corpus and of ethnographic information about the 'Brazilians'. Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre de Brésil*, ed. by Frank Lestringant (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 1994); Pero de Magalhães Gândavo, *Historia da provincia sancta Cruz a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil* (Lisbon: António Gonçalves, 1576).

and Lestringant have commented on Hakluyt deep interest in having access to and circulating Laudonnière's account, via Thevet, Chauveton and La Popelinière, and the manuscript about De Gourgues's voyage, via La Popelinière, while he was in France. Hakluyt and Martin Basanier published Laudonnière's account separately as *L'Histoire notable de la Floride* (Paris, 1586), followed by its translation into English by Hakluyt (*A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into Florida*, London, 1587).²³⁷

At the end of the third book, La Popelinière narrated Ferdinand Magellan's expedition, dedicating substantial space to the Spanish and Portuguese dispute over the control of the spices' commerce in the Moluccas in the sixteenth century. Only in the very last article of the third book La Popelinière re-introduce the notion of a 'third world' and exhort the French to establish a colony there. According to Anne-Marie Beaulieu, La Popelinière referred to the Tierra del Fuego, a land supposedly larger than America, 30 degrees South of the equator, cutting through a space where Magellan supposedly discovered the westward route to the Moluccas in 1520. By the time La Popelinière wrote *Les Trois Mondes*, Francis Drake had stated that Tierra del Fuego was an island and not a third world or continent, but the French historian does not mention Drake's contribution to the controversy. In the 1580s, the existence of a southern continent was still open to geographical and cartographical debate, based on the post-1477 reception of the classical and Ptolemaic thesis of a southern *terra incognita* that would necessarily counterbalance the opposite *oikumene* landmass. The Cantino planisphere, and other maps by Piri Reis, Lopo Homem, Gerardus Mercator (influenced by Gemma Frisius's and Peter Apian's antipodal theories), Abraham Ortelius, Guillaume Postel, Juan Vespucci, and the ethnographic information added on maps of the New World by the 'Dieppe school' suggested an equivalence between the Ptolemaic *terra incognita* and the reported southern parts of the New World, linking theory and travel narratives.²³⁸

As Beaulieu has suggested, there is transfer of source material between La Popelinière's early historical works and *Les Trois Mondes*, as well as circularity inside the treatise. Similarly,

²³⁷ Frank Lestringant, 'Les séquelles de la Floride huguenote (1565-1586)', in *Le Huguenot et le sauvage: L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de Religion (1555-1589)* (Geneva: Droz, 2004), pp. 227–78; Beaulieu, pp. 40–41.

²³⁸ Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (London: British Library, 2008), p. 225. Norman J. W. Thrower, 'The Southern Continent', in *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*, ed. by Gregory C. McIntosh (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), pp. 48–68 (pp. 49–50). Carla Lois and Elizabeth Baigent, 'Plus Ultra Equinoctiale: The "Discovery" of the Southern Hemisphere in Renaissance Maps and Science Books', *Imago Mundi*, 60.2 (2008), 249–50.

much of the narrative moderation he would, later, recommend in *L'idée de l'histoire accomplie* (1599), to be explored in chapter 4, developed from his early historical works, which had put him in disfavour of the Huguenot party in La Rochelle, through *Les Trois Mondes*, with its comparative approach to the history of discoveries. His authority as a historian (and geographer) was stressed by Hakluyt himself and ignited his own collection of English voyages, as expressed in the epistle dedicatory of *The Principall Navigations*. From this analysis of La Popelinière's editorial practice in *Les Trois Mondes*, a few ideas present in his previous works and developed in the subsequent writings come to light. He used the Iberian experience in the New World as a means for his overarching goal: to offer to his audience an overview of the practice of overseas travel and the value of its memorialisation in travel literature. To do so, he merged classical and modern knowledge, while suggesting the superiority of the latter through the scope and structure of this treatise. His approach of presenting a thematic, all-encompassing history would be developed in *L'Histoire des histoires*, in proximity to the topicality of Hakluyt's own all-encompassing work.

2.4. Conclusion

Two differences between the editorial projects of Hakluyt and La Popelinière seem to emerge from the somewhat tedious examination of their editorial practice and handling of sources. Hakluyt aimed for a structure which could textually and rhetorically convey the experience of the mariners' travels, while La Popelinière summarised works of travel/geographical literature to convey the idea of a continuous maritime experience and geographical knowledge largely improved by the modern voyages across the Old and New Worlds, and, he hoped, the *terra australis*. He did not erase the mariners' experience, but edged much closer than Hakluyt to a cosmographical perspective. While most of the sources used by Hakluyt in his travel collections were first-hand travel accounts, and their number goes into the hundreds, La Popelinière selected fewer modern records and combined them with more classical authorities, especially in the first book of *Les Trois Mondes*. In sum, both authors represented two different writing cultures when it came to 'world-making': one that built the globe hand in hand with mariners, and one that, whilst not ignoring the latter, followed a more schematic, abstract ambition of representing global space in harmony with the theses of Ptolemy.

This being said, it is also important to underline that, at the core of both editorial projects, rested a geo-historical structure in their editorial choices to encompass all available knowledge of each of their works' theme, be it the English voyages or the history of predominantly Iberian discoveries. This was possible due to their shared humanist forms of reading and writing, and their aim to rehabilitate the practice and writing about travel and geography in the context of the late sixteenth-century decline of cosmography and of the moralising rhetoric of historical exemplarity. The way they conferred authority to geographical literature depended on a network they both shared, centred geographically around London and Paris and with its widest reach obtained through Iberian materials.

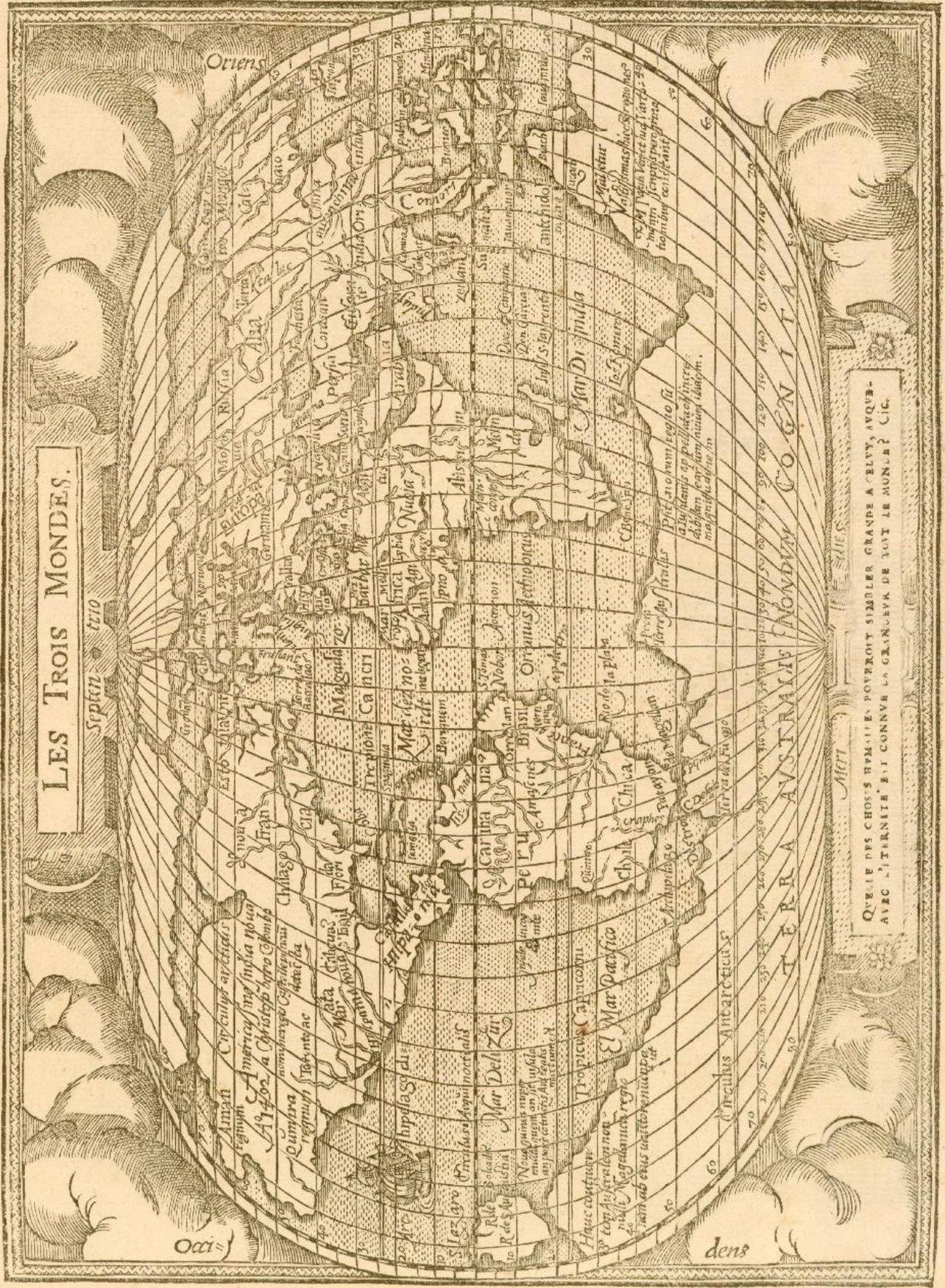


Figure 3. Version of Abraham Ortelius's 'Typus orbis terrarum' (1570), in La Popelinière's *Les Trois Mondes* (1582)

Chapter 3 – Representations of Iberian colonial expertise in the works of Hakluyt and La Popelinière

3.1. Introduction: early modern exchanges of colonial expertise

In this chapter, I analyse the various forms of representation of Spain and Portugal and their overseas expansion in Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's works, emphasising shifts between negative, ambivalent and positive representations. The Hakluyt works analysed here are *Divers Voyages* (1582), 'Discourse of western planting' (1584), the prefatory material to both editions of *The Principal Navigations* (1589, 1598-1600), and other works he commissioned. For La Popelinière, I will consider *Les Trois Mondes* (1582), *L'Amiral de France* (1584), and the 1604 letter to Joseph Justus Scaliger. I argue that Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's representation of Spain, Portugal and their overseas empires cannot be explained simply with reference to the rigid historiographical concept of the Black Legend, although the latter is clearly present in both. To be sure, the topoi of Iberian cruelty, greed and geopolitical hegemony in West and East, paired with our two authors' Protestant affiliations, might suggest a straightforward connection. Yet both Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's editorial projects and representations of Iberian conquest are more complex than that. Whilst they wrote in a shared environment of inter-imperial competition and history writing, they still engaged with Spain and Portugal in multiple, even contradictory ways. This dynamism was characteristic of the early modern transnational exchange of texts, peoples, objects in an increasingly global context.

In this chapter, I start by exploring how the Black Legend did inform, to some extent, the way Spain and Portugal are represented in Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's works. I offer an overview of the term 'Black Legend' and introduce connections between both authors in this regard. In the following sections, I focus on specific modes of representation of Spain in particular, some of which were clearly negative, while in other passages they are much more ambivalent or even positive. I then move on to conclude with the – predominantly positive – image of Portugal and the colonisation of Brazil in their editorial projects. In fact, I will highlight that both Iberian monarchies and their overseas empires were represented as Christian, modern examples of a long history of colonial expansion shared by many nations. Through Iberian exemplarity, Hakluyt and La Popelinière developed their narratives in support of English and French participation in expansion. I also argue that, for both armchair travellers, the formation of overseas empires was fundamentally, though not exclusively, an editorial

enterprise working out the relationship between history, geography, and the knowledge that people produce about the two. Due to the geopolitical and religious shifts of the second half of the sixteenth century, England and France were bound to participate in what had been a manifestly Iberian (and, to some extent, Italian) opening of the world. To enter the stage, they needed participate in the ultimately inseparable projects of producing experience and knowledge, following a logic which, in La Popelinière's and Hakluyt's view, should be transnational and thus include France and England as well as the nations of the Catholic South.

Modern scholarship on the early modern European representation of Spain has coined the term 'Black Legend' to reflect the simplistic representation of Spanish violence, greed and religious intolerance in Europe and the Americas. Benjamin Keen showed half a century ago how the coinage of the term in 1914 by the Spanish scholar Julián Juderías emerged from a revision of, and reaction to, a much longer history of criticism directed against Spain and the Spaniards. Keen referred to Sverker Arnoldsson's earlier, pioneering work on the Black Legend as an expression of anti-Spanish sentiments among Germans, Dutch and Italians, set in the context of a series of religious and political struggles since at least the fourteenth century. Juderías coined the term to dismiss a Northern European and Las Casas's condemnation of the Spanish violence against the Amerindians in the conquest, as outlined in his *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Seville, 1552). Juderías echoed the conservative, imperialistic Spanish scholarship that blamed the nineteenth-century weakening of the Spanish empire on the undermining of imperial *hispanidad* by the circulation of Republican ideas, especially in Spanish America. This conservative revision of the Black Legend and revision of the basis of Hispanophobia resonated well among anti-liberal Spanish American circles.²³⁹

Alongside Juderías and Arnoldsson's pioneering monographs, W. S. Maltby analysed the anti-Spanish discourse in England in the second half of the sixteenth century, shedding additional light on the dichotomy carried by the historiographical term 'Black Legend', which divided European discourses on religion, politics and colonial expansion into a Protestant Northern Europe and a Catholic Iberian empire. Among his corpus of primary sources, Maltby placed Richard Hakluyt's travel collections, which he presented as a strong example of Elizabethan 'Hispanophobia'.²⁴⁰ It is easy to see why this should have been the case, as we

²³⁹ Benjamin Keen, 'The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 49.4 (1969), 703–19 (pp. 703–5); Julián Juderías, *La leyenda negra* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2014); Sverker Arnoldsson, *La leyenda negra: estudios sobre sus orígenes* (Göteborg: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960).

²⁴⁰ W. S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England. The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1971).

shall observe repeatedly. However, the representation of the Iberian empires in Hakluyt as well as in La Popelinière cannot be fully understood within the remit of the Black Legend, as indeed some of the more recent scholarship on the wider context suggests. In the past decades, scholars have nuanced the binary image entertained both by the Black Legend itself and by the historians analysing it. In general, two entwined interpretative developments have helped overcome those limitations and bring to the fore the often very nuanced and even ambivalent representations of the Iberian conquests in early modern discourses. They can be summarised as, on the one hand, a decentred approach to the history of colonial relations between Europe and the Americas in the Atlantic space and, on the other hand, a wider engagement with the history of global intellectual and material exchanges, of which Europeans were participants but not necessarily protagonists.

In a recent literature review, Antonio Sánchez Jiménez has detailed the regained interest in the Black Legend in Spanish and Latin American Studies in the twenty-first century, and its new focus on the racial, national and social stereotypes involved in the historical construction of the Legend itself.²⁴¹ To name a few among many, the works by Frank Lestringant, Lisa Voigt, Julia Schleck, David A. Boruchoff, Walter Mignolo, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Jonathan Hart and Barbara Fuchs have emphasised the material and intellectual entanglements of the processes of early modern empire-formation in the Atlantic space and beyond.²⁴² They have challenged the Black Legend by analysing the increasingly complex political and social uses of vocabularies of race, skin colour, and religion among Africans, Amerindians, Iberians and Ibero-Americans in the political and juridical making of the Hispanic empire.

For Frank Lestringant, the Black Legend in the Huguenot corpus under the reigns of Henry III and Henry IV (1574-1610) took the form of a ‘rhetoric of the Barbarian’.²⁴³ This rhetoric internationalised the Wars of Religion by developing a discourse that identified

²⁴¹ *España ante sus críticos: las claves de la Leyenda Negra*, ed. by Yolanda Rodríguez Jiménez, Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, and Harm den Boer (Madrid, Frankfurt-am-Main: Vervuert, 2015), pp. 23–41.

²⁴² Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*; Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2012); Schleck, ‘Plain Broad Narratives of Substantial Facts’; Boruchoff, ‘Piety, Patriotism, and Empire’; *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. by Margaret Rich Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, ‘How the “Reformation” Invented Separate Catholic and Protestant Atlantics’, *Archiv Für Reformationsgeschichte*, 108.1 (2017), 245–254; Hart, *Representing the New World*; Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); *Material and Symbolic Circulation Between Spain and England, 1554-1604*, ed. by Anne J. Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

²⁴³ Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 371.

Protestants with Barbarians/Amerindians/Brazilians as groups equally confronting Catholic aggressivity. This occurred in the context of the Iberian Union (1580) and King Philip II's support for the Catholic League of France, founded in 1571 by Henri I, Duke of Guise.²⁴⁴ The identification between the Huguenot and the savage in the Huguenot corpus followed the geopolitical circumstances and was heightened following the assassination of King Henry III, of France, by the Dominican friar Jacques Clément in 1589. According to Lestringant, the declaration of war against Spain allowed for a series of anti-Spanish pamphlets highlighting the horrors of Spanish conquest and the 'silencing' of the savages' 'voice'. Such readings were an overseas reflection of the 'silencing' of the Huguenots' 'voice' in the continent and added a more aggressive nationalist perspective to the corpus.²⁴⁵

Among the Huguenot corpus of authors increasingly concerned with the colonial controversy in the early 1580s was Urbain Chauveton. He published his translation of Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* along with the *Brief discours et Histoire d'un voyage de quelques François en la Floride* in a single work entitled *L'histoire nouvelle du Nouveau Monde*.²⁴⁶ The *Brief discours* assembled Nicholas Le Challeux's *Discours de l'Histoire de la Floride* (1566) and passages from André Thevet's *Cosmographie universelle* (1575). Chauveton's *Histoire* aimed at memorialising the Spanish attacks against the French in Florida as anti-Spanish propaganda, an aspect already present in Benzoni's *Historia*. Chauveton edited the Spanish attack of French Florida together with a narrative of the Spanish cruelty towards Amerindians in Central and North America. By doing so, he edged towards the possible alliance between the Huguenot explorers and the 'bons sauvages' as victims of the same attacker.²⁴⁷ All this is of relevance because Chauveton's *Histoire* was one of the main sources for La Popelinière in *Les Trois Mondes* (1582).

La Popelinière's reading of Chauveton's Hispanophobic account did not, to be sure, ignore his attribution of the failure of French Florida to Spanish cruelty. But it developed, crucially, a wider and more complex analysis of the history of Spain's unjust monopoly over

²⁴⁴ Having been 'forced to speak' by the Huguenot corpus, the Amerindian gained eloquence in Christendom, in works such as Guillaume Aubert's *Oraison de la Paix* (1559), Léry's *Histoire* (1578), Michel de Montaigne's 'Des Cannibales' (1580). Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 371.

²⁴⁵ Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 377–78.

²⁴⁶ Girolamo Benzoni and Urbain Chauveton, *L'Histoire nouvelle du nouveau monde: contenant en somme ce que les Hespagnols ont fait jusqu'à présent aux Indes occidentales, & le rude traitement qu'ils font à ces peuples là : ensemble, une petite histoire d'un massacre commis par les Hespagnols sur quelques François en la Floride, avec un indice des choses les plus remarquables* (Paris: Eustace Vignon, 1579); Girolamo Benzoni, *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (Venice: F. Rampazetto, 1565).

²⁴⁷ Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 162.

the colonisation of the New World. This approach was present already in La Popelinière's history of the Wars of Religion, *La Vraye et entiere Histoire des troubles* (1579), but further developed in *Les Trois Mondes*.²⁴⁸ Here, La Popelinière modulated Chauveton's condemnation of Spanish cruelty into a more intricate appraisal of Spain's place in the newly discovered seas and worlds, criticising the papal-backed policy of closed seas, but also calling France to emulate the imperial and colonial projects of Spain and Portugal. It makes much sense to follow Anne-Marie Beaulieu's argument that La Popelinière's borrowings from the Huguenot corpus – in his case, Simon Goulart, Urbain Chauveton, and Jean de Léry – already reveal his own moderation.²⁴⁹ As suggested by Beaulieu, La Popelinière's nuanced reading of the Black Legend of the Huguenot corpus might place him closer to the discourse of the *politiques*.²⁵⁰ In the French Wars of Religion, the *politiques* were a movement among the Catholics concerned with the consolidation of the French State and State Reason as an organising principle over the religious intolerance of the Wars of Religions in the context of the Reformations.²⁵¹ La Popelinière's proximity to such a perspective and praise of the doctrine of Gallicanism – a French Catholic Church independent of the papacy – as a positive tradition in the history of French monarchy was considered as treason and one of the reasons for him to be censored by the Huguenots in La Rochelle. This is further reflected in the vocabulary La Popelinière used in his works ('Protestant' rather than 'Huguenot') and was central to his idea of *histoire accomplie*, developed in *L'Histoire des histoires*, as I show in chapter 4.

By not being an 'unconditional' supporter of the Black Legend, La Popelinière's discourse oscillated between praise and critique of Spain and its colonial expansion. The oscillation had to do with the desired effects of each part of his discourse in *Les Trois Mondes*, as I show in this chapter, and also with the global perspective of his theory and method of history, as I show in chapter 4. The shift from a Huguenot condemnation of Spain to a project concerned with the shared Portuguese-Spanish-French histories of discoveries present in La Popelinière's works is of importance, for example, because it later influenced the writings of Marc Lescarbot and Pierre Bergeron, who supported a French participation in colonial expansion in the early seventeenth century. A French Catholic lawyer and supporter of French

²⁴⁸ Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 451.

²⁴⁹ Beaulieu, p. 41.

²⁵⁰ Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 453. For the early modern English, Dutch and French debates about the openness of the sea, see "Les Protestants et la liberté des mers, d'Urbain Chauveton a Grotius", Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 449–62. Beaulieu, p. 12. Mack P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle During the Wars of Religion*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

²⁵¹ Holt, p. 2.

colonial expansion, Marc Lescarbot (1570-1641) expanded on La Popelinière's work. In his *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (1609), published after his stay with Samuel de Champlain at the French settlement of Port-Royal d'Acadie, in Canada, Lescarbot compiled the narratives from all French attempts to colonise North America and presented them under a combined geo-historical order – following the core of La Popelinière's and Hakluyt's writings.²⁵² Lestringant has pointed out that this geo-historical (and, he adds, legal) approach deepened a departure of these authors from the geographical determinism of Jean Bodin's view of history in his *Methodus* (1566).²⁵³ In the footsteps of Chauveton, La Popelinière and Lescarbot, the French geographer Pierre Bergeron (1580-1637) published a series of French travel accounts. His *Traité de la navigation et des voyages de découvertes et conquêtes modernes, et principalement des François* (1629) insisted on the French rights over the colonisation of Florida. This can be seen as having been inspired, as Lestringant concludes, by Hakluyt's and Giovanni Battista Ramusio's travel collections.²⁵⁴

It can be added that La Popelinière's defence of a French colony in the southern continent, far from the existing Spanish and Portuguese possessions, may have influenced Richard Hakluyt's representation of Spain. Throughout his writings, Hakluyt criticised Spain, chiefly for its hegemony in the navigation and exploration of the Americas. His attacks were directed at the historical-geographical foundations of the hegemony: the binary division of the world, supported by papal bulls, and especially its diplomatic ratification between Spain and Portugal at Tordesillas, in 1494. This critique was exacerbated after Philip II annexed Portugal in 1580. At that point, English naval incursions into Spanish and Portuguese waters, as well as attacks on Iberian possessions, did effectively increase, and England attempted to establish a colony in North America. However, these events alone do not fully explain the depth and complexity of the representation of Spain in Hakluyt's works. A reader of La Popelinière and of Iberian and Italian geographical literature, Hakluyt saw Spain and Portugal as the main points of comparison for his assessment of England's place in the history of discoveries. Spain and Portugal, in turn, were part of a wider, not just European but also African, Asian and American space, which is apparent in the structure of Hakluyt's travel collections and his interests as an editor and translator. Hakluyt and La Popelinière understood geographical

²⁵² Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*.

²⁵³ Bodin.

²⁵⁴ Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 400–405. For more on Lescarbot's works and ideas, see Biggar; Pioffet, Bourassa, and Bovet. Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, pp. 457–58. For a monograph on Pierre Bergeron's writings, see Holtz, *L'ombre de l'auteur*.

literature as an increasingly transnational genre. Therefore, it is worth analysing in some depth their interpretation of Iberian conquests and attention to Iberian authors.

Hakluyt's sources included a wide range of non-English materials, to which he had access through a European network of men who produced and collected geographical literature. In his works and commissioned editions and translations, Hakluyt's sources converged in their focus on the geographical and historical consequences of the maritime voyages to Africa, Asia and America. He cited not only La Popelinière, but also the engravers and publishers De Bry, the German and Flemish cartographers Gerardus Mercator and Abraham Ortelius, the English merchant Michael Lok, the alchemist and translator Richard Eden, the English maker of globes Emery Molyneux, the Spanish historians López de Gómara and Oviedo y Valdés, the French Royal cosmographer André Thevet, and, finally, the Venetian scholar Giovanni Battista Ramusio. Among this vast array of sources, many had an anti-Spanish stance, which appeared in Hakluyt's works as a reflection of his anxieties about England's role in relation to the Iberian overseas empire.²⁵⁵

However, Hakluyt's incorporation of the Black Legend did not dominate his uses of the sources just mentioned. Not all were anti-Spanish, and Hakluyt was aware of a longer history of exchanges between England and other late medieval and early modern kingdoms in Europe, among which Spain and Portugal became increasingly important due to their colonial experience. In the recent collective work, *España ante sus críticos: las llaves de la Leyenda Negra*, Alexander Samson has addressed the representation of Spain in the context of the marriage between Queen Mary and King Philip II in 1556.²⁵⁶ Samson has analysed the representation of Spain in English travel literature and the polemics surrounding dynastic connections between Spain and England, both before and during Queen Mary's reign.²⁵⁷ Anxieties around the dynastic and legal consequences of the marriage between Mary and Philip II, which lasted only until 1558, found expression in the association of Spain with threats to English property and, through foreign tyranny, to English sovereignty. One of the English

²⁵⁵ Hakluyt cited Richard Eden, John Bale and John Foxe as English authorities on history. Sacks and Dimmock analysed the extent of the influence of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1559, 1563) and Bale's anti-Catholic stance on Hakluyt's millenarian scope and anti-Catholic passages. See Dimmock, pp. 219–20. Sacks, 'Richard Hakluyt's Navigations in Time'. Sacks, "'To Deduce a Colonie": Richard Hakluyt's Godly Mission in Its Context, c.1580-1616'.

²⁵⁶ Bouza. Alexander Samson, 'A vueltas con los orígenes de la Leyenda Negra: la Inglaterra mariana', in *España ante sus críticos: las llaves de la Leyenda Negra*, ed. by Yolanda Rodríguez Jiménez, Antonio Sánchez Jiménez, and Harm den Boer (Madrid; Frankfurt-am-Main: Vervuert, 2015), pp. 91–115.

²⁵⁷ Samson, 'A vueltas con los orígenes de la Leyenda Negra: la Inglaterra mariana', p. 95.

authors cited by Hakluyt in his travel collection, the English Protestant historian John Bale (1495–1563), had been influenced by anti-Spanish topoi from Italy – an area of Spanish expansion often forgotten by Anglophone scholarship. As Samson shows, Bale had incorporated in his representation of Spain the topics of racial hybridity, Semitic heritage, and also (an opinion more genuinely rooted in northern Europe) the sin of pederasty resulting from “the chaste rules of Rome and Florence”, that is, the Catholic priests’ celibacy.²⁵⁸ In some aspects, Hakluyt’s writings subscribed to the later development of this racial stereotype of the Spaniards in the Black Legend during Elizabeth’s reign by attributing Spanish cruelties in the Dutch Republic and the New World to historical patterns originating in the Roman colony of Iberia, a theme that we will encounter again further below.

Nevertheless, under Mary’s reign (1553-1558), a whole series of English publications also praised her marriage to Philip II. At the centre of this English version of the ‘White Legend’ about Spain, the alchemist Richard Eden published a series of works related to Spanish colonial expansion.²⁵⁹ As Andrew Hadfield explains, “Eden had been active under the protectorate of Northumberland (1549–53) in translating and promoting colonial literature to encourage English voyages to the New World.” He had translated part of Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographia Universalis* as *Of the Newe India* (1553) and then, in 1555, translated parts of Peter Martyr’s *De orbe novo decades* (originally printed in Alcalá, 1516) and Gonzalo Oviedo’s *Natural hystoria de las Indias*, as well as other travel accounts of Spanish voyages as *The decades of the newe worlde or west India*.²⁶⁰

All this activity is closely linked with Eden’s personal situation and his attempt at securing the favour of Queen Mary. According to Hadfield, Eden’s father and uncle were part of a network of English Protestant exiles in Europe, and his uncle ended up leaving for Strasbourg in 1554, supporting “the extensive propaganda campaign against the Spanish presence in England”. In this tense context, the same texts could be mobilized for squarely opposed purposes. Among the exiled Protestants, John Ponet referred precisely to Peter Martyr’s *De orbe novo decades* to justify tyrannicide in his *A Shorte Treatise of Politicke Power* (1556). He condemned Spanish atrocities and predicted that “soon the English would be shipped over as slaves”. Clearly, then, Eden’s translation aimed at convincing his audience and

²⁵⁸ Samson, ‘A vueltas con los orígenes de la Leyenda Negra: la Inglaterra mariana’, pp. 100–101.

²⁵⁹ Frank Lestringant labelled the French cosmographer André Thevet’s ‘anti-Las-Casas’ praise of Spanish *conquista* as “White Legend”. Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 362.

²⁶⁰ Andrew Hadfield, ‘Peter Martyr, Richard Eden and the New World: Reading, Experience, and Translation’, *Connotations*, Vol. 5.1 (1995), 1–22.

the Queen of his own allegiance to her. Eden's effort to make Martyr's complex original into a text supporting Spanish action involved shifting the 'Black Legend' to Protestant England: he explored especially the Wyatt rebellion of 1554 and pointed to Protestant resistance to Mary's reign as a sign of domestic, internal monstrosities. As Hadfield observed, for Eden it was England rather than America that was populated by unnatural and perverse monsters: "There is even now great talke of thee [i.e. England] in the mouthes of all men that thou hast of late yeares brought furthe many monsters and straunge byrthes."²⁶¹ Hadfield concludes that in Eden Spain appears as the perfect opposite to the dissent, fragmentation and perversion of England:

In one sense Eden is glorifying the Spanish in the New World and recommending them as heroic exemplars for the fragmented and "monstrous" body politic of England. Their actions provide a recipe for unity and expansion and will provide both internal and external cohesion illustrating that the forces of nationalism and colonialism cannot be easily separated. In another, there is an uncomfortable link between Peter Martyr's descriptions of the rebellious acts of the *conquistadores* in the Americas and Eden's castigations of his fellow citizens' crimes.²⁶²

This is the dynamic and ambivalent representation of England, Spain and, as I would like to suggest soon, Portugal, that Richard Hakluyt inherited from the 1550s. Not only did Hakluyt cite Richard Eden among his English references in the history of the discoveries (and indeed reedit Martyr's *De orbe novo* in Paris, in 1587); but, above all, he sought to join a growing corps of Italian, German, and Dutch authors using Iberian sources and deeds to develop a competitive, yet shared, imperial and colonial representation of the world. In addition, Eden's role in Hakluyt's varied English representation of Spanish *conquista* was extended to the links between empire-formation and the importance of silver mining in the colonies in the second half of the sixteenth century. David Gwyn and Edmund V. Campos have indeed shown how Eden's alchemical interest in the properties of silver mined by the Spaniards in the Indies was shared with Walter Raleigh and John Dee, two important characters in Hakluyt's support for English participation in the West Indies trade and for a London-based school of navigation and mathematics.²⁶³ While Hakluyt did not appear to have inherited Dee's

²⁶¹ Hadfield, p. 18.

²⁶² Hadfield, p. 18.

²⁶³ David Gwyn, 'Richard Eden: Cosmographer and Alchemist', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15.1 (1984), 13–34; Edmund Valentine Campos, 'West of Eden. American Gold, Spanish Greed, and the Discourses of English

and Eden's alchemical interests in the potential of silver coming from the West Indies, it is worth considering that Hakluyt, as a reader of Eden and Dee, realised how the benefits of overseas trade were not merely economic and limited to the domain of particular nations. They rather contributed to the development of a wider, transnational field of arts and knowledge, which reinforced man's ability to benefit, through improved artifice, from God's creation. The Spanish and Portuguese 'discoveries' had uncovered and reinforced this potential, and thus deserved to be part of the story.²⁶⁴

The representation of Spain in Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's writings was further complicated, crucially for this thesis, by their representation of Portugal, understood as a kingdom connected, in many ways, to the composite Hispanic monarchy, and the Portuguese, understood as sharing with the Spaniards and the Italians the 'opening' of the seas. To my knowledge, there is no study dedicated to the role played by the representation of Portugal in the wider representations of the Iberian Peninsula in Protestant (French and English) geographical literature. In this context, I introduce two themes of Hakluyt's writings and, in turn, of the context of exchanges between England, Spain and Portugal: a broad theme around the achievements of Portuguese men versed on the art of navigation, cartography and geography; and a narrower theme revolving around D. António, Prior of Crato and the claimant of the Portuguese throne defeated by Phillip II in August 1580, but supported by France and England throughout the following decade. In a recent article, Fernando Bouza focused on the representation of D. António in Dutch, Huguenot and English debates over the succession of the Portuguese throne, including in Habsburg writings produced during the Iberian Union (1580-1640). Bouza's transnational view of the circulation of prints and manuscripts and the moralistic construction of a historical figure solved the nation-centred and confession-centred explanatory patterns usually associated with Black Legend studies. While being an Iberian Catholic, D. António was also a beacon of hope against Habsburg hegemony.

In regard to the connections between different nations in the circulation of works and ideas about empire-making, Giuseppe Marcocci suggested a further, important connection between Italian and Iberian world histories, on the one hand, and their Protestant counterparts, on the other. As briefly mentioned already, Marcocci argued that the Portuguese chronicler

Imperialism', in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. by Margaret Rich Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 247–69.

²⁶⁴ Campos, p. 250.

António Galvão's *Tratado dos descobrimentos* (1563) influenced both La Popelinière's *Les Trois Mondes* and Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*. Hakluyt published an English translation of Galvão's work in 1601, where he acknowledged, in the dedicatory epistle, the exemplarity of the Portuguese author's work to him. Marcocci emphasised that, in comparison to the global scope of Galvão's chronicle, Hakluyt and La Popelinière did not quite achieve the same amplitude, since their histories of discoveries prioritised the actions of Europeans.²⁶⁵ But the connection is very significant and deserves to be highlighted. Overall, there are fewer studies about the English and French reception and representation of Portuguese deeds and works than about the representation of Spain. I argue, thus, that, in addition to their ambivalent representation of Spain, La Popelinière and Hakluyt used Portugal as a predominantly positive example of colonial expansion and geographical literature. Their view of Portugal cannot be dissociated from that of Spain due to their dynastic unification under the Iberian, of course, but it remains a field with an importance of its own, given the pioneering role played by the Portuguese, among the Europeans, from the early 1400s in long-distance overseas voyages.

The defence of D. António's right to inherit the Portuguese Crown was an important element of the representation of Portugal in Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's writings despite Philip II's successful military campaign under the Duke of Alba and the annexation of Portugal in August 1580.²⁶⁶ As Bouza showed, before and after D. António escaped Philip's army and took refuge in England and France, supporters of overseas expansion in England, such as Philip Sidney, already worried about the possibility of the Spanish empire becoming a universal empire once it incorporated the Portuguese empire.²⁶⁷ D. António also gained substantial support in France. His network included not only La Popelinière, but also Captain Dominique de Gourgues (1532-1580), celebrated for his victory over the Spanish in Florida in 1568. De

²⁶⁵ Marcocci, 'Altri libri, altre scoperte'.

²⁶⁶ The Spanish Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (1507-1582), 3rd Duke of Alba, served as a general under King Charles V, viceroy of Naples and King Philip II's first minister after Charles V's abdication from the rule of Netherlands and Naples and of the Spanish empire in the 1550s. Alba was central in Philip II's war against the Protestants in the Dutch Republic (1567-1573) and in his conquest of Portugal in 1580.

²⁶⁷ In 15 May 1582, D. António I signed, in Tours, a letter in Latin, Dutch and French reinforcing his claim to the Portuguese throne against Philip II. The same year, the antonian text *Apologie ou déffense de Monsieur Anthoine roy de Portugal contre Philippes roy d'Espagne* appeared, inspired by William of Orange's *Apology* (1580) to Philip II. Despite William of Orange's silence about the Portuguese succession in his *Apology*, an alliance between the antonians and the House of Orange was consolidated. D. António I's letter was reprinted in Antwerp before the city's siege (1585-1586) and circulated under the auspices of Maurice of Nassau in 1585. Bouza, pp. 119–20. *Netherlandish Books: Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad before 1601*, ed. by Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 49.

Gourgues was invited to command, as Admiral, a fleet sent to the Azores in 1582 to fight against the Spaniards, then led by the Marquis of Santa Cruz.²⁶⁸

After his defeat in the Azores in 1582, D. António continued to search for allies among the enemies of the Spanish monarchy in France, England, the Dutch Republic and even the Kingdom of Morocco.²⁶⁹ For Frank Lestringant, the death of King Sebastian I of Portugal in 1578 (precisely in Morocco) had been a geo-political turning point. Phillip's subsequent victory over D. António in the succession to the Portuguese throne shifted the geopolitical balance from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic space, where England would become the main adversary. It also affected French domestic politics more heavily than before.²⁷⁰

While France's colonial defeats in Brazil and Florida happened before the Iberian Union, the colonial controversy in the Huguenot corpus coincided with the English plundering, since the 1560s, of the West Indies and West African coast and the exploration of North America, with John Hawkins, Martin Frobisher, Humphrey Gilbert, Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake, and Richard Greenville, and, eventually, the Iberian Union of 1580. For Lestringant, Richard Hakluyt's practice of stealing/collecting works of geographical literature during his stay in Paris was symptomatic of this change of geopolitical balance. According to Lestringant, Hakluyt's editing of French sources about the New World, including by citing and celebrating La Popelinière's acknowledgement of English precedence in the discovery of North America, boosted his claims for the importance of English voyages and consolidated his vision of a 'new Tordesilhas'. As seen, this divided the New World into an English domain in North America and a Spanish domain further south, including in Brazil under the Iberian Union. Writing in the 1580s, Hakluyt did not particularly address the French attempt to establish a colony in Brazil in the 1550s, apart from briefly mentioning it as proof of a continuous history of Protestant attempts to challenge the Iberian hegemony in the New World.²⁷¹ While, in hindsight, D. António's resistance against the Spanish monarchy failed, in the 1580s the Iberian succession debate, and its consequences for the colonial partition of the discoveries, was still

²⁶⁸ Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 267.

²⁶⁹ Bouza, pp. 117–19. Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 267.

²⁷⁰ Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*, p. 318.

²⁷¹ Richard Hakluyt, 'Discourse of Western Planting, 1984. "A Particular Discouringe the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodityes That Are like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Western Discoveries Lately Attempted"', in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, 211–326 (pp. 217, 310).

open and was incorporated into the ambivalent and dynamic Anglo-French praise and critique of Spanish and Portuguese hegemony in the discoveries.

In any case, the importance of D. António's plea in the writings of Hakluyt and La Popelinière cannot be explained solely by the immediate geopolitical developments. We return inevitably to the impact of Iberian travels and writings on geography and history as a central theme in the French and English imaginary of the Portuguese empire – both in its differences and similarities to Spain. The fields of history and geography encompassed different skills and arts. While I develop this theme in chapter 4, it is worth mentioning here the exemplary case of the Homens, an important Portuguese family of cartographers, who worked in exile in England and France during the second half of the sixteenth century. André Homem (d.1586), son of Lopo Homem (1497-1572), worked as King Francis I's cartographer in France, where the Portuguese cosmographer Bartolomeu Velho (d.1568) had worked and published his *Cosmographia*.²⁷² According to Sarah Tyacke, André Homem visited London with another Portuguese man, Antão Luís, in 1567, and offered Queen Elizabeth I a chart of West African coast. Having the offer declined, he returned to Paris.²⁷³ In 1586, Hakluyt in his letter to Walter Raleigh sent from Paris, he mentioned André Homem's intention to make a chart of Antonio de Espejo's travel account to New Mexico, in 1582: "Yor mappe answerable unto the Spanish voyage of Antonio de Espeio, upon occasion of business unlooked for, hath bin hitherto differred [deferred] by andrew Home the Portingale, the prince of the Cosmographers of this age."²⁷⁴

André's brother, Diogo Homem, fled from Portugal for the alleged killing of a certain António Fernandes in 1544 and, in 1545, moved to London, where he stayed until 1568. Of his English production, eleven charts and twelve atlases survive. Most prominently, Homem was commissioned in 1555 by Queen Mary to produce a manuscript atlas of the world as a gift to Philip II. Despite having been finished only after Mary's death, the Queen Mary Atlas symbolised the Anglo-Spanish imperial project, and within it the authority assigned to Portuguese cartographers – although the Portuguese possessions in Asia were downplayed to

²⁷² For a study on André Homem, see Léon Bourdon, *André Homem: cartographe portugais en France (1560-1586)* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1973).

²⁷³ Sarah Tyacke, 'Chartmaking in England and Its Context, 1500–1660', in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. by David Woodward, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 1722–53 (p. 1730).

²⁷⁴ Hakluyt and Taylor, p. 355.

give a more overtly global dimension to the Spanish empire.²⁷⁵ The latter's prestige was considerable among scholars and other men interested in navigations. According to Sarah Tyacke, Diogo Homem was involved in a case at the High Court of Admiralty in London, in 1547, during which one of Homem's witnesses attributed a high value to his charts in contrast with the "wante and lack of expert lernyed men in that faculte of making of cartes or mappes and the scaryte and price of suche cartes witheyn this realme of England."²⁷⁶ Finally, another Portuguese pilot and mapmaker, Simão Fernandes, worked for the English and showed a world map with place-names for America to John Dee, in 1580.²⁷⁷ Both Hakluyt and La Popelinière referred to Portuguese cartographers and pilots as skilled men and, in Hakluyt's case, this image is reinforced if we consider the importance of Richard Eden's travel collection, originally dedicated to Queen Mary, for his editorial project.

3.2. The case of Spain: a critique of papal authority and geopolitical superiority

Richard Hakluyt and La Popelinière did of course emphasise some negative aspects of Spanish colonial expansion. Their critique of Spain can be divided broadly into three intertwined themes: a critique of the juridical foundations offered by the papal Bulls of Donation and diplomatic treaties used as the base for Spanish hegemony in the New World; a critique of Spanish cruelty towards the indigenous populations of the New World and against other European nations; and a racial stereotyping of the Spanish character.

Pope Alexander VI's bull *Inter cætera* divided the world between the Catholic Kings and the King of Portugal in 1493, and the diplomatic treaties of Tordesilhas (1494) and Zaragoza (1529) reinforced the juridical basis of Iberian colonial hegemony. Hakluyt's critique of these foundational documents was one of the main aspects of the negative image of Spain in his works, and, to a lesser extent, in La Popelinière's works. Both authors had a long tradition of anti-Iberian criticism to back them up on this issue. In his travel collection *Divers Voyages*

²⁷⁵ Samson noted how, in the Queen Mary Atlas, "where the Iberian Peninsula and British Isles are depicted together, there is a blank space where a coat of arms, presumably Philip's, has been scratched off, to the left of the Tudor armorial device." For Samson, "[t]his historical vandalism sought to erase all trace of a period when England was drawn into the orbit of the Habsburg empire and threatened with becoming a mere satellite state. [...] France is depicted surmounted by an open, non-imperial crown, dismembered in accordance with the belligerent objectives of the Anglo-Spanish axis that declared war in 1557." Alexander Samson, 'Mapping the Marriage: Thomas Geminus's "Britanniae Insulae Nova Descriptio" and "Nova Descriptio Hispaniae" (1555)', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 31.1 (2008), 95–115. For more on Diogo Homem's stay in London, see John W. Blake, 'New Light on Diogo Homem, Portuguese Cartographer', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 28.2 (1942), 148–60. For a new scholarly edition of the Queen Mary Atlas, see Peter Barber's edition of Diogo Homem, 'The Queen Mary Atlas' (London: The Folio Society, 2005).

²⁷⁶ Tyacke, p. 1730.

²⁷⁷ Tyacke, p. 1730.

(1582), Hakluyt included Robert Thorne's 1527 letter addressed to Edward Lee, English Ambassador to the court of Charles V. Thorne was a Bristol merchant based in Seville, and his letter was accompanied by a world map also printed by Hakluyt in his travel collection. Thorne's letter summarised the making of the Treaty of Tordesilhas and the series of grants given by different Popes to Portugal throughout their voyages from Cape Bojador (1430s) to the East Indies (1490s), along with references to the beginnings of Spanish expansion in the Atlantic. Hakluyt's editorial choice to print Thorne's letter gave an image of Spain and Portugal as a unified, albeit internally competitive, entity with hegemony over colonial expansion, guaranteed by Spanish and Portuguese cartographic knowledge and consolidated through treaties and papal bulls. In his letter, Thorne described the issue of the papal grant of Iberian jurisdiction over the yet-to-be discovered sea routes and lands before Spain and Portugal had even properly 'discovered' the spaces envisaged in the treaty. The Pope, argued Thorne, had made himself "Lorde and Judge of all", granting the Portuguese sole domain over eastward discoveries, and the Spanish over westward voyages, mirroring the Portuguese domains. The problematic division of the world into two was the central theme in Thorne's complaint, which would be replicated by Hakluyt and La Popelinière. In addition, Thorne argued that the late Portuguese discovery of Brazil in 1500 had compromised the Treaty's division and, overall, "none can verylye tell whiche hath the best reason They bee not yet agreed", with maps being the only trustworthy representation of the division of the world, "save those they have falsified of late purposely."²⁷⁸

By citing and choosing to print this passage, Hakluyt used Thorne as an authority for the history of Iberian discoveries, including the dispute over the spice trade with the archipelago of the Moluccas, the main source of commercial clove and nutmeg in the sixteenth century.²⁷⁹ In addition, the letter allowed Hakluyt to develop an important distinction between, on the one hand, the appropriation of the world by Europeans through colonialism, trade and

²⁷⁸ Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*, ed. by John Winter Jones (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1850), pp. 42–47.

²⁷⁹ The Moluccas became the centre of a Luso-Spanish diplomatic dispute. Portugal joined the nutmeg, mace and clove trade in the Moluccas, after the Portuguese Captain Afonso de Albuquerque annexed Malacca to the Estado da Índia, in 1511. After 1522, Magellan's circumnavigation reinforced the view of America as separate from Asia. Spain and Portugal, then, sought to establish an antimeridian, in Asia, to the imaginary of the Treaty of Tordesilhas. The Luso-Spanish dispute over the archipelago and, later, the Philippines continued even after the Treaty of Zaragoza (1529) between Kings Charles I, of Spain, and John III, of Portugal, which discriminated Portuguese and Spanish zones of influence in the Pacific Ocean. Luis Filipe F. R. Thomaz, 'The image of the Archipelago in Portuguese cartography of the 16th and early 17th centuries', *Archipel*, 49.1 (1995), 79–124; Luiz Felipe Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisboa: Difel, 1993), p. 187; A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire, From Beginnings to 1807. Volume 1: Portugal*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), I, p. 152.

geographical literature (that is, expansion *per se* as a common goal of the West) and, on the other, the exclusive division of the globe between just two Iberian kingdoms supported by the papacy. Within this logic, the choice to print Thorne's letter served, first and foremost, to critique the Spanish hegemony in the West Indies trade, and, to a lesser extent, the Portuguese predominance in the trade with the East Indies. Thorne's place in the structure of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, just after the patent letters given to the Cabots for their westward discoveries, supported the argument for the English precedence in the discoveries of North America and of the North-western passage to the East Indies. Hakluyt also criticised the consequences of the Treaty of Tordesilhas and Pope Alexander VI's bull in his manuscript 'Discourse of western planting', presented to Queen Elizabeth I in 1584. This encomium, as seen in chapter 2, supported Walter Raleigh's project of an English colony in North America, assuming the existence of a North-western passage to the East Indies. In the 'Discourse', Hakluyt focused on Robert Thorne's main argument of English precedence over the North-western passage and right to join the trade in the East Indies, even more than the critique of the Iberian treaties and papal bulls.²⁸⁰

La Popelinière also paid close attention to the determinant role of the papacy alongside the diplomatic treaties in dividing the world between Portugal and Spain. Again, there was a long tradition also in France of criticising the Iberian division of the globe. This is expressed by King Francis I's alleged dictum "Je voudrais bien voir la clause du testament d'Adam qui m'exclut du partage du monde" and by the expeditions to America from the 1520s to the 1560s, by Verrazzano, Jacques Cartier, La Rocque de Roberval, Laudonnière and Villegagnon, defying the Tordesilhas's division of the world.²⁸¹ La Popelinière, though, did not suggest a French redesign of the already discovered and divided world. In this he differed from Hakluyt's main argument for the English precedence over the colonial expansion into North America. For La Popelinière, the solution to the Iberian division of the world by the *Inter cætera* was to establish a French colony in a part of the world yet undiscovered by Spain, Portugal and England. This part was the southern, yet unknown, 'third world'.

Car estant le monde reparti en deux, pour le Portugais & l'Espagnol par le pape Alexandre 6. celuy là s'est contenté de courir vers Orient & cestuy cy à

²⁸⁰ Hakluyt, 'Discourse of Western Planting', II.

²⁸¹ Margaret Sankey, 'Mapping Terra Australis in the French Seventeenth Century: The Mémoires of the Abbé Jean Paulmier', in *European Perceptions of Terra Australis*, ed. by Alfred Hiatt and Christopher Wortham (London; New York: Routledge), pp. 111–34 (p. 111).

l'Occident, comme l'Allemand & l'Anglois au Septentrion. [...] Lesquels [the men needed in the colonisation of the South] ne peuvent estre tirez d'Espagne ny Portugal, si mal peuplez chacun sçait au respect de la France, laquelle peut mettre hors la cinquiesme partie de siens sans aucune incommodité. Ains en seroit plus honoree & peut estre mieux assuree que plusieurs ne pourroient penser.²⁸²

La Popelinière acknowledged the Iberian hegemony over the East and West Indies and did not contest the success of the German and English voyages towards the North. But he did not simply divert the argument to a new part of the world without criticising Iberian colonialism. He denounced the existing division of the world by commenting on the shortcomings of the Iberian peopling of their colonies. This is linked to a point also important in Hakluyt's denunciation of Iberian hegemony: the scarcity of population in Spain and Portugal and in their overseas possessions. This theme reappeared in both authors' discourses and will be explored subsequently. In the second book of *Les Trois Mondes*, La Popelinière built on his passage about the four-way colonial division of the world and emphasised an antipapal stance against the absolute legitimacy of the *Inter cætera*. This shift followed the argumentative order of the treatise itself. In the first book, La Popelinière had argued for the French participation in modern overseas expansion, which appeared as a continuation of the biblical, classical, and medieval history of voyages. In the second and third books, he narrated the discoveries of the New World, emphasising the Spanish and Portuguese predominance. In the second book, La Popelinière narrated the Spanish discoveries and, similarly to Thorne (and, therefore, to Hakluyt), highlighted the importance of the papal bulls. He also paraphrased Oviedo's quotation of *Inter cætera*. Later in the same book, he argued for the French precedence, alongside the English, in the discovery and exploration of North America by narrating Giovanni da Verrazzano's travel to Florida in 1524 in the service of Francis I, of France. Hakluyt also used Verrazzano's letter to Francis I in *Divers Voyages* as a piece of evidence for the existence of the North-western passage to the East Indies, which he of course argued should be in the hands of the English.²⁸³ Despite being used by the two authors with apparently different goals, the circulation in print of Verrazzano's account of his travel to Florida aimed at destabilising Spanish claims to that part of the New World, and indeed undermining the very logic of the papal bulls and the Treaty of Tordesilhas.

²⁸² La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 77.

²⁸³ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 277.

Expanding, therefore, on the political purpose of citing Verrazano's travel, La Popelinière copied Urbain Chauveton's refutation of the fundamentals of Spanish hegemony in Florida and the West Indies and used, after Chauveton, Cabot's discovery of Florida to argue for the English precedence. Furthermore, La Popelinière argued for the French presence, before Verrazano's voyage, in the voyages to the Bacallaos, in Newfoundland. As Anne-Marie Beaulieu has shown, although La Popelinière moderated Chauveton's most virulent anti-Spanish passages, he kept, in this context, the overall anti-Spanish polemics from the *Brief discours et histoire d'un voyage de quelques François en la Floride* (1579). According to Chauveton/La Popelinière, the Spanish precedence of occupation, the papal donation to the Catholic Kings, the Spaniards' deaths in the conquest were among the arguments Spain claimed for the hegemony over the West Indies and were used against any French claim of domain over Florida: "Les François (disent-ils) sont usurpateurs de la Floride & de toutes les costes des Indes où ils ont planté les armes de France".²⁸⁴

In the dialogue staged between the fictional French and Spanish explorers, La Popelinière/Chauveton started by giving voice to the Spanish explorer, portraying the French as "corsaires" in the West Indies and "maudits voleurs" of Peruvian silver and gold from Spanish ships, only to turn the Spaniard's oration into a harangue against Spain itself. In this double inversion, La Popelinière denounced the Spanish disregard for the missionary zeal of colonising Florida when the Spaniards dismissed the "lutheriens & huguenots" who went there to "pulluler des heresies", where the Spaniards had, instead, "planté la foy chrestienne avec la pique & la hallebarde."²⁸⁵ La Popelinière/Chauveton's line of critique of Spanish hegemony sought to refute the validity of the Bulls of Donation, denouncing Spanish violence and disregard for the missionary project.

In this rhetorical combat, it is eventually the French character who insists on the violent nature of the Spanish precedence in colonial expansion, by stating that "[the Spanish] n'en ont gueres advantage que ce que leur espée leur en donne". He also considers the original good purpose of the papal bull – converting and civilising new worlds – which had been compromised by the exclusivity of the division and had been corrupt by the Spanish rule of force rather than law or reason. La Popelinière/Chauveton's line of argumentation established that the Spaniards had wrongly used the donation in their own way, corrupting its purpose of

²⁸⁴ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 278.

²⁸⁵ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 278–79.

internationalising and directing the spirit of the conquest of Granada to the conquest of the Indies. The Spanish claim of exclusivity had also ignored the rights of precedence acquired by the French and the English over other parts of the New World, which could be ‘proven’ by travel literature. This allowed La Popelinière/Chauveton to conclude that “les Espagnols n’ont autre tiltre en ces terres que le droict d’occupation & de force” and to assert that the papacy “n’entendist jamais en priver les autres princes. Car ce seroit une injustice de donner ce qui n’est pas sien”.²⁸⁶

In a similar line of argumentation, Richard Hakluyt alluded to the Iberian failure to fulfil the papal bull’s objective of converting infidels and pagans. He attributed the missionary failure of the Spanish *conquista* to the Spaniards’ pride and avarice, who “pretending in glorious words that they made their discoveries chiefly to convert Infidelles to our most holy faith (as they say) in deed and truth, sought not them but their goods and riches”. In his epistle dedicatory to Philip Sidney in the *Divers Voyages* (1582), Hakluyt announced that the English overseas expansion could learn from the “manifold losses” of the Spaniards and Portuguese and “take a more godly course and use some part of their goods to his glorie”.²⁸⁷

The topic of the ‘hidden greedy agenda’ behind Spanish colonial expansion is framed by the critique of the papal support to Spanish colonisation. In chapter eight of ‘Discourse of western planting’, Hakluyt depicted the West Indies as being “barren”, “denuded”, “dispeopled”, and “held by Tyranie” by the King of Spain. According to Hakluyt, the English were not aware of the state of the Spanish colonies due to news “falsly given oute by the popishe Clergie and other his fautors to terrifie the Princes of the [Protestant] Religion and to abuse and blynde them.”²⁸⁸ The Spanish hegemony in the West Indies had thus turned, by the 1580s, into a sinful campaign of disinformation and violence against other Europeans and the Amerindians.

For Hakluyt, the representation of the West Indies as a site of barrenness and emptiness was caused by the sparseness of the Spanish presence in the colonies, which, in turn, perverted the purpose of colonisation to establish settlements. It was also a reflection of Spain’s barrenness in Europe, aggravated by the waste of resources as war unfolded in the Low Countries. In Hakluyt’s argumentation, “the bareness, desolation and wante of men in Spain

²⁸⁶ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 279–80, 292.

²⁸⁷ Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*, p. 14.

²⁸⁸ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 250.

together with these eighteen yeres civill warres [...] hath wasted so many thousands of them in the Lowe contries” that Spain could not mobilise more than some “very simple forces” in the West Indies. Hakluyt ends up dismantling the apparent might of the universal yet scattered empire of the Spanish Habsburgs, arguing that:

The provinces which he [Philip II] holdeth are indeede many, yet more denuded than ever was any Empire since the creacion of the worlde. Some of his countries are dispeopled, some barren, some so far asonder held by Tiranye, that in deede upon the due consideracion of the matter, his mighte and greatness is not suche *prima facie* yt may seme to be: And weare yt not that he doth possess such a masse of treasure out of the Indies, the French kinge of one onely kingdome with his onely people of ffrance were able to drive him oute of all his domynions that he hath in the worlde.²⁸⁹

Hakluyt may have been talking in abstract here, but may likely have been thinking about Dominique de Gourgues’s expedition to Florida against the Spaniards, in 1568. It is likely that he heard about his account while in Paris, and he probably also knew of La Popelinière’s use of it in *Les Trois Mondes*. Hakluyt’s point was to uncover the illusory nature of Spanish hegemony in the New World. The example chosen by him was the power the kingdom of France had, without an empire, to massacre Spaniards. This critique of an illusionary universal empire was put forward by Hakluyt via French travel literature, but in support of the English colonisation of North America.

Another relevant element of the colonial controversy, most prevalent in the Huguenot corpus, was the figure of the Amerindian ‘savage’, often in contrast to the figure of the Spanish coloniser. In Hakluyt, this comparison was expressed in his proposal of an alliance between the English and Amerindians against the Spaniards. Both La Popelinière and Hakluyt saw conversion to Christianity as the legitimate primary goal of colonial expansion and both denounced the war the Spaniards had declared against the Amerindians based on the papal bull (or its misinterpretation) as unjust. A key text in the early modern engagement with the problem of unjust war and the representation of the Amerindians was Bartolomé de las Casas’s *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552). The first translation into English appeared in 1583 and was based on Jacques de Miggronde’s translation into French of 1579.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 251.

²⁹⁰ Jonathan Hart, *Literature, Theory, History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 160–61; Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Tyrannies et cruautez des Espagnols, perpetrees es Indes Occidentales, qu’on dit le Nouveau Monde*,

In general, Hakluyt represented the Amerindians in different ways according to his objective in each passage of work. For instance, they could appear as historical allies against the cruel Spanish coloniser or as a passive, infantile and idolatrous people, who deserved the Spanish cruelty.

In chapter eleven of the ‘Discourse of the western planting’, Hakluyt paraphrased *The Spanish Colonie* (1583), the English translation of Las Casas’s *Brevísima relación*, to criticise the Spanish cruelty against the Amerindians. In a paragraph that ended up being struck out in the manuscript of the ‘Discourse’, Hakluyt proposed the formation of an alliance between the English and different indigenous and local groups, such as the Cimarrones, in the New World. The term ‘Cimarrones’ referred to different groups of black enslaved people who escaped the Spaniards across the West Indies. In this case, Hakluyt pointed to those who lived between the Spanish ports of Nombre de Dios and Panama on both sides of the Isthmus of Panama. Throughout the sixteenth century, they allied themselves with different French and English privateers against the Spaniards. In 1572, Francis Drake was helped by them in his plans to seize Spanish treasures in the Isthmus. In 1573, the Anglo-Cimarron attack on the Spaniards converged with the expedition led by the Huguenot cosmographer and pilot Guillaume Le Testu, who was killed in battle.²⁹¹ The usefulness of the Cimarrones, in Hakluyt’s project, was based on their history of revolting against Spanish *conquistadores*, something they had “already begun to do of themselves without the help of any Christian Prince”.²⁹² Hakluyt proposed to the Elizabeth I that the English should aim at “growing into acquaintance and familiarity with those oppressed nations” as part of establishing a colony.²⁹³ In the same ‘Discourse’, Hakluyt also referred to the importance of forming an alliance with the “savages of Florida” inspired by his reading the travel accounts of French Florida via La Popelinière’s *Les Trois Mondes*.²⁹⁴

trans. by Jacques de Migrode (Antwerp: François de Ravelenghien, 1579); Bartolomé de Las Casas, *The Spanish Colonie*, trans. by M. M. S. (London: Thomas Dawson, 1583).

²⁹¹ See Ruth Pike, ‘Black Rebels: The Cimarrons of Sixteenth-Century Panama’, *The Americas*, 64.2 (2007), 243–66 (pp. 255–59). Lestringant contrasted André Thevet’s account of the episode and Le Testu’s death in his manuscript *Grand Insulaire* (1586-1587) to the “hagiographic version” edited after Drake’s death by Philip Nichols, in 1624. See Lestringant, ‘La relève anglaise: la mission de Hakluyt en France (1583-1588)’, pp. 342–43.

²⁹² For a study on the scientific dimensions of the English colonisers’s ideas of Native American societies, see Chaplin, *Subject Matter*.

²⁹³ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 258.

²⁹⁴ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 295.

Hakluyt concluded the chapter by shifting the focus of his condemnation of Spanish cruelty against the Amerindians in the New World to a depiction of Spanish cruelty in different provinces of the Habsburg Empire.²⁹⁵ He signaled the weakness of the Spanish empire by commenting on the uncertainty of Philip III's rightful succession to the throne, a matter discussed at the time because Philip II had fallen ill in 1584. Hakluyt, then, summarised the problems of the Spanish empire by projecting the Black Legend onto a global level. The Spaniards, denounced Hakluyt, were “the scourge of the worlde”, a terrorising presence to “the people of the West Indies, but also to all Christendome and all the worlde beside”, making it more likely that “every province will seke their libertie” from them.²⁹⁶

Hakluyt also mobilised the negative representations of the Spaniards by other Christian nations in Europe. In his use of the Italian representation of Spain, Hakluyt mentioned the character of the “Spanish soldier as a ravisher of virgins and wives, and as the boasting Thraso and *miles gloriosus*” in Italian plays and comedies.²⁹⁷ He also alluded to the episode of the imprisonment of Pope Clement VI in the sack of Rome orchestrated by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, in 1527, and the similarities between the Turks and the Spaniards as builders of universal empires. For this last aspect, Hakluyt must have thought about the decisive victory of Charles V as part of the Holy League, in the Battle of Lepanto against the Ottoman Empire, in 1571, but he did not dwell on it.

Furthermore, Hakluyt reiterated the reasons why the French and the Protestant princes of the Holy Roman Empire should challenge the Spanish rulers. His list of provocations against the Spaniards is long: Charles V's imprisonment of Francis I in 1525 after his defeat in the Italian Wars begun in 1521, the Marquis de Santa Cruz's victory in the Azores, in 1582, over Filippo Strozzi's fleet defending D. António with support from the French and from Queen Elizabeth, and Charles V and Philip II opposition to the Protestant confession both in the Protestant German states and in the Low Countries.²⁹⁸ He cited Italian and French views of the Spanish as acting with “insupportable luxuriousness, excessive pride and shamefull

²⁹⁵ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 264.

²⁹⁶ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 264.

²⁹⁷ According to E. G. R. Taylor's, the *capitano spavente* or boasting military was a stock character of the Italian *commedia dell'arte*. Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 264.

²⁹⁸ The Florentine *condottiero* Filippo Strozzi was an ally of the Kingdom of France and of D. António, Prior of Crato. In July of 1582, his fleet was defeated in the Battle of Terceira by Philip II's navy, in the Azores, where supporters of D. António had still not recognised Philip II as the rightful heir to the Portuguese throne. See David B. Quinn, *England and the Azores, 1581-1582: Three Letters* (Azores: UC Biblioteca Geral, 1979), p. 213.

vaine glorie”.²⁹⁹ By doing so, he multiplied the fronts on which to pursue his pre-determined broad objective: to undermine the Spanish empire and defend the English colonisation of North America. By making diverse actors (French, English, Italian, Cimarrones) speak for him, he boosted his credibility in the ‘Discourse’ and presented the history of discoveries in a global perspective, involving multiple nations. For this, he gathered poetic or ‘fictional’ discourses, such as plays, and historical episodes as equally valuable evidence of the same problem.³⁰⁰ It is worth noting how the imprisonment of the Pope is used by the Protestant Hakluyt as a decisive negative aspect of the Spanish monarchy. Throughout the ‘Discourse’, Hakluyt deployed an anti-papal stance. However, in chapter 11 of the ‘Discourse’, this is suspended to develop a line of argumentation which assembled the people of West Indies, the Italians, the French, the Protestant Germans and the Dutch as rivals to a racially-stereotyped Spaniard, comparable to the stereotyped figure of the Turk – a common convergence, as Anders Ingram has shown, in early modern European texts.³⁰¹

Later in the ‘Discourse’, Hakluyt resumed the anti-papist rhetoric in a reaction to López de Gómara’s passage in the *Historia general de las Indias* praising the *Inter cetera* bull. This time, Hakluyt rejected the Pope’s temporal authority by contrasting passages from the Gospel of John and of the bull regarding the origin of kingdoms and empire.³⁰² Based on Christ’s reply to Pilates that His kingdom is not of this world, Hakluyt argued that the Pope did not have the power to divide the world, which included the heavens, by an imaginary line, despite the Pope’s echo of Christ’s words in the bull (“We trust in Him from whom empires and governments and all good things proceed”).³⁰³ The dismissal of biblical example in the Pope’s actions is not only related to Christ’s words, but to all the prophets. According to Hakluyt, no-one could ever bestow upon a kingdom a space “which they never sawe nor knew, nor what nor howe very large they were, or to say the truth whether they were extant *in rerum natura*”. This was still the case of the New World, argued Hakluyt, emphasising the relative novelty and still-pervasive ignorance about the distant lands and peoples.³⁰⁴ Here, all the aspects of the condemnation of Spain became intertwined. The Pope was presented as the anti-Apostle because of a donation of lordship over a place and people he did not even know existed. This

²⁹⁹ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 264.

³⁰⁰ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, pp. 264–65.

³⁰¹ Ingram; Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, pp. 257–165.

³⁰² Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 311.

³⁰³ John 18:36-38. *The Geneva Bible. The Bible of the Protestant Reformation (1560 Edition)* (Madison: Hendrickson Publishers, 2007).

³⁰⁴ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 300.

argument was, then, developed into a refusal of the papal bull on grounds of its lack of acceptance by the Amerindians. The correct course of action in the expansion project, opposite to the Pope's act, was to be found in the example of the Apostles and their first missions:

[The Pope] shoulde firste have gon himself and preached the worde of God to those Idolatrous kings and their people, and then if they woulde not by any means have repented, he mighte have pronounced the severe and heavie judgemente of God against them shewinge oute of the worde of God that one kingdome is translated from another for the sinnes of the Inhabitanes of the same, and that God in his justice woulde surely bringe some nation or other upon them to take vengeance of their synnes and wickedness.³⁰⁵

The lesson of biblical history had been disregarded by the Pope. As a result, the conversion of the pagans was compromised the moment the Spaniards opted for a *conquista* without evangelisation. Only with the evangelisation effort and in the occasion of the pagans' refusal to be converted could the "Idolatrous kings and their people" be conquered by another nation. This represented a type of *translatio* of sins across history where conquest punished a refusal to conversion. Nevertheless, Hakluyt considered the Pope and the Spaniards had not completed the first step but rather prioritised military *conquista* ahead of conversion.

The themes of the Amerindians' rights, Spanish cruelty and the fallibility of the Pope were also used by La Popelinière/Chauveton in the fictional dialogue from *Les Trois Mondes* commented above. La Popelinière's first point was to criticise Spain for the violent early contacts with the Amerindians. This argument, when analysed within the narrative of the whole treatise, allowed the reader to establish a correspondence between the Spanish violent treatment of the Amerindians and the original juridical 'violence' over indigenous peoples' rights in the papal bull. In the footsteps of Las Casas, and similarly to Hakluyt, La Popelinière tried to empty the bull's juridical validity based on the inexistence of Amerindian consent. In La Popelinière's case, this must be seen as reflecting the author's awareness of the increasingly international stakes of legal discourse and reason in the overseas extension of the state – this is clear in La Popelinière's praise of the presence of judges in the exemplary Portuguese America, in the third book.³⁰⁶ This is expressed in his attempt to compare different disputes and alliances on a global scale. For instance, the unjust treatment of the Amerindians by the Spaniards was

³⁰⁵ Hakluyt, 'Discourse of Western Planting', II, p. 300.

³⁰⁶ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 382.

paralleled to the Spanish violence against the settlement of French Florida, developed in the second book. This, in turn, allowed his reader to correlate the French and the Amerindian against a common enemy. The long ethnographical description of the Tupinambás, taken from Léry, also had an effect of ‘teaching’ his audience the complexity of the New World in the context of France Antarctique as a way to criticise the behaviour of the French colonisers which led to the failure of the colony – which he narrates in the third book. An example of the colonial controversy in the Huguenot corpus as suggested by Hakluyt, La Popelinière’s moralising analysis of the political and military interactions of different societies overseas resulted not only from his moderate view of the Wars of Religion but also from a theoretical convergence between legal and historical ideas in Renaissance France, as I explore in chapter 4.

La Popelinière argued that, if the Amerindians appeared to have consented to Spanish dominion, it would be only due to prior Spanish cruelty, which thwarted the validity of Amerindian ‘consent’. In the end, La Popelinière concluded that the Amerindians’ will opposed the donation’s end-goal to expand Christianity.³⁰⁷ As we have seen, La Popelinière raised this issue by using Urbain Chauveton’s text. The problematic recognition of the Amerindians’ will resulted from the unfairness of a donation of something over which the temporal authority of the Pope did not hold dominion:

Secondement, d’aliener une chose sans le consentement de celuy à qui elle est, voire mesmes contre sa volonté. Et si celuy qui donne ainsi est injuste: celuy qui le prend vaut-il mieux? Car c’est chose toute certaine que les Indiens n’ont jamais consenty à telle donation. Et quand les Espagnols la leur ont alleguée, ou ils s’en sont mocquez, ou s’ils ont consenty de leur faire part de leurs terres, ç’a esté à la charge que ils se lairroient tuer premierement & puis enterrer sous le sable.³⁰⁸

In addition to Chauveton’s work, La Popelinière’s argument about Spanish violence incorporated Oviedo’s chronicle of the Spanish conquest and explored Las Casas’s defence of indigenous rights to denounce the Spanish conquest. Finally, La Popelinière referred to the Digest, the compendium of writings on Roman law, which was widely used in late medieval and early modern Europe. He argued that any Spanish victory in the conquest following the initial violence against the Amerindians could not be just and legitimate as “la source &

³⁰⁷ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 279–80.

³⁰⁸ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 280.

occasion de la guerre ne l'est".³⁰⁹ He thus reached a conclusion similar to Hakluyt's commentary on the Pope's negligence of the missionary purpose of colonial expansion. The French historian entertained the papal bull's validity only to conclude that its interpretation by the Catholic Kings was incorrect and sinful for having ignored the mission of "faire prescher l'Evangille & reduire ces peuples à l'obeissance de Jesus Christ" in the West Indies. Alluding again to Las Casas and to Italian works which reinforced the Black Legend, La Popelinière assured his audience that the main evidence for Spain's theological failure in their colonial expansion rested in certain books "remplis de plainctes de l'avarice, cruauté & nulle compassion que les Espagnols ont du corps, bien & ame de ces naturels indiens".³¹⁰

Unlike Hakluyt, La Popelinière suggested that the vastness of the West Indies contributed to the difficulty and virtual impossibility of proving the conversion of all its peoples. In any case, it was Spain's practice of "la rigueur & violence de leurs armes" rather than the Portuguese "moyen de foy & de douceur" which allowed La Popelinière to develop a hierarchy of forms of colonisation, explored later in this chapter.³¹¹ His differentiation between two modes of colonisation opposed a Portuguese stereotype around *douceur/traffic/foy* and a Spanish stereotypical set of *violence/avarice/cruauté* overseas. The first set indicated La Popelinière's perception that the Portuguese built their empire through conversation in their trade and diplomacy in the East Indies. The concept of conversation, here, appeared as the opposite of violence. The category of faith most likely referred to La Popelinière's positive view of Jesuit missions backed by the Portuguese Crown. For him, it was an example of State reasoning towards expansion. Against this representation, La Popelinière emphasised Spain's negligence of the evangelising purpose of colonial expansion. According to him, the Spaniards acted by "la force, tromperies & plus estrange cruauté" because they ignored "l'avis des jesuites & autres eclesiastiques qu'ils menoient avec eux", who had advised them to practice *douceur* in their expansion.³¹²

Both Hakluyt and La Popelinière did represent Spain and the Spaniards in a negative light. This line of argumentation allowed them to make a case for other nations to join a shared yet competitive project of colonial expansion. It also prompted a Protestant platform against the Pope amidst the Reformations. But it did not compromise the common ground for

³⁰⁹ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 281.

³¹⁰ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 230.

³¹¹ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 280.

³¹² La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 382.

supporting colonial endeavours emerging from the pioneering advances made by Spain and Portugal. The instances of anti-Spanish discourse in their works, whilst extensive and, as we have seen, at times quite virulent, do not account for their overall representation of Spain. Therefore, it is worth moving past a binary historiographical split between Protestant and Catholic views of the colonisation, so we can understand both authors' ambivalent and at times positive representations of Iberian works and conquest.

3.3. The brighter side of Spanish expansion: colonial knowledge and maritime expertise

In this section, I analyse the instances of ambivalent and outright positive representation of Spain. These representations took the form of passages emphasising the exemplarity of Spanish knowledge on the history and geography of other parts of the world and, to a lesser extent, of the Spanish empire as the new Rome. As shown in chapter 2, Hakluyt and La Popelinière assembled numerous texts of geographical literature through a transnational network and used them to support English and French colonial projects, respectively. This flux of information often happened beyond Protestant and Catholic denominations. Whilst there are strong anti-Spanish elements in their editorial projects, a closer look also shows the authors' shared attention to the legal dimensions of empire building and the emerging rights of the Amerindians. The anti-Spanish passages justified France's and England's place in a history of discoveries dominated by Spain in the New World, but that same logic also encompassed ambivalent and positive representations. In this section, I focus on these aspects regarding Spain and, in the following section, I move on to Portugal.

In Hakluyt's early works and in La Popelinière's *Les Trois Mondes*, the anti-Spanish elements relied on the refutation of the Pope's temporal authority (more than on a critique of the treaties signed between Spain and Portugal), and on the stereotype of Spanish cruelty against Amerindians and other Europeans. Nevertheless, Spain was pointed out by La Popelinière as being one of the three nations to have launched the modern expansionist movement, an example of courage and zeal much in contrast to the "poverty" of the French in this regard:

Quant au but de mon dessein, je ne me suis propose autre fin que de faire entendre à noz arrière-neveux les merveilles des jugemens de Dieu en la decouverte des Indes Orientales & Occidentales, par les plus estrange effects que la nature produit jamais: & avec la tant louable gaillardise des Italiens, Portugais & Espagnols si curieusement hardis de s'exposer à tant de mors: la

pauvre pauvreté du François qui n’a jusque icy osé tenter si louable ny pareille
entreprise.³¹³

In the ‘Avant-discours’ of *Les Trois Mondes*, the bravery of Spaniards, Italians and Portuguese is thus compared, by La Popelinière, to the lack of courage of the French. The French historian began his praise of Spanish discoveries with Christopher Columbus’s travels. His deeds, he argued, became constitutive of history thanks to the work of Spanish historians, especially López de Gómara and Oviedo y Valdés. In other passages throughout all three books, both Spanish authors, referred as “des historiens espagnols” are repeatedly cited as authorities of history and geography and as an honourable example of the Spanish discoveries. Their “bien fait” rested on their memorialisation of the feats of Columbus publicly showing the recognition Columbus received from the Catholic Kings. This could be contrasted, according to La Popelinière, to the lack of colonial support from other Christian princes, particularly in France.³¹⁴

Throughout the passages concerning Spanish writing of the history of discoveries, La Popelinière constantly incorporated the works of Gómara and Oviedo, and to a lesser extent, of Las Casas. The treatise *Les Trois Mondes* did not refute the greatness of Spanish discoveries. Rather, it aimed at contributing to a long history of discoveries grounded in an Iberian-dominated geographical literature, pointing out both the shortcomings and the achievements of the Spanish and Portuguese. In this sense, the opening words of the first book of the treatise depicted a diverse and ambivalent assessment of the modern discoveries. On the one hand, La Popelinière claimed it had been God’s will that the new worlds were revealed to the Italians, Portuguese, Spanish after having remained hidden to the ancients. But then he compared two different “humeurs” in the Portuguese and Spanish discoveries. In this comparison, he argued that the Spanish cruelty, “comme ils confessent eux memes par leurs escrits”, was eventually punished by the difficulties they encountered in the voyages and the *conquista*. The punishment for their cruelty was the seditions in the *conquista*, which stopped them from enjoying “un si grand bien: qu’au merveilleux naturel des Indiens, richesses incroyables & autres choses prodigieusement estranges que la nature a produit en ces regions.”³¹⁵ He criticised the

³¹³ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 69.

³¹⁴ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 76–77, 117, 235.

³¹⁵ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 111.

Spaniards' hyperbolic belief that they had been the only chosen nation to profit from the wealth and wonders of the New World.

[I]ls se veulent d'autant plus prevaloir sur toutes les nations vivantes, qu'ils se persuadent avoir esté les premiers de tout le monde à les descouvrir & faire cognoistre à tout le reste des humains: comme si Dieu les avoit esleuz entre tous les vivans, seuls dignes de jouïr d'une tant extraordinaire faveur.³¹⁶

For, La Popelinière claimed, there had been a long history of voyages and discoveries which did not begin with the moderns ("l'industriouse diligence & hardie curiosité des anciens à naviger loing en pleine mer"). La Popelinière then went back and forth to his authoritative sources to assert both this continuity, and also to make sure that the merit of Spanish and Portuguese modern discoveries was not disregarded. La Popelinière summarised the ambivalence of the negative and positive aspects of Spanish colonial expansion around the theme of the art of navigation and the similarities to an imperial Roman model of expansion. The Spaniards (and the Portuguese) should be praised for having been the first among the moderns to pursue long-distance voyage and discover new worlds and for joining dangerous voyages in which they (especially the Spanish) lost many of their men. La Popelinière even argued that the Spaniards should not be blamed entirely for their cruelty, as they had themselves been victims, as Iberians, of the cruelty of the Romans. In this logic of 'cyclical colonisation', the Spaniards remained obsessed with finding silver and gold in the New World because the same goal had once been pursued by the Romans in the province of Hispania. Thus, antiquity – that is, the imperial politics of Rome – explained Spain's mercilessness for the "pauvres esclaves", "ces Indiens & autres esclaves qu'ils achètent à mesme fin" in the mines, in the West Indies:

D'autant que comme l'Espagne a tousjours esté estimee fertile en or, argent & autres metaux, les Pheniciens, plus grands voyageurs & plus fins marchans de leur temps, en ont tant tiré que les Africains, entre lesquels se vindrent en fin habituer les Cartageois, eurent envie d'en avoir leur part. Sur lesquels les Romains enjamberent si avantageusement, qu'ils leur osterent en fin toutes les minieres du païs, lesquelles leur estoient plus profitables que toutes celles ensemble qu'ils entretenoient és autres provinces: n'ayans pour leur avarice insatiable, plus de pitié des pauvres esclaves qu'ils achetoient & y faisoient

³¹⁶ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 111.

sans cesse travailler & mourir de coups, que les Espagnols ont ce jourd’huy de ces Indiens & autres esclaves qu’ils achètent à mesme fin. Somme qu’il n’y eut veine, entraille, ni partie interieure de la terre espagnole qui ne fust renversée & mise au soleil, par l’impitoiable avarice des Romains. Si que le pays en fut à la parfin tout ruiné [...].³¹⁷

This is a variation on the theme of *translatio imperii*, used by La Popelinière to connect the Romans’ exploitation of the Iberians (prepared historically by Phoenician trade) into the Spaniards’ exploitation of the Amerindians and dependency of the Spanish *conquista* on enslaved Black Africans. La Popelinière added that, in a way, the modern Italians had redeemed the violence of their ancestors, the Romans, by ‘providing’ Spain with Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci and the discovery of the New World. In this operation, La Popelinière established a geographical and historical interconnectedness and continuity of conquest and colonisation across different spaces in the world, in the example of the negative link, into the present, between the exploitative fury pioneered by Rome in the Iberian Peninsula and that of Spain in the New World.³¹⁸

In the third book, La Popelinière proceeded to compare different responses to colonial expansion according to different nationalities. He had obtained news about Francis Drake’s successful circumnavigation (1577-1580) and, wishing for more information, objected to the English court’s secrecy about his voyage. For La Popelinière, the news about new discoveries would benefit the English nation precisely in its exemplarity to other nations. Logically, then, it can be said that the profits emanating from discovery were divided among colonising or exploring nations. La Popelinière, then, argued that, despite the secrecy, it was possible to imagine the routes Drake would have taken chiefly because there was an established, shared corpus of geographical literature with a pattern of routes connecting a certain number of regions in the world. The English silence over a matter which should be of transnational interest was compared to the profitable works left by the Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, and written by the Spanish and Portuguese about their voyages and discoveries.

Outre plus, les Grecs, Romains, Cartageois & autres ont ils rien teu de beau qu’ils pensassent profiter à la posterité? Les Portugais & Espagnols, aussi

³¹⁷ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 125–26.

³¹⁸ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 125–26.

soigneux de leur profit particulier que ceux cy sçauroient estre, ont ils jamais rien caché de leurs voyages & descouvertes?³¹⁹

Starting from a critique of the English secrecy surrounding specifically the deeds of Drake, La Popelinière developed a eulogy of geographical literature in general. He argued that even the Portuguese and the Spaniards, so conscientious of the profit of discoveries, made most of their voyages public, with detailed information about the routes and through detailed maps. For La Popelinière, “tout bien doit estre communiqué” particularly because there were still some unknown parts of the world which needed to be revealed for the benefit of all. A fresh account of a circumnavigation, for example, could clarify whether America and Asia were contiguous or not, who were the inhabitants of the Antarctic pole, and whether the *terra australis* was indeed as rich and scarcely people as imagined. La Popelinière’s eulogy thus led to a definition of the purpose of travel and geographical writing. In addition, he emphasised the importance of “considerations du ciel & de la mer” for the improvement and learning of the mariners both in discourse and practice.

Tellement que si tous ne raportent leurs diverses & particulieres remarques pour de la conference d’icelles en faire en fin, par soigneuse remarque des plus notables accidens qui se passeront devant leurs yeux, une science parfaite digne pasture de ce grand esprit: nous vivrons, & nos riere-neveux par nostre faute, tousjours ignorans. Si que n’allans jamais droit, nous ne ferons tous que taster deçà delà, & comme aveuglez en plein Midy, choper à tous coups espesses tenebres d’une brutale ignorance.³²⁰

Indeed, the silence about Drake’s circumnavigation was partially kept by Hakluyt at the end of the 1580s due to the escalating Anglo-Spanish rivalries, so his first edition of *Principall Navigations* (1589) did not feature the voyage. Even after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the travel account, known as the ‘Drake leaves’ and mentioned already in chapter 2, was printed in only a few copies of the three-volume second edition (1598-1600), plausibly due to a last-minute editorial decision. In this context, Hakluyt’s editorial interest in Spain went as far back as to his older cousin, Richard Hakluyt, the lawyer, as we have seen already. The elder Hakluyt had maintained contact with the English merchant community based in Seville, Grand Malaga and St Lucar, which produced valuable sources of information about the West Indies

³¹⁹ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 401.

³²⁰ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 401–2.

trade for the English.³²¹ In the *Divers Voyages*, Hakluyt referred to having heard, from English merchants based in Spain, that Philip II was seeking an improved control over the navigation and discoveries in North America. In Hakluyt's interpretation, this was evidence both of Spain's weakness to maintain another colony in North America, and of the strategic value of such a region due to the assumed existence of the North-western passage, the central argument of the *Divers Voyages*. This would justify an English attempt to colonise North America. Moreover, Hakluyt strategically used Spain to support one of his long-standing ideas: the establishment of a school in London to teach the art of navigation, following (and improving on) the Spanish model of the Casa de Contratación, in Seville.

Whiche thing, that our nation may more speedily and happily performe, there is no better meane, in my simple judgemet, then the increase of knowledge in the arte of navigation and breeding of skilfulnesse in the sea men: whiche Charles the Emperour, and the king of Spaine that nowe is [...] have in their Contractation house in Sivill, appointed a learned reader of the sayde art of Nauigation, and joined with him certayne examiners, and have distinguished the orders among the sea men, as the groomet, whiche is the basest degree, the marriner, which is the seconde, the master the thirde, and the pilot the fourth, vnto the which two last degrees none is admitted without hee have heard the reader for a certaine space (which is commonly an excellent Mathematician, of which number were Pedro di Medina, which writte learnedly of the art of navigation, and Alonso di Chavez and Hieronimus di Chavez, whose works likewise I have scene), and being founde fitte by him and his assistantes, which are to examine matters touching experience, they are admitted with as great solemnitie and giving of presents to the ancient masters and Pilots, and the reader and examiners, as the great doctors in the Universities, or our great Sergeantes at the hiw when they proceed, and so are admitted to take charge for the Indies.³²²

Given the importance attributed by Hakluyt to the founding of such a school, it is worth highlighting how the lesson for a successful English colonisation of North America came, thus, from Spain. The Casa de Contratación, the Seville-based centre for all Spanish overseas trade and navigation, including the work of cosmographers and mathematicians paid by the Spanish

³²¹ E. G. R. Taylor, 'Introduction', in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, by Richard Hakluyt and E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), I, 1–66 (p. 12).

³²² Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*, pp. 14–15.

Crown – here, the names given are Pedro de Medina, Alonso and Jeronimo de Chaves – was seen as a model for England’s overseas expansion and trade.³²³ Hakluyt went on to defend the creation of England’s own Casa de Contratación through the experience of Steven Borough (1525-1584), an English mariner who had joined one of the English expeditions to Muscovy and had been taken by the Spaniards to visit the Casa during Queen Mary’s reign. Hakluyt had approached Francis Drake to organise such a school and a lecture on navigation, but the prospective lecturers, who Hakluyt did not name, demanded forty pounds for the work, twenty more than what Drake and Hakluyt had offered, so the plan had been put on indefinite hold by 1582.³²⁴ Learning navigation skills from “those that are experte in sea causes” would, Hakluyt defended,

breed more skilfull, connynge, and stowte pilots and maryners than other belonginge to this lande: ffor it is the longe voyadges (so they be not excessive longe, nor through intemperate Clymates as those of the portingales into their west Indies) that harden seamen and open unto them the secretes of navigation, the nature of the windes, the currents and settinge of the Sea, the ebbing and flowing of the maybe Ocean, the influence of the sonne, the moone, and the of the rest of the celestiall planets, and force which they have at sondry seasons upon the mightie body [...].³²⁵

The Spanish art of navigation played a determinant role in Hakluyt’s project of English colonial expansion (and it is interesting to point out here how it seems to be assumed that both Spanish and English voyages would be overall “moderate” in comparison to those of the Portuguese, presumably due to the latter’s often extreme length in time and perhaps the very harsh conditions endured in the waters south of the Cape). In the ‘Discourse’, the exemplarity of Spanish navigational skills served, also, as a reminder of how learning navigational expertise from Spain could have saved Humphrey Gilbert and the crew of the *Squirrel*, which shipwrecked in 1583 on their way back from Newfoundland.³²⁶

³²³ For a study on the Casa de Contratación, see Alison Sandman, ‘Spanish Nautical Cartography in the Renaissance’, in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. by David Woodward, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 1095–1142.

³²⁴ Richard Hakluyt, ‘Richard Hakluyt’s Preface to Divers Voyages, 1582. “To the Right Worshipfull and Most Virtuous Gentleman, Master Philip Sidney Esquire”’, in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), I, 175–81 (pp. 180–81).

³²⁵ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 272.

³²⁶ Edward Hayes’s ‘A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight’ was later printed in Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations* (1589).

[Charles V] ordeyned that no man shoulde take chardge to the west Indies that had not hearde the Reader of the same for a certaine space, and upon due examynacion were allowed as sufficient by him and others adjoined unto him as assistants to examyn matters of experience: which order if it had bene established in England such grosse and insufficient felowes as he that caste away the Admirall of Sir Humfryes company which an C. persons in her to the west of Newfounde land this tyme twelve months had not bene admitted to take so greate a chardge [...].³²⁷

Hakluyt's warning about England's disregard for skill-learning in matters of navigation and geography was placed in the chapter about the benefits that establishing a colony and a trade post in North America would bring to the English navy and trade. Once again, it encouraged the reader to take an example of the way the Spanish and Portuguese had profited from overseas expansion. Presented as "our neighbours", both crowns had "not onley mightily enlarged their domynions, marveilously inriched themselves and their subjectes, but have also by juste accompte trebled the number of their shippes, Masters, and maryners, a matter of no small momente and importance".³²⁸

In 1587, Hakluyt brought out a Latin edition of Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo* in Paris. Martyr's work had, as mentioned, been translated into English by Richard Eden, in 1555. David A. Boruchoff has pointed out the line of argumentation inaugurated by Eden and followed by Hakluyt regarding the ambivalence of celebrating the providential discovery of America while contesting Spanish hegemony over it.³²⁹ In his epistle dedicatory to Walter Raleigh in the 1587 Latin edition, Hakluyt celebrated, above the negative and positive aspects of Spanish discoveries, the writing of history and geography by Spanish authors, compiled and published by Peter Martyr over the first thirty years of the sixteenth century. For Hakluyt, Martyr had organised the Spanish achievements "partly in the discovery of the vast regions of the New World, partly in subjecting them to the power of Castile", following the chronological order and description of the places in his historical narrative. Hakluyt alluded, in this arrangement, to the *topos* of 'geography as the eye of history' (also mentioning chronology as the 'other

³²⁷ Hakluyt, 'Discourse of Western Planting', II, p. 272.

³²⁸ Hakluyt, 'Discourse of Western Planting', II, p. 273.

³²⁹ Chapter 8 'The Politics of Providence' Cruz, p. 111. Martin Brennan has contributed to Andrew Hadfield's work on Richard Eden by comparing it to Hakluyt's Paris edition of Peter Martyr's work. Michael Brennan, 'The Texts of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* Decades (1504-1628): A Response to Andrew Hadfield', *Connotations*, Vol. 6.2 (1996), 1-22.

eye’), which established a meaningful connection between geography and history. This theme is further analysed in chapter 4.

The relevance of Hakluyt’s epistle dedicatory for this section rests on the amplification of the praise of Spanish historians in Martyr’s travel collection, already echoed by Eden’s edition. An anthropomorphised America was made visible initially by the discoveries, but only entirely by the chroniclers and their rhetorical skills:

[Martyr] depicts with a distinguished and skilful pen and with lively colours in a most gifted manner the head, neck, breast, arms, in brief the whole body of that tremendous entity America, and clothes it decently in the Latin dress familiar to scholars.³³⁰

Hakluyt concluded by praising the ambivalence resulting from Martyr’s two sets of attributes of the Spaniards. On the one side, the Spanish constancy, stubborn spirit and “endurance in thirst, hunger, dangers, toils, watches, and in their frequent troubles”. On the other side, the Spanish were characterised by avarice, ambition, butchery, plundering, debauchery and cruelty.³³¹

From the praise of Spanish chroniclers and the importance of printing and translating their histories, Hakluyt then shifted to the praise of the Spanish voyages themselves. In Martyr’s travel collection, the Italian and Spanish accounts of Spanish discoveries in the service of the Catholic Kings and the accounts of Cabot’s voyages in the service of King Henry VII converged to strengthen Spanish colonial knowledge. Martyr’s travel collection could be used flexibly to make such arguments, and indeed *also* be mobilized against Spanish colonial hegemony, as it became apparent in the list of reasons given by Hakluyt to publish a Latin edition. According to this list, the reasons comprised making the Spanish voyages known to scholars who did not know the Spanish or Italian language, and to a wider English audience that, once understanding “how the Spaniards began and how they progressed, might be inspired

³³⁰ E. G. R. Taylor’s translation into English of the Latin original. Richard Hakluyt, ‘Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh by Richard Hakluyt, 1587. “Illustri et Magnanimo Viro, Gualtero Raleigho, Equiti Anglo, Cornubiae & Exoniae Stannifodinarum, Omniumque Regiae Maiestatis Castellorum in Iisdem Prouinciis Praefecto Generali, S.D.’, in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, 356–69 (pp. 363–67).

³³¹ E. G. R. Taylor’s translation into English of the Latin original. Hakluyt, ‘Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh by Richard Hakluyt, 1587’, II, pp. 363–67.

to a like emulation of courage”, and reminding his English audience of the Cabots’s precedence in the discovery of America (“a homely and familiar example of their own native quality”).³³²

In addition to Martyr’s Latin edition, in 1587, Hakluyt also edited the translation into English of the accounts of the voyages by René de Laudonnière’s, Jean Ribault and Nicolas de Gourgues to Florida, in the 1560s. This set of texts had been published, under Hakluyt’s commission, by Martin Basanier the previous year in Paris as *L’Histoire notable de la Floride, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelles par des capitaines et pilotes français*. In his epistle dedicatory to Walter Raleigh, Hakluyt supported the establishment of an English colony in Virginia. By then, as Taylor explains, Hakluyt had not yet heard about the outcome of John White’s survey of the Roanoke colony since 1585. To ensure the English avoided repeating the failure of the French colonies in Florida, he turned to the Spanish colonial expertise in their early discovery. The Spaniards had turned Hispaniola into a profitable place under a colonial mercantile perspective by planting sugarcane and ginger. According to Hakluyt, “if four men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit” in Virginia.³³³

From 1589 until 1600, Hakluyt wrote a series of epistle dedicatories and a preface to the reader to each edition of *The Principal Navigations*. Compared to Hakluyt’s other writings and commissioned editions and translations, his major travel collection was composed of predominantly English travel literature and marked by a post-Spanish Armada increase in the Anglo-Spanish competition over trade routes in the West Indies. Yet, in 1599, in his epistle dedicatory to Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, Admiral of England, Hakluyt recapitulated his previous arguments and evoked the lesson England had not learned from Spain: the need to train mariners in the art of navigation in a school modelled after the Casa de la Contratación, and the importance of Spanish historical and geographical writing.³³⁴

³³² Hakluyt, ‘Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh by Richard Hakluyt, 1587’, II, pp. 368–69. Hakluyt probably took the reference to Themistocles’s ‘sleepless nights’ over the Miltiade’s victory in the Battle of Marathon from Thomas North’s influential translation of Plutarch’s *Lives*. Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. by Thomas North (London: T. Vautroullier and J. Wight, 1579).

³³³ Richard Hakluyt, ‘Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh by Richard Hakluyt, 1587. Prefixed to the English Translation of Laudonnière.’, in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), pp. 372–78 (p. 374).

³³⁴ Richard Hakluyt, ‘Epistle Dedicatory to Charles Howard in the First Volume of The Principal Navigations (1599). “To the Right Honorable My Singular Good Lord, the Lord Charles Howard, Earle of Nottingham, Baron of Effingham, Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter, Lord High Admirall Of England, Ireland, and Wales, &c, One of Her Maiesties Most Honourable Privie Counsell”’, in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, 426–32 (pp. 429–30).

3.4. The case of Portugal: scholarly networks and the exemplary form of colonisation

In the previous two sections, I have explored the range of different representations of Spain in Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's pleas for colonial expansion. In this section, I expand the inquiry to include the representation of the kingdom of Portugal, the Portuguese empire in general, and the colonisation of Brazil in particular. How, then, does Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's representation of Portugal compare to the ambivalent role Spain played in both authors' imperial imagination? Generally speaking, Portugal was portrayed in close relation to Spain, but it also enjoyed some autonomy in the arguments developed. Hakluyt and La Popelinière understood Portugal in, at least, three interconnected ways: firstly, Portugal encapsulated a certain colonial vocation contrasting with the greed that drove the Spanish empire; secondly, its image emerged from an appreciated network of scholarly and diplomatic alliances involving D. António and his party, the Ambassador D. António de Castilho, and scholars including the internationally renowned humanist João de Barros; and, finally, the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil bore model character due to the particular way in which it combined various positive aspects of European expansion. I will here explore the second and the third aspects and include the first in chapter 4 as it closely related to the way history and geography were conceptually entwined.

As suggested in the previous sections, Hakluyt and La Popelinière treated Portugal and Spain as a unit whenever the authors' aim was to convince their audience of the unfairness of the Iberian monopoly on the East and West Indies as determined by the papacy and agreed between both Crowns. Alternatively, both authors saw the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the Italians as a group worthy of being praised as the pioneering explorers of the modern age. Under this interpretation, Iberian and Italian geographical writings about those explorations and the lands explored were highly appreciated and even granted model character by both armchair travellers. This is explicit in Hakluyt's multiple Iberian sources in general, and in La Popelinière's extended citations of Iberian works in *Les Trois Mondes*. In both cases, the goal was ultimately to identify an Iberian-dominated, but historically deep and geographically ample flow of explorations and writings which the English and/or the French could join by producing their own navigations and, above all, valuing them as part of that larger whole.

In this effort, Portugal emerged as a distinct entity central to our authors' pro-colonial discourses in particular. E. G. R. Taylor has shown how, for at least half a decade before shifting his attention to the Virginia enterprise, Hakluyt was committed in advancing the cause

for an English settlement in the Portuguese village of São Vicente, in southern Brazil, to gain some control over access to the Strait of Magellan. In 1579-1580, Hakluyt was still unaware of the outcome of Francis Drake's circumnavigation, but familiar with the growing English privateering campaign against the Spanish trade in the Indies. Elizabethan privateers including Francis Drake, John Hawkins, Thomas Cavendish and Walter Raleigh raided Spanish and Portuguese ships and took part in the slave trade between West Indies and West Africa. The news of this competition in the Atlantic space was brought back by the privateers to armchair travellers such as Hakluyt who, in turn, used it to support the idea of further colonial settlements.

Lisa Voigt's analysis of the role of captivity texts, which circulated among inquisitorial officers, armchair travellers, privateers in England, Portugal and Spain, corroborates the role of Portuguese authority in the Iberian sources used by Hakluyt and other English supporters of colonialism. The case of the Portuguese pilot Nuno da Silva is exemplary. Silva was captured by Drake in 1578, in Cape Verde, and became one of his two Portuguese pilots in his circumnavigation, thus turning into an authority in cartography and navigation. As Voigt explains, Silva's travel accounts "were captured and reproduced by Francis Drake, by the Spanish Inquisition and the viceroy of Spain, by the Portuguese navigator Lopes Vaz, and finally by the English propagandist and anthologizer Richard Hakluyt, who acquired both Silva's and Vaz's text from their pirate captors and published them in his landmark collection (1589 and 1598-1600)". Voigt goes on to conclude that "pirate texts as much as ships, and his [Drake's] relationship to the captured pilot and chart points up the different ways in which the English enterprise in the Americas followed those of Spain and Portugal: not only in time but also in being dependent upon Iberian sources of information, individuals, as well as texts."³³⁵

Hakluyt's most elaborate scheme for taking control of the Strait and of parts of Portuguese America was developed while the Portuguese empire was included into the Spanish empire, under the Iberian Union, in the year of 1580. It was a reaction to a dramatic and uncertain geopolitical development. Hakluyt proposed the establishment of an English colony in South America at the same time as he mobilised Queen Elizabeth's support for D. António I to take the Portuguese throne. The Anglo-Portuguese friendship contributed to Hakluyt's shift

³³⁵ Lisa Voigt, "An English Harvest of Spanish and Portugall Seed": Captives and Captured Texts in English New World Writing', in *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), pp. 255-319 (pp. 256-57).

from advocating an English colony between the Strait of Magellan and the Portuguese colony of São Vicente, in Brazil, in 1580, to the English colonisation of North America and use of the North-western passage to Asia, with the publication of *Divers Voyages*, in 1582.

Between 1581 and his death in Paris in 1595, D. António I spent some periods of his exile in England, under the support of Queen Elizabeth, and others in France, under the support of Queen Mother Catherine de Médicis. Until the 1580s, Portugal had enjoyed good trade with the Dutch and the English, but under the Iberian Union, relations became strained due to the growing Spanish embargoes to the English in the context of Philip's growing financial involvement in the Eighty Years' War.³³⁶ In his exile, D. António and his party of supporters remained an important group in the changing geopolitics between Spain, England and France. He circulated information about the Portuguese overseas possessions in France, to which La Popelinière and, most likely, Hakluyt, had access in Paris. Both defended D. António as the rightful King of Portugal and Hakluyt used the information he gathered to support the establishment of English colonies where the Spaniards and the Portuguese presence was sparse. While in Paris, Hakluyt wrote about the matter to Francis Walsingham, principal secretary of Queen Elizabeth I. In a letter from 7 January 1584, he reported his conversations with D. António and his party, whereby they proposed an alliance against Philip II.³³⁷ Besides intelligence gathered from D. António, Hakluyt claimed to have learned about new French interest in establishing a colony in North America but dismissed it as an implausible plan. In addition, he reiterated the necessity of hiring someone to lecture on navigation and mathematics in London. This time, he did so by invoking not only the Spanish model, but also some newly acquired knowledge about the logician Petrus Ramus's lectures on mathematics in Paris. The consideration of D. António's conversation as the main subject of the letter and its importance as a source of information alongside French sources such as the cosmographer André Thevet and the Duke de Joyeuse, Admiral of France, emphasised Hakluyt's representation of Portugal as a two-fold opportunity to rebalance the dominium over the modern discoveries and to learn about colonisation.

I have talked twice with Don Antonio of Portugal and with five or sixe of his best captaynes and pilotes, one of them was borne in Easte India. They al wish

³³⁶ Disney, I, p. 210.

³³⁷ Richard Hakluyt, 'Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1584', in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), I, 205–7 (pp. 206–7).

al prosperitie to Her Majestie and yourself and say that if the Queene of England will joyne with their Master, whose strength by sea they commende unto the skyes, that they know how the King of Spayne, our mortal enemy, might easily be met withal, and she much enriched. The number of Portingalls which hange upon the poore King are about an hundred or sixe score [...].³³⁸

Custódio Leitão, D. António's private secretary during his exile in Paris, was also inquired by Hakluyt, who used Leitão's account to convince the Queen in his 'Discourse of western planting' of the false grounds of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies and how they should be taken by the English. Due to the invective nature of the 'Discourse', Hakluyt used D. António's authority, echoed in his secretary's voice, to convince the Queen that the Iberian overseas possessions could be an easy target. Hakluyt stressed the misleading appearance through "rumours of power and secrecy" of the strength of Portuguese and Spanish overseas possessions in contrast to the fragmented or sparse government overseas his sources revealed. His 'unveiling' of the propaganda of an Iberian empire built on written discourses more than overseas government had a double-edged effect: such 'confirmation' was only possible through Hakluyt's network of information assumed the Portuguese authority in colonial matters while seeking to weaken the basis of their oceanic empire.

La Popelinière also touched upon the scarcity of Portuguese men in the East Indies and presented it as an element of an adapted and new form of managing their overseas expansion in contrast to the Spanish *conquista*. Hakluyt, in contrast, insisted on the likely similarity between the sparse presence of the Portuguese in the East Indies and the Spanish in the West Indies.

As the Secretary of Don Antonio, Kinge of Portingale, called Custodio Etan, tolde me lately at Paris, that the Portingales never had in Guinea, Bresill, and all the Easte Indies above twelve thousande Portingale souldiers whensoever they had moste, which was confirmed by one of the Kinges capitaines borne in Goa, then presente; and that they governed rather by gevinge oute of greate rumors of power and by secrecie, then by any greate force which they had in deede; so the like is to be proved of the Kinge of Spaine in his West Indies.³³⁹

³³⁸ Hakluyt, 'Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1584', I, pp. 206–7.

³³⁹ Hakluyt, 'Discourse of Western Planting', II, p. 250.

In his preface to *Divers Voyages*, Hakluyt made two further substantial references to D. António as a valuable source, alongside another figure, D. António de Castilho, the Portuguese Ambassador in London until 1582. In his travel collection, both are cited as authoritative figures providing evidence of the existence of the North-western passage, based on the voyages made by Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real and João Fernandes Lavrador to Newfoundland, at the end of the fifteenth century.³⁴⁰ Hakluyt's conversations with both Portuguese men took place in London and Paris, reflecting the transnational frame of his editorial practice and his network's interests in geographical literature and news.

Don Antonio di Castillo Embassador to her Majestie from Henry the kinge of Portingale, told me here in London the yere before his departure, that one Anus Corteriall Capitaine of the Ile of Tercera, in the yere 1574. sente a shippe to discover the northwest passage which arryvinge on the coaste of America in 57. degrees of latitude founde a greate entraunce very depe and broade without impedimente of Ise [...]. Don Antonio Kinge of Portingale shewed me in Paris this present sommer a greate olde rounge carde (out of which Postellus tooke the forme of his mappe) that had the northwest straite plainely sett downe in the latitude of 57. degrees.³⁴¹

Earlier in the same preface, the Portuguese Ambassador D. António de Castilho had been introduced by Hakluyt as an “excellent learned man of Portingale, of singular gravity, authoritie”.³⁴² Like his royal namesake, he figured in Hakluyt's writings as a potential ally to England against the Spanish monopoly in the West Indies and as a trustworthy witness of the details of Portuguese overseas possessions and trade. Unlike the royal D. António, though, the Portuguese Ambassador figured in Hakluyt's preface as a combined representation of a critique of the Iberian Union under Philip II and the lessons to be learned from Portuguese overseas expansion. The value of these lessons resided in a growing body of works in geography and

³⁴⁰ The Portuguese D. António de Castilho (c.1525-c.1596) was guarda-mor of the Torre do Tombo (1571-1590s), chronicler, holder of the Ordem de Avis and Ambassador to King Sebastian and King Henry in London until April 1582. Disney, II, p. 116.

³⁴¹ Hakluyt reported incorrectly both the year of the voyage and the name of the explorer. Vasco Eanes Corte Real and his namesake grandson were, indeed, donatary captains of the Ilha Terceira, from the mid-fifteenth to late sixteenth centuries. However, it was his father João Vaz and brothers Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real, with João Fernandes Lavrador, who sailed to North America in the 1470s and to Terra Nova (Newfoundland) and Labrador in 1501-2, respectively. Hakluyt, ‘Richard Hakluyt's Preface to *Divers Voyages*, 1582’, I, pp. 286–87; Disney, II, p. 116.

³⁴² Hakluyt, ‘Richard Hakluyt's Preface to *Divers Voyages*, 1582’, I, p. 175.

history which, whilst not being exclusively Portuguese, was often Portuguese when it came to the most decisive examples in his imperial imagination.

In Hakluyt's representation of Portugal, experience and knowledge about navigation, overseas trade and colonial settlement are inseparable. Therefore, in the same preface to *Divers Voyages*, Hakluyt grouped at once four accounts about the details of the New World and of Portuguese possessions as pieces of evidence for England's part in the discoveries. The first account is of D. António de Castilho, here described as "an excellent learned man of Portingale, most privie to all the discoveries of his nation", with whom Hakluyt affirms to have discussed matters of cosmography. Through Castilho's speech, Hakluyt inserts at once an evidence of the Portuguese superior understanding of the New World, and a case for England's colonisation of North America:

[D. António de Castilho] wondered that those blessed countries, from the point of Florida northward, were all this while unplanted by Christians, protesting with great affection and zeale, that if he were nowe as younge as I (for at this present he his three score yeres of age) he would sel all he had, (being a man of no small wealth and honour) to furnish a convenient number of ships to sea for the inhabiting of those countries, and reducing those gentile people to christianitie.³⁴³

From his conversation with D. António de Castilho, Hakluyt claimed to have learned about João de Barros (1496-1570), a Portuguese humanist, chancellor and factor of the Casas da Índia and Mina, a Portuguese institution comparable to the Casa de la Contratación.³⁴⁴ In Hakluyt/de Castilho's discourse, Barros is introduced as Portugal's chief cosmographer, and the embodiment of the exemplary unity between experience and knowledge. Like Castilho's wish to "[promote] the inhabiting of those countries and reducing those gentile people to christianitie" in North America – where the Portuguese had arrived about a century before

³⁴³ Hakluyt, 'Richard Hakluyt's Preface to *Divers Voyages*, 1582', I, p. 176.

³⁴⁴ The Casas da Índia and Mina were the Portuguese kingdom's houses for managing the trade with the East Indies, which included both coasts of Africa and different factories and forts around the Indian Ocean. On João de Barros, see Charles Ralph Boxer, *João de Barros: Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1981); Rubens Leonardo Panegassi, 'O pasto dos brutos: contexto de João de Barros, horizonte histórico e política nas Décadas da Ásia' (unpublished Ph.D., Universidade de São Paulo, 2013) <<https://doi.org/10.11606/T.8.2013.tde-05082013-093553>>; Zoltán Biedermann, 'Nos primórdios da antropologia moderna: a Ásia de João de Barros', in *Anais da História de Além-mar* (Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-mar, 2003), IV, 29–61; *Revista Oceanos: João de Barros e o Cosmopolitismo do Renascimento* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1996), XXVII; Marina Bezzi, 'Língua portuguesa e missão no império português das Décadas de João de Barros (1552-1563)' (unpublished MPhil, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2014).

Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* but did not stay – Barros had been “moved with the like desire” further south and is described as “the cause of Bresilia [Brazil] was first inhabited by the Portingales”. In 1533, Barros delivered a panegyric to King John III, supporting the protection of colonies against foreign invaders in a discourse inspired, as argued by Giuseppe Marcocci, by Machiavelli's view of the Roman imperial model.³⁴⁵ The following year, John III implemented the system of hereditary captaincies in coastal Brazil, donated to Portuguese noblemen. Among them, Barros and Aires da Cunha were granted the captaincies of Rio Grande do Norte and Maranhão.³⁴⁶ Although Barros never visited any of the captaincies, he deepened his defence of expanding the colonisation of Brazil in his first *Década da Ásia* (Lisbon, 1552) and the religious purpose of colonial expansion as well.³⁴⁷ In chapter 4, I show how the colonisation of Brazil from the 1550s onwards served as a key example of empire-making for both Hakluyt and La Popelinière.

Hakluyt seems to have been fascinated by Barros's involvement with the colonisation of Brazil and attributed him great credibility. Contrary to his description just cited, Barros was never named chief cosmographer of Portugal and did not publish his planned *opus magnum* on the geography of the world, instead producing three volumes chronicling the history of the Portuguese empire in Asia peppered with geographical descriptions.³⁴⁸ However, in this work known as the *Décadas da Ásia*, Barros announced his intention of writing a chronicle of the Portuguese in the New World and a work of geography with the full description of the globe, featuring descriptive geographical passages and mathematical projections of the Earth and the skies.

Hakluyt's reception of Barros as an authority in cosmography and someone directly involved in the colonisation of Brazil echoed aspects of the English scholar's overall representation of Portugal. In Hakluyt's discourse, Barros's actions mirrored Hakluyt's intention of making his writings a main promoter of new English colonies. Moreover, Barros's knowledge of cosmography mirrored Hakluyt's interest in geographical literature, including

³⁴⁵ Giuseppe Marcocci, ‘Machiavelli, the Iberian Explorations and the Islamic Empire: Tropical Readers from Brazil to India (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)’, in *Machiavelli, Islam and the East: Reorienting the Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, ed. by Lucio Biasiori and Giuseppe Marcocci (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 131–54 (pp. 140–41).

³⁴⁶ Disney, II, pp. 211–15.

³⁴⁷ *Década I*, V, chapter II: “Como, partido Pedrálvares, teve um temporal na paragem do Cabo Verde, e seguindo sua derrota, descobriu a grande terra a que comumente chamamos Brasil, à qual ele pôs nome Santa Cruz. E como ante de chegar a Moçambique passou um temporal, em que perdeu quatro velas”. Barros.

³⁴⁸ Boxer, *João de Barros*.

cartography and globes. And, finally, Hakluyt used Barros's detailed knowledge about the state of Brazil and the two D. Antónios' knowledge of Florida to inspire solutions for the relative absence of English activities from the modern discoveries. The passage on Barros' cosmographical authority is followed by a description of Brazil, most likely representing the colony of São Vicente in the far South of the Portuguese zone of influence, which was the target of English incursions and colonial schemes in the 1580s.³⁴⁹

Moreover he [D. António de Castilho] added that John Barros, their chief Cosmographer, being moved with the like desire, was the cause of Bresilia was first inhabited by the Portingales: where they have nine baronies or lordships, and thirty engennies or suger milles, two or three hundred slaves belonging to eche myll, with a Judge and other officers, and a Church: so that every mill is as it were a little commonwealth; and that the country was first planted by such men as for small offences were saved from the rope. This spake he not only unto mee and in my hearing, but also in the presence of a friend of mine, a man of great skil in the Mathematikes. If this mans desire might be executed, we might not only for the present time take possessio of that good land, but also in short space by Gods grace finde out that shorte and easie passage by the Northwest, which we have hitherto so longe desired, and whereof we have made many good and more then probable conjectures: a few whereof I think it not amisse here to set downe, although your worship know them as well as myselfe.³⁵⁰

This passage is important at two levels. Firstly, it depicts exemplarily the desired intertwinement of virtues in men with up-to-date cosmographical, colonial and diplomatic knowledge about different parts of the New World (in this case, an unlikely combination of the North-western passage and the region between Magellan's Strait and São Vicente). Hakluyt aimed here at guiding his English audience to imagine itself engaging in a project that continued a Portuguese tradition of excellence, taking it even further. Indeed, I would argue that Hakluyt portrays himself as an English Barros of sorts in these passages, hoping to echo and attach the credibility of an established empire onto his own proposal. Following the same reasoning, Hakluyt referred to Barros and Castilho again five years later in his English

³⁴⁹ Sheila Moura Hue, 'This Voyage Is as Good as Any Peru-Voyage. The Minion of London in Brasil (1581)', *História*, 32.1 (2013), 31–52.

³⁵⁰ E. G. R. Taylor's footnote suggests that Hakluyt's mathematician friend is most probably Thomas Hariot or Walter Warner, contemporaries of Hakluyt in Oxford. Hakluyt, 'Richard Hakluyt's Preface to Divers Voyages, 1582', I, p. 176.

translation of René de Laudonnière's collection of three French voyages to Florida in the 1560s.³⁵¹

The second level at which the passage quoted above operates is that of the representation of the actual colonial presence on the ground. It combines geographical vagueness (we are not told where exactly those mills are) with the apparent precision of a socio-economic Utopia, allowing men with minor flaws to build a new society, apparently in constructive cooperation with nature and the Amerindian population. This was a theme dear to Hakluyt. In the epistle dedicatory to Walter Raleigh of 1587, Hakluyt depicted the Portuguese establishment of sugar plantations in their colonies of Madeira, Açores, São Thomé and Brazil as the exemplary "maner of proceeding" and as a step to be followed by the English. This was a sign of the exemplary Portuguese expertise in establishing themselves in sometimes hostile, albeit potentially fertile environments, and building up new economic, social and governmental structures from scratch, as Hakluyt hoped the English could do, too.

The Portugals also at their first footing in Madera, as John Barros writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mightie woodes for timber, whereupon they called the Ilande by that name. Howbeit the climate being favourable, they enriched it by their own industrie with the best wines and sugers of the world. The like maner of proceeding they used in the Isles of the Assores by sowing therein great quantitie of Woad. So delt they in S. Thomas under the Equinoctial & in Brasil & sondry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit.³⁵²

In this list of exemplary Portuguese possessions and colonies, an important step of the establishment of an exemplary colonial government was the peopling of the land by convicts from the metropole. In Hakluyt's proposal, this practice allowed to improve the body politic on two fronts, by guaranteeing the good functioning of the State in Europe, and by repurposing the Crown's convicted subjects to build a renewed Christian endeavour overseas. The Portuguese – and to some extent the Spanish – experience in the East and West Indies was proof, to Hakluyt, that the conquest and colonisation of new worlds did not require a large

³⁵¹ Hakluyt, 'Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Ralegh by Richard Hakluyt, 1587'; René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *A notable historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French captaynes vnto Florida*, ed. by Martin Basanier, trans. by Richard Hakluyt (London: Thomas Dawson, 1587).

³⁵² Hakluyt, 'Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Ralegh by Richard Hakluyt, 1587', pp. 375–77.

number of men if it was conducted efficiently, starting with “private men” carrying the right spirit of enterprise, and a modest corps of troops to defend key positions:

The like conqueste of Brasilia and annexing the same to the kingdome of Portugal was first begunne by meane and private men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, Ambassadour here for that realme, & by his office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoveries, assured me in this citie within these sixe yeeres. [...] I say further, that these two yeares last experience hath plainly shewed that wee may spare tenne thousand able men without any misse. And these are as manie as the kingdome of Portugal had ever in all their garrisons of the Assores, Madera, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Mallacca, the Moluccoes, Amacan, and Macao upon the cost of China. Yea this I say by the confession of a singuler expert men of their owne nation (whose names I suppress for certaine causes) which have beene personally in the East Indies, and have assured mee that their kings had never above ten thousand natural borne Portugals (their slaves excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories.³⁵³

The rest of the passage emphasised the role of autopsy when learning about the discoveries and colonisation from other nations, which will be detailed in chapter 4. Hakluyt’s improved access to Portuguese material and scholars while in France may be one of the reasons why it is the Portuguese experience that is presented as the most trustworthy. Indeed, there are similar elements in the Spanish colonial expansion, such as the low number of Spaniards in their colonies, which is commented by Hakluyt, as presented in previous sections. However, those aspects in the Spanish realm are presented only as a weakness and opportunity to the English to challenge their hegemony in the New World.

Both our authors used allegories and classical examples to defend the model of forced or state-sanctioned migration used by Iberian powers, especially by the Portuguese. By linking this practice to a long history of examples, the modern navigation and colonisation gained a stronger pedagogical appeal. The possibility of learning from it and reproducing a form of colonisation rested on the underlying Christian universalism in the unfolding of the known world. La Popelinière was as adamant as Hakluyt about how the steps to secure a perfect

³⁵³ “Which also this presente yeere I sawe confirmed in a secrete extract of the particuler estate of that kingdome and of everie government and office subiect to the same, with the severall pensions thereunto belonging.” Hakluyt, ‘Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh by Richard Hakluyt, 1587’, pp. 375–77.

government overseas were to be learned from the Iberian experience. According to La Popelinière, too, the ‘purge’ or exit of criminals from the metropole would benefit the prince’s government in different ways, namely extending the imperial dominion to other regions and diverting peoples’ ‘passions’ from mutinies to a military purpose. He likened this to the bloodletting conducted by good physicians to avoid harmful or exceeding humours from turning into a disease.

C’est où les princes de ce temps devoient faire monstre de l’inutile puissance de leurs subjects, soit pour illustrer, estendre ou enrichir leur estat: soit pour divertir es passions des plus mutins, pour le continuel exercice des armes que tous grandes princes ont tousjours jugé necessaires au plus seur entretien d’un estat: ressemblans au bon medecin qui purge par sueurs, evacuation de sang corrompu, ou autrement le corps cacochime & plein de mauvaises humeurs, pour obvier à la maladie qui le saisiroit aussi tost.³⁵⁴

His comparison between the prince’s duty of expelling less salutary subjects from his dominion and the benefits of bloodletting establishes an intriguing bridge between geography, history, and Galenic medical doctrine. In this bridge, the unifying operation seemed to be the extrapolation of the description of particulars into a general knowledge, narrative or image.³⁵⁵ In La Popelinière’s case, the analogy between a medicinal instrument of cure – the bloodletting – and a step of colonisation extrapolated the knowledge of particulars into a moralising model of Portuguese ‘mode of colonisation’.

La Popelinière praised specifically the Portuguese policy of *degredo*, by which penal exiles were sent to distant colonies. According to the French historian, its positive value came from the classical examples of the Greeks and Romans, whose convicts worked in mines, roads and “autres oeuvres que la Republique jugeoit necessaires ou profitables à l’Estat”. Comparatively, the Spanish *conquista* had been compromised by the character of the *conquistadores*, as La Popelinière contended. The violence of the *conquista* in the New World originated in the mercenaries and officers who did not go back to their expected offices in the

³⁵⁴ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 78.

³⁵⁵ Carlo Ginzburg and Nancy G. Siraisi have explored the epistemological links between medicine and history. Nancy G. Siraisi, *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2007), p. 24; Carlo Ginzburg, ‘Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm’, in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. by John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 96–125. To my knowledge, their comparison around centrality of sight and evidence has not been extended yet to geography in the sixteenth century.

body politic after the conquest of Granada. Consequently, Spain had exported and universalised their seditions and mutinies among the Amerindians. According to La Popelinière, this was in stark contrast to Portugal's practice of peopling Brazil with *degredados*. By reallocating members of the body politic in a profitable and common endeavour, the Portuguese colonial policy diverged also from that of France, which, La Popelinière regretted, killed most of its convicts.

[E]n Portugal [les rois ont] peuplé le Bresil de semblables ames: à l'exemple des Grecs, Romains, & plusieurs autres nations qui tiroient ainsi profit pour le public des comdemnez à travailler aux minieres, carrieres & autres oeuvres que la Republique jugeoit necessaires ou profitables à l'Estat: bien autrement que nous qui faisons tout mourir, fors peu de belistres qu'on envoie aux galeres.³⁵⁶

While La Popelinière used the analogy between political and human bodily wellbeing, Hakluyt resorted to an analogy between politics and nature built around an appreciation of bees and beehives. As Jonathan Woolfson has argued, bees occupied a particular place in the Renaissance economy of nature, beyond the longstanding tradition of animals as moralising metaphors for politics, religion and gender roles.³⁵⁷ Hakluyt's short yet relevant reference to the correspondence between politics and nature attests to a relative agency of non-human agents in history, as explored in recent years by the emerging fields of animal studies and environmental history.³⁵⁸ In his dedicatory epistle to Philip Sidney, Hakluyt referred to the bees as a metaphor and inspiration for solving the general overpopulation of England and particularly to that of criminals that "pestered" English prisons according to Hakluyt. They should be sent to America, which was conveniently characterised as being fairly close to England ("within six weeks sayling, [...] seem to offer themselves to us, stretching nearer unto her Majesties Dominions then to any other part of Europe") yet still "unpossessed by any Christians". The belief in the proximity between England and North America was in fact an

³⁵⁶ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 78.

³⁵⁷ Jonathan Woolfson, 'The Renaissance of Bees', *Renaissance Studies*, 24.2 (2010), 281–300 (p. 282).

³⁵⁸ For an introduction to the representation of bees in early modern Europe, see Peter Burke, 'Fable of the Bees: A Case-Study in Views of Nature and Society', in *Nature and Society in Historical Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For a study on political representations of the beehive in seventeenth-century England, see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, 'The Beehive as a Model for Colonial Design', in *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, ed. by Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1995), pp. 272–92. For general studies on the place of animals in early modern history, see Erica Fudge, *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures* (University of Illinois Press, 2004); Miguel de Asúa and Roger French, *A New World of Animals. Early Modern Europeans on the Creatures of Iberian America* (Aldershot: Routledge, 2005).

important point of propaganda disseminated by Hakluyt's contemporaries, John Dee and Humphrey Gilbert.³⁵⁹ This proximity could now be brought together with the natural swarming that saw bees leave overpopulated hives to settle in the nearest convenient place and create a new society:

We reade that the Bees whe' they grow to be too many in their own hives at home, are wont to be led out by their Captaines to swarme abroad and seeke themselves a new dwelling place. If the examples of the Grecians and Carthaginians of old time and the practise of our age may not move us, yet let us learne wisdom of these small weake and unreasonable creatures.³⁶⁰

For both Hakluyt and La Popelinière, establishing an overseas colony should follow a series of steps for ensuring a profitable and Christian government. It should also improve and convert some of the English and French kingdoms' weaknesses and faults into colonial virtues. The problems of overpopulation and idleness could be solved in the metropole and while empires could be built by peopling pagan and/or barren lands. In both authors' discourse, Portugal was chosen as the most credible evidence to convince their audiences to pursue similar actions.

So far, I have analysed Richard Hakluyt's representation of Portugal in the prefatory material to his travel collections, to works he commissioned or translated, and in the 'Discourse of western planting'. He praised his Portuguese network of men versed in voyages and claimed a moral and practical superiority for the Portuguese way of colonising various parts of the Atlantic world, as opposed to Spanish forms of colonisation. The representation of Portugal and its expansion in La Popelinière's *Les Trois Mondes* differed only slightly. Similarly to Hakluyt, La Popelinière claimed to have talked to Portuguese and Spanish individuals as a source of information for the exemplarity of Portugal. This added credibility to the exemplarity of the Portuguese voyages as narrated in his *Les Trois Mondes* since most of treatise covers the history of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries. For La Popelinière, the skills and knowledge of modern Iberian explorers were superior to those of Jason and the Argonauts, or the Persian and Greek captains whose voyages he narrated in the first book of the treatise. In praising the superiority of Iberian voyages, and by claiming that "la navigation & longe pratique de [la

³⁵⁹ Nate Probasco, 'Cartography as a Tool of Colonization: Sir Humphrey Gilbert's 1583 Voyage to North America', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 67.2 (2014), 425–72 (pp. 433, 449).

³⁶⁰ 'To the right worshipfull and most vertuous Gentleman master Phillip Sydney Esquire' Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, fol. 1r. Hakluyt, 'Epistle Dedicatory to Philip Sidney in *Divers Voyages* (1582)', I, p. 176.

mer], est en cecy plus necessaire que le beau langage”, La Popelinière aimed to compensate for his own lack of experience, despite having said that he had “veu & prattiqué sur mer avec les Portugais & Espagnolz”.³⁶¹

Regarding specifically the Portuguese, La Popelinière praised their trade in Asia and their colonisation of Brazil in opposition to the failure of France Antarctique, the attempt to establish a Huguenot colony in Rio de Janeiro between 1555 and 1558. As a result, a Portuguese exemplary ‘model’ of colonisation emerged in the third book of the treatise, where La Popelinière narrated “les povres essais que la nation françoise fit à la descouvertes, conquestes & peuplades de l’autre portion americaine, dite le Bresil & des Portugais, Tierra de Sancta Cruz, où vous ne verrez choses moins estranges qu’en tout ce qui vous a esté deduct cy devant”.³⁶²

The three books of *Les Trois Mondes* can, despite their heterogenous contents, be organised into the following sequence of themes: an introduction to the classical and modern geographical and historical knowledge of the world, followed by the Spanish discoveries, and eventually the Portuguese discoveries.³⁶³ Overall, the representation of each colonial nation varied, as I have discussed already. The Spanish, Portuguese and Italians could be mentioned as groups providing an example for French colonial expansion:

Voyons donc l’habillesse & insuffisance du François: laquelle rapportée à la generosité de l’Italien, Portugais & Espagnol, incitera peut estre, mais d’une passion honteuse, le coeur de nos contemporains & survivans à plus haut entreprendre & se mieux conduire que nous n’avons faict jusques icy.³⁶⁴

When mentioned separately, though, Spain differed from Portugal in La Popelinière’s treatise. In the second book, for example, La Popelinière narrated the successive French attempts to establish a French colony in Florida and their successive battles against the Spaniards. In this context, La Popelinière expressed no sympathy for the Spanish, but rather defended the English precedence in North America by citing the letter patents given by King Henry VII to the Cabots, at the end of the fifteenth century. Thus, in the second book, the narrative of the failure of French Florida prompted a defence of English North America as a

³⁶¹ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 152.

³⁶² La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 359.

³⁶³ Beaulieu, pp. 31–32.

³⁶⁴ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 253–54.

critique of Spain: “Ce fut donc ce Gavoto qui descouvrit le premier la Floride pour le roy d’Angleterre, de sorte que les Angloix y ont plus de droict que les Espagnols, si pour avoir droit sur un pays il suffist de l’avoir veu le premier”.³⁶⁵

A third kind of engagement, where one senses both a pan-Iberian continuity and a singling out of the Portuguese as good colonisers, appears in the third book, in the context of the narrative about the failure of France Antarctique. After paraphrasing Jean de Léry’s account of France Antarctique from the 1550s, the French historian concluded that

[...] tout le fruit de l’entreprise de Villegangnon mal conduite & malheureusement executée, fut un peu de renom, que les differends de religion qu’il continua depuis jusques à la mort par escrits imprimez contre les protestants, luy acquirent parmy le peuple françois: frustré par sa propre faute d’un renom eternal semblable à celluy que Christofle Colomb Genoï, Americ Vespuce Florentin, les Pizarres, Cortez, Albuquerque, Pedralvarez & autres capitaines espagnols & portugais ont acquis par l’heureux progrez & louable fin de pareille entreprinse. Somme que le gouverneur du Bresil [Mem de Sá] pour le roy de Portugal [D. Sebastian] s’asseura de toute ceste coste: en laquelle les François dans peu de mois deliberoient de descendre à centaines pour y establir sous Villegangnon un lieu de refuge à tous ceux qui tourmentez pour quelque occasion que ce fust, eussent mieux aymé suivre le hazard du bien & du mal qu’ils y eussent peu treuver.³⁶⁶

La Popelinière’s representation of France Antarctique as a failed Huguenot colony went hand in hand with an appreciation of Portugal as the ‘better’, more successful coloniser of Brazil, superior even to the praised Spanish and Italian pilots listed in the same passage. It is interesting to note that the reference here was not to Barros and the early system of hereditary captaincies, established in the 1530s, but to the Portuguese Crown’s second attempt at organising its emerging colony, with the dispatch of the first governor general Mem de Sá in 1549 (which was, of course, an initiative taken under John III, not Sebastian).³⁶⁷

Interestingly as well, the success of the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil, contrasting with the failure of France Antarctique, was related to the earlier Portuguese experience in Asia.

³⁶⁵ ‘Article 11. Les Espagnols n’ont les premiers descouverts les Indes: mesmement la Floride.’ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 272.

³⁶⁶ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 376–77.

³⁶⁷ For a study of the institution of *governo geral* and the making of Estado do Brasil, see Pedro Puntoni, *O Estado do Brasil. Poder e política na Bahia colonial (1548-1700)* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2014).

Back in the first book of *Les Trois Mondes*, in his geographical descriptions of the Old World (Europe, Africa, and Asia), La Popelinière had described the purpose and details of the Portuguese voyages to the East Indies. He had also emphasised the consequences of these voyages to Portugal itself. According to La Popelinière, as we have seen, the Spaniards were cruel because they repeated the cruelty inherited from the Romans; when they met societies in the New World so different from them, the confusion and wonder hindered their progress.³⁶⁸ The Portuguese, on the other hand, admired the societies they encountered in the East Indies, and learned from them. For La Popelinière, the Asians were, for the most part, brave, subtle, obedient to their leaders, disciplined and equipped with many types of weapons and other means to resist attempts at colonial violence.³⁶⁹ La Popelinière emphasised how politically, culturally and geographically inferior Portugal was compared to the nations in the East Indies and how this inferiority forced Portugal to adapt its expansion to the superiority of these Asian nations in the first half of the sixteenth century:

En [l'Asie maritime] les Portugais ont fait quelques conquestes, basty des citadelles & certaines villes pour la seureté de leur trafic: le tout estant bien peu de chose à comparaison de ce surquoy ils n'ont droict aucun. Ce n'a pas esté faute de volonté, ains de puissance: joint qu'ilz ont trouvé des gens courageux, subtils, & qui ne se sont laissez gourmander comme ont fait les Indiens Occidentaux, tres-cruellement traitez par la nation espagnole, laquelle a fait d'un pays peuplé, un desert horrible. [...] Qui plus est, encor que nous ayons veu de grandes victoires obtenuës par les Portugais, si est-ce qu'à la fin ils se lasserent les premiers de faire la guerre, ayans appris aux Indiens de combattre mieux que ils ne faisoient y a cinquante ou soixante ans. [...] A cause de quoy, force fut au roy de Portugal & à son conseil, d'aviser à un autre moyen de maintenir l'estat des Indes que par les armes veu que la guerre consommoit peu à peu toutes les force du royaume (petit, pauvre, mal peuplé & peu aguerry) qui estoient necessaires pour d'autres endroits.³⁷⁰

In other words, the Portuguese may have conducted military activities in the East, but they soon learned to devise other, more peaceful strategies to build their empire in those regions. From the 1550s onwards, the Portuguese progressively shifted from the institutionally heterogenous approach to East Indies to a series of juridical and economic solutions to the

³⁶⁸ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 168.

³⁶⁹ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 168.

³⁷⁰ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 167.

colonisation of Brazil.³⁷¹ These passages are followed by a chapter on the sciences and arts of present-day India and China. La Popelinière then concluded that the Portuguese had to “practiquer un autre expedient que l’effort de leurs armes, pour s’habituer & continuer leur trafic en ces pays”.³⁷² This represented the shift from the aggressive Portuguese policy in the East until 1515 to the consolidation of a slightly less violent, commercially successful Portuguese Estado da Índia, based in Cochin and later Goa, to manage the Portuguese fortresses and trade in Africa and Asia.³⁷³ La Popelinière praised, at once, the superiority of Asia in the Old World and its encounter with Portugal, which had to learn to prioritise diplomacy and trade over permanent conquest. The French historian also saw the establishment of Jesuit missions in the Indies as the third distinctive and positive trait of a ‘new’ Portuguese mode of colonisation – an aspect that reinforces Beaulieu’s suggestion of La Popelinière’s affiliation with the *politiques* in French Wars of Religion. It made explicit the contrast between the usefulness of the Society of Jesus, possibly due to its international composition and universalising mission, and the Spanish violent misuse of the papacy’s division of the world.

Après beaucoup de discours au conseil de Portugal pour trouver quelque’entre-deux qui à l’advenir adoucist & retint aucunement les Indiens, il fut avisé de s’ayder de la religion: quelques uns se representans le fruict que l’on en voioit estre procedé au royaume de Congo & autres endroits, par le moyen des relligieux & nombre de jesuites.³⁷⁴

Accordingly, La Popelinière distinguished Portugal from Spain in the ways they had interpreted Pope Alexander VI’s bull. This was to do with the ways different European nations engaged with regions already inhabited, and how they acted to legitimise and consolidate their presence there. In the second book of *Les Trois Mondes*, La Popelinière digressed from his narrative of French, English and Spanish voyages to North America, in order to call upon the colonisation of the world beyond the Iberian possessions. Firstly, he explained the impact,

³⁷¹ Comparisons between the Portuguese East Indies and Estado da Índia and Portuguese America have been vastly explored but fall out of the scope of this research. For a summary of the types of Portuguese imperial administration with a focus on Brazil, see Pedro Puntoni, ‘O governo geral e o Estado do Brasil: poderes intermédios e administração (1549-1720)’, in *O Estado do Brasil. Poder e política na Bahia colonial (1548-1700)* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2014). For an overview of the Portuguese empire in English, see the translation of the pioneering 1969 monograph by Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1991). A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire, 1415-1808: A World on the Move* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998); *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*, ed. by Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

³⁷² La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 169.

³⁷³ Disney, II, pp. 134–37.

³⁷⁴ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 170.

among “maritime nations” in Europe, of the circulation of the news about the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries. Given that all peoples had a natural desire to imitate such endeavours, and that there were still unknown parts of the world, the maritime nations of Europe, including France, should organise voyages to places that Spain and Portugal had not colonised yet.³⁷⁵ (At the end of *Les Trois Mondes*, La Popelinière would single out the southern continent or third world as the ideal destination of French voyages and colonisation, as mentioned already). La Popelinière then introduced a nuance to support this point, pondering that the French had reacted in different ways to the news of Iberian discoveries. While some followed the Iberian examples and went on to discover new lands, others went to lands already claimed by the Spaniards, though on an unjust legal basis. But they failed, most importantly in Florida. Hence La Popelinière’s insistence that any others who might be thinking of going to lands already ‘conquered’ by the Spaniards rather concentrate on the yet undiscovered or underexplored parts of the world.³⁷⁶

This was not just a matter of ‘occupied’ versus ‘empty’ spaces of colonial inscription though. La Popelinière had argued, in previous sections of the treatise, that the disrespect of Amerindian rights was typical of a mode of colonial conquest practised by the Spanish, or by others attempting to colonise spaces which the Spaniards had already claimed, on hollow legal grounds. La Popelinière developed, then, the contrast between Spain’s and Portugal’s interpretations of the papal bull. He argued that the Portuguese in the East, as opposed to the Spanish in America, did not claim to hold the seignoral property of most parts of the land, despite the donation. Unlike the Spaniards, the Portuguese created their overseas empire not by claiming lordship over new places and people, La Popelinière argued, but by aiming for a greater part in the East Indies trade.³⁷⁷

La Popelinière carried his comparative approach to the different modes of colonisation into the exordium to the third book of *Les Trois Mondes*. There he compared France with Spain and Portugal in a wider appraisal of the colonisation of the Old and New Worlds. The third book thus comprised a comparison of the French and the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil, a description of the Portuguese East Indies, a narration of the Luso-Spanish competition in the Pacific (regarding the Moluccas), and a call for the French colonisation of the southern ‘third world’. In his summary of the voyages described in the first two books, La Popelinière gauged

³⁷⁵ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 254.

³⁷⁶ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 254–55.

³⁷⁷ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 254–55.

the different or even opposite means used by the French, Spanish and Portuguese in their conquests. They all had, he believed, been driven to some extent by greed and ambition and resulted in numerous deaths, caused by the illusion of an unattainable lordship.³⁷⁸ But there were differences.

From an overview of La Popelinière's works, it becomes clear that he praised the art of navigation very much and saw very clearly the need for the French youth to join long-distance maritime voyages. His discourse occasionally shifted from that of an armchair traveller who supported other Frenchmen in voyages to distant lands to his own interest in partaking in a maritime expedition. By the end of his life, La Popelinière focused on two projects: an attempt to join one of the Dutch East India Company's (VOC) ships, and a translation into French of Gerardus Mercator and Jodocus Hondius's *Asia minor*. In 1604, he wrote a letter to the French theologian Joseph Justus Scaliger, who, since 1593, was based at the University of Leiden, in the Dutch Republic. In his letter, La Popelinière declared his interest in observing the East Indies and asserted that the *autopsia* made possible by maritime voyages to distant lands was necessary for the perfection of history.³⁷⁹ In the same vein, La Popelinière argued in 1604 for the improvement of the armchair traveller and how he depended on the figure of the navigator and of the merchant in the ships to achieve, as we shall see in chapter 4, an *histoire accomplie*. This connection was not fully present yet by 1582, in *Les Trois Mondes*, but one can sense the underlying ideas. The French Renaissance reception of the classical *topos* of the moral condemnation of navigation is still there, expressed through an admonition of the deaths caused by maritime expansion. According to Thibaut Maus de Rolley, a literary tradition of a fear of the sea and of the greedy trader/navigator developed from Horace's *Odes* and *Epistles* and Hesiod's *Works and Days* down to the discourse of Renaissance travellers and writers.³⁸⁰ La Popelinière began to defend navigations and colonisation whilst still drawing on a literary tradition preoccupied with the inconstancy and the dangers of seafaring.³⁸¹

Considering that the Portuguese empire was used as an example on *how to colonise*, I would like to focus on the representation of Brazil in La Popelinière's narrative. The latter aspect of the dangers of seafaring supported his critical take on the failed French colonisation

³⁷⁸ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 359.

³⁷⁹ Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, 'La Popelinière's Letter to Scaliger', in *The Idea of Perfect History. Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France*, by George Huppert (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 194–97 (p. 195).

³⁸⁰ Thibaut Maus de Rolley, 'Of Oysters, Witches, Birds, and Anchors: Conceptions of Space and Travel in Pierre de Lancre', *Renaissance Studies*, 32.4 (2018), 530–46 (pp. 536–37).

³⁸¹ Maus de Rolley, 'Of Oysters, Witches, Birds, and Anchors', pp. 544–45.

of “l’autre portion americaine, dite le Bresil & des Portugais, Tierra de Sancta Cruz”. “Une des plus fertiles parties de l’Amerique”, Brazil became, in fact, La Popelinière’s stage for a moralising history of colonial experimentation and encompassed many of his ideas about the ethnographical and natural diversity of the world, the importance of overseas government and the expansion of the the dissent of the Wars of Religion overseas. This failure of France Antarctique appeared as a combination of the topic of inconstant and greedy conquest, along with a series of particular errors.³⁸²

La Popelinière’s source on the disaster of France Antarctique was Jean de Léry’s first-hand account *Histoire d’un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil* (1578). For the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil, in contrast, he used the Portuguese chronicler Pero Magalhães de Gândavo’s *História da Província Sancta Cruz a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil* (1576), which in some passages was a barely disguised piece of propaganda for settlers to come from Portugal, and the Huguenot theologian Simon Goulart’s *L’Histoire de Portugal* (1581).³⁸³ Goulart’s *Histoire* was an anti-papist and anti-Jesuit translation into French of *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae Invictissimi Virtute et Auspicio Gestis* (Lisbon, 1571), a chronicle of the reign of King Manuel I written by the Portuguese humanist and bishop Jerónimo de Osório da Fonseca. Goulart’s edition also added passages from the Portuguese chronicler and soldier Fernão Lopes de Castanheda’s *História do Descobrimento & Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*. Osório’s chronicle was, in turn, a Latin edition of the Portuguese humanist Damião de Góis’s *Chronica do felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (Lisbon, 1566-67).³⁸⁴

La Popelinière copied and paraphrased these sources extensively to convey a moralising account of France Antarctique in contrast to the political and theological improvements made in Brazil by the Portuguese. His use of Portuguese sources conferred a privileged view both on the Portuguese deeds and their chroniclers, and regardless of whether he was referring to the Old World or the New. As we have seen, this correlation between form and historical subject

³⁸² La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 359–60.

³⁸³ Castanheda, Osório, and Goulart; Anne-Marie Quint, ‘Textes Portugais traduits en France aux XVIe et XVIIe Siècles’, in *La France et le monde luso-brésilien: échanges et représentations, XVIe-XVIIIe siècles*, ed. by Saulo Neiva (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2005), pp. 162–63. Castanheda’s chronicle was also partially translated into English, in 1582. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *The first Booke of the Historie of the Discoverie and Conquest of the East Indias, enterprised by the Portingales, in their daungerous Navigations, in the time of King Don John, the second of that name*, trans. by Nicholas Lichfield (London: Thomas East, 1582).

³⁸⁴ Lestringant, ‘La relève anglaise: la mission de Hakluyt en France (1583-1588)’, pp. 312–13. For a study on the reception of Osório’s works in 16th-century University of Oxford, see Thomas F. Earle, ‘Portuguese Scholarship in Oxford in the Early Modern Period: The Case of Jerónimo Osório’, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 81.7–8 (2004), 1039–49. To my knowledge, it is unlikely that Hakluyt recognised or used Osório as a source for Portuguese history since he was known in Oxford humanist circles for this theological works.

is absent from La Popelinière's use of Spanish works. While he maintained a positive view of the writing of Oviedo and López de Gómara's histories of the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, he, nevertheless, predominantly condemned the figure of the Spanish explorer and king Philip II's project of a universal empire. La Popelinière's more positive approach to the Portuguese allowed him to offer a model and measure for the yet inexistent French empire.

Among his Portuguese authoritative sources, La Popelinière's reference to D. António had multiple effects on his outlook described above. In the second book, he celebrated Dominique de Gourgues's victory over the Spaniards in Florida as an afterthought to the colonial failure of French Florida. It is likely that La Popelinière was the first to print the account of De Gourgues's expedition. In his praise, the French historian alluded to D. António's invitation to the same Dominique de Gourgues to lead a fleet, in alliance with Queen Elizabeth I, to reclaim Portugal from the Spanish monarchy. By linking D. António and De Gourgues, La Popelinière indicated a shared interest in the colonial division of the world between France, Portugal and, by extension, England. This possibility was reinforced by a critical argument about Spain's demographic weakness in certain parts of the empire. The reference to an alliance with D. António signalled the reproducibility of Portuguese knowledge of colonial affairs and fostered the hope for French colonial expansion, comparable to Hakluyt's stance on English expansion, by linking up with previous Portuguese experiences.³⁸⁵ La Popelinière's defence of D. António as the rightful heir to the Portuguese throne had already been introduced in his chapter about the "Origine et progres des roys & royaume de Portugal".³⁸⁶ There, he cited Simon Goulart's translation of Osório's chronicle of D. Manuel's reign and detailed the genealogy of D. Sebastião I to convince his audience of the problematic succession to the Portuguese throne, as noted by Anne-Marie Beaulieu.³⁸⁷

To return to the representation of Brazil in *Les Trois Mondes*, La Popelinière's choice of placing the narrative of France Antarctique in the third book speaks volumes about its moralising message when presented next to the narrative of Portuguese America. He chose to invert the chronological order of the French colonial failures by placing the account of French Florida (1562-1565) in the second book, before the account of France Antarctique (1555-1562) in the third book. If we consider the centrality of history (and its chronological and geographical order of discourse) in La Popelinière's editorial project, the inversion calls for an explanation.

³⁸⁵ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 270.

³⁸⁶ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 154–62.

³⁸⁷ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 206.

It had at least two desired effects. Firstly, the episodes of French Florida depicted Spanish cruelty against the Amerindians in Florida and the West Indies and emphasised the relatively successful French alliances with different native populations there. Secondly, France Antarctique served as an introduction to the success of Portuguese colonisation of Brazil. In the third book, the colonisation of Brazil surpassed the voyages and discoveries of the Spanish, French, Italians and English narrated in the previous books. It also led to the chapters on the most recent Iberian voyages, a summary of the Magellan-Elcano's circumnavigation and the Iberian competition over the discovery and trade with the Moluccas in the 1520s, and, finally, a brief but important passage calling for the colonisation of *terra australis*.

In La Popelinière's text, I would like to argue, the specificity of the representation of Portugal emerged from a comparison between French voyages and Spanish, Portuguese and Italian voyages (*The Principal Navigations*, in contrast, saw a move from the comparison of Spain and Portugal in relation to England, to that of England in relation to France, prompted by Hakluyt's readings of Thevet and La Popelinière). Different nations were used together as a contrast to Captain Nicolas de Villegagnon's mistakes in the government of France Antarctique. La Popelinière's aim to change the state of French expansion differed in this synthetic comparative approach from Hakluyt's strategy of printing voyages separately and accumulatively, with a majority of English examples – whereby English absences in certain areas or periods would become visible at the level of the editorial assemblage, even just by looking at a table of contents. Instead, La Popelinière used a synthetic description of the Portuguese discovery and colonisation of Brazil to teach his audience about the multiple political and religious purposes of the same geographical space.

In the first four chapters of the third book, La Popelinière paraphrased Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage* to describe France Antarctique. The main episodes taken from Léry narrated the Huguenot Admiral Gaspard de Coligny's support for the expedition led by Captain Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, the building of the fort and colony of Coligny in the present-day Bay of Guanabara, the French alliance with the Tupinambás, a series of doctrinal disagreements involving, among other issues, a disagreement about transubstantiation between Catholics and Huguenots, and a long ethnography of the *Americains/Brésiliens/Tupinambás*. La Popelinière concluded the discourse by contrasting the shame of the enterprise's failure to the fortunate progress and laudable end of similar enterprises by Portuguese and Spanish captains, such as

Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Francisco Pizarro, Afonso de Albuquerque and Pedro Álvares Cabral.³⁸⁸

The apology of the captains in this passage referred to one of the strongest points of convergence between Hakluyt and La Popelinière: the centrality of learning the art of navigation under the State's support. As we have seen, Hakluyt defended the establishment in London of scholarly lectures on navigation and mathematics, and of an English House of Trade to train all levels of mariners. Similarly, the institution of admiralty was praised by La Popelinière in *L'Amiral de France* (1584), with a dedicatory to Admiral Anne de Joyeuse (1560-1587). According to his letter to Francis Walsingham, Hakluyt was in contact with the Duke de Joyeuse to gather information about French voyages during his stay in Paris.³⁸⁹ As I show in chapter 4, both authors shared some similarities in their views of the role of navigation and colonial expansion in their representation of the world.

Following his use of Léry in *Les Trois Mondes*, La Popelinière warned his audience about the dangers of ignoring and forgetting voyages of exploration. The circulation of “escripts publics” or travel literature had, he argued, consolidated the Portuguese discovery of Brazil despite voyages by Amerigo Vespucci and Norman and Breton pilots, allegedly performed along the coast of Brazil before the Portuguese fleet led by Captain Pedro Álvares Cabral arrived in 1500:

Les François toutesfois, Normans sur tous & Bretons, maintiennent avoir premiers descouverts ces terres: & d'ancienneté, trafiquer avec les sauvages du Bresil contre la riviere Saint François au lieu qu'on a depuis appellé Port Real. Mais comme en autres choses mal avisez en cela, ils n'ont eu l'esprit ny discretion de laisser un seul escript public pour assurance de leurs desseins aussi hautains & genereux que les autres.³⁹⁰

France's failure in recording those voyages was now to be compensated for by La Popelinière. Similarly, in his preface to the reader in *The Principal Navigations* (1598), Hakluyt expressed his anxiety regarding silences over some English voyages. His collection and incorporation of loose and forgotten reports into a *corpus* aimed at bringing antiquities and

³⁸⁸ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 359–76.

³⁸⁹ Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *L'Amiral de France, et par occasion, de celvy des autres nations, tant vieilles que nouvelles* (Paris: Thomas Périer, 1584).

³⁹⁰ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 380; Hakluyt, ‘Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1584’, I, p. 207.

the “scattered limmes” of English voyages together into a unit responded exactly to that preoccupation.³⁹¹

The French mishandling of the colonial project, as opposed to the successful mode of colonisation of the Portuguese, could be exemplified through a commentary on the toponymy of the land we now call Brazil – which the Portuguese Crown aimed to be called “Terra de Santa Cruz” following its baptism by Cabral in 1500. João de Barros had been the first Humanist to condemn the name ‘Brasil’, in 1552, and he had done so by going back to the origins of the colony and remembering the initial encounters. He felt that the commonly used name generalised the mercantile aspect of Portuguese (and other) contacts with the land, including possibly English and French privateering, and ignored the religious designation as Land of the Holy Cross. ‘Brasil’, of course, referred to the red dye extracted from the commodity of *pau-brasil* (brazilwood), the colour of which resembled *brasa*, in Portuguese, or *braise*, in French. Barros’s critique, built around an emphasis on the historical record of Cabral’s ritual gestures performed around Easter 1500, was incorporated by Pero Magalhães Gândavo into his *Historia* (1576) which, in turn, was La Popelinière’s main source for Portuguese Brazil.³⁹² La Popelinière, then, worked this into a lesson about how toponymy required prudent ponderation in colonial expansion. For him, the Portuguese were “paisibles seigneurs” and superior to all nations due to their “theorique & experience au fait des voyages & descubertes maritimes”, a virtue that also found expression in their ways of naming places:

[Pedro Álvares Cabral], pour laisser avant que partir nom eternel à ceste belle province, fit hausser au plus haut de la plus grande arbriere qu’il peut, une croix beniste avec toutes les solemnités qu’y peurent pratiquer les prestres qu’il y avoit menez. La nommant ainsi terre de S. Croix [...]. Les François seuls l’ont nommée terre de Bresil par ignorance de ce que dessus & qu’ils y ont trouvé ce bois à commandement: encores qu’il n’y soit qu’en une contrée, laquelle mesme en porte assez d’autres sortes. Joint que la terre tient couleur vermeille plus qu’autre.³⁹³

In other words, it was the French with their focus on trade (not a bad thing in principle) and neglect of evangelisation who distorted the province’s name. Following the critique of France Antarctique and the appraisal of the moralising toponymy of Brazil according to

³⁹¹ Das, ‘Richard Hakluyt’s Two Indias’: Textual Sparagmos and Editorial Practice’.

³⁹² Gândavo, pp. 6–7.

³⁹³ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 380.

Portuguese authorities, La Popelinière further developed his idea of the distinctiveness of the Portuguese empire. Presented in the third book, this argument first describes the Portuguese administration of Brazil:

[L]a province de Sainte Croix est aujourd-huy réglée & maintenuë souz le roy de Portugal, par huit capitaines ou gouverneurs, chacun desquels d'estenduë pour le moins de 50. Lieuës, recognoist son chef, son evesque & son juge qui tous respondent au mandement du general estably sur tout: soit capitaine, soit evesque, soit de justice: premierement instituée par le roy dom Jean, tiers du nom, qui les y envoya choisis pour le merite de leurs vertus: avec forces, vivres, poudres, artilleries & autres moiens necessaires pour s'y assurer aux liens qu'ils trouveroient les plus propres à tenir tout le reste en sujexion.³⁹⁴

La Popelinière's local or Brazilian scale resembled Hakluyt's quasi-Utopian description of the "little commonwealth" 'planted' by the Portuguese in Brazil. La Popelinière, however, extrapolated the Brazilian example into his idea of a theory of Portuguese empire-making. In Brazil, they had been superior to the French and, on a global scale, the Portuguese form of empire-building was superior to that of the Spaniards and an example for all to follow in order to avoid the problems created by the latter. La Popelinière recapitulated, thus, the topics of the 'peaceful lordship' and of the practical and theoretical superiority of the Portuguese, which he had introduced in the first two books. In his line of argumentation, "la douceur du traffic & conversation familiere" of the Portuguese opposed them to the Spaniards, who

contre l'avis des jesuites et autres ecclesiastiques qu'ils menoient avec eux, leur conseillans la douceur, n'ont domté leurs Indes que par force, tromperies, & plus estrange cruauté qu'on ne sçauroit croire. [...] Le Portugais a tousjours eu un tout autre but en ses decouvertes que l'Espagnol, qui s'est voulu rendre seigneur absolu & par force de tout où il a mis le pié. Mais cetuy cy ne cherchant que le proffit qui luy pourroit venir de traffiquer avec toutes les nations tant en Orient qu'au Ponant: joint qu'il n'est peuplé ne si pratiqué aux armes que l'autre: s'est contenté du proffit au commerce, laissant les peuples en leur liberté premiere.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁴ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 382.

³⁹⁵ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 382.

The agreeability of trade *combined with* a state-backed missionary zeal and the establishment of an overseas government were the key elements of La Popelinière’s definition of the Portuguese form of colonisation, exemplified in his narrative by Brazil, where the Portuguese matured the experience gained in the East Indies. In the following pages, La Popelinière moved on to a more detailed description of the colony with what he believed were its eight administrative units, known as hereditary *capitanias*. He referred to King John III’s assignment of each captaincy to one of two Portuguese noblemen, in 1534, and the colonial extension of allegiances. This rearrangement of a colony, he aimed to show, had transformed the space and its inhabitants into a juridical extension of the kingdom. He also reinforced the role of the Jesuits, who “a fort profité en ces cartiers & mieux assuré l’estat du roy qu’il ne estoit”.³⁹⁶

The project of extending a ‘familiar’ view of society and trade into distant possessions was seen as characteristic of the Portuguese colonial model and advocated by both Hakluyt and La Popelinière. As this is one of the main similarities between both authors – despite being expressed with different degrees of emphasis – I would like to focus, in this last section, on La Popelinière’s influence over Hakluyt’s editorial project in support of colonial expansion. The French historian’s comparison of forms of conquest was indeed incorporated by Hakluyt in an authoritative account of Spanish colonial violence, English precedence in North America over the French, the English and the Portuguese. In his ‘Discourse of western planting’ (1584), Hakluyt cited *Les Trois Mondes* to validate the English precedence in the discovery and colonisation of North America, referring to the letter patents given to the Cabots by King Henry VII in the fifteenth century.

Upon this Relation Monsieur Popiliniere being a Frenchman in his second booke *Des Trois Mondes* inferreth these speaches: This then was that Gabote which firste discovered Florida for the kinge of England, so that the englishemen have more righte thereunto then the Spaniardes, yf to have righte unto a Contrie it sufficeth to have first seene and discovered the same: Howbeit Gabota did more than see the cuntrye, for he wente on lande on divers places, tooke possession of the same accordinge to his patente which was graunted to

³⁹⁶ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 383–84.

his father John Gabot, to Lewes, himself and Sancius his brethren, beinge to be sene in the Rolles and extant in printe³⁹⁷

Hakluyt's citation of La Popelinière demonstrates the convergence of their views on the history of conquest in the New World. On the one hand, both were influenced by Iberian and Italian travel literature. On the other, *Les Trois Mondes* had a influence on Hakluyt's understanding of the discoveries during his stay in France. As I explore further in the next chapter, La Popelinière's geo-historical representation of the world can be seen to resonate through Hakluyt's editorial project. In May 1583, an English translation of *Les Trois Mondes* was indeed licensed, though never published, and it is worth considering that Hakluyt may have been involved, as he was in 1595 in the translation of the first four books of La Popelinière's *Histoire de France*.³⁹⁸ La Popelinière's general condemnation of the colonial competition in North America and particularly his anti-Spanish stance were adapted by Hakluyt into a refutation of Spain's claim to all parts of the New World. Hakluyt's reading of La Popelinière also suggests that the French historian was Hakluyt's main source for the history of French voyages and possibly for its positive representation of Brazil.

La Popelinière's chapters on successive battles between the French and Spanish found indeed a favourable reading in Hakluyt's 'Discourse of western planting', particularly in the suggestion of an alliance between the English and "the savages of Florida". The successive voyages organised between 1562 and 1565 by Admiral Gaspar de Coligny, and led by René Goulaine de Laudonnière and Jean Ribault, to establish a Huguenot colony in Florida were used by La Popelinière as a counter-argument for Spain's presumed precedence in the discovery of North America. He also criticised the destruction of Fort Caroline and the hanging of several Huguenots led by *adelantado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, in 1565. Alternatively, La Popelinière considered the different and shared claims over different parts of North America by the English, the Portuguese and the French. Thus, he was cited by Hakluyt in his plea for Queen Elizabeth's support of an English colonial enterprise in North America. Spain, England, France and Portugal were not, however, the only actors in the competitive histories of the

³⁹⁷ Hakluyt and Taylor, p. 295.

³⁹⁸ I would like to thank Mr Anthony Payne for referring me to the English license to publish *Les Trois Mondes* in Arber's work. Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *The Historie of France: The Foure First Bookes*, trans. by Edward Hoby (London: John Windet, 1595); *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640, A.D.*, ed. by Edward Arber, 5 vols (London: Stationers' Company, 1875), II, p. 422; David Armitage, 'The New World and British Historical Thought: From Richard Hakluyt to William Robertson', in *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, ed. by Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1995), pp. 52–76 (p. 56).

colonisation of North America. In the case of Florida, Hakluyt considered the “the savages”, i.e. the Saturiwa and the Tacatacuru, as potential allies to English explorers since they had shared a common enemy with the French. Hakluyt argued this alliance could be extended to the English. This, in turn, underlines the role of La Popelinière’s text as an argument in Hakluyt’s reading of relationship between the French and Amerindians, for Hakluyt, again, referred explicitly to him as a source:

[...] we are moreover to understande that the savages of fflorida are the Spaniardes mortall enemyes and will be ready to joine with us againste them, as they joyned with Capitaine Gourgues a Gascoigne, whoe beinge but a private man and goinge thither at his owne chardges by their aide wonne and rased the three small fortes which the Spaniardes about xx yeres agoe had planeted in fflorida after their traiterous slaughter of John Ribault, which Gourgues slewe and hanged upp divers of them on the same trees whereon the yere before they had hanged the frenche. Yea one Holocotera brother to one of the kinges of Savages leapinge upp on an highe place with his owne handes slewe a spanishe Canonier as he was puttinge fire to a pece of ordynaunce, which storye is at large in printe sett furthe by Monsieur Poplynier in his book intituled *Trois Mondes*.³⁹⁹

The possibility to learn from the Portuguese came, in Hakluyt’s pro-colonial discourse, from the exemplarity of their colonial experience both at the level of praxis and of knowledge. This unity was a fundamental characteristic of the intersection between practices of learning, travel writing and global intercultural crossings in the Renaissance. In Hakluyt’s and La Popelinière’s cases, there is an effort to provide continuity between Renaissance humanist editorial practices, the sense of novelty from the contact with distant peoples and places, and the urgency of Empire. Therefore, their works seem to relate to Joan-Pau Rubiés’ analysis of Italian and Spanish scholars’ philosophical consideration of the New World, from which modernity resulted as “the idea that experience had proved many ancient authorities wrong, and the emergence of a cosmopolitan consciousness that projected the cosmological and anthropological assumptions of Christian universalism onto a global scale.”⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁹ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, pp. 240–41.

⁴⁰⁰ Rubiés has enquired about the philosophical consequences of both major shifts in Renaissance Humanism: “These two modern ideals—one scientific, the other moral and political—do not appear as necessarily connected to a specific philosophical system. However, we could argue that the global consciousness that found a providential design in the full habitability of the Earth was imbued with Christian Platonism and, closely following

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented diverse forms of representation of Spain, Portugal and their colonial expansion in the works of Hakluyt and La Popelinière. The varied ideas associated with Portugal and Spain went beyond the shifting dynastic, diplomatic, and geopolitical alliances and disputes of the 1580s. They were rooted in an ample, late medieval and early modern tradition of discourses of travel, transnational and racial categorisation, and political, juridical and religious debates about sovereignty and the extension of a prince's lordship. In the 1580s, Hakluyt and La Popelinière converged in proposing a scholarly frame to the practice of maritime trade, the representation of new worlds, and the contact with distant peoples, which they perceived as initiated by the Iberians in the modern age. Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's framing responded to the Spanish monopoly over the lands and routes and, to a lesser degree and more ambivalently, by Portugal since the late fifteenth century.

My focus on their uses of Portugal and Brazil as sources of colonial expertise showed how the shared, emerging discourse on European colonialism was not straightforwardly developed. I have also emphasised La Popelinière's influence on Hakluyt's transnational comparison of forms of colonial expansion. In the authors' heterogeneous representation, Portugal and Spain were redefined as both political and spatial units and placed as one of multiple participants in the colonial discussion across England, France, Portugal, Spain, Italian cities, the Dutch Republic, and the Holy Roman Empire. The focus on the representation of Portugal in a study about two authors usually linked to a Protestant corpus critical of Catholic colonial expansion indicate the making of a shared colonial outlook onto the world and a discussion of forms of empire-making .

in its tracks, with Christian Stoicism, which were particularly influential among the cosmopolitan humanists of the sixteenth century.” Joan-Pau Rubiés, ‘The Discovery of New Worlds and Sixteenth-Century Philosophy’, in *Routledge Companion to Sixteenth Century Philosophy*, ed. by Henrik Lagerlund and Benjamin Hill (New York: Routledge, 2017), p. 55.

Chapter 4 – *Historiae oculus geographia*: the entwinement of historical narrative and geographical knowledge in Renaissance pro-colonial discourses

4.1. Introduction

4.1.1. *Historiae oculus geographia*: issues of visual evidence in the expanding world

The Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) printed the meaningful sentence “*historiae oculus geographia*”, or “geography is the eye of history” on the frontispiece of his historical atlas, *Parergon* (Figure 8). This sentence became a topos in the sixteenth century to discuss and assess the relationship between history and geography. It was also used, as I show later in this chapter, by both Hakluyt and La Popelinière. The Greek title, *Parergon*, meant ‘supplement’. Indeed, the historical atlas began circulating in 1579 as a mere addition to Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570), considered to be the world’s first atlas. The *Parergon* initially comprised three maps (*Peregrinationis Divi Pauli*, *Romani Imperii Imago* and *Graecia Sophiani*) with explanatory texts. According to Jean-Marc Besse, the 1595 edition was the last to be supervised by Ortelius and featured thirty maps. The quantity and order of the maps changed in the subsequent editions. The editions of the atlas had three sets of maps, which corresponded to three types of history, all familiar to Ortelius’s sixteenth-century audience and each informing the reader of three types of geography. The first type of history and geography was a profane and political history of the European space with Celtic and Roman traditions arranged according to Ptolemy. The second type of history and geography presented the places of biblical episodes, and the third type concerned poetic or mythological episodes, such as the voyages by Ulysses, Aeneas, Jason and the Argonauts, and Hanno the Navigator.⁴⁰¹

Jean-Marc Besse has analysed in detail the meanings of the topos of geography as ‘the eye of history’ in Ortelius’s work and beyond. First and foremost, it meant that geography, and especially cartography, helped the understanding of history. It aided in the understanding of history because it allowed the spectator to see and locate historical places on the maps. For instance, the reader of historical narratives could visually identify, on the maps (and, more specifically, historical maps), the places and routes where the actions narrated in the text took

⁴⁰¹ Besse, ‘*Historiae oculus geographia*’, p. 138.

place. As Besse explains, geography enabled understanding of the historical narrative, while also providing the means to memorise it and to build a mental representation of what is evoked in the text:

La carte fonctionne comme attestation du texte, elle permet de le comprendre, et elle permet en outre de construire dans la mémoire l'image mentale de ce qui est évoqué dans le texte.⁴⁰²

This 'power of visualisation' of the map ('puissance de visualisation de la carte') transformed the reader into an ocular witness of the historical episodes narrated and, with geography, made visible. Geography helped history by positioning the reader as an eye-witness of history, as if the episodes were happening in front of their eyes and within the reach of their hands.⁴⁰³ Two ideas relate to this extension of eye-witnessing. Firstly, Ortelius's view of the world as a theatre, made manifest in the title of his atlas, and that of the reader as a contemplative spectator. The theatre, like the museum, was considered to be both a mental and real space for contemplating the unfolding of a story. Ortelius extended this to the atlas, which publicly, in print, put the world and its parts, in image and text, in the reader/spectator's hands.⁴⁰⁴ In this way, historical depth was added onto a historical map, which was already making a historical episode come alive.

Secondly, the "puissance de visualisation" of geography revolved around the issue of *visual evidence*.⁴⁰⁵ In the Renaissance field of history or historical narrative, the issue of visibility was particularly linked to the problem of evidence, which should convey a credible sense of truth or truthfulness to the audience. Geography offered visual-textual techniques of visibility and evidence to make history a truthful narrative to its audience, conferring, as a result, credibility to its authors. In Besse's words:

Grâce à la médiation de la représentation géographique, et à l'animation de l'imagination qu'elle suscite, le récit historique acquiert, alors, une puissance probatoire. L'utilisation de la carte permet de percevoir comme réels les faits

⁴⁰² Besse, 'Historiae oculus geographia', p. 141.

⁴⁰³ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 298.

⁴⁰⁴ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 295.

⁴⁰⁵ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 298.

qui sont rapportés dans le texte historique. C'est le cas de dire que voir, en histoire, fait plus et mieux croire.⁴⁰⁶

Besse has shown how, despite its purpose as an *eye* of history, the cartographic image was not always dependent on text. The collecting practices expressed in cabinets of curiosities and in antiquarianism (particularly numismatics), opened a fertile terrain for the 'liberation' of images supporting historical information.⁴⁰⁷ Maps and images could by themselves convey a historical discourse. In this sense, *images* were important to geography, history, medals and naturalists as they were seen as traces of a past deemed to be accessible under the Renaissance humanist world-view. Besse alluded to the medals and coins collected by Ortelius to explain how these objects carrying images were increasingly seen as potential points of contact between the present and the past. They allowed for a mitigated continuity which relied on the expert's eye to summarise various fields of knowledge, including historical cartography, philology, translation and numismatics, onto a synoptic representation of the world (in the cartographer's case). Images in the sixteenth century were increasingly valued among humanist scholars because they offered information absent from historical texts. Besse argued that this was particularly relevant for writing the history of nations or regions one could not find in the Greco-Roman histories.⁴⁰⁸

The metaphor of 'geography as the eye of history' was not invented by Ortelius. It seemed to be an emerging tradition (at least in print) across geographical and historical studies. Besse has traced its earliest use to the German historian David Chyträus's *De ratione discendi et ordine studiorum in singulis artibus recte instituendo* (Wittenberg, 1564), where he proclaimed to his audience of students that the study of history demands the knowledge of places (topography or geography) and of times (chronology).⁴⁰⁹ By the seventeenth century, it was used to reinforce the link between geography and memory. It can be added to Besse's observations that, as early as 1552, the Portuguese historian João de Barros had instructed his reader to use maps, which he promised to edit in a separate work, to see the description of the places in his chronicle, and, thus, understand the passages with historical narratives once the

⁴⁰⁶ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 299.

⁴⁰⁷ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 300.

⁴⁰⁸ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 302.

⁴⁰⁹ "Deinde sciant studiosi, Duos velut oculos historiae esse locorum & temporum cognitionem, seu Tophographiam & Chronologiam". David Chyträus, *De Ratione Discendi et Ordine Studiorum in Singulis Artibus Recte Instituendo* (Wittenberg, 1564), fol. L2.

places were described. In the first chapter of his *Décadas da Ásia*, Barros described the various parts of the Portuguese East Indies and explained that “In the grid of the maps of our Geographia, there the eye will see the verification of this description, for, as we have said, here it suffices to narrate the history and not the disposition of the places.”⁴¹⁰ This said, Barros made sure to include vivid, cartographical representations of the space in which the narrated actions unfolded.⁴¹¹

As a Renaissance humanist scholar, Ortelius’s view of geography as a form of *evidence* of history relied on classical ideas about the style of historical narrative, namely the qualities of *enargeia* and *ekphrasis*. The first concerned the historian’s duty to make a narrative come to life for the reader. Besse has shown how, in a range of works from Polybius’s reading of Homer to Erasmus’s *De copia*, *enargeia* became an important quality to be achieved by the historian and was equally expressed by the rhetoricians as *demonstratio*, *evidentia* or *inlustratio*. Quintilian and Cicero became the Renaissance authorities on how to bring *enargeia* to the discourse, that is, to make their discourse read/sound visible or palpable to the reader or an audience.⁴¹² At the heart of this rhetorical device rested the issue of *autopsia*, or how to ensure the audience developed a mental image of a narrated episode. Both geographical (or topographical) descriptions and maps helped achieve precisely that.⁴¹³ In the geographical text and in the historical narrative, vividness or *enargeia* was created by *ekphrasis*, or the “accumulation of details about spatial and temporal circumstances of the action”, such as “the characteristics of a site of an event, the meteorology of the day of the battle, the colour and texture of garment, the appearance of the surrounding nature, etc.”⁴¹⁴ *Ekphrasis* conferred persuasive effect to the historical narrative in the reader’s mind.⁴¹⁵ Detailed descriptions (*ekphrasis*) to ensure vividness (*enargeia*) were common to both history and geography separately.

⁴¹⁰ Barros, chap. “Capitulo primeiro em que se descréue toda a cósta marítima do oriente com as distancias que já entre as mais notáuees cidádes e pouoações per módo de roteiro, segundo os navegantes”, pp. 335–336.

⁴¹¹ See Zoltán Biedermann, ‘Imperial Reflections: China, Rome and the Spatial Logics of History in the Ásia of João de Barros’, in *Empires En Marche. Rencontres Entre La Chine et l’Occident à l’âge Moderne (XVIe-XIXe Siècles)*, ed. by Dejanirah Couto and François Lachaud (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2017), pp. 23–47.

⁴¹² Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 303.

⁴¹³ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 303; Carlo Ginzburg, ‘Montrer et citer’, *Le Debat*, n° 56.4 (1989), 41–51 (p. 47).

⁴¹⁴ My translation. Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 303.

⁴¹⁵ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, pp. 303–4.

Besse has shown how Ortelius and Chyträus argued that geography also served as an ordering principle of history and how this was relevant to both readers and writers of historical narratives. This meant that the order of events in the narrative was expected to follow the order of places one could see on the maps. Considering the types of maps in the *Parergon*, the order of places of civil, natural and sacred histories became more than a guide to historical narratives: they showed the continuity in space of episodes of history. The geographical order was to be complemented by the chronological order expressed in the historical narrative. Indeed, a variation of the topos featured chronology as the other eye of history, as expressed by Chyträus.⁴¹⁶ Besse further argued that Ortelius sought to offer a “frame and a structure of access to the interior of and through which the historical events and their sequence gained an overall meaning and organisation.”⁴¹⁷ His historical atlas situated the historical narratives, but also complemented the modern atlas historically. The *Parergon* and the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* circulated together.

Contemporary to Ortelius’s attention to the relation between geography and history, a similar discussion was taking place in France regarding cosmography and universal history. Building on Marie-Dominique Couzinet and Ann Blair’s studies about the French Renaissance jurist Jean Bodin and Lestringant’s studies on cosmography, Besse has developed the idea that cosmography functioned as a metaphor for the project of universal history in sixteenth-century France.⁴¹⁸ Cosmography allowed for “a model of classification and presentation of information, which was characterised, above all, by its globality, by the emphasis on general realities.”⁴¹⁹ This model was taken up by Bodin who envisaged universal history as a system organising “a profuse and disorganised material into a general picture”. Besse concluded by arguing that the atlas, the world map and the cosmographical treatise converged in purpose with the projects of writing general or universal histories, such as the ones by Chyträus (inspired by Polybius) and João de Barros, among others. These humanist scholars wanted the viewer of these maps and cosmographical treatises to *see*, not only a synoptic image of the world, but a lofty and panomarc vision of history as a whole:

⁴¹⁶ “Que velut Cynosure & Ariadnes filium, lectores, in historiarum pelago & rerum gestarum Labythinis versantes, regunt & gubernant, ut ad portum lectionis optatum facilius pervenire possint.” David Chyträus, fol. L 2v.

⁴¹⁷ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 306.

⁴¹⁸ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 306; Lestringant, *Écrire le monde à la Renaissance*; Couzinet, *Histoire et méthode à la Renaissance*; Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 2017).

⁴¹⁹ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 306.

La géographie, l’atlas, ainsi que la Terre, peuvent être considérés comme des *théâtres de l’histoire*, chez Ortelius, parce qu’avant tout elles constituent des espèces d’observatoires élevés d’où l’historien peut accéder à une vision panoramique des événements du passé. La géographie développe un regard aérien et synoptique sur le monde qui permet à l’historien d’être comme le témoin des actions qui ont eu lieu à diverses époques. Et s’il est possible à l’historien de voir toute l’histoire, c’est, avant tout, parce que la géographie a rendu possible ce genre de regard sur la Terre.⁴²⁰

In relation to cartography, specifically, as we have seen, maps rendered the historical narrative visible and, thus, functioned as additional material and graphic evidence of the narrated events, giving the reader a sense of *autopsia*. They supported the reader’s historical imagination by allowing their gaze to pose on a collection of “absent realities” represented by the “graphic gesture” of the cartographer.⁴²¹ This intricate operation, as we shall explain later, was common to different instances of a tense relation between text and image. Already in the passage from Barros referred to above, we can see how the operation was complicated by the removal of ‘graphic gestures’ or maps from the chronicle, and their partial replacement by an *illusion* to visual experience.

Taking Besse’s analysis as an inspiration, I would like to raise further questions regarding the authors analysed in this dissertation, Hakluyt and La Popelinière. As we know, they were armchair travellers interested in the broad fields of geography and history, but they featured few or no maps in their works. However, as we shall see, they both used repeatedly the topos of *historiae oculus geographia* and recognised both Ortelius and Barros as authorities on geography. Could a geographical text, then, enable people *see* like a map could? Was geographical discourse believed to help discern history in the same way that cartography had? To answer this question, we must turn our attention to texts that were composed of both historical narrative or character and geographical description, among other types of writing. This is the case for both the editorial projects developed by Hakluyt and La Popelinière. In this chapter, I thus argue that they expanded the meanings of the topos by using the articulation between geography and history to justify their own composite literary projects in support of colonialism. The study of the topos in the works of Hakluyt and La Popelinière is particularly

⁴²⁰ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 308.

⁴²¹ Besse, *Les grandeurs de la Terre*, p. 304.

interesting as the boundary between history and geography in these works is especially difficult to draw. This is why I have opted to use the term ‘geo-historical’ to explain aspects of their perspective. In the following section, I explain how Hakluyt and La Popelinière were writing in a moment when travel literature brought the genres of history and geography together.

4.1.2. The historical dimension of geography at the time of the European overseas expansion

Overseas expansion and early modern geographical discoveries outside Europe affected the historical dimension attributed to geography’s purpose of rendering a discourse visible. As we have seen, the experience of overseas voyages was narrated in a very broad field of travel literature. Texts narrating voyages and discoveries changed late medieval and early modern geographical knowledge. They were characterised by a polyphony of ‘voices’ narrating the experience in distant places. Increasingly so, the polyphony was expressed and circulated in maps, cosmographies, standalone travel accounts, travel collections, histories and chronicles. New information about the world, its parts, its environments and its inhabitants (all issues of geography) was increasingly gathered by armchair travellers. The first consequence of the overseas voyages and their accounts was, thus, a perception of discontinuity between classical and biblical sources, on the one hand, and the new information contained in travel literature concerning the *geographical description* of the world and the organisation of the travel narratives into *historical narrative* on the other hand.

This was further complicated by encounters with different peoples and environments in Africa, Asia, and America. The polyphony marked the changing hierarchy of authorities regarding spatial representation and the existence of distant and diverse societies absent from the traditional sources of authority. In these encounters, the travellers narrated what they perceived as other-than-European forms of the past. This, in turn, resonated in the scholarly reception in Europe of an increasingly global past. A cosmographical frame was no longer sufficient as a model for narratives about the increased diversity expressed in travel literature by the end of the sixteenth century. Assuming travel literature was part of the vast genre of geographical literature, the topos of ‘geography as the eye of history’ began to mean more than a form of bringing intelligibility and visibility to the historical narrative. The subjects and uses of historical narrative were expanded and influenced by geographical literature. Its main purpose of helping to *see* history remained, but had to be re-articulated under the new

circumstances of, on the one hand, more events to be seen and narrated and, on the other hand, the widening gap between the primary *autopsia* of the traveller or the historical event's eyewitness and its appearance, especially in a travel collection.

The field of geography in Europe synthesised in an exemplary manner between 1420 and 1620, the Renaissance humanist dialectics of knowledge and practice. Throughout this entire period, a strong tension remained between the classical, biblical and medieval descriptions of the world and the news brought by explorers. Numa Broc has emphasised the lasting predominance of knowledge – in classical *imagines mundi* and medieval imaginary geographies – over the practical skills and news from the voyages of discoveries.⁴²² Ptolemy's definition of geography as the description of the entirety of the globe – including its zones, climates, seas, continents, rivers, mountains, vegetation and inhabitants – had a significant fortune among Renaissance scholars thanks to the wide circulation of his *Geographia*, printed in many editions from 1478 onwards. Of course, the actual form of the continents as imagined by Ptolemy became increasingly anachronistic. In 1578, Gerard Mercator's edition of Ptolemy's maps as a historical atlas epitomised a transitional process from a prevailing Ptolemaic authority to a modern *imago mundi* composed of multiple authorities. As Jean-Marc Besse has argued, Ptolemy's maps transitioned at this point from being authoritative to being themselves the object of curiosity, one among various sources of knowledge. But the Ptolemaic idea of geography as such thrived. Amidst change and continuity, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were also characterised by the continuing popularity of classical and medieval representations of the world, such as Ptolemy's *Almagest*, Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, Seneca, St Augustine, Alberto Magno and Pierre d'Ailly's reworking of Isidore of Seville's *Encyclopaedia*.

Before I move on to the specificity of La Popelinière's and Hakluyt's case, it is important to understand what historical narrative meant up until the sixteenth century. By the end of the century, history had diverse meanings and could be expressed in diverse ways. There was no historical genre in the academic and university curricula comparable to the disciplines of the *trivium* or the *quadrivium*, but there was a rich and diverse tradition of historical thinking and writing. Close to other early modern fields of knowledge or forms of understanding the world, history had become defined by its Ciceronian, civic purpose: to offer guidance for

⁴²² Broc, *La geografia del Rinascimento*.

human actions in the present through exemplary episodes.⁴²³ *Historia* (from the Greek for “enquiry” or “investigation”) was a key epistemic tool shared by various disciplines “ranging from antiquarian studies and civil history to medicine and natural philosophy”. It thus encompassed accounts of objects and phenomena in natural philosophy and medicine until the eighteenth century:

The versatility of the early modern *historia*, equally applicable to the domain of natural knowledge and to the study of human action, points to a salient feature of early modern encyclopedism: the lack of a clear-cut boundary between the study of nature and the study of culture. [...] The notion that *historia* may refer not only to the narration of *res gestae* but also to the description of places and of natural objects, ranging from the description of the microcosm to that of the macrocosm, also survived in the Middle Ages.⁴²⁴

From the scholastic reception of the Aristotelian definition of history as the knowledge of the particular – in contrast to the universality of poetry –, history expanded its meanings in Renaissance humanist praise of history as *artes historicae*, central to the civic formation. As Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi have shown, the Florentine scholar Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494) exemplified the changes in the role of history during the Renaissance. In his eulogy, history surpassed philosophy as a guide to public and private affairs, in accordance to Cicero’s praise of the role of history in rhetoric: history was here the *testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuncio vetustatis* (“the witness of the ages, the light of truth, the life of memory, the governess of life, the herald of antiquity”).⁴²⁵ Poliziano went on to define trustworthy histories, in contrast to fabulous histories: “the *historia* of places, that is geography; of times, such as in chronicles; of nature, such as the *historia* of animals and plants; or of human deeds, such as annals and histories.”⁴²⁶

Regarding the changes to geography brought about by the discoveries, Iberian works and overseas colonial expertise were used as practical and scholarly examples of the changing

⁴²³ *The Cambridge History of Science. Vol. 3: Early Modern Science*, ed. by Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005).

⁴²⁴ Pomata and Siraisi, pp. 2–9.

⁴²⁵ Cicero, *De Oratore*, II, 36

⁴²⁶ Pomata and Siraisi, p. 10.

geographical knowledge by the sixteenth century. Their works of geography and history cannot be dissociated from their political function of contesting or justifying their overseas empires.⁴²⁷ Anthony Pagden has called attention to the different meanings that the word *imperium* had in the Roman period, three of them remaining in the early modern age: “a perfect order; a territory comprising more than one political community; an individual’s absolute sovereignty.”⁴²⁸ The early modern expansion of Christianity was based on an appropriation of the topic of Roman *civitas*: to extend the lordship of the Crowns is to civilize, i.e., to convert and educate, in order to restore the apparent and negative global diversity in degrees of policy to its primordial, godly unity. At the same time, the early modern European imperial project was also the sum of several partial imperial projects, in which the term ‘empire’ increasingly meant the territorial and economic expansion of particular monarchies or republics. The internal competition between powers in Europe was extended to, and found expression in, the external colonial and mercantile competition along the routes of overseas expansion.⁴²⁹

According to David Armitage, it was Hakluyt who gave “a geographical turn to historical writing” in English historiography in response to an inadequacy “of a genre [the chronicle] which laid history solely along the axis of time, and hence could hardly accommodate the exploration and extension of space”.⁴³⁰ As Anthony Grafton and Joan-Pau Rubiés have shown, some forms of historical writing as *res gestae* (“things done”, in Latin) had included geographical elements and in the early modern period this overlap became more frequent. According to Lesley B. Cormack, the overlap between history and geography was part of the reception, specifically, of Strabo by sixteenth-century students of geography in England.⁴³¹

This ‘turn’ mentioned by Armitage was, in fact, suggested by Hakluyt himself in the third volume of *The Principal Navigations* (1600), in which he stated that the profusion of

⁴²⁷ For a concise history of the concept of empire from Rome’s *imperium* to nineteenth-century imperialism, see David Armitage, ‘Introduction’, in *Theories of Empire, 1450-1800*, ed. by David Armitage (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. xv–xxxiii.

⁴²⁸ Pagden, *Lords of All the World. Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500-c.1800*, pp. 13–19.

⁴²⁹ Walter D. Mignolo, ‘Afterword: What Does the Black Legend Have to Do with Race?’, in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. by Maureen Quilligan, Walter D. Mignolo, and Margaret Rich Greer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 312–24.

⁴³⁰ Armitage, ‘The New World and British Historical Thought: From Richard Hakluyt to William Robertson’, pp. 56–57.

⁴³¹ Joan-Pau Rubiés, ‘From the “History of Travayle” to the History of Travel Collections: The Rise of an Early Modern Genre’, p. 26; Cormack, p. 132.

travel narratives about the New World allowed him to organise them according to time *and* space, while in the volumes with fewer accounts he only used the chronological order. The overseas voyages and the ‘discovery’ of the New World informed and were represented by a perception of vastness and diversity in geography (cartography, cosmography and descriptions). This deeply affected the genre of history with two consequences which are particularly important for this research (and the ‘turn’ was mutual: geography also gained a historical depth, as stated above in relation to Ortelius’s *Parergon*). On the one hand, in sixteenth-century European works concerned with the overseas voyages, history and geography overlapped as genres. In England and France of the sixteenth century, travel accounts, such as Léry’s *Histoire d’un voyage* and Willes’s *History of travayle*, were titled as “histories” but comprised lengthy geographical passages – much like the Iberian *historias* of Oviedo and López de Gómara, and the Portuguese *histórias* of expansion by Barros, Castanheda, and Osório. In Léry’s account of his voyage to Brazil, for instance, a series of descriptive chapters on the land, peoples and natural riches of Brazil were framed within a narrative account of the journey, which included the story of the conflict between Léry’s Huguenot companions and Nicolas de Villegagnon, the governor of France Antarctique. In France, André Thevet used the genre of travel account in his *Cosmographie universelle* to mimic a historical narrative. In this case, Thevet’s shortcomings regarding *autopsia* did not go unnoticed by Hakluyt, who likely referred to him when criticising the “wearie volumes bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie”.⁴³² On the other hand, the relation between history and geography was not only of complementarity. The topos of geography as the ‘eye’ of history signify a relation of subordination of the former to the latter.

By the end of the sixteenth century, imperial imagination and the discourses about colonial expansion offered a way to re-purpose the perception of polyphony described above. By doing so, they gave a new dimension to the topos which was absent from Chyträus and Ortelius and had already been announced in Barros’s entwinement of geography and history in his chronicle praising the Portuguese expansion to Asia. I would like to argue that La Popelinière and Hakluyt are a case in point of the changes and continuities in the relationship

⁴³² Richard Hakluyt, ‘Preface to the Reader in The Principall Navigations (1589). “Richard Hakluyt to the Favourable Reader”’, in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, 401–9 (p. 402).

between history and geography, expressed in the topos, brought about by the defence of empire-making and colonial expansion.

4.1.3. The entwinement of geography and history in the works of Hakluyt and La Popelinière

As we have just seen, the sixteenth century saw the emergence of a distinct discourse about the entwinement between history and geography. Yet, interestingly, neither Hakluyt nor La Popelinière used ‘history’ in the titles of their works built around histories of voyages and conquests. Hakluyt alluded to voyages and navigations (*Divers Voyages* and *The Principal Navigations*), clearly inspired by Ramusio’s travel collection, *Delle navigationi et viaggi*. La Popelinière alluded to the idea of *monde* both as the world and its three parts, in *Les Trois Mondes*. Nevertheless, I argue that both authors’ literary enterprises still exemplified the key changes outlined above. By analysing the overt and covert uses of ‘geography as the eye of history’ across their writings, I hope to make clear the profound change the experience and narrative of overseas voyages brought to the Renaissance genres of history and geography and how this ‘geo-historical’ perspective grounded their defence of European colonial expansion. As I hope to show, both La Popelinière and Hakluyt converged in their anxieties about matters of *evidence* of places and deeds they themselves did not see or perform. La Popelinière’s uses of the ‘geographical eye’ allowed him to support a French colony in the *terra australis* and to develop a comparative and global theory of history. Hakluyt, on the other hand, merged history and geography to such an extent that the ‘geographical eye’ not only gave order and visibility to scattered records; it allowed him to *make history*, that is, to constantly support the making of new exemplary deeds as a solution to the perception of English belatedness or absence from the expanding world.

Travel literature was understood as a privileged way of producing new, modern geographical knowledge about the world. The superiority of modern geographical knowledge and travel experience, expressed chiefly as travel literature, was claimed by Hakluyt in his pamphlets, in both editions of *The Principal Navigations* and in prefaces to other works. The ‘lack’ or rarity of English voyages was lamented both in history and in historical narratives, hence Hakluyt’s claim to be the first editor to save the English voyages from obscurity. The subject of his main historical survey, English voyages, could only increase if one had better geographical knowledge, hence his emphasis on learning the art of navigation as the Iberians

exemplarily did. The source material of his travel collections, furthermore, largely comprised geographical material. Following a similar sense of the modern superiority or improvement of the ancients' geographical knowledge, La Popelinière used Iberian histories and chronicles to convince the French to learn from history and expand into the *terra australis*, which, in turn, had been largely imagined in maps and cosmographies. *Les Trois Mondes* is, indeed, a history of discoveries, supported by the geographical descriptions taken from works of history as well. In the history of historiography and method of history that is *L'Histoire des histoires*, La Popelinière developed his project of *histoire accomplie* by relying, among other things, on pieces of evidence of the existence of geographical knowledge and historical culture in other-than-European societies. This information had, in turn, being read by him in travel literature and histories of the expansion. The importance of geography in seeing, writing, and understanding history was epitomised in La Popelinière's defence of the place of the nobleman/scholar alongside merchants and mariners on the ship, so the historian could *see*, through geography, the deep history of Asia. Finally, the outline of Hakluyt's travel collections and La Popelinière's *Les Trois Mondes* both followed a geographical and a chronological order in arranging the parts of the world and the succession of events narrated.

In a nutshell, these are the key ways in which geography supported history in the works of our two authors. To be sure, oftentimes it was history that framed the geographical description of the world. However, this did not mean that the topos was inverted and history became one of the eyes of geography. It rather meant that the voyages of discovery amplified the subject of geography and history and, thus, the armchair travellers relied on the topos as a means to *control* the polyphony. Hakluyt and La Popelinière used both geography and history to support England's and France's places within a moralising and very recent history of discoveries. As a result, the topos worked for past deeds but also to guide a projected future of empire-making in response to the English and French failure to expand and be a part of such moralising historical narrative.

4.2. La Popelinière's *histoire accomplie* in the making

4.2.1. The 'geographical eye' in La Popelinière's moderate history of the Wars of Religion

La Popelinière published his first work, *La Vraye et entiere histoire des derniers troubles advenus*, in 1571.⁴³³ In this historical work, certain ideas about history were already present and would be developed in the following ones. In the prefatory material, La Popelinière already articulated history and geography by stressing the importance of geographical details through *ekphrasis*. By doing so, he considered geography important not only for the reader's understanding of the historical narrative, but also as a means for the reader to extrapolate the narrative into an exemplary lesson. Furthermore, he emphasised the importance of a detailed orientation and description in the historical narrative. Since history was seen as the theatre of human lives, La Popelinière claimed that his historical narrative could be a source of "des beaux traicts" with which one could craft a full picture of the military art.⁴³⁴ But before we develop these points, it is key to understand the context of the civil wars in which he wrote the book.

The immediate context for this work was La Popelinière's own experience as a soldier in the Wars of Religion. He had fought in the Huguenot party in the Wars of Religion throughout the 1560s and 1570s. The Wars reached a first height in 1562 with the massacres of Vassy, Cahors and Carcassonne. La Popelinière was then studying Law in Toulouse, where he joined other students against the Catholic Parliament of that city. Amidst a series of defeats of the Huguenot party and moments of truce over the rest of the decade, La Popelinière published a translation of an Italian mirror for generals, Rocca's *Imprese stratagemmi et errori militari* as well as his own *Vraye et entiere histoire*.⁴³⁵ Military affairs were a characteristic component of a Thucydidean lineage of civic history. However, the theme seemed to have a

⁴³³ Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *La Vraye et entiere Histoire de derniers Troubles advenus, tant en France, qu'en Flandres & pays circonvoisins depuis l'an 1562 jusqu'en 1570* (Cologne: Birckman, 1571); Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *La Vraye et entiere Histoire des Troubles & choses memorables, avenues tant en France qu'en Flandres & pays circonvoisins depuis 1562. Comprinse en quatorze livres, les trois premiers & derniers desquels sont nouveaux, les autres revus, enrichis & augmentés de plusieurs choses notables, avec les considérations sur les guerres civiles des François* (Basel: Pierre Davantes, 1572).

⁴³⁴ La Popelinière, *La Vraye et entiere Histoire*, fol. 3v.

⁴³⁵ Beaulieu, pp. 10–11; Bernardo de la Rocca, *Des Entreprises & ruses de guerre, & des fautes qui parfois surviennet es progres & executions d'icelles, ou le vrai portrait d'un parfait General d'Armee, le tout divisé en cinq livres, avec les sommaires sur chacune entreprise*, trans. by Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière (Paris: Nicolas Chasneau, 1571). La Popelinière, *L'Amiral de France*.

particularly strong and long-lasting effect on La Popelinière's life and interest in historical writing. His translation of Rocca's work could have been the inspiration for his *L'Amiral de France* in 1584, encompassing a defence of the French vernacular in his history of the institution of the Navy and Admiralty in different nations.

In an epistle dedicated to the French nobility written in October 1571, La Popelinière summarised a series of ideas which shed light on the idea of history and its metaphorical space of the theatre. The title of *La Vraye et entiere histoire* already indicated the main elements which La Popelinière dissected in the preface: truthfulness (*vraye*), generality (*entiere*) and contemporaneity (*derniers*). He praised the pleasure historical narrative provided by showing the diversity of *faits memorables* which were originally hidden. He then quoted the famous Ciceronian definition of history as “the witness of time, the light of truth, the life of memory, the directress of life, the herald of antiquity” and concluded by adding that history was, in sum, “le theatre de ceste nostre vie humaine”.⁴³⁶ This echoes Besse's analysis of Ortelius's use of the *theatre* to represent the reader as a spectator who contemplated God's creation in the synoptic form of the world map or the atlas. La Popelinière's use of the theatrical metaphor indicates a shared vocabulary between ideas about geography and history at the time. The contemplation that the world as a stage inspired in its viewers seemed to be extendable to the contemplation of human deeds by readers of history. The definition of history as political history would be developed by La Popelinière in *L'Idée de l'histoire accomplie*, in 1599, as critique to Jean Bodin's all-encompassing idea of history, outlined in his *Methodus*, in 1566, as I show later.

According to La Popelinière, his history was different from others firstly in its pursuit of truthfulness, which resulted from his use of eyewitness testimonies, and not hearsay (“un ouy dire & par rapport d'autrui”). He did admit of course that, since it was impossible that one or many people see everything “en tout temps, & en tous lieux”, he had to rely on other people's accounts and memories. In the preface, he also differentiated between chroniclers and *historiographes*, the first writing short accounts with little instruction, as opposed to the latter weighing up and putting together a variety of accounts. In any case, he emphasised the

⁴³⁶ La Popelinière, *La Vraye et entiere Histoire*, fol. 3v. Cicero, *De oratore*, II 36.

importance of his own, personal testimony: when lamenting the civil war, La Popelinière stressed how his “miserables yeux” had seen the nation turned against itself.⁴³⁷

The second reason why, according to La Popelinière, his history was different from others had to do directly with the usefulness of *enargeia* and *ekphrasis* in situating historical narrative. La Popelinière argued that, for all readers, especially those who had never been in the places he described, his *Vraye et entiere histoire* offered a way to “suivre les train des armes, si curioisement depeint les lieux, villes, chasteaux & places fortes [...] que les estrangers mesmes se les peuvent représenter comme s’ils y estoient presens.” Likewise, he described in detail, that is, through *ekphrasis*, all the necessary steps and parts to build a fortress, the arrangement of the troops, among other features of battle scenes, so that “tous ceux qui naturels à l’exercice guerrier, voudront apprendre à se bien comporter” can find almost a blueprint to recreate it if they have “le crayon artificiel pour les savoir bien remarquer”.⁴³⁸ As a result, La Popelinière had imagined his history as a source for maps or military drawings for the Wars of Religion or as an inspiration for other uses. He criticised ancient and modern historians for embellishing their narratives so much that it made it impossible for such a visual representation of the narrated scenes to be taken from the narrative. From those other works, “le peintre qui avoit entrepris de représenter un homme, n’en effigie que le corps, laissant les bras & autres membres à l’imaginative de celui qui contemple la pourtraiture de ce truc imparfait.”⁴³⁹

Finally, the third and main reason why La Popelinière thought his history differed from other works of history was a summary of the main military traits desired from a leader – a scheme or archetype of the warrior built from ancient and modern cases, which should serve as a virtuous example of military art. By studying the precepts of war in a historical narrative one could ‘discover’ the means to better conduct a war. And how could one extract or extrapolate the precepts of war in history? “Je desire qu’il [l’Historien] me représente si les lieux par où il [le General] a passé ses troupes en despit de l’ennemy, sont plains & unis, ou bossus par la hauteur de quelques montaignes, entre-coupées de plusieurs vallons, ou tranchées par nombre de rivorotes, & abreuvés des marescs & lieux bouëux. Qu’il me raconta l’ordre et moyen qu’il a tenu à passer outre.” A detailed geographical description – topography and chorography – would thus function as a guide to the historical narrative to work as a lesson

⁴³⁷ La Popelinière, *La Vraye et entiere Histoire*, fol. 4r.

⁴³⁸ La Popelinière, *La Vraye et entiere Histoire*, fol. 5r.

⁴³⁹ La Popelinière, *La Vraye et entiere Histoire*, fol. 6v.

about the art of war and how *any* general should behave. Instead of being simply a chronicle of particular events, it aimed to go further and *represent* the challenges and enterprise of *any* military leader, so *each* leader could learn the available means, techniques and strategies to be successful. The Wars of Religion were probably not the only military disorder behind his critique. It is likely that he also referred to Captain Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon's deficient leadership qualities as the cause of the failure of France Antarctique in the 1550s (described in more detail in *Les Trois Mondes*). A truthful and general history of the Wars of Religion needed a set of spatial details such as the formation and arrangement of the armies on the day of the event, the form of the camp, and the description of places and how to defend them not only to bring vividness to the narrative, but to offer a concise set of outcomes and actions, among which the reader could devise a plan.⁴⁴⁰ In sum, we can see how the historical narrative, for La Popelinière, relies on the use of visual evidence and elements of geographical discourse. Even if he does not explicitly quote the topos of *historiae oculus geographia* here, we can see how this first work implicitly plays with it and sets the stage for an entwinement of geography and history.

La Vraye et entiere histoire de ces derniers troubles was reedited five times between 1572 and 1578, with editions in Basel and La Rochelle. In 1573, it was plagiarised by Jean Le Frère de Laval, who removed the passages more favourable to the Huguenots and less favourable to the Catholics. Plagiarism in the modern sense (at the time fashioned as revision and commentary) was common in early modern written culture, and La Popelinière reacted by publishing *L'Histoire de France* in 1581, expanding the theme of the civil wars.⁴⁴¹ La Popelinière aimed to reach both Huguenot and Catholic audiences with his *Histoire*, so he dedicated the first two volumes to King Henri III and to Queen-Mother Catherine de Médicis respectively. In January, he sent a draft of the *Histoire* to the French Protestant theologian Théodore de Bèze and, in his accompanying letter, made the reason for his moderation clear:

J'ay pour mesme occasion, adressé mon labour au Roy & Reine mere non pour en tirer faveur. [...] Mais afin que les Catholiques, voyans le front du livre gravé

⁴⁴⁰ La Popelinière, *La Vraye et entiere Histoire*, fol. 7v.

⁴⁴¹ Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *L'Histoire de France, enrichie des plus notables occurrences survenues es Provinces de l'Europe & pays voisins, soit en Paix, soit en Guerre: tant pour le fait Seculier qu'Ecclesiastic: depuis 1550 jusques à ces temps*, 2 vols (La Rochelle: P. Haultin, 1581). His *Histoire* was reedited in Paris (1582 and 1583), La Rochelle (1587).

du nom de nostre Prince Souverain et commun à tous françois: se fantasians par là que le contenu soit aussi commun aux deux partis que le titre.⁴⁴²

In his epistle dedicated to Henri III, he repeated the purpose of history as *magistra vitae* (“par la consideration du passé, vous puissiez bien prévoir à l’avenir”). In the preface to the reader, ‘Advertissements necessaires, esquels outre plusieurs avis les desseins de l’Auteur’, La Popelinière praised again the role of *autopsia* in historical narrative and copied certain passages from *La Vraye histoire*. He asserted the military superiority of the moderns over the ancients, since the latter only had their predecessors to teach them, and the former had their books and the possibility of becoming “modelles accomplis” by spotting historical errors and succeeding where others had failed.⁴⁴³ Again, La Popelinière added the visual dimension, explaining that he could offer a more accurate, improved account of military episodes in his *L’Histoire de France* because he had been able to

se transporter sur les lieux, bien qu’il [l’Auteur] eust au paravant voyagé en plusieurs Provinces, pour mieux concevoir à l’oeil & plus au naif vous représenter les places, Rivieres, passages, rencontres, assemblées, & autres notables particularitez qui sont partie du corps de cette histoire [...].⁴⁴⁴

The lengthy *Histoire de France* was divided into twenty-three books. It featured several passages with geographical descriptions such as the details about La Rochelle in book twelve: “A ces occasions j’estime faire chose for agreable à tous si je vous represente avec la place, les occasions & moyens par lesquels elle [La Rochelle] s’est rendu Protestante.”⁴⁴⁵ At this point, It is worth noticing how La Popelinière’s use of source material in *L’Histoire de France* resembled that of Hakluyt for his *Principall Navigations*. The French historian not only gathered a variety of records such as geographical descriptions, peace treaties, edicts, petitions, speeches and letters in the preparation of the book, he often copied or paraphrased them in their entirety, with only minor editing interference. The scholarly printing of ‘originals’ aimed at extending the eyewitness quality of the document into the hands and eyes of the reader. To copy passages was a solution to the many degrees of separation between reader and

⁴⁴² George W. Sypher published most of the letters sent by and to La Popelinière from the Collection Dupuy, held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (vol. 744, fols. 230-288).

⁴⁴³ La Popelinière, *L’Histoire de France*, fol. 4r.

⁴⁴⁴ La Popelinière, *L’Histoire de France*, fol. 4r.

⁴⁴⁵ La Popelinière, *L’Histoire de France*, bk. 12, f. 33v.

editor/historian/geographer of any episode, or, in La Popelinière's case, of a discourse complementing or alluding to an episode.⁴⁴⁶

Finally, the full title of *L'Histoire de France, enrichie des plus notables occurrences survenues es Provinces de l'Europe & pays voisins* showed the connections between different national or political units for his narrative and indicated the relevance of the geographical scope of historical narrative according to La Popelinière's idea of *histoire accomplie*, or accomplished history. This term carried both La Popelinière's critique that no one had been able to develop a satisfactory definition and use of history on the one hand, and the pursuit of a coherent theory and method of history on the other. He defines history in *L'Idée de l'histoire accomplie* as a "Narré vray, general, eloquent et judicieux, des plus notables actions des hommes, et autres accidens y representez selon les temps, les lieux, leurs causes, progresz et evenemens", which followed the lengthy *L'Histoire* in the tripartite work.⁴⁴⁷ For La Popelinière, a general or universal history should not be a systematic analysis of *all* human, divine and natural experience – it thus had, as I shall discuss below, a very different meaning from Bodin's idea of history. We can thus see yet another dimension of a useful understanding of geography or a spatial scope for the historical narrative. It should have a sufficiently concise and ample scope so that one could encompass the relevant source material (as close to *autopsia* as possible) while being able to extrapolate moralising lessons from the narrative. As we shall see, this was attempted by La Popelinière for French political history, the Wars of Religion and the military arts, the institution of admiralty and art of navigation, and the discoveries and voyages to Asia, Africa and America.

In his study about the concepts of history in La Popelinière's works, George W. Sypher saw a great continuity between *La Vraye et entiere histoire* and *L'Histoire de France* (1581) but also a few minute changes. In an important footnote where he compared some changes between both works, Sypher argued that those concerned mostly "geographical facts, foreign history, and military statistics" and, therefore, were "of no importance to anyone save the military historian".⁴⁴⁸ However, if we consider La Popelinière's own words from the epistle about why geographical details were crucial to a narrative about military history or matters of

⁴⁴⁶ Sypher saw this operation as a sign of impartiality or objectivity. Sypher, 'La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer', p. 69.

⁴⁴⁷ Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *L'Idée de l'histoire accomplie* (Paris: Jean Houze, 1599), p. 36.

⁴⁴⁸ Sypher, 'La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer', pp. 86–87.e

the State, these changes could gain a profound meaning. The fact that the changes from one work to the other dealt precisely with topographical aspects suggests that La Popelinière continued to think about the importance of geography in bringing intelligibility to history. Indeed, as Sypher has argued, most of his ideas about history were already present in both early works and would be developed, rather than introduced, in *L'Histoire des histoires* and *L'idée de l'histoire accomplie* (1599). Nevertheless, it is important to consider that these minute changes in geographical details could be a sign of how La Popelinière's ideas about history were accompanied by a growing interest in geography in relation to history, as the publication of *Les Trois Mondes* made clear. Sypher explained that what was often "exhaustive" or "trivial" and deemed to make the modern historian "first bored and then exasperated with the length, and sometimes the irrelevancy, of these descriptions" served the purpose of *La Vraye* and *L'Histoire de France* as military guides or handbooks.⁴⁴⁹ He, then, separated this from the more overt geographical subjects of *Les Trois Mondes* and *L'Amiral de France* – La Popelinière's defence of the art of navigation and the institution of admiralty. But rather than aiming at providing a guide, La Popelinière's first attempts in writing history were based on the understanding that allowing the reader to locate the events and conveying *enargeia* through description were two key steps into making history useful and 'reproducible'.

Anne-Marie Beaulieu and Philippe Desan pointed out how La Popelinière's life as a soldier, historian and armchair traveller, despite not being unique in Renaissance scholarship, contributed to his distinct, moderate and *politique* outlook on the Wars of Religion, expressed already in the *La Vraye et entiere Histoire*.⁴⁵⁰ I would like to stress La Popelinière's attention to geography as one of the reasons or aspects for his relatively moderate outlook onto the Wars. Denis Cosgrove has argued that Abraham Ortelius promoted "a quest for wisdom and tolerance of difference" in his *Theatrum orbis terrarum* because its representation of the unity and diversity of the world/theatre as a moral space involved various forms of 'distanciation'.⁴⁵¹ Cosgrove has traced the fortunes of a Ciceronian rhetoric of the globe as an icon of universal authority into early modern Europe, linked to the memory of imperial Rome around figures including John III of Portugal, Philip II of Spain, Elizabeth I of England, Cosimo de' Medici,

⁴⁴⁹ Sypher, 'La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer', pp. 88–89.

⁴⁵⁰ Beaulieu, p. 12; Philippe Desan, 'La "narré" de l'histoire chez La Popelinière', in *Penser l'histoire à la Renaissance* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993), pp. 203–19 (pp. 204–5).

⁴⁵¹ Denis Cosgrove, 'Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93.4 (2003), 852–70.

Pope Gregory XIII, and various widely circulating epic poems.⁴⁵² Although La Popelinière did not openly share Ortelius's neo-Stoic and, according to Cosgrove, Familist view of the world map and the atlas as an immobile space for detached contemplation, La Popelinière *did* define history as a “theatre” of human lives in his *Vraye et entiere histoire*. This indicates a shared cosmographical image of the world in the metaphor of the theatre, which, in turn, was a variation on the metaphor of the theatre as memory.⁴⁵³ In addition, it shows a shared view of the moral dimension involved in human understanding when looking at a map and when reading history. This link is deepened if we consider that La Popelinière printed Ortelius's ‘Typus orbis terrarum’, the world map from the *Theatrum*, in the opening pages of *Les Trois Mondes*.⁴⁵⁴ It is plausible, therefore, to argue that La Popelinière's moderate view of the Wars of Religion may have been related to his ideas about geography and its intermingling with his view of history. He sought to narrate contemporary civic or political deeds of great violence in such a way that his moderate vocabulary and detailed spatial accounts could convince the reader of the possibility of a unifying solution to the dissent of the civil wars – including the establishment of a French colony overseas.

Such an attitude sits well with La Popelinière's biography. According to Anne-Marie Beaulieu, a series of episodes following St Bartholomew's day massacre (1572) highlight La Popelinière's difficult position amidst the civil war, as he was accused by both sides of being an interloper: in his brief exile in the Low Countries and England in 1573, La Popelinière was accused by Huguenot leaders of negotiating an amnesty with the Catholic King Charles IX (r.1560-1574) for his return to France. In May 1574, La Popelinière went as a deputy of La Rochelle to the assembly of Millau aiming to convince the Protestants linked to the *Union des protestants du Midi*, in Provence and Dauphiné, to join the recent Edict of Boulogne or Peace of La Rochelle. Following the death of Charles IX at the end of that month, La Popelinière was held prisoner by the Catholics and by 1575, back in La Rochelle, he picked up arms again and joined various battles until the end of the decade.⁴⁵⁵ *La Vraye et entiere histoire* and *L'Histoire*

⁴⁵² Cosgrove, pp. 859–62; Yates, *Astraea*. A few recent studies have reconsidered Abraham Ortelius's adherence to the religious group of the Family of Love; see Taihei Yamamoto, ‘Sympathy for the Secret Society: The Family of Love, Humanists, and Guillaume Postel’, in *Religious Interactions in Europe and the Mediterranean World. Coexistence and Dialogue from the 12th to the 20th Centuries*, ed. by Katsumi Fukasawa, Benjamin J. Kaplan, and Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire (New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 37–48 (p. 41); ‘The Religious Position of Abraham Ortelius’, in *The Low Countries As a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, ed. by Arie Jan Gelderblom and others (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 89–140.

⁴⁵³ Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

⁴⁵⁴ See Figure 3 on p. 105.

⁴⁵⁵ Beaulieu, p. 13; Sypher, ‘La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer’, pp. 1–49.

de France were censored by the Huguenot party in La Rochelle. By July of 1581, the minister of La Rochelle, Odet de Nort, who had accused the book of falsities, irreligion, and defamation of the Protestant party and history, pressured La Rochelle's consistory and the national synod of the French reformed churches (gathered in La Rochelle that year) to censor the book. La Popelinière protested and resisted the accusations until 1585 when he signed a confession of error.⁴⁵⁶ Although the confession was never published, La Popelinière developed his reflections on the purpose of history precisely to justify the validity of his moderate history of the Wars of Religion.

In a nutshell, in La Popelinière's first two works, geography already supported his ideas about history. On the one hand, cartography inspired La Popelinière's moderate assessment of the Wars of Religion. On the other hand, the geographical, descriptive passages in his histories allowed for the reader to situate and witness, as it were, each narrated episode, and thus gain a certain proximity to it as a means to overcome the unsurmountable physical and temporal distance of the audience. The fabrication of the reader's eye-witnessing in his *histoires* also rested on his choice to print or extensively copy his source material. Furthermore, the detailed and vivid geographical descriptions in his histories of the Wars also allowed the reader to translate the text into image.

4.2.2. A geo-historical representation of the world: the praise of voyages in *Les Trois Mondes*

Regarding *Les Trois Mondes*, George W. Sypher indicated that this work represented for La Popelinière a break from history: "These troubles [the censorship] evidently inclined La Popelinière towards a less controversial area of study, and in the 1580s his main energies were devoted to geography, together with maritime exploration and the discoveries in the new world."⁴⁵⁷ On the other hand, Anne-Marie Beaulieu has recognised a change of scale rather than of theme. According to Beaulieu, La Popelinière temporarily left the history of France to proceed specifically with the study of geography, citing the passage where he defined geography as the 'right eye' and 'true light' of history (more on this below).⁴⁵⁸ In this section, I would like to argue that the intersections between geography and history in *Les Trois Mondes*

⁴⁵⁶ For a detailed account of the accusations against *L'Histoire de France* and La Popelinière's defence, see Sypher, 'La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer', pp. 20–40.

⁴⁵⁷ Sypher, 'La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer', p. 42.

⁴⁵⁸ Beaulieu, p. 23; Sypher, 'La Popelinière: Historian and Historiographer', p. 42.

complemented those in his other works. The main difference in the treatise is of a thematic nature (colonial expansion instead of wars of religion), not a generic one (geography instead of history). In fact, in order to argue in support of French colonial expansion, La Popelinière deepened the articulation between geography and history.

Les Trois Mondes is a treatise about the ‘making’ of the world through discoveries and voyages. It combines geography and history as it offers discourses about the world, its parts, and the experience and knowledge of ancients and moderns about the world, made possible mostly by overseas voyages. La Popelinière arranged this material chronologically and geographically, in a combination that could characterise it as a history of the discoveries. We have seen, in the previous chapter, how travel literature was part of the wider genre of geographical literature by Iberian and Italian armchair travellers. Is La Popelinière’s history of discoveries a work of geography then, or of history? I would like to argue that, in his treatise, La Popelinière deepened the meanings of ‘geography as the eye of history’ and offered an alternative way to write about the history of voyages and discoveries through geography, making it a distinct form of ‘geo-historical’ writing in support of colonialism.

The most immediately visible way in which geography guided the reader along the narrative of discoveries appears in the outline of the treatise. La Popelinière wished for the treatise to formally represent the known world (the *ecumene*, in his usage of the word) and its division into three parts: Old World, New World and a third, unknown world, the *terra australis*. This is the primary and most obvious geographical principle at play in the ordering of the text. Despite the heterogeneity of the books, their sequence broadly followed a chronology of the Europeans’ knowledge about or contact with each of the three worlds. This is the secondary dimension of the entwinement between geography and history. Together, I will argue, these two organising principles of the treatise emphasise the argumentative co-dependency of geography and history.

Overall, the chronology of Old-New-unknown was further complicated by La Popelinière’s moralising discourse on the Iberian conquests and works in his choice to print the accounts of French Florida before those of France Antarctique. As seen in chapter 3, from the geo-historical discourse of the first book until the end of the treatise, the main theme and thread were the Iberian voyages and works, which were themselves presented as unifying both

historical narrative and geographical knowledge. La Popelinière's intricate formal articulation of geography and history supported the conceptual principles highlighted by Besse, namely an anxiety about *visibility* and *obscurity* of the voyages and, thus, of the knowledge about the natural and political state and progress of the world and its inhabitants. La Popelinière would claim that this latter issue was, broadly speaking, the subject of *histoire accomplie*. Nevertheless, I argue that this idea was particularly articulated, with an imperial outlook onto the world, in *Les Trois Mondes*, albeit in continuity with his first works of history.

La Popelinière cited the topos of *historiae oculus geographia* in two instances in *Les Trois Mondes*. It first appeared in the table of contents of the first book, which explored the ancients' geographical and navigational knowledge about the world and the historical narratives and geographical descriptions of Europe, Africa and Asia. After the first sixteen articles on the ancients and before the description of the first part of the universe, the Old World, La Popelinière announced the seventeenth article:

[Article] 17 Traditive que l'auteur veut tenir à la representation des trois mondes, & que l'on ne doit faire estat d'aucune histoire si la geographie, son oeil droit & lumiere naturelle, ne marche devant. Enquoy neantmoins tous historiographes de quelques temps & langues qu'ils soient, ont tousjours failly com'à plusiers autres choses.⁴⁵⁹

Two key ideas are encapsulated in the title of article 17, which had already been present in La Popelinière's earlier works of history. Firstly, geography as an aid to history was to be taken, by the reader, as a guiding principle throughout not only the first book, but the whole treatise. Without the 'right eye' of geography, that 'natural light', the representation of all three *mondes* would be incomplete – a 'one-eyed' historical narrative. Secondly, La Popelinière criticised previous writers of works of history for failing to do as he was doing. This critique was later developed as one of the main subjects of *L'Histoire des histoires*, his historiography of, in a way, 'failed' histories, leading to La Popelinière's own project of history in *L'idée de l'histoire accomplie*, as I explain in next sections.

⁴⁵⁹ My italics. La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 107.

Within article 17 of *Les Trois Mondes* as such, the topos reappeared and functioned as a means for La Popelinière to explain the division of the globe into three worlds. As mentioned, this division was linked with the chronology of human voyages. However, a historical narrative of the voyages could only be understood if geography, walking in front ('marche devant'), allowed the reader to *see* those worlds and their peoples in the first place:

Or d'autant que les peuples, les descouvertes desquels nous entendons esclarcir à chacun, sont partis de l'Europe pour conquerir ce monde nouveau: & que d'ailleurs ils sont conquis & peuplé en mesme temps presque toutes les costes d'Affrique & d'Asie, principaux membres du viel monde : me semble qu'il est expedient vous donner une ample & particuliere description de ces trois parties devant que toucher à noz descouvertes. Car *comme la geographie est l'oeil naturel & la vraye lumiere de l'histoire*: tout narré sera tousjours obscur, & ne scauroit on bien comprendre aucun discours pour vray qu'il feust, si l'on ne cognoist premierement les lieux, l'humeur du peuple, & la qualité du pays duquel on entend parler.⁴⁶⁰

Taking both references to the topos together, geography appeared successively as the 'right eye', the 'natural eye', the 'natural light', and the 'true light'. *Light* and *eye*, here, belong to a vast semantic field of *visual evidence*. In all variations, they held the same purpose: to facilitate the reader's understanding of things in space and time. Therefore, it was not simply a requisite of the truthfulness of the historical narrative, but rather a necessary, pedagogical tool to support the reader's comprehension of the true narrative.

The third way in which geography appears as the 'eye of history' in *Les Trois Mondes* is through the insertion of a simplified copy of Ortelius's world map titled 'Typus orbis terrarum', printed on the opening pages of the first book, with a translation from Latin into French of the Ciceronian passage: "Quelle des choses humaines pourroit sembler grande à celuy, auquel avec l'eternité est connuë la grandeur de tout le monde?"⁴⁶¹ This is the only map printed in all of La Popelinière's works (except, of course, his 1608 translation of *Atlas minor*), although *Les Trois Mondes* and, as we shall see, *L'Histoire des histoires*, were greatly influenced by a cosmographical image of the world. The reason for the presence of Ortelius's

⁴⁶⁰ My italics. La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 148.

⁴⁶¹ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 109.

map specifically on the opening of this treatise, beyond its potential meditative function, is to allow the reader to see the division of the globe into worlds and, particularly, the vastness of the *terra australis*. The map also contributes to solving the crisis of the armchair traveller's autopsy, which was resolved by the cartographer's visual representation of the changing world ("noz modernes n'en ont fait voir").⁴⁶² The world map, taken from the Ortelius atlas and inserted back into the armchair traveller's geo-historical discourse, contributed to the *visual evidence* of history.

Map and text now, together, aimed to persuade the French audience to support overseas expansion towards the *terra australis*. The representation of the far South as a largely unknown yet promising part of the world had a long life in early modern travel and geographical literature. According to Alfred Hiatt, the representation of the *terra australis* developed, in different ways, in the reception of Magellan's travel to Tierra del Fuego in 1520, in the French mathematician Oronce Finé's *Nova Universi Orbis Descriptio* (1531), and in the German-Flemish cartography of Gerardus Mercator and Abraham Ortelius. According to Hiatt, Ortelius did not express concern about the yet unknown and empty space of the *terra australis* that adorned his world map. It was one of Ortelius's correspondents, the French polymath Guillaume Postel, who revived in relation to this the biblical idea of the antipodes as a destination for expansion and, like Mercator, believed in its vastness.⁴⁶³ Postel and Mercator's reflection on the antipodes related to a cosmographical preoccupation of reconciling geographical knowledge and biblical history, and resumed Augustine's discussion of the boundaries of humanity and Christianity. The novelty with La Popelinière is that he turned from Ortelius and Mercator's cosmographical perspective and Postel's biblical reading of the antipodes to a discussion of its usefulness for colonial expansion, and as a solution to the Wars of Religion. As Hiatt aptly puts it, before its discovery, the *terra australis* had thus already been colonised.⁴⁶⁴ The distant southern region was, in fact, the destination of Hakluyt's first project for an English overseas colony, focusing on the area between São Vicente and the Magellan's Strait, as I showed in chapter 3. La Popelinière was responsible for re-orienting the French colonial imagination to the far South based on geographical precepts:

⁴⁶² La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, p. 77.

⁴⁶³ Hiatt, pp. 234–35.

⁴⁶⁴ Hiatt, p. 236.

Mais un seul [among the colonising nations] n'a donné atteinte sur les terres australes qui sont si grandes & par consequent subjectes à toutes sortes de temperatures, aussi bien que l'Amérique où s'est trouvé le Perou & Nouvelle Castille: qu'elles ne peuvent estre moins pourueës de richesses & choses singulieres que les autres. Veu notamment leur longue & large estendue, laquelle nous occasionne de l'appeller monde incognu, pource que descouvert il n'a sçeu pour sa grandeur ny peuplé faute d'hommes necessaires à tels effects.⁴⁶⁵

The lack of men and the spatial vastness of the southern continent were the main reasons why this “third world” was still unexplored. This is similar to La Popelinière’s argument about France’s inclination to become a colonising nation as it had a population larger than that of Spain and Portugal (“si mal peuplez chacun sçait au respect de la France”).⁴⁶⁶ As we have seen, Hakluyt has a similar explanation as to why, on the one hand, colonial expansion should be continued, and, on the other hand, why the same expansion had proven increasingly dangerous and difficult. In his dedicatory epistle to Walter Raleigh in his Latin edition of Peter Martyr’s *De orbe novo* (1587), Hakluyt praised the European explorers who “by their labours and by the hazard of their lives have made known to our peoples such an infinite number of the Antipodes, hitherto lying hid.”⁴⁶⁷

Learning about geography and engaging in overseas voyages and discoveries, particularly towards the *terra australis*, would, therefore, aid the writing and understanding of history. With the support for a Huguenot colony in the *terra australis* in mind, La Popelinière joined in 1589 an expedition to Brazil under La Richardière’s command. Nevertheless, La Popelinière never reached Brazil.⁴⁶⁸ Twenty years after voicing his support for the French colonisation of *terra australis*, La Popelinière shifted his focus to Asia, not as a destination for a French colony (Asia was part of the Old World), but as an opportunity to further use *autopsy* for the writing and understanding of history. In a letter dated 4th of January 1604 to Joseph Justus Scaliger, La Popelinière requested him to organise his participation in a voyage to Asia

⁴⁶⁵ La Popelinière, ‘Avant-discours’, p. 77.

⁴⁶⁶ La Popelinière, ‘Avant-discours’, p. 77.

⁴⁶⁷ Anghiera; Hakluyt and Taylor, p. 362.

⁴⁶⁸ Delmas, ‘Writing History in the Age of Discovery, According to La Popelinière, 16th–17th Centuries’, pp. 301–2. Bruneau de Rivedoux, p. 188.

with the Dutch East India Company.⁴⁶⁹ “Le docte et judicieux Scaliger” was considered by La Popelinière as an authority and was cited several times in *L’Histoire des histoires* as both primary and secondary sources, regarding the chronology of forms of history in the Old World after the biblical episode of the Deluge.⁴⁷⁰

La Popelinière covered different aspects of his writings in the letter and shared his global understanding of the link between history and geography made possible by travel. He argued that learning about the culture of the peoples of Africa and America had helped him understand the origins, form and growth “of all the good and bad habits of men”. All these aspects, according to La Popelinière, belonged to the domains of the natural, international, and civil law of each people. The comparison between Africa, Europe and America had been made possible by the news and descriptions of travellers, sufficient to clearly understand the differences between civilized and savage peoples. Being able to observe Asia, “the oldest and most famous of the civilized peoples”, would allow La Popelinière (so he argued) to see, in the distant present, evidence of the distant past.⁴⁷¹ The antiquity and progress in the arts and sciences of Asia could be explained cosmographically: the “most active, clearest, and most continuous effects of those heavenly bodies” (including the sun) had suited the Asians to “give birth to so many great human institutions.” This was contrasted to a long history of Europeans lacking the courage to see the Asian arts and sciences, except for Marco Polo, Ludovico di Varthema, Americo Vespucci, and Christopher Columbus. The crucial point was the motivation behind the voyages made to Asia and, for that matter (I would argue) to any distant place. The aim of voyages, La Popelinière argued, should be to perfect the historical understanding of human deeds *and* geography:

À sçavoir un bien commun puis que les hommes de sauvages & retirez particuliers qu’on les dict avoir esté, se sont peu à peu faicts sociaux & unis par divers liens de police humaine. Car la simple curiosité de voir

⁴⁶⁹ Vivanti, ‘The Origins of the Idea of Civilization’, pp. 31–33; Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *Epistres françoises des personnages illustres et doctes à M. Joseph Juste de la Scala, mises en lumiere par Jacques de Reves*, ed. by Jacques de Reves (Amsterdam, 1624).

⁴⁷⁰ Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *L’Histoire des histoires, avec l’Idée de l’Histoire accomplie. Plus Le Dessein de l’Histoire nouvelle des François. Et pour Avant-jeu, La Refutation de la Descente des fugitifs de Troye, aux Pallus Meotides, Italie, Germanie, Gaules & autres pays pour y dresser les plus beaux Estats qui soient en Europe: & entre autres le Royaume des François* (Paris: Jean Houze, 1599), p. 492.

⁴⁷¹ Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc’s Orient. Antiquarianism as Cultural History in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 78.

choses rares semble y avoir poussé les deux premiers [Marco Polo and Ludovico di Varthema], comme le profit & honneur y encouragerent les autres [Amerigo Vespucci and Christopher Columbus]. [...] [I]l faudroit donques buter à la droicte & entiere cognoissance des hommes soit au dedans soit au dehors. Puis de chascun estat & gouvernement d'iceux, en apres de la terre qui les nourrit, de la mer qui leur apporte se commoditez & fascheries, pour de la monter aux remarques de l'air & du ciel qui peut donner outre les influences tant rechantees par les Astrologues, certaines marques commodes & avantageuses à la conduite tant de leur voyages que d'autres desseins qu'ils font de jour en jour.⁴⁷²

As Adrien Delmas has shown, a semantic field around the 'eye' and 'sight' was an important marker of this shift from historian to sailor in La Popelinière's letter to Scaliger, and of his defence of modern travel experience in *Les Trois Mondes*.⁴⁷³ La Popelinière stated that "le voyage & soigneuse remarque des pays estrangers" should serve the pursuit of perfection of history.⁴⁷⁴ Finally, the comparative approach to the knowledge of all parts of the world turned La Popelinière to the study of cartography, towards the end of his life. He translated Gerardus Mercator's *Atlas minor*, published posthumously in 1608, 1609, 1614 and 1630 (Figure 9 and Figure 10), based on the Latin edition of 1606 by the Flemish cartographer Jodocus Hondius.⁴⁷⁵

In this section, I have so far tried to show how the topos of *historia oculus geographiae* worked in *Les Trois Mondes*, with additional connections to the study of cartography and overseas voyages. In *Les Trois Mondes*, La Popelinière referred to geography as the eye of history only twice, but the whole treatise can be read as an attempt to produce what I have called a geo-historical approach. Conceptually, La Popelinière thus amplified the issues of *visual evidence* and *autopsia* from his first two works of history, eventually reiterating them in his letter to Scaliger in 1604. In *Les Trois Mondes*, the usefulness of geography to history was expressed in the combination of a tripartite image of the world and travellers' narrative

⁴⁷² La Popelinière, *Epistres françoises à M. Joseph Juste de la Scala*, p. 305.

⁴⁷³ Delmas, 'Writing History in the Age of Discovery, According to La Popelinière, 16th–17th Centuries', p. 304.

⁴⁷⁴ La Popelinière, *Epistres françoises à M. Joseph Juste de la Scala*, p. 303.

⁴⁷⁵ Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, Gerardus Mercator, and Jodocus Hondius, 'L'Atlas minor de Guerard Mercator. Traduit de Latin en François par le Sieur de la Popelinière' (Amsterdam, 1608).

perspectives. In sum, the treatise consciously used various forms of geographical knowledge to situate and support the understanding of the history of discoveries and to ensure the continuation of the discoveries into a colonial expansion through the *terra australis*.

With the map, the highlighting of the topos, and the overall arrangement of the treatise, La Popelinière designed a hybrid geo-historical representation of a tripartite world. It was both a sum of its parts arranged following particular voyages, and something more than that sum, being a unit visualised in Ortelius's world map. La Popelinière's main contribution consisted in presenting this world as open to imperial and colonial competition, with trade imposing 'peace' to overcome the divisions among Christians in France. Later in 1599, the project of *histoire accomplie* would further develop this idea of an 'available' world presented in *Les Trois Mondes*, highlighting geographical vastness, cosmographical roundness, and historical depth:

Or comme la terre est estrangement grande: la paresse, la couardise & indiscretion des hommens telle, qu'ils ne veulent en descouvrir davantage que leurs vieux peres leur en ont tracé pars escrit: il se faut asseurer, qu'il en reste beaucoup plus à cognoistre, voire en quelque cartier des 4. Principaux du monde, vous desireriez aller, que noz modernes n'en ont fait voir: & qui ne peuvent estre moindres en quantité de toutes sortes de richesses, exquis singularitez & prodigieux miracles de nature: si nous avons l'adresse & les moyens de les aller rechercher, notamment vers le Midy où nation aucune n'a donné.⁴⁷⁶

This ambivalent and slow shift from the idea of the world as a theatrical stage to the idea of the world as a reservoir of 'riches' and colonisable lands is much stronger in Hakluyt's works, as I shall demonstrate later in this chapter. As Joyce E. Chaplin has explained, Hakluyt (but, I would also argue, La Popelinière) saw the world according to the natural theology of their times.⁴⁷⁷ In this perspective, they assumed a providential design underlying nature, expressed in nature, but open to improvement through human artifice (conquest, voyages, colonies, arts and sciences, trade etc.). The inseparability, thus, of the material world

⁴⁷⁶ La Popelinière, 'Avant-discours', p. 77.

⁴⁷⁷ Joyce E. Chaplin, "'No Land Unhabitable, nor Sea Innavigable": Hakluyt's Argument for Design' (presented at the Hakluyt@400 – Hakluyt and the Renaissance Discovery of the World, The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK, 2016).

(geography) from human deeds (history) is a key reason why descriptive geography fittingly served history in their discourses.

4.2.3. Geography in *L'idée de l'histoire accomplie*: an alternative to Bodin's *histoire universelle*

In this section, I will focus on La Popelinière's *L'Histoire des histoires* and *L'Idée de l'histoire accomplie*. Both works were published together in Paris, in 1599, alongside *Le Dessein de l'Histoire nouvelle des François*.⁴⁷⁸ Broadly speaking, this tripartite work featured, respectively, a history of historiography, a guide for the writing of history, and an attempt to apply the guide to French history. For the scope of this chapter, I shall investigate if and how geography was used in the first two of these works as a tool to better understand history.

L'Histoire des histoires consists of 495 pages divided into nine books. Its prefatory material comprised a preface to the reader and an 'Avant-discours' about the subject of the work. In the first book, La Popelinière presented not just *L'Histoire des histoires*, but also the other two treatises. The first one was a history of the origins of writing and of all known works of history, following a chronological order. In La Popelinière's words, *L'histoire des histoires* was "un narré des plus notables Histoires du passé". While the title and subject of the first work were completely devoted to the past, the following work, *L'Idée de l'histoire accomplie*, aimed towards the future, to a form of writing history (and being a historian) which, despite the name, had not been accomplished yet. *L'Idée* was an autonomous treatise divided into three books, with a pagination starting again from 1, presented as an attempt at establishing "la vraye definition de l'Histoire, (toutes autres refutées) par son entiere substance, naturel, forme, graces et accidens d'icelle" and "les considerations jusqu'ici ignorées, des qualitez et temperament

⁴⁷⁸ Two editions of the work came out on June 1599, in Paris. Philippe Desan edited its modern print in two tomes, in 1989. In my references, I use both Jean Houze and Philippe Desan's editions. In all editions, *L'Histoire* and *L'idée* are paginated separately, so I have separated both works in the references so the paginations do not overlap. La Popelinière, *L'Histoire des histoires, avec l'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie*; Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *L'Histoire des histoires, avec l'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie. Plus Le Dessein de l'Histoire nouvelle des François. Et pour Avant-jeu, La Refutation de la Descente des fugitifs de Troye, aux Pallus Meotides, Italie, Germanie, Gaules & autres pays pour y dresser les plus beaux Estats qui soient en Europe: & entre autres le Royaume des François* (Paris: Marc Orry, 1599); Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *L'Histoire des histoires, avec l'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie. Plus Le Dessein de l'Histoire nouvelle des François. Et pour Avant-jeu, La Refutation de la Descente des fugitifs de Troye, aux Pallus Meotides, Italie, Germanie, Gaules & autres pays pour y dresser les plus beaux Estats qui soient en Europe: & entre autres le Royaume des François*, ed. by Philippe Desan, 2 vols (Paris: Fayard, 1989), II.

nécessaire au bon historien”. Finally, *Le Dessein de l'Histoire nouvelle des François*, consisting of two books following up on *L'idée*, exemplified in practice the application of the author's theoretical and methodological ideas.

In terms of chronology, the authors covered in *L'Histoire* were divided into four periods or eras of ancient historiography. The first offered a history of histories from the Deluge to the Trojan War, about which La Popelinière advised the reader there were few written records due to their antiquity. The second period of historiography featured the “historiens Poétiques”, from Troy to the Olympiads, with the first Greek records of events. The third showed the shift from those ‘poetic discourses’ to history in prose, from the 40th or 50th Olympiad to the times of Herodotus. Finally, the fourth period began with Herodotus and ended with what La Popelinière described as the decline of the Greek empire and its arts and sciences, particularly history, coinciding with the rise of the Roman empire.

Having covered all this ground, La Popelinière introduced his own definition of history in the first book of *L'Idée de l'histoire accomplie* as a “Narré vray, general, eloquent et judicieux, des plus notables actions des hommes, et autres accidens y representez selon les temps, les lieux, leurs causes, progresz et evenements.”⁴⁷⁹ In this definition, geography (“les lieux”) appears as a form of ordering, organising and making intelligible the form (a narrative) and the subject (human actions) of history. The order of places (geography) and the order of time (chronology) are the first two forms of representing history. This is in continuity with La Popelinière's previous works, but it takes the reflection to a more accomplished level, involving the representation of causes, progress, and events.

By defining history as a narrative that inquired into the causes and changes of human actions, La Popelinière engaged with two Aristotelian ideas. On the one hand, La Popelinière was interested in defining *histoire accomplie* only according to two specific causes: formal (the historian's action) and efficient (the historical narrative).⁴⁸⁰ On the other hand, by inquiring into causation, La Popelinière challenged the Aristotelian distinction between history as a

⁴⁷⁹ La Popelinière, *L'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie*, p. 36.

⁴⁸⁰ Marie-Dominique Couzinet, ‘Histoire et Théorie: Enjeux d'une Histoire “Théorique”’, in *Histoire et méthode à la Renaissance: une lecture de la Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem de Jean Bodin* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1996), pp. 291–308 (p. 292).

discourse on particulars and poetry as universal knowledge.⁴⁸¹ His definition also allowed for a distinction between four forms of historical thinking. The four forms of history were natural history (“l’histoire fut premierement simple, muete & sans escrit: n’importe en quelle langue on la traicte”⁴⁸²), poetic history, annals, and historical narrative. I shall return to the role of geography in understanding the first form of history in the next section.

In the first book of *L’Idée de l’histoire accomplie*, La Popelinière dedicated a section to each of the concepts in his definition of history. In the section about the “size” of history, he differentiated large, medium and small histories according to the scope of their subjects. Among them, he chose medium-sized history, or “le discours de l’un ou deux, des plus grands estats du monde, ou du moins d’une des plus notables provinces d’iceluy”, as the best example for his model history of France. In this section, he offered a further definition of history, which is a variation on the first one: “l’Histoire doit comprendre l’origine, progresz & changement des plus notables choses qu’on propose de traicter veritablement, & selon l’ordre des lieux & des temps.”⁴⁸³ In this version, only geography and chronology are kept as the necessary orders of (re)presentation of history. After distinguishing the sizes of history, La Popelinière addressed the generality of history. He argued that the generality of history rested on its capacity to function as the mirror of the world and of human life. Therefore, it should represent its different forms of knowledge and action, such as war, police, geography, jurisprudence, medicine, etc. On the following page, he then asserted that, in order to achieve the generality of history, the historian should understand the origins and changes of matters of state, theology, geography, and the military. Finally, he mentioned that it was ideal that the historian “ait voyagé hors de son pays naturel”.⁴⁸⁴ Geography, in this definition of history, appeared as its subject and not, at first sight, as an aid to understanding history. Under the same heading, however, La Popelinière criticised those historians who had failed to be sufficiently general and wrote simply “petit traictez”, such as Xenophon and Sallust. They had failed, argued La Popelinière,

⁴⁸¹ The passage which had a long fortune in Renaissance ideas about history appeared in Book IX of *Poetics*. “The difference between the historian and the poet is not that between using verse or prose; Herodotus’ work could be versified and would be just as much a kind of history in verse as in prose. No, the difference is this: that the one relates actual events, the other the kinds of things that might occur. Consequently, poetry is more philosophical and more elevated than history, since poetry relates more of the universal, while history relates particulars.” Aristotle, *Poetics* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 59. Schiffman, ‘An Anatomy of the Historical Revolution in Renaissance France’, p. 517.

⁴⁸² La Popelinière, *L’Idée de l’Histoire accomplie*, p. 129.

⁴⁸³ La Popelinière, *L’Idée de l’Histoire accomplie*, p. 83.

⁴⁸⁴ La Popelinière, *L’Idée de l’Histoire accomplie*, p. 87.

because their discourses lacked “la figure des lieux” or the “descriptions des lieux” and “autres choses necessaires à l’Histoire” – in other words, geographical elements.⁴⁸⁵

The function of geography in the historical narrative is further addressed by La Popelinière in the section about the order and arrangement of history. Once again, the sequence of places and the sequence of time are presented as the two primary organising principles of the historical narrative. La Popelinière here uses the metaphor of the historian as an architect (which, interestingly, João de Barros had also used in his second *Década da Ásia*⁴⁸⁶), and as an *oeconome* (a guardian or administrator of the domestic space) to describe the importance of the ‘geographical eye’ in the operation of *histoire accomplie*:

Les choses qu’on veut narrer trouuees, faudrea faire comme le bon Architecte, qui suivant le dessein ia tracé de son ouvrage, jette les fondemens premiers, puy i bastit les murailles qu’il y esleve comme bon luy semble. [...] Ainsi l’Historien, curieux de revestir le dessein qu’il aure fait de son Histoire preparera premierement les choses plus generales d’icelles. Puis disposera les particulieres, selon les temps & les lieux esquels elles sont advenues, pour les narrer avec *les plus claires façons de parler qu’il pourra* [...]. Le bon ordre fera referrer en peu de lieux, tout ce qui vague & s’estant en plusieurs endroits. Comme fait un bon oeconome qui dispose si judicieusement tous ses meubles, *qu’ils tiennent peu de place, pour grands & nombreux qu’ils soient*. Tout l’edifice de l’Historien consiste, dit Anthoine, es choses & paroles. Les choses requierent l’ordre de temps [...]. Puis le lieux & Provinces: *le sit, qualitez, forces & figures desquelles, seront premierement exprimes*, que narrer tout le discours de plus notables accidens. [...] [A]ussi doit-on considerer en l’Histoire, pour premieres & plus necessaires choses, l’auteur, l’occasion, le temps, le lieu, le moyens, & instrumens qu’on tient à executer & faire entendre quelque chose, puis la chose & les evenemens d’icelle. [...] Le narré [...] sera diversifié par la remarque des temps & figure des lieux, pour descendre à la fin & divers evenemens qui en auront procedé.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ La Popelinière, *L’Idée de l’Histoire accomplie*, p. 96.

⁴⁸⁶ Barros opens the prologue to the second *Década* by saying: “Em a primeira década, como foy o fundamento desse nosso edeficio de escriptura, em alguma maneira quissemos imitar o modo que os architectores tem nos materiaes edeficios”. João de Barros, *Primeira década da Ásia de João de Barros. Dos feitos que os portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, ed. by Luís F. Lindley Cintra and António Baião, 4 vols (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1988), I, p. 1.

⁴⁸⁷ My italics. La Popelinière, *L’Idée de l’Histoire accomplie*, pp. 114–16.

These passages convey a similar idea: not only are geography and chronology necessary components of *histoire accomplie*. The appropriate arrangement of each part of history also needs to follow a spatial reasoning. The metaphor of the architect and his building and the *oeconome* and his furniture aptly conveyed the management of the parts of discourse. In sum, the historian should present the places in the order they appear in in the narrative, to give it clarity; the arrangement of places in the narrative should have a synoptic character – they should be summarised and appear together; and, finally, all qualities of the place should be given before the narrative of the events begins.

In the second book of *L'idée*, La Popelinière outlined the desired qualities of the historian and included various sections about ways of understanding. Among different sections about the components of human nature, he referred to Aquinas's three internal senses, or, as La Popelinière puts it, "puissances de cerveau": imagination, memory and intellect (*entendement*). For each 'force', he presented a set of fitting arts and sciences. For instance, the arts of cosmography, civil law, arithmetic, and positive theology were learned by memory.⁴⁸⁸ Furthermore, each faculty of the mind and its corresponding set of arts and sciences had an elemental quality: imagination had abundant "heat", memory was "humid", and the intellect was "dry". The historian should aim to have a temperament as suitable as possible to the balance between all three qualities.

This preoccupation with how humans understood and wrote histories and other disciplines may be a particular aspect of La Popelinière worth emphasising. In order to arrange their narrative properly, the historian should know geography in La Popelinière's *histoire accomplie*. As we have seen, his *histoire accomplie* was a response to the French jurist Jean Bodin's concept of history, which featured qualities similar to the systematic knowledge of geography and, in its causes, included natural or geographical explanations, such as theories of climate. In the *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1566), Bodin put history at the centre of a philosophical project of universal knowledge.⁴⁸⁹ This is a use of geography in relation to history different from that of La Popelinière's articulation in terms of subordination. While the comparison between Bodin's and La Popelinière's is not the focus of this chapter, it is worth detailing some of their context and ideas in comparison. As Marie-Dominique

⁴⁸⁸ La Popelinière, *L'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie*, p. 159.

⁴⁸⁹ Bodin.

Couzinet has suggested, Bodin and La Popelinière proposed a method for the study and writing of history. In Bodin's view, the scope of history included human, natural and divine history, resulting in a universal history. La Popelinière, on the other hand, narrowed history down to human history only:

Et pour ne m'arrester aux fautes de tous ces contemplatifs, je ne parleray que de celuy [Jean Bodin], qui bien que le dernier de temps, est pour le merite de son sçavoir, couché au premier rang, de ceux qui nous ont donné la plus belle Methode de faire & entendre l'histoire. De laquelle toutesfois il n'approche pres ny loing par ses discours. Car comme celuy qui discourt de quelque chose, la doit prendre en sa commune signification: Bodin aussi, devoit prendre l'histoire, pour un Narré des actions humaines, non des divines n'y d'autres. Et par ainsi, accommoder sa methode à ceste histoire particuliere, non à l'universelle. [...] Mais comme il s'estoit, autresfois imaginé, une Methode d'un droict, selon le quel un Estat peu estre bien conduit, lequel il reprenoit des differens droits & polices des plus notables Peuples tant anciens que nouveaux, dont il avoit (peu hereusement neantmoins) fair veoir quelque modelle au public.⁴⁹⁰

According to Marie-Dominique Couzinet, Bodin sought a total or complete historical knowledge based on the spatial nature of the historical subject and of the method applied to such a subject. At the same time, this total history stood on an instable and short-lived compromise between rationalism and relativism. The vocabulary used by Bodin and his contemporaries, including La Popelinière and Richard Hakluyt, can often mislead present-day historians, especially when we think of theory and methods of history. Couzinet reminds us that Bodin's *methodus* is synonym of *ars*, without the values of efficacy, utility and unicity, attributed later to the idea of scientific methodology. Renaissance concepts of method encompassed a pedagogical exposition of a definition or summary of an argument, followed by the listing of composing parts and their exemplification.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹⁰ La Popelinière, *L'Histoire des histoires, avec l'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie*, pp. 28–29.

⁴⁹¹ Couzinet, *Histoire et méthode à la Renaissance*, p. 19. Couzinet frames Bodin's "methodisation" within the French logician Petrus Ramus's *Dialectique* (1555), where the order of exposition of disciplines is suggested to follow the order of understanding, from the general to the particular and from the known to the unknown. In Ramus's logic, the rhetoric part of *dispositio* (traditionally part of the the dialectic with *inventio*) is replaced by a notion of method, which, as Couzinet argues, "is at once a technique of discourse (*ars dicendi* and *ars docendi*) and a mode of rational exposition of arts and sciences". For Couzinet, Bodin took this method from disciplines of action, rigor and organisation of sciences to historical knowledge (*historiarum cognitio*). Couzinet, *Histoire et*

In sum, La Popelinière's tripartite work was part of a renewed methodological interest in the art of history in Renaissance France worth detailing. This renewal in the subject and method of history had originated in legal circles. French jurists such as Guillaume Budé and François Baudouin began viewing Roman law as a product of history, therefore, conditioned by changes throughout time. Scholars such as Estienne Pasquier, Nicolas Vignier, Jean Bodin and La Popelinière took the philological and juridical discussions of this interpretation known as *mos gallicus* into history. In the study of history, this led to a weaker focus on the Ciceronian notion of *magistra vitae*. In this view, Roman law in the expansion of the empire adapted to a variety of pre-existing customs and laws and changed into a specific expression of imperial law. As a result, they explained how France and other modern kingdoms had emerged. This form of inquiry looked for philological, economic, political and cultural changes in society or State into the source material. In order to shed light onto these aspects, the typology of source material was also expanded. The canon of ancient and modern historians such as Livy, Polybius and did not offer all the answers for the inquiry into how the present came to be. With history considered as a form of inquiry, neighbouring disciplines such as antiquarianism and geography were determinant in expanding the scope of what was considered evidence in the making of historical narrative.⁴⁹² Like Bodin, Baudouin was concerned with the political and legal dimensions of history. All three of them were modern references of methods of history or universal histories evoked and criticised by La Popelinière in *L'Histoire des histoires*. Across La Popelinière's works, the praise of overseas voyages and colonial expansion added a distinctive idea to his articulation of history and geography and brought him close to Richard Hakluyt's literary enterprise.

4.2.4. *L'Histoire des histoires*: geography as evidence of a global history of history

In this section, I would like to return to *L'Histoire des histoires* and focus on La Popelinière's distinction of the four forms of history: natural history, poetic history, annals, and historical narrative.⁴⁹³ They corresponded to how La Popelinière arranged historiographical works into four eras. I would like to argue that the four-way division of

méthode à la Renaissance, p. 21. For a full bibliography on Jean Bodin, see Couzinet, *Histoire et méthode à la Renaissance*, pp. 325–28.

⁴⁹² Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁴⁹³ La Popelinière, *L'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie*, p. 129.

history corroborates the role of geography or geographical works in making the reader understand history (and the history of history). Geography functioned both as the support for La Popelinière's own narrative and as a component of the resulting theory about the entwinement between geography and history around the world, particularly in the first form of history, "histoire naturelle". Following from this, I would like to argue that La Popelinière's view of history (which went beyond "histoire accomplie") acquired a global outlook. In this operation, La Popelinière extended the cosmographical image of the world – in which continents, islands and other parts of the world composed a unified image of the earthly sphere – onto his unifying project of diverse expressions of history around the globe in his pursuit of the *histoire accomplie* and of colonial expansion.

As we have seen, La Popelinière opened the tripartite work with *L'Histoire des histoires*, which is chiefly an exhaustive list of all known historians, featuring important conceptual passages on the nature of history. La Popelinière's main claim here is that at least one form of historical thinking is to be found in all known societies, and not only among the Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, or Gauls. All arts and sciences, he believed, derived from history ("tous les Arts, les sciences & autres belles inventions humains, tirent source de l'histoire").⁴⁹⁴ In *L'Histoire des histoires*, the history of history revealed a fundamental, broader human interest for the past and its memorialisation, which progressed through the centuries towards a truthful narrative of universal value – the definition of which is offered subsequently, in *L'Idée de l'histoire accomplie*. The four forms of history thus marked a chronological and political order of improvement, as mentioned earlier.

The theory of the four forms of history served to organise the diversity of opinions regarding the origins of letters and history in the world. In the 'Avant-discours sur le subject de l'oeuvre' to *L'Histoire des histoires* and in the first part of the first book, La Popelinière aimed to show that, unlike the ancient Greeks' claim, historical narratives were older than Greece. He used various Greek and biblical passages to support the idea that history had not existed since the creation of the world because. Language was an artificial operation of the spirit of a natural movement of the tongue and other parts of the body, so it had to have been invented at some time after the creation of the world. To understand when this happened, La Popelinière collected and compared different histories of the invention of history by the

⁴⁹⁴ Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, *L'Histoire des histoires* (Paris: Jean Houze, 1599), p. 21.

Assyrians, Babylonians, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Greeks. In his comparative history of history, La Popelinière looked for the exchanges and transfers of arts and sciences, adding a spatial dimension of the evidence of antiquity he was trying to represent. In this sense, the Greeks had learned arts and sciences from the Egyptians because of the geographical proximity between both places and the trade developed among them.⁴⁹⁵ The Egyptians, in their turn, were part of the “*escholes Ethiopiennes*”, and their description by La Popelinière articulated an intellectual and historical celebration of a chorographical perspective of parts of Africa. As a side note, La Popelinière referred to Prester John as a hybrid African-Asian apostolic figure who exemplified the shared antiquity between both parts of the old world.

La longue antiquité de ce peuple [les Egyptiens], de si long temps renommé pour son estendue autorité & belle polie, jusques aux plus basses parties de l’Affrique. Mais aussi la grandeur de son Empire sur les plus belles & jusques aux plus reculees provinces de l’Asie: mesmement en la Drangiane, Susiane, Sine, & autres païs des Indes.⁴⁹⁶

After twenty-five pages of discussing various contested origins of history and the invention of arts and sciences, La Popelinière moved on to the definition of the first form of history. As we have seen, he was interested in what guided and should guide humans to produce history, and what shapes it took and should take.⁴⁹⁷ Therefore, he defined the first form of history by its expression as songs, marks and signs by the first men, both before and after the Deluge, who lacked policy as they did not have arts and sciences, and lived in a rural state rather than in cities. These first men aimed at publicly or visibly/audibly recording their memories – and this fundamental ‘appetite for immortality’ remained a trait of all forms of history.⁴⁹⁸ La Popelinière thus dissociated the existence of history from the existence of letters, since the former preceded and generated the latter. Oral and pictographic histories were meant to be passed down from parents to children and, despite their independence from letters, shared with these a desire to praise virtues and criticise vices.

⁴⁹⁵ La Popelinière, *L’Histoire des histoires*, p. 24.

⁴⁹⁶ La Popelinière, *L’Histoire des histoires*, p. 24.

⁴⁹⁷ Couzinet, ‘Histoire et Théorie: Enjeux d’une Histoire “Théorique”’, p. 292.

⁴⁹⁸ La Popelinière, *L’Histoire des histoires*, p. 26.

How, then, did geography support La Popelinière's definition and understanding of the first form of history? "Naturelle, simple, rude et presque muette", the first expression of history encompassed manifestations of historical thinking in specific spaces of the world, both in the past of the Old World and in the present of the New World. La Popelinière, then, proceeded to prove that natural history had existed around the world. He listed examples from the oldest (the oral traditions of the Hebrew people in the Old Testament, Plato's dialogues, Homer's chants, among others), through European Barbarians (the Germanic people according to Tacitus, the Gauls and Bretons according to Cesar and the Turdetani according to Strabo's description of the Iberian Peninsula), to the newest forms of natural history among peoples in Africa and America, "découverts depuis cent ans".⁴⁹⁹ The history of natural history thus followed a chronological order (as it gave way to *increasingly* sophisticated forms of history) and a geographical order (as its evidence became known slowly through time and, more recently, through the discoveries in the New World). Together, the chronological and the geographical order *proved* the existence of a particular type of history and, in La Popelinière's own narrative, helped convince his readers of his theory. La Popelinière believed that "there had been no people who did not keep, before and after the invention of letters, the memory of notable things in songs, mottos, and common sounds". The embracing of orality as a form of history allowed for him to rely on geography to understand history. It had been through the spatial experience of the voyages and the narrative about the discoveries that Europeans had learnt about Amerindian societies. In addition, the cosmographical, providential view of the world where its parts are connected through an overarching set of experiences also linked geography to history:

Telle fut la première mémoire, c'est à dire l'histoire de tous peuples, voire de plus barbares qui n'eurent oncques connoissance de lettres: Tous les plus riches & puissans peuples, tant de Affrique que de l'Amérique, découverts depuis cent ans, montrent ouvertement avoir ainsi conservé des leur premiers temps, la mémoire des choses anciennes. Notamment certains traicts de religion & diverses forms de louer les graces & vertus, tant des plus notables devanciers, que de leur pais naturel.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁹ La Popelinière, *L'Histoire des histoires*, p. 28.

⁵⁰⁰ La Popelinière, *L'Histoire des histoires*, p. 28.

In a side-note, La Popelinière referred to Peter Martyr's *Decades*, to López de Gómara, and to a specific chapter from Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* about the *areítos* of the Taíno, a form of song and dance he went on to describe in the following pages, citing Jean Poleur's translation of the first ten books of Oviedo's work.⁵⁰¹ The passage on the *areítos* gains global relevance through a comparison of their movements and rhythms with European dances. It is also made to stand as an example for the culture of large parts of the New World: "Ceux qu'on nomme Margaiax, Topinambaoux, Topioou, & autres Bresiliens, les voysins du grand fleuve de Plate, ceux de Chilli, Charcas, Peru, & generalmente presque tous les peuples de la nouvelle Espagne tirant au Nort, gardent a peu pres ces façons de faire."⁵⁰² This added the New World as a component of La Popelinière's global 'mapping' of historical expressions and showed the role of the link between geography and history in allowing for a relevant ontological and epistemological shift in defining *who* had a past and *how* those 'senses' of past could be 'invented' or made intelligible in European terms.

In sum, La Popelinière used a geographical framework to prove the global existence of the first form of history in Europe, Africa, Asia and America. Secondly, he also arranged his evidence in a geographical manner ("les voysins du grand fleuve", "tirant au Nort") to make it visible for the reader. By doing so, he expanded, onto a global framework, an ethnological and antiquarian history of history, in which songs, dances, statues, engravings manifested the desire to praiseworthy deeds. His overall Eurocentric hierarchy defined the first form of history present in the New World and Africa, but also in Europe's pasts, as the rudest stage as it had little or no art and science, compared to poetic history, the writing of annals, and the modern *histoire accomplie*. However, the assessment of the variety of historical manifestations in the New World was not uniform. Following the explanation of the causes and forms of *histoire naturelle*, La Popelinière praised the Mexicans' ingenuity expressed in their representation in effigies, statues and buildings of the memory of the "noblesse ou quelque acte vertueux de leurs ancestres" – a practice, he felt, that competed with Christian heraldry.⁵⁰³

Mexican nobility and ingenuity were, in fact, contrasted with the realities deriving from Spanish discovery, conquest and Christianisation. La Popelinière suggested a Spanish rudeness in the perception of Mexican ingenuity, in contrast to French appreciation: "noz gens y

⁵⁰¹ Oviedo y Valdés.

⁵⁰² La Popelinière, *L'Histoire des histoires*, p. 29.

⁵⁰³ La Popelinière, *L'Histoire des histoires*, p. 30.

trouvoyent entre tous artifices, la peinture & graveure tres recommandable.”⁵⁰⁴ Exploring the admirable Mexican use of the artifice of painting in manuscripts, La Popelinière focused on the making of books of maps: “La representation neantmoins que le Roy Mothezuma fit faire & donna à Fern. Cortex qui luy demandoit la cognoissance de son Royaume, de ses moyens & de la coste de mer d’iceluy: fut la plus singuliere.”⁵⁰⁵ For La Popelinière, the Mexicans’ apparent lack of letters did not mean they lacked arts and sciences and a form of history. He asserted that “certaines figures qui servoyent de lettres”, as well as maps, served a memorialising function. The French historian most likely had heard about Mexican books and cartography not only from López de Gómara’s work, but may have had contact with the *Codex Mendoza*, owned by André Thevet and then by Richard Hakluyt during his stay in Paris, in the 1580s. In La Popelinière’s definition of the second, poetic, form of history, he extended the emphasis on orality, already characteristic of the first form of history, but in a stage closer in time and degree of policy to the arts and sciences of written language. Poetic history, argued La Popelinière, was common to all peoples, even to the “most savage nations of the world”.⁵⁰⁶ As an example, he included Americans and “others from Africa”, who expressed, orally, what sounded like verses, with various purposes, including memory: “aucuns mesmes y consignent la memoire des choses passées, qu’ils y gardent plus curieusement que nous en noz prolixes escrits.”⁵⁰⁷

Overall, the key passages I presented with examples of the first form of history in the first book of *L’Histoire des histoires* allow us to attempt formulating some further thoughts about the use of geography in writing and understanding history. In *L’Histoire des histoires*, La Popelinière expanded the category of evidence through his theory of the four forms of history. Based on the principle of *visual evidence*, he considered material culture and ethnographical oral and pictorial discourses as proof of the global existence of the first form of history. This choice, in turn, emphasised the authority of travel experience as a means to collect, see and narrate other-than-European forms of history. Among the evidence collected in voyages, La Popelinière used Mexican chronicles and maps as a sign of a certain superiority of Amerindian arts and sciences over certain European arts and sciences in the past and present. Geography thus served history in multiple ways. It allowed for La Popelinière to compare

⁵⁰⁴ La Popelinière, *L’Histoire des histoires*, p. 30.

⁵⁰⁵ La Popelinière, *L’Histoire des histoires*, pp. 30–31.

⁵⁰⁶ La Popelinière, *L’Histoire des histoires*, p. 38.

⁵⁰⁷ La Popelinière, *L’Histoire des histoires*, p. 38.

expressions of history around the world and to extend the historian's inquiry through the collecting of geographical material (e.g. Mexican maps) and through first-person observation, or *autopsy* (e.g. the voyage into Asia as expressed in his letter to J. J. Scaliger, in 1604).

The comparative and connected approach in search for evidence of historical thinking or culture was influenced by a cosmographical perspective of the interrelatedness of the world's parts. But how did La Popelinière's use of history and geography compare to that of his widely known contemporary, Jean Bodin? La Popelinière's and Bodin's different forms of articulating geography and history show the adaptability and changing scope of both fields in the sixteenth century, in the context of a long tradition of shifting boundaries of knowledge fields.⁵⁰⁸ In *Les Trois Mondes* and *L'Histoire des histoires*, La Popelinière seemed to react to Bodin's elevation of geography (in its astronomical and meteorological character) as no longer an eye, but an equal to history. This was perhaps one step too far for La Popelinière.

The centrality of colonialism is one of the important differences between La Popelinière's and Jean Bodin's theories of history. La Popelinière developed this aspect in relation to a history of historiography and a theory of history critical of the contemporary universal histories of Bodin (and, to a lesser extent, of François Baudouin and Christophe Milieu). La Popelinière disagreed with Bodin's definition of universal history as human, natural and divine, and with the use of a juridical method combined with climate theory to understand the vicissitudes of the republics. Instead, he suggested that the perfection of *histoire accomplie* was to offer a sufficiently general history of the progress and changes in the making of the State, where space helps understand historical processes, but without determining them.

4.3. Geography in Richard Hakluyt's narrative about the past and future colonial usefulness of the world

In the previous section, I have analysed how La Popelinière used geography to write and define history in his works. I will now look into how Hakluyt saw geography as the 'eye' of history across his works, namely in the prefatory material and structure of *The Principal Navigations*, the prefatory materials to works he edited, and other writings, such as the

⁵⁰⁸ Couzinet, 'Histoire et Théorie: Enjeux d'une Histoire "Théorique"', p. 300.

‘Discourse of western planting’. Hakluyt’s point of departure was an acknowledgment of the painful rarity of records regarding English voyages in comparison to Iberian and French voyages, particularly to America. This led Hakluyt to diversify the meaning of the topos of the ‘geographical eye’. Geography, for Hakluyt, not only made the historical narrative of exemplary human deeds visible, it guided his call for making the ‘matter’ of political history, that is, a successful English colony overseas and participation in the overseas trade in Hakluyt’s present. Hakluyt’s distinctive trait, in comparison to La Popelinière, was to unfold the link between geography and history into the future, that is, to outline more clearly how this articulation could generate new, exemplary deeds, itself the subject of histories of discoveries. The flexibility of the topos in Hakluyt’s writings can only be grasped by analysing his different types of writing, and not only his history of discoveries, *The Principal Navigations*. They attest to the composite nature of his literary enterprise, at the intersection of history, geography and travel writing.

As seen in chapter 2, Richard Hakluyt was a prolific editor. His own writings appeared in the liminary materials of his and other people’s works and in manuscripts. Thus, an inquiry into Hakluyt’s ideas about history and geography must consider his editorial practices: the choice, changes and arrangement of source material, which works he supported and/or translated, etc. While he was influenced by Ramusio’s travel collection and by Iberian histories of expansion, Hakluyt decided to memorialise the recent history of English voyages and to defend English expansion as a response to a perception of both navigational and editorial absence. As we have seen, this absence had been expressed by La Popelinière in *L’Amiral de France* and cited by Hakluyt in the preface to *The Principall Navigations*. Did La Popelinière’s consideration of geography as an aid to history influence Hakluyt’s works? I argue that *Les Trois Mondes* and its complex geo-historical representation of the world likely influenced, alongside Ramusio and Iberian works, Hakluyt’s hybrid format of *The Principal Navigations*. As suggested in different ways by Nandini Das, Joyce E. Chaplin, Mary C. Fuller and Surekha Davies, Hakluyt’s travel collection had an antiquarian and ethnographical dimension which contributed to a global or *quasi*-global image of the world.⁵⁰⁹ This took the form of the available English and European knowledge in texts he used as source material, such as instructions for

⁵⁰⁹ Chaplin, “‘No Land Unhabitable, nor Sea Innavigable’”; Davies, ‘Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, and Encounters with Indigenous Artefacts’; Nandini Das, ‘Hakluyt & India’ (presented at the Hakluyt@400 – Hakluyt and the Renaissance Discovery of the World, The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK, 2016).

travellers and accounts about diplomatic encounters, containing information about other-than-European peoples, environments and objects.

4.3.1. *Geographiam esse historiae oculum*: Hakluyt as an editor and reader of histories by Peter Martyr and Richard Willes

The topos of geography as the ‘eye’ of history appears explicitly twice in Hakluyt’s works. Firstly, in his epistle to Walter Raleigh opening the Latin edition of Peter Martyr’s *De orbe novo* (1587); then, and in the opening lines of the preface to the three volumes of the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* (1598-99).

I have added in the margins, after a careful study of the chronology, the dates and certain other notes very necessary to the student, and I have prepared and included a full and accurate index for all the books; I have not stopped at this, but I have inserted a geographical map, containing the chief places mentioned in the work, to serve as a plumb-line, mindful of the true saying, that geography is the eye of history.⁵¹⁰

In this passage, the topos (in the original, “*Geographiam esse historiae oculum*”) had the primary meaning of a map as an aid to visualising history – the same meaning it had, as we saw, in Ortelius’s *Parergon*. While no map accompanied Hakluyt’s Latin edition, he could have referred to the map of the Caribbean printed in Martyr’s 1511 edition (Figure 4). The ‘geographical map’ is mentioned alongside other paratextual interferences from Hakluyt, such as the chronology and index, showing the set of techniques necessary for enabling the reader/student to easily *see* and *understand* history.

The central theme in Hakluyt’s epistle to Walter Raleigh in his translation of Peter Martyr’s *De orbe novo* (1587) was the importance of the mariners’ experience in the knowledge of the world. He began by alluding to the “infinite number of the Antipodes” made known to “our peoples” by long-distance voyages. As we have seen in the previous section, the theme of the antipodes, particularly the *terra australis*, was also important for La

⁵¹⁰ I use E.G.R. Taylor’s translation into English. Hakluyt, ‘Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Raleigh by Richard Hakluyt, 1587’, II, p. 365.

Popelinière. The antipodes and the *terra australis* symbolised the certainty about the inhabitability of the world and of how the travellers' experience corrected or improved the cosmographers' opinions about the inhabitants of the southern parts of the globe. Hakluyt was aware that Martyr's *De orbe novo* was a book of history. After all, he aptly used the topos there to justify the purpose of a map in making this history easily understandable for the reader. Therefore, given the importance of geographical knowledge and travel literature in Hakluyt's preface, it becomes clear how these three forms of knowledge could not be disassociated.

Hakluyt praised Martyr's history for being superior to both ancient natural philosophers and historians as he had followed the "careful description of places and succession of events" in his vivid depiction of America in "lively colours". Martyr's narrative was praised by Hakluyt for its detailed description of both nature and policy and his inquiry about the causes of events and processes in nature. From "the plants of the earth and brutes of the field", Hakluyt move onto the praise of Martyr's narrative of "our own species" and referred to Cicero, Sallust, Cesar and Tacitus as authorities in his description of "the manners of peoples, the positions of cities, the foundation of colonies, the cults of idols, the rites of sacrifice, the passions of war, the kinds of armaments, the feuds of neighbours, the jealousies of families, the results of battles, the states and the changes of kingdoms."⁵¹¹ These subjects were common both to history and geography, suggesting to the reader, thus, that history and geography, together, account for the understanding of human deeds and nature.

Some of this is connected to Richard Eden's translation of Martyr's *Decades* into English in 1555. Eden's translation of the first three decades was edited by Richard Willes in 1577 as *The history of travayle in the West and East Indies*. These two works, in addition to Ramusio's travel collection and Iberian histories of discoveries, influenced Hakluyt's view of history as a travel collection. In his epistle dedicatory, Willes linked the recent history of discoveries to a certain 'geographical moment':

Geography laye hydden many hundred yeeres in darkenesse and oblivion, without regarde and price: of late who taketh not upon him to discourse of the whole worlde, and eche prouince thereof particulerly, even by hearesay, although in the first principles of that arte, he bee altogether ignorant and

⁵¹¹ Hakluyt and Taylor, p. 363.

unskylfull? This tyme is now. [...] Here [in 1497] began the studie of Geographie, that euer since Ptolomeus raigne laye troden vnder foote, & buried in dust and ashes, to spring vp agayne, and by the relatilons of skilful traueylers in Europe, Affrike, & Asie: through the discouery of the far Indies, the Moluccaes, & new founde landes, of late so to be wondred at, as no other facultie more. I dare be bold to say, that generally all Christians, Iewes, Turkes, Moores, Infidels, & Barbares be this day in loue with Geographie. [...] Whom haue wee to make recourse for Mappes, Globes, tables, and Cardes, wherein the dyuers countreys of the worlde are set downe? vnto Geographers. [...] I knowe this day no place, no preferment, no publike chayre, no ordinarie lecture, no commune stipende, no special reward due vnto the studentes in Geography: no not at this time, when this faculty was neuer more set by: no not in this realme, where yt neuer more florished.⁵¹²

In these different passages, Willes referred to the decisive influence of overseas voyages and discoveries in the study of geography. By arguing the importance of voyages and the art of geography, Willes attempted to convince the readers of his history of the importance of setting up a school or lecture of geography in England. Hakluyt took on Willes's recommendation of a lecture on matters of geography in England. It is likely that Hakluyt was inspired by both the format of Willes's history of discoveries in which geography both guided the arrangement of the episodes but was praised as a form of knowledge.

Willes's reflections resonate through the epistle dedicatory to Francis Walsingham written by Hakluyt in the single-volume edition of his *Principall Navigations* (1589). In a widely cited passage, Hakluyt described his visit to his namesake cousin in order to praise a series of objects that allow for his link between geography, history and travel literature under a providential view of colonial expansion. In his description of this life-changing visit, Hakluyt describes having seen

Certaine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance, by

⁵¹² Richard Willes, 'To the ryght noble and excellent Lady, the Lady Brigit, Countesse of Bedforde, my singuler good Lady and Mystresse', in *The history of travayle in the West and East Indies and other countreys lying either way towards the fruitful and ryche Moluccas: with a discourse of the North West Passage*, by Richard Eden and Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (London: Richarde Iugge, 1577).

shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration to also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c.⁵¹³

Hakluyt stated that he visited the lawyer's chambers when he was a Queen's scholar at Westminster, around the late 1560s. The referred 'universal map' was most likely Gerardus Mercator's planisphere 'Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio ad usum navigantium emendate accommodata' (1569) and, for a book of cosmography with a world map, Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570) is a likely candidate. As we know, the elder Hakluyt was involved with overseas trade and the study of geography, so it is likely that he possessed maps. In any case, Hakluyt's passage aimed to unite the importance of voyages as a source of new knowledge on the world. The passage has also a pedagogical and prophetic function to Hakluyt's literary enterprise. With the "words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse", in the following lines, he described how he pursued the reading of "whatsoever printed or written discoveries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages" and the teaching, in Christ Church, of geography with the aid of "the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles".⁵¹⁴

To this, Hakluyt added his conversations with captains, mariners and merchants in England and, finally, his stay in France where he heard "in speech and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea".⁵¹⁵ The

⁵¹³ Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations*, fol. 2v. The referred Psalms read: "23 They that go down to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, 24 They see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep." *The Geneva Bible*.

⁵¹⁴ Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations*, fol. 2v.

⁵¹⁵ Hakluyt, 'Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Francis Walsingham in *The Principall Navigations* (1589)', II.

predominantly but not exclusively English scope of the source material used by Hakluyt in his comprehensive travel collection did not subject his view of geography as the ‘eye’ of history to a purely national goal. Cartography, cosmography, globes, histories of voyages and discoveries from different nations and in different languages, the Bible: together, they composed the forms of written and visual evidence of the ‘geo-historical’ perspective Hakluyt developed in his works to narrate history and support maritime, colonial expansion.

4.3.2. Richard Hakluyt as a writer of history: the topos in *The Principal Navigations*

More than ten years after his use of the topos in the preface to Martyr’s *De orbe novo*, Hakluyt expressed the topos again in the opening lines of the preface to the reader, printed in the first volume of the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* (1598-99).

Having for the benefit and honour of my country zealously bestowed so many years, so much travail and cost, to bring antiquities smothered and buried in dark silence, to light, and to preserve certain memorably exploits, of late years by our English nation achieved, from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body, the torn and scattered limbs of our ancient and late navigations by sea, our voyages by land, and traffics of merchandise by both: and having (so much as in me lieth) restored each particular member, being before displaced, to their true joints and ligaments; I mean by the help of Geography and Chronology (which I may call the Sun and Moon, the right eye and the left of all History) referred each particular relation to the due time and place [...].⁵¹⁶

Placed in one of the most revealing passages about Hakluyt’s editorial practice, the topos confirmed he understood his travel collection as history. To be sure, La Popelinière most likely would not have recognised Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* as a *histoire accomplie* as it was not a continuous narrative written by a historian, but a collection of other peoples’ narratives. Indeed, we have seen how the practice of printing the sources became a trait of French Renaissance historiography, such as in La Popelinière’s long citations of his primary

⁵¹⁶ Richard Hakluyt, ‘A Preface to the Reader as Touching the Principall Voyages and Discourses in This First Part (1599)’, in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), II, 433–51 (p. 433).

and secondary sources in his early histories and in *Les Trois Mondes*. This gained a new meaning with Hakluyt, who built the structure of the *Principal Navigations* around the visible distinction of items related to voyages. He did intervene on the sources, especially between editions, but continued to represent them in a separate, schematic manner, in a way that the overall geo-historical arrangement and the bulk of elements in each volume and in its headings generated the sense of presence of English voyages in the past and in print. Despite the differences in expression, Hakluyt and La Popelinière engaged with ways of making their histories rich in visual elements and convincing. The use of the topos in Hakluyt's preface informed the reader they were reading a history of predominantly English overseas navigation, voyages by land, and trade. Similarly to La Popelinière, his history of voyages was a contemporary one, as it dealt with recent events, showcased the superiority of the moderns over the ancients regarding the knowledge and observation of the world, and it was a 'medium history' in size, its scope being, broadly speaking, the English nation.

Both authors aimed to convince their readers that their histories, however different they were, were truthful. In Hakluyt's case, the clarity and truthfulness of the episodes assembled resulted from the quantity and novelty of the source material and their incorporation into a structure that made apparent the geographical and chronological order of the travellers' experience. As a result, both 'eyes' of history guided the reader and allowed them to visualise all 'limbs' as a single body, consisting of both the English voyages and the image of world – both built from travellers' experience and by Hakluyt as the editor/historian/geographer. This second use of the topos meant to express that the 'geographical eye' was about more than a mere arrangement of the episodes according to the sequence of places where they happened, and the inclusion of geographical details and descriptions which made the places vivid to the reader. The geographical and chronological 'eyes' allowed Hakluyt to *transform* antiquities and 'scattered limbs' *into history*. His idea of history cannot, therefore, be dissociated from the geographical 'eye', as I hope to show in this and the following subsections.

Here rested the main difference between the idea of history in both authors. On the one hand, La Popelinière was trying to develop a theory and a history of history. For the French historian, observation from overseas voyages, the successful establishment of a government in new worlds, and the pursuit of *histoire accomplie* were means to reunite apparently disparate 'pasts' with present polities and environments under navigation, trade, letters and Christianity.

On the other hand, Hakluyt was overtly writing in response to a perception of absence, obscurity and silence over English voyages and their history. In his literary enterprise, the ‘geography eye’ helped Hakluyt narrate past deeds and support new deeds, which would, in turn, be the matter of a future history of English endeavours. As armchair travellers, Hakluyt and La Popelinière both sought to bring *visual evidence* to histories, claim a certain degree of *autopsia*, and the geography eye allowed for them to do exactly that. However, due to the composite nature of Hakluyt’s literary enterprise and of his use of history, the geographical eye gained more meanings than in La Popelinière’s.

In his preface to Martyr’s history, Hakluyt had in mind the immediate function of geography in history: maps were a tool to allow a better understanding of history. In this second use of the topos, there is not specific mention of maps, but there is the mention of the other ‘eye’ of history, chronology. Since these were the opening words of the only preface to the reader printed in the second edition of the travel collection, we may assume that they were to guide the reading of all volumes. The reference to both eyes is to be understood in connection to what Hakluyt stated about his assembling method in the epistle dedicatory to Charles Howard, which preceded the preface: Hakluyt there stated that he had waded “further and further in the sweet studie of the history of Cosmographie” and decided to expand the historical scope and gradually increase the types and quantity of source material – all labelled as “rare, delightfull and profitable histories” in the preface.⁵¹⁷

In Hakluyt’s attempt of producing history by assembling travel narratives, geography, as we have seen, had two immediate roles. The topos as used in the preface to Martyr’s history mean that maps helped readers of history see the places narrated. The topos in *The Principal Navigations* defined it as a history ordered according to the succession of places and of time, making it understandable and useful to the reader. The structure of *The Principal Navigations* exemplified the composite nature of Hakluyt’s literary enterprise around the sometimes overlapping fields of history, geography and travel literature. As shown in chapter 2, it was organised in several layers, the first one being the geographical principle where each volume corresponds to a set of places and routes of voyages in the world. The sequence of volumes followed the chronological order of European contact with each of the three parts of the world

⁵¹⁷ Hakluyt, ‘Epistle Dedicatory to Charles Howard in the First Volume of The Principal Navigations (1599)’, II, p. 451.

(the New World being, therefore, the last volume). Furthermore, the contents of each volume followed the chronological order of European voyages. In *Divers Voyages* (1582), Hakluyt had already used such an intricate articulation of geographical and chronological orders in his tables of authorities.

The study of cosmography might also shed a light on the metaphors used by Hakluyt: on the one hand, geography as the “right eye” and “sun”; on the other, chronology as “left eye” and “moon”. As we have seen, the issue of *visual evidence* was expressed within the semantic field of light – hence the metaphor of the sun – and sight – hence the anthropomorphism. The complementarity between geography and chronology as orders of arrangement can be related to their necessary link in helping history to be *clear* to the reader. The cosmological reference to the sun and moon deepened the complementarity and alluded to the analogical order between the microcosmical operation of reading and understanding the world through the book and the macrocosmical orientation that the sun and the moon offered for measuring time and space. The background to Hakluyt’s addition of a cosmological metaphor is the pervasive and long-lasting system of correspondences and analogies common to medieval and Renaissance ideas in Europe.⁵¹⁸

In his use of the topos, Hakluyt performed a leap, as well, from cartography in the first use of the topos, in which a chronological order was irrelevant, to a kind of geographical description which depended on the sense of succession in time. They functioned like forces which created a historical narrative out of a lengthy list of records by referring each relation to “the due time and place”. The entwinement of geography and history in *The Principal Navigations* is expressed in the composite nature of the travel collection. While the topos, as used by Hakluyt, draws a separation between geography and history and indicates that the former serves the latter, in the rest of the prefatory material we see these boundaries being blurred. In his epistle to Charles Howard, Hakluyt commented how he had published “many Navigations and Discoveries of Strangers” in London and Paris, during his five-year service to Edward Stafford. Hakluyt, then, attributed to the “sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie” his understanding of the new materials concerning “the Search and Discoverie

⁵¹⁸ The late medieval and early modern European analogical system of thought has been vastly studied by scholarship since Arthur O. Lovejoy’s *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936). For a succinct introduction, see Walter J. Ong, ‘System, Space, and Intellect in Renaissance Symbolism’, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 18.2 (1956), 222–39.

of the most unknown quarters of the world.” Hakluyt asserted that, even though “little or nothing woorthie of memory” had happened before the past one hundred years, he, nevertheless, had selected “very rare and worthy monuments, which long [had] lien miserably scartered in mustie corner, & retchlesly hidden in mistie darkenesse, and “were very like for the greatest part to have bene buried in perpetuall oblivion”.⁵¹⁹ Hakluyt, as we can see, insisted on the opposition between light and dark to present his collection, to his patron and his readers, as a history. It is important to notice how it was the practice of reading and editing geography and travel literature that led him to put the travel collection together, suggesting the blurred boundaries between geography and history in his literary enterprise. Another example is how, in preface to the reader, he referred to Herodotus as ‘the most skilfull and judicial in Cosmographie’ since he had suggested that Africa being surrounded by water.⁵²⁰

Geographical texts and objects were part of the source material of both *Divers Voyages* and *The Principal Navigations*, in the form of maps, references to maps and globes, itineraries and geographical descriptions. In the epistle dedicatory to William Cecil of the second volume of *The Principal Navigations* (1599), Hakluyt used geographical knowledge to expand his comparison of Virginia and New Spain. He outlined the geographical features of Virginia such as “so sweete and holesome a climate, so rich and abundant in silver mines, so apt and capable of all commodities” and its proximity to England “for, not to meddle with the state of Ireland, nor that of Guiana, there is under our noses the great and & ample countrey of Virginia.”⁵²¹ While the volume did not feature any maps, Hakluyt’s reference to features such as vastness, proximity and the correlation between two parts of America might indicate Hakluyt’s familiarity with the cartographic language.⁵²² In his historical narrative, it was cartography through geographical description that allowed him to make his case for the colonisation of Virginia visible and convincing to his audience. This is followed by the evidence of England’s precedence over other nations in the colonisation of North America, a theme already largely explored by Hakluyt in *Divers Voyages* (1582). A covert use of maps (vastness and proximity), travel accounts (England’s primacy of North America) and the geographical description

⁵¹⁹ Hakluyt, ‘Epistle Dedicatory to Charles Howard in the First Volume of The Principal Navigations (1599)’, II, p. 426.

⁵²⁰ Hakluyt, ‘A Preface to the Reader as Touching the Principall Voyages and Discourses in This First Part (1599)’, II, p. 434.

⁵²¹ Hakluyt, ‘Epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil in the second volume of The Principal Navigations (1599)’, II, pp. 455–56.

⁵²² R. A. Skelton, ‘Hakluyt’s Maps’, in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by David B. Quinn, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), I, 48–73; Mancall, ‘Richard Hakluyt and the Visual World of Early Modern Travel Narratives’.

(climates and the ‘riches’) resulted in the representation of Virginia as superior to other spaces for the establishment of an English colony. Interestingly, Hakluyt used historians and geographers for his point about English precedence, such as Peter Martyr, López de Gómara, Ramusio and “the French Geographers, as namely, Popiliniere”.⁵²³

The first part of the epistle dedicatory supported the Virginia enterprise while the second part justified the importance of English voyages and trade in Africa and Asia, spaces covered by the second volume. In the epistle, Hakluyt listed the voyages and places described in the volume and asserted that one should learn from “old and new Histories” in order to understand how the trade of Christians with “Turkes and misbeleevers” and “Moores and many kindes of Gentiles and Pagans” around the world was justified by its evident practice throughout history. This argument was placed as an introduction to Hakluyt’s history and followed the section with a geographical description of the places in Asia and Africa relevant to Hakluyt’s travel collection. It reinforced, thus, the links between geography, history and travel in justifying expansion and trade. In this sense, one may suggest that history and geography appear to be the two eyes of the travel collection. However, as the topos indicated, the travel collection was seen as a type of history. For this reason, geography remained important as a tool for making the historical narrative convincing to the reader and as a means to make new chapters of history as episodes of expansion and trade.

For who knoweth not, that king Salomon of old, entered into league upon necessity with Hiram the king of Tyrus, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genovois, Florentines, Raguseans, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signior, and have been these many years, and have used trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Christendome hath had league with the Turke and paid him a long while pension for a part of Hungarie? And who doth not acknowledge, that either hath travailed the remote parts of the world, or read the Histories of this later age, that the Spaniards and Portugales in Barbarie, in the Indies, and elsewhere, have ordinary confederacy and traffike with the Moores, and many kinds of Gentiles and Pagans, and that which is more, doe pay them pensions, and use

⁵²³ Hakluyt, ‘Epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil in the second volume of *The Principal Navigations* (1599)’, II, p. 456.

them in their service and wars? Why then should that be blamed in us, which is usual and, common to the most part of other Christian nations?

In the third volume of the second edition of *The Principal Navigations*, dedicated again to Robert Cecil, Hakluyt focused on westward voyages. The volume is considerably larger than the other two volumes and was composed of several accounts of non-English voyages. In the arrangement of the world according to the experience of the travellers, America or the New World appeared as the fourth and last part of the world. Hakluyt characterised America's vastness "to this day is not thoroughly discovered" as space of both geographical and historical novelty. Its existence and geographical description had received an "unperfect notice" and a "dimme glimse" in Plato's Atlantis and pseudo-Aristotle's Carthaginian discovery of America.

Hakluyt linked the knowledge about the location of America in the history of exemplary voyages and discoveries to Seneca's prophecy of the New World in *Medea*: "Seneca in his tragedie intituled Medea foretold above 1500. yeeres past, that in the later ages the Ocean would discover new worlds, and that the yle of Thule would no more be the vttermost limite of the earth."⁵²⁴ Seneca's prophecy was a commonplace in the early modern discussion of the ancients' knowledge about the Indies. Richard Eden kept Martyr's assertion that "Seneca, with diverse other authours not ignorant in Cosmography, do affirme that *India* is no longe tracte by sea, distant from Spayne by the west Ocean"⁵²⁵, and La Popelinière also alluded to Seneca's passage: "Dira l'on que Seneque predisoit ces premieres decouvertes? Ou seulement que celles dont ils avoit ouy parler, seroient une autrefois par seconde revolution des temps, renouvelles à quinze cens ans apres sa mort?"⁵²⁶ There is a stark contrast in how Hakluyt and La Popelinière used Seneca's prophecy. Hakluyt's brief comments about the ancients' knowledge about the New World showed the continuity in knowledge about its existence across time and attributed a greater honour in modern voyages for expanding on what ancient

⁵²⁴ Hakluyt, 'Epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil in the third volume of *The Principal Navigations* (1600)', II, p. 470. For studies on the post-Columbian uses of the passage, see James Romm, 'New World and "Novos Orbes": Seneca in the Renaissance Debate over Ancient Knowledge of the Americas', in *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition*, ed. by Wolfgang Haase and Reinhold Meyer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993), pp. 77–116; Gabriela Moretti, 'The Other World and the "Antipodes": The Myth of Unknown Countries between Antiquity and Renaissance', in *European Images of the Americas and the Classical Tradition*, ed. by Wolfgang Haase and Reinhold Meyer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993), pp. 241–84.

⁵²⁵ Pietro Martire d'Anghiera and Richard Eden, *The decades of the newe worlde or west India conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and ilandes lately founde in the west ocean perteynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne* (London: Guilhelmi Powell, 1555), fol. Aiiir.

⁵²⁶ La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, pp. 121–22.

authorities had ‘foretold’. La Popelinière, instead, asserted that Seneca alluded to European Christian voyages to Asia rather than America. In La Popelinière’s view, this separated the ancient discoveries and navigations from the modern and stressed the novelty of the New World.

With different emphases, both authors agreed on the superiority of the moderns in travel experience and geographical knowledge. Hakluyt tried to explain how he organised the source material concerning the New World as the modern experience had extensively added voyages, histories and geographical knowledge to the ancients’ “unperfect notice”. He asserted that the first two volumes of *The Principal Navigations* lacked a comprehensive assemblage of all the spaces of Asia and Africa and the northwards and southwards routes because of the lack of ‘matter’, that is, the inexistent or insufficient English voyages to those places. It was different for the voyages to the New World, as Hakluyt was “now more plentifully furnished with matter”. For the first two volumes, Hakluyt used “the methode of time onely”, i.e. chronology, in many instances given the discontinuity in the sequence of places. In the third volume, he claimed to “alwayes follow the double order of time and place”, i.e., chronology and geography, resonating his first of the topos where the ‘eyes’ referred the material to their “due time and place.” This passage in the third volume stressed the role of the discoveries and their narratives, the matter of history, in the meaning of the ‘double order’ of arrangement.⁵²⁷ Fittingly, from this assertion, Hakluyt went on to describe the order he followed in arranging the material:

Wherefore proposing unto my selfe the right situation of this New world, I begin at the extreme Northern limite, and put downe successively in one ranke or classis, according to the order aforesaide, all such voyages as have bene made to the said part: which comming all together, and following orderly one upon another, doe much more lighten the readers understanding, and confirme his judgement, then if they had bene scattered in sundry corners of the worke. Which methode I observe from the highest North to the lowest South.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁷ Hakluyt, ‘Epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil in the third volume of *The Principal Navigations* (1600)’, II, p. 470. For studies on the post-Columbian uses of the passage, see Romm; Moretti.

⁵²⁸ Hakluyt, ‘Epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil in the third volume of *The Principal Navigations* (1600)’, II, p. 471.

In this passage, Hakluyt emphasised that geography made the history of the discoveries clear and evident. In this case, it was not cartography or descriptive geography, but the presentation of America along fourteen headings, following a route from North to South. The paratextual space of the table of contents guided the reader to the accounts according to, on the first ‘level’ of arrangement, geographical spaces and, on the second ‘level’, these fourteen spaces organised according to travel experiences. With this, Hakluyt merged the historian/editor’s and the traveller’s experience by adding a frame, guided by geography and chronology, to how the discoveries and the New World should be visualised. He concluded by explaining that he unproblematically used foreign accounts where the English “mens experience is defective”, which suggests that, despite one of the purposes of the collection being “the preservation of the memorable actions [of the English voyages]”, it proved more relevant to offer an all-encompassing view of the New World. Therefore, he assured his patron that it was clear in

The Catalogues conteyning the 14 principal heads of this worke. Whereby your honor may farther perceive that there is no chiefe river, no port, no towne, no citie, no province of any reckoning in the West Indies, that hath not here some good description thereof, aswell for the inland as the sea-coast.⁵²⁹

Kim F. Hall has noticed how Hakluyt represented America as “the absolute zenith of order” in contrast to the perception that Africa was “the obscure matter that must be muddled through for further discovery”, in the second volume of *The Principal Navigations*.⁵³⁰ Hall saw in Hakluyt’s uses of the language of dark and light a way to draw a separation between the unknowable and the known. Indeed, the ‘geographical eye’, as used by the editor/historian, did not see all parts of the world in the same way and allowed for a comparison of which places # deserved most to be seen or known. Emily C. Bartels has shown how Africa was represented as a space of cultural incomprehensibility in Hakluyt’s narrative.⁵³¹ However, this did not mean that the New World was comprehensible in opposition. From Hakluyt’s semantic field of clarity and visibility, and the way the author suggests degrees of polity around the world, one cannot draw an absolute distinction between Hakluyt’s judgement of America and Africa;

⁵²⁹ Hakluyt, ‘Epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil in the third volume of *The Principal Navigations* (1600)’, II, p. 472.

⁵³⁰ Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness. Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 46–48.

⁵³¹ Bartels.

instead, it seemed to be a difference of degree, with both spaces seen as being open to theological and political improvement through colonisation and trade.

4.3.3. 'Books of discoveries' and the place of geography in Hakluyt's non-historical texts

In the previous sections, I have shown how Hakluyt used geography as a tool to read and write historical narratives. For Hakluyt, history predominantly meant a collection of histories of the discoveries, so it is possible to see his use of the 'geographical eye' in works concerning other aspects of voyages and discoveries. In addition to his travel collections and supported editions and translations of histories, Hakluyt wrote discourses, pamphlets and shorter texts which one cannot readily define as history. I would like to argue that the relation between geography and history also operated in such texts, showing the composite nature of Hakluyt's literary enterprise and a distinct use of the topos to support colonial action and, thus, promote new exemplary human deeds overseas. In this section, I analyse Hakluyt's letter to Gerardus Mercator (1580), his notes from 1580 concerning the plan to colonise South America, and the 'Discourse of western planting' (1584).

In all those writings, Hakluyt emphasised the role of geographical knowledge as a tool for exploration, which, in turn, contributed to the making of history and geographical knowledge. He actively gathered geographical material in order to stress the importance of colonial expansion and of an English participation in it. This is the case of Hakluyt's tables of geographical and travel authorities printed in his *Divers Voyages* (1582), as seen in chapter 2. The same reasoning is found in Hakluyt's constant support for the creation of a school of navigation and lecture on mathematics in London, following the model of the House of Trade in Seville and of Petrus Ramus's lectures on mathematics that Hakluyt saw in Paris.⁵³² Moreover, as seen in chapter 3, the exemplarity of Iberian conquests and works was structured by Hakluyt around the claim that geographical knowledge, printed in histories, was the source and product of a successful colonial expansion – precisely what Hakluyt understood to be lacking among the English. The absence was of both deeds and their narrative. The

⁵³² Hakluyt included a copy of Ramus's will in a letter to Francis Walsingham. He obtained this copy from Nicolas Bergeron, who was closely related to the French geographer Pierre Bergeron. For Hakluyt's influence on Pierre Bergeron's editorial choices and support for colonialism, see Holtz, 'Hakluyt in France: Pierre Bergeron and Travel Writing Collections'. For Hakluyt's letter to Walsingham, see Hakluyt, 'Letter from Richard Hakluyt to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1584', I.

geographical eye had decisive roles in the historical narrative, but it also supported Hakluyt's call for *making history*.

Throughout the 1580s, Hakluyt redirected his support for the establishment of English outpost in South America towards the project of colonising Northern regions. He defended, as we have seen, the search for the North-eastern and North-western passages to East Indies and a settlement in North America, which, by the early seventeenth century, would take the shape of the Virginia enterprise. Hakluyt wrote to Gerardus Mercator in 1580 to gather updated geographical information on the North-eastern passage to be used by Arthur Pet, Charles Jackman and Martin Frobisher in their expedition to Muscovy. In his reply to Hakluyt, Mercator gathered a vast array of sources of information for long-distance voyages along the North-eastern passage. He cited Pliny the Elder, referred to maps (“though somewhat rudely drawn”) and “certain observations”.⁵³³ Probably in response to a specific inquiry by Hakluyt, Mercator also stated that his map of New France had been copied from a “sea cart drawn by a certain priest”. Mercator most likely referred to the friar André Thevet. The map was, in turn, based on the description of a French pilot, most likely Jean Alfonse or Jacques Cartier.⁵³⁴ In a nutshell, Mercator's letter to Hakluyt connected travellers' experience and learned cosmography and cartography. It reinforced the practical uses of geographical knowledge by explorers in addition to its uses by armchair travellers, such as Hakluyt, who collected histories of discoveries as a source for geographical knowledge. Mercator's use of different types of sources for geographical information can also be seen in the composite nature of Hakluyt's own array of sources in his literary enterprise.

How did Hakluyt use geography as a tool to support new colonial endeavours, and, thus, assure new historical episodes and its narratives? The support for colonialism and increase in overseas trade was the subject of his discourses and pamphlets, the most comprehensive one being the ‘Discourse of western planting’, written in 1584. In chapter 3, I analysed the

⁵³³ Gerardus Mercator, ‘A Letter of Gerardus Mercator, Written to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, Touching the Intended Discoverie of the Northeast Passage. An. 1580’, in *The Original Writings & Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, ed. by E. G. R. Taylor, 2 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), pp. 159–62.

⁵³⁴ Jean Alfonse or Jean Fonteneau dit Alfonse de Saintonge (c.1454-c.1544), born João Alfonso, was a Portuguese explorer and pilot who joined Portuguese voyages to the East Indies and Jean-François de la Rocque de Roberval's colonial expedition to Canada, in 1542-43, at the service of King Francis I, of France. Richard Hakluyt published an English translation of ‘Routier de Jean Alphonse’ in the third volume of the *Principal Navigations* (1600). André Thevet, *André Thevet's North America: A Sixteenth-Century View*, ed. by Roger Schlesinger and Arthur Stabler (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), pp. xxviii, 95.

‘Discourse’ as a key text for understanding Hakluyt’s view of Spain and Portugal as colonial examples. In this section, I would like to analyse its engagement with ‘geography as the eye of history’. Did Hakluyt use geography in the ‘Discourse of western planting’ as a means to solve his twofold historiographical problem of the English voyages, i.e., the lack of records and of deeds to memorialise? If so, how? Like *The Principal Navigations*, the ‘Discourse’ brought other-than-European natural and political diversity to the scope of history-in-the-making. How could the ethnographical information of the ‘Discourse’ have informed Hakluyt’s global outlook in *The Principal Navigations* and what does it say about the function of geography in relation to history?

The ‘Discourse’ expanded on themes already present in the 1580s pamphlets and in the prefatory material of the *Divers Voyages*: English colonial expansion should challenge Spanish hegemony in the West Indies trade and establish a colony in South or North America where the Spaniards were weak or absent. Hakluyt also established meaningful links between historical and geographical authorities as the means to support colonisation. In the first of twenty-one chapters, Hakluyt cited a report by the Spanish pilot Stephen Gomez of Norumbega, taken from Ramusio’s Italian translation of Oviedo’s history, and Jacques Cartier’s relation to describe the inhabitants of Norumbega and of Canada and Hochelaga, to denounce the Amerindians as idolaters as “they worshipped the Sonne, the Moone, and the starres”, worshipping “one whom they call Cudruaigny. They say they often speaketh with them, and telleth them what weather shall followe, whether good or badd, &c.” The strangeness of these passages was, in the sequence, contrasted with their representation as docile and easily persuadable (“simple people that are in error”).⁵³⁵ By citing his sources of histories and travel accounts, Hakluyt attributed a character of evidence to these qualities of the Amerindians and the sense of repetition of the same ‘idolatry’ opened his ‘Discourse’ with an image of America as understandable and, thus, colonisable. The missionary purpose of colonisation is, thus, presented as the most important goal of the expansion. Hakluyt went on to cite the apostle Paul’s call to convert the gentiles who had not heard about Christianity, and called for Queen Elizabeth to send preachers to the New World. In fact, the first establishment of colonies should provide a settlement, first and foremost, for the missionaries to learn Amerindian languages and attempt to convert them into Christianity. Interestingly, Hakluyt referred to this step as a

⁵³⁵ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 214.

consequence of the fall of the Tower of Babel, “the gifte of tongues beinge nowe taken awaye”.⁵³⁶ As we have seen, the model to be followed was the Portuguese:

On the other side by the meane of plantinge, firste the small nation of the Portingales towards the south and east have planted the Christian faith accordinge to their manner: and have erected many Bisshoprickes and Colledges to traine upp the youthe of Infidells in the same: Of which act they wrote more vaunte in all their Histories and Chronicles, then anythinge else that ever they atchieved.⁵³⁷

He went on to cite Osório’s *De rebus gestis Emmanuelis* as a source for the Spanish ‘houses of Religion’ in the West Indies as well. The important aspect of this opening apology of missionary zeal is how it is overtly taken from histories and chronicles while also presenting how different parts and routes of the world (Spain, Portugal, West and East Indies, southwards, eastwards) were linked by a common operation of a widespread theological ‘darkness’ towards salvation of both the converted and the Christian colonisers (“the gaining the souls of millions of those wretched people, the reducing of them from darkness to light, from falsehood to truth, from dumb Idols to the living god, from the deep pit of hell to the highest heavens”⁵³⁸). This is particularly important as it indicates Hakluyt’s image of an interconnected world where features of the globe are comparable and changeable or accessible for improvement and, thus, evidence of God’s creation.⁵³⁹

To any accusation about the absence of Protestant missionaries in the discoveries, Hakluyt argued that there had been “the example of the ministers which were sent from Geneva with Villegagnon into Bresill, and those that went with John Ribault into Florida”, among others, but they had not left a record of any ‘savage’ or ‘infidell’ who had been converted. Hakluyt then affirmed that “god hath time for all men, whoe calleth some at the nynthe, and some at the eleventh hower”. With this, Hakluyt suggested his providential outlook on the link between the succession of time and the discoveries or performance of exemplary deeds. In other words, colonial expansion would solve the lack of an exemplary historical narrative,

⁵³⁶ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 217.

⁵³⁷ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 216.

⁵³⁸ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 216.

⁵³⁹ Chaplin, “No Land Unhabitable, nor Sea Innavigable”.

which, in turn, would motivate further expansion – as Hakluyt attempted to do five years later, with the first edition of *The Principal Navigations*. Moreover, Hakluyt's view that there was an underlying 'error' expressed in different parts of America may have been influenced by a cosmographical view of the interdependence between the parts in relation to the whole.

Chapter 2 of the 'Discourse' is a summary of English trade. In his presentation of the places where English ships traded, Hakluyt used expressions such as "to begin southwarde and so come to the Northe, and leaving Bresill and Guyana where we have little to do" and "to leave the Levant and to come to ffrance" to guide his audience from one part onto the next in the list of places he wished to address. In the Renaissance, the praise and blame of historical narratives related to history's place within the epideictic branch of oratory, which also included panegyrics, the genre of the 'Discourse'. In this sense, it is understandable how the 'geographical eye' also guided Hakluyt's audience's understanding of the spaces which composed the English trade 'map'. This is developed in chapter 3, in which Hakluyt asserted that his audience, i.e., the Queen, had to "regard unto the situation of the places" to understand where each commodity was located. In his delivery, Hakluyt referred to travel accounts by Ribault, António de Mendoza, Cartier, to Ramusio's compilation, and to the English translation of Nicholas Monardes's *Joyfull Newes out of the newfounde worlde*, among others, to present, in his discourse, the location in degrees of different parts of America, its climate, a list of commodities, plants, animals, wonders, and their uses in trade and medicine. With chapter 4, Hakluyt concluded a first set of reasons why England should have colonies in the New World: expansion of Christianity, prevention of losses to English trade, abundance of commodities and 'riches' to be exploited, purging the metropole of idle men and women, and their re-purposing overseas.

From chapters five to eight, Hakluyt attacked the greed of Charles V and Philip II in the expansion of their empire and denounced the weaknesses of the Spaniards in the Indies. So far, he praised America as a space of abundance, exhorted England to extend its overseas trade and solve idleness, as he attacked the Spanish empire. In chapters nine and ten, Hakluyt listed the main cities of the viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain, including the islands of the Caribbean. Hakluyt used geography to guide the representation of the islands not in the obvious sense that these were geographical spaces, but as a tool that allowed his audience to follow his discourse as if they were seeing it on a map, using expressions such as "thus you see", "the

next island”, etc. Hakluyt concluded his ‘brief declaration of the chief islands’ with the following lines:

I may therefore conclude this matter with comparing the Spaniards unto a drone, or an empty vessel, which when it is smitten upon yielded a great and terrible sound, and that afar off; but come near and look into them, there is nothing in them; or rather like unto the arse which wrapped himself in a lion’s skin, and marched far off to strike terror in the hearts of the other beasts, but when the fox drew near he perceived his long ears, and made him a jest unto all the beasts of the forest. In like manner we (upon peril of my life) shall make the Spaniard ridiculous to all Europe, if with piercing eyes we see into his contemptible weakness in the West Indies, and with true stile paint him out *ad vivum* [i.e. from life] unto the world in his faint colours.⁵⁴⁰

This passage manifests the ability of the author/coloniser to reveal to the eyes of the audience/reader the truth underlying a deceptive visual evidence of the Spanish empire. It also profusely mobilises ideas of sight and sound to praise the voyages as the means to ensure the truthful knowledge necessary for empire-making. It is unlikely that Hakluyt used a map for the specific chapters which deploy the technique of the geographical eye to persuade his audience as Hakluyt most likely would have referred to such a map in the way he did for the travel accounts he used in other parts of the ‘Discourse’. In chapter twelve, for instance, Hakluyt opened his claim that the voyage from England to North America would be short and easy: “In this voyage we may see by the globe that we are not to pass the burnt zone nor to pass thorough the frozen seas, but in a temperate climate”.⁵⁴¹

From chapter thirteen onwards, Hakluyt assembled various reasons for establishing a colony in North America: the increase in trade, the training of mariners and improvement of the navy, the maintenance of the colony, the existence of a North-western passage to China, the English precedence in discovering North America over the Spaniards. He also added two lists recapitulating the ‘Discourse’ and instructing mariners on what to take in the voyage of exploration. In a nutshell, he expanded on the arguments already presented in *Divers Voyages* by using various types of texts, such as lists of places, treatises, instructions to travellers to

⁵⁴⁰ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 256.

⁵⁴¹ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 265.

support a single purpose. An important addition to Hakluyt's arguments for the existence of the North-western passage was "an olde excellent globe", which he attributed to Verrazzano.⁵⁴² Hakluyt likely referred to one of Robert de Bailly's three copper globes from 1530, based on Verrazzano's map of 1529, which, in turn, was based on his voyage of 1524.⁵⁴³ This reinforced Hakluyt's use of geographical items as *evidence* of the importance of voyages and its narrative.

Across these texts, Hakluyt referred to authorities of both geography and history and he used the 'geographical eye' to allow his audience to imagine the voyage to the New World, the arrangement of places and the characteristics of the commodities the English would find there. Hakluyt profusely copied passages from López de Gómara (directly or via Eden's *Decades*) and Ramusio to detail the conquests and the geographical features of the New World.⁵⁴⁴ Interestingly, in chapter fifteen, Hakluyt admonishes the Queen about Spanish, French and Dutch competition over the colonisation of North America and mentioned Ortelius's visit to England in 1577. It is known that Ortelius met with William Camden and John Dee during this visit. Hakluyt, nevertheless, represented the visit as the sign of a Dutch interest in learning of what the English know about North America. It also showed Hakluyt's view of the overlap of learned cartographic interests and news about voyages of exploration:

And that it may be known that not only the French affect this enterprise, but even the Dutch long since thought of it, I can assure you that Abraham Ortelius the great Geographer told me at his last being in England 1577 that if the wars of Flanders had not been, they of the Low Countries had meant to have discovered those parts of America, and the northwest strait before this time. And it seemed that the chief cause of his coming into England was to no other end but to pry and look into the secrets of Frobisher's voyage, for it was even then when Frobisher was preparing for his first return into the north west.⁵⁴⁵

⁵⁴² Hakluyt, 'Discourse of Western Planting', II, p. 287.

⁵⁴³ Hakluyt had mentioned Michael Lok's map of 1582, which was, in turn, based on a map made by Verrazzano that had been given to Henry VIII and Lok owned. The polar projection of Lok's map was valued by Hakluyt as a form of making his audience visualise the existence of the North-western passage and the narrowness of the Western Sea (North Atlantic Ocean), so he printed Lok's map later as the only image in his *Principall Navigations*. For a study on the maps in Hakluyt's works, see Skelton, I.

⁵⁴⁴ Hakluyt, 'Discourse of Western Planting', II, pp. 268, 275, 276–78, 283, 285, 293, 296–98, 301, 308, 312.

⁵⁴⁵ Hakluyt, 'Discourse of Western Planting', II, p. 279.

In chapter twenty-one, Hakluyt added a “note of some things to be prepared for the voyage”. It is divided into different categories, including items of herbology and apothecary, military and food provisions, building materials, different artisans for both the establishment of the colony and the producing of commodities to be traded, with a specific instruction for the English to produce a ‘bonetto rugio collerado’ – most likely the fez or *ṭarbūsh* – and wear it upon arrival in North America to encourage the sale.⁵⁴⁶ He concluded the chapter and the ‘Discourse’ with an assorted inventory of “things forgotten” that “may be here noted as they come to mind and after be placed with the rest, and after that in all be reduced into the best order”.⁵⁴⁷ In this list, Hakluyt introduced the composite nature of his idea of history due to the increase and importance of travel literature. This final inventory started with “one or two preachers for the voyage”, the Bible and books of service and “books of discoveries” of the East and West Indies.⁵⁴⁸ These were followed by the instructions to take a physician, a surgeon, an apothecary to serve the physician, servants to produce hydromel, and artisans who were not “papistes” but Protestants.

That the books of discoveries and conquests of the east Indies be carried with you. That the books of the discoveries of the west Indies, and the conquests of the same, be also carried, to keep men occupied from worse cogitations, and to raise their minds to courage and high enterprises, and to make them less careless for the better shunning of common dangers in such cases arising. And because men are more apt to make themselves subject in obedience to prescribed laws set down and signed by a prince, then to the changeable will of any captain, be he never so wise or temperate, never so free from desire of revenge, it is wished that it were learned out what course both the Spaniards and Portingales took, in their discoveries, for government, and that the same were delivered to learned men, that had passed most of the laws of the empire and of other princes laws, and that thereupon some special orders, fit for voyages and beginnings, might upon deliberation be set down and allowed by the Queen’s most excellent Majesty and her wise counsell; and, faire ingrossed,

⁵⁴⁶ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, p. 324.

⁵⁴⁷ Hakluyt, ‘Discourse of Western Planting’, II, pp. 320–26.

⁵⁴⁸ Castanheda; Francisco López de Gómara, *The pleasant historie of the conquest of the Weast India, now called new Spayne atchieved by the worthy prince Hernando Cortes Marques of the valley of Huaxacac*, trans. by Thomas Nicholas (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578); Richard Eden, Richard Willes, and Pietro Martire d’Anghiera, *The history of travayle in the West and East Indies and other countreys lying either way towards the fruitful and ryche Moluccas: with a discourse of the North West Passage* (London: Richarde Iugge, 1577); Agustín de Zárate, *The strange and delectable history of the discoverie and conquest of the provinces of Peru, in the South sea*, trans. by Thomas Nicholas (London: Richard Jones, 1581).

might in a table be set before the eyes of such as go in the voyage, that no man punished or executed may justly complain of manifest and open wrong offred.⁵⁴⁹

The passage suggested that England's (or any) colonial enterprise was to be grounded on books – in this case, the corpus of Iberian histories of discoveries and colonisation. Hakluyt suggested that these 'books of discoveries and conquests' should be used by the mariners both as an inspiration as they contained praiseworthy deeds and as a legal source for overseas government. In other words, these books, if properly taken on the voyage and read, could teach *how to colonise* and build an orderly society overseas – a process which began with the creation of a just and orderly hierarchy on the ships themselves. These books were most likely English translations of Spanish and Portuguese histories of travels. As we have seen, Renaissance travel literature of discoveries and conquest featured both historical narratives and geographical knowledge about the environments and peoples in distant places. They were geo-historical works, or works of 'geographical history', as Martin Basanier put it in his 1586 epistle dedicatory to Walter Raleigh, in his edition of Laudonnière's and De Gourgues's travel account. Talking about the making of his edition, Basanier recognised Hakluyt as someone well-versed in such "histoire géographique": "Je l'ay [la description de l'histoire de la navigation] tirée avec la diligence de Monsieur Hakluyt, homme certainement bien versé en l'histoire géographique & ayant bonne part en la diversité des langues & sciences [...]."⁵⁵⁰

By emphasising the exemplary and practical dimensions of these works, Hakluyt portrayed the role of geography as a tool which allowed for the historical narratives of the discoveries to become a tool to develop an overseas government, i.e., a colonial enterprise. Hakluyt suggested the cases narrated in the 'books of discoveries' and the Iberians legal corpus concerning overseas expansion should be adapted by the English and made public or visible to the ship crew. In this short yet key passage, Hakluyt encapsulated the idea that empire-making was an operation of producing, circulating and reading travel literature, which, in turn, was composed by exemplary narratives (history) and geographical knowledge. The exemplarity was here not a matter of high abstraction, operating at the level of the scholarly elite; rather, it

⁵⁴⁹ Hakluyt, 'Discourse of Western Planting', II, p. 325.

⁵⁵⁰ As seen, "geographical history" was used in Hakluyt's commissioned edition of Leo Africanus's *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600). Laudonnière and Gourgues, fol. aiiir.

could be put into action through readings and other expressions of geographical and historical apprenticeship by the very people manning the ships sailing the seas.

4.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I aimed to show the importance and meanings of the topos of the ‘geographical eye’ in the works of Hakluyt and La Popelinière, in a comparative perspective. Firstly, I traced the ideas of geography and history as expressed in the analogy of ‘geography as the eye of history’ available to both authors by the end of the sixteenth century, highlighting the particular relevance of scholarly works, such as those by Abraham Ortelius, Gerardus Mercator and João de Barros, for its genesis. I also expanded the scope of primary sources from the previous chapters and looked into all writings by Hakluyt, including the *Divers Voyages* and the prefatory material of both editions of *The Principal Navigations*. For La Popelinière, I suggested a reading of *Les Trois Mondes* alongside his tripartite *L’Histoire des histoires*, *L’Amiral de France* and his letter to Scaliger. By doing so, I hoped to build on the discussions from the previous chapters and deepen the comparison of both authors and between each authors’ own works.

Hakluyt and La Popelinière developed arguments to address a number of different problems, including the English and French belatedness in European colonial expansion, England’s fragility in the West Indies due to Iberian hegemony, but also such a pressing matter as the effects of Huguenot censorship on La Popelinière’s writing of history. I argued that the authors understood these ‘immediate’ concerns within a wider, comprehensive framework to conceptualise the category of ‘world’ according to multiple authorities, degrees of evidence and forms of reading and collecting geographical literature, which often included history. Hakluyt and La Popelinière inquired, therefore, about the meaning of the ‘world’ and, precisely, how it could be understood and turned useful to European colonisers under the changing circumstances of the late sixteenth century with its combination of internal imperial and external colonial competition. By this point, the ‘world’ was the privileged subject of the broad field of geography, but also of travel literature, history and political discourses. Therefore, it is through the authors’ making of a comparative, and often connected, geo-historical form of inquiry that their works should be understood.

The geo-historical perspective provided a unifying solution for the articulation between knowledge and experience, issues at the heart of the learned European ideas of maritime voyages and discoveries. It allowed Hakluyt and La Popelinière to provide, along with the other authorities they used, examples of how to articulate classical, biblical, medieval and modern understandings of the world, its inhabitants and environments, and of its changes throughout time. In my analysis of their works, an important difference emerged. On the one hand, historical narrative and thinking became central for La Popelinière, who, from his history of discoveries and amidst the experience of the Wars of Religion, developed a theory and method of history. On the other hand, geographical knowledge marked Hakluyt's monumental collection, his editions and translations of records of the maritime expansion and his overall literary 'embodiment' of the traveller's perspective. While each author developed his writings according to such thematic emphases, they both relied on these two overarching themes, geographical and historical discourse, to be able to convince their audiences of the unit between knowledge and experience as a base for colonial expansion.

This mode of explanation was not created from scratch by both authors. Rather, it related to the attributed exemplarity of Iberian works and conquests and to a larger Renaissance preoccupation with the material and intellectual discontinuity between Europeans and their past and among different 'pasts' around the world. In this regard, La Popelinière tried to solve such perceived discontinuity in his theory and method of history while Hakluyt focused on the material 'availability' of the world according to the natural theology perspective. Hakluyt and La Popelinière were, thus, important in the making of a Renaissance geo-historical comparative form of inquiry which produced and circulated discourses about environments and peoples in Africa, Asia and America. Their works are marked by the misunderstanding and attempt to control over a sense of diversity encountered along the European voyages to other parts of the world. In doing so, their works also bear a similar comparative global outlook in order to 'create' epistemological and ontological spaces, passages, arguments, which acknowledged, to a certain extent, other-than-European realities, and their agency in the past and in the present. This apparent contradiction emerged precisely because of the study of both authors within the European sixteenth-century debate around the entwined matters of history and geography. Both authors used this link – expressed in the *topos* – to envisage colonial expansion as a unifying solution to the anxieties over the knowledge about the world and humans' place in it across time and space. Finally, it is key to understand their making of a colonial discourse *against* a

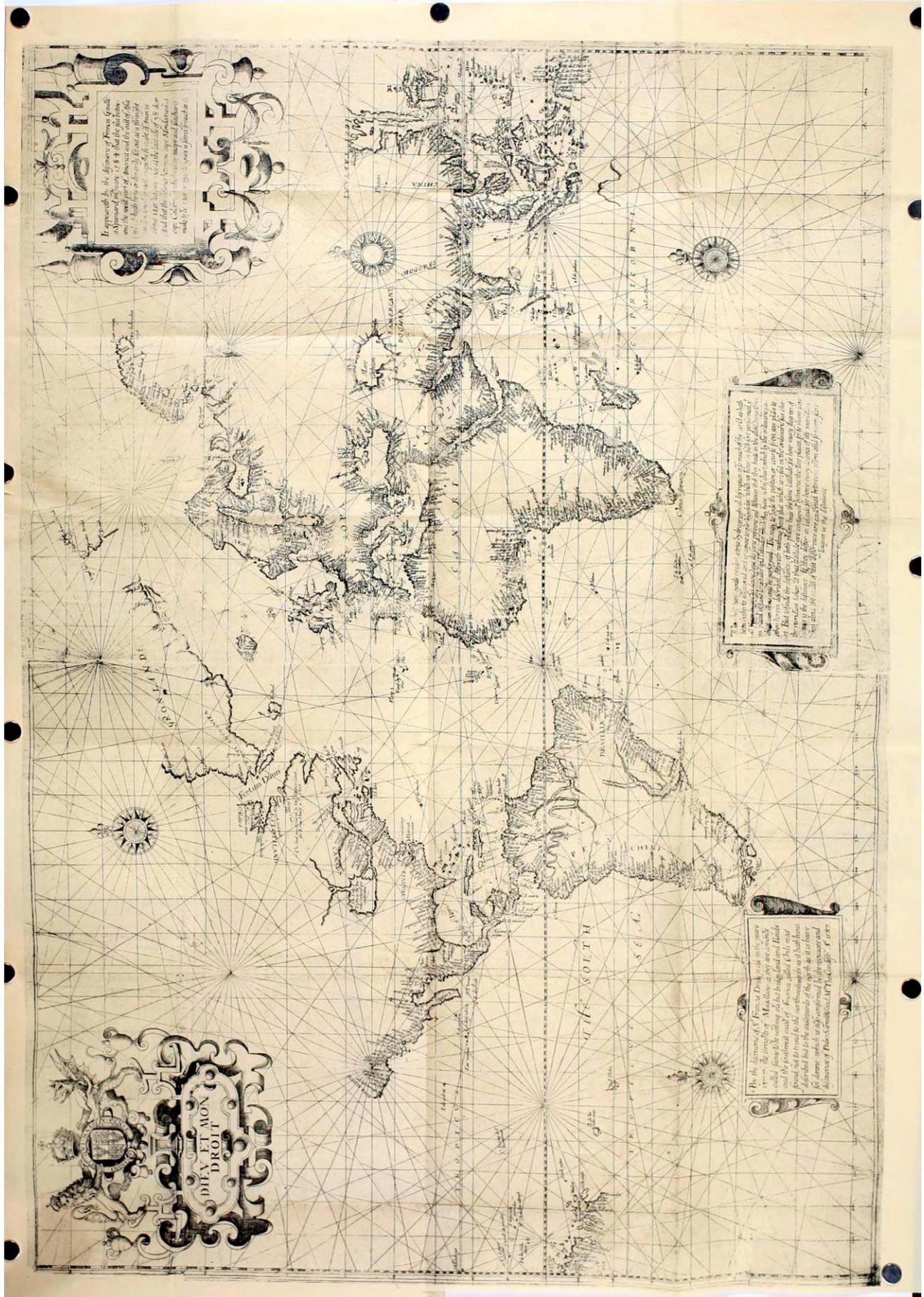


Figure 5. Fac-simile of the world map by Edward Wright, printed in a few copies of the second edition of The Principal Navigations (1599-1600)

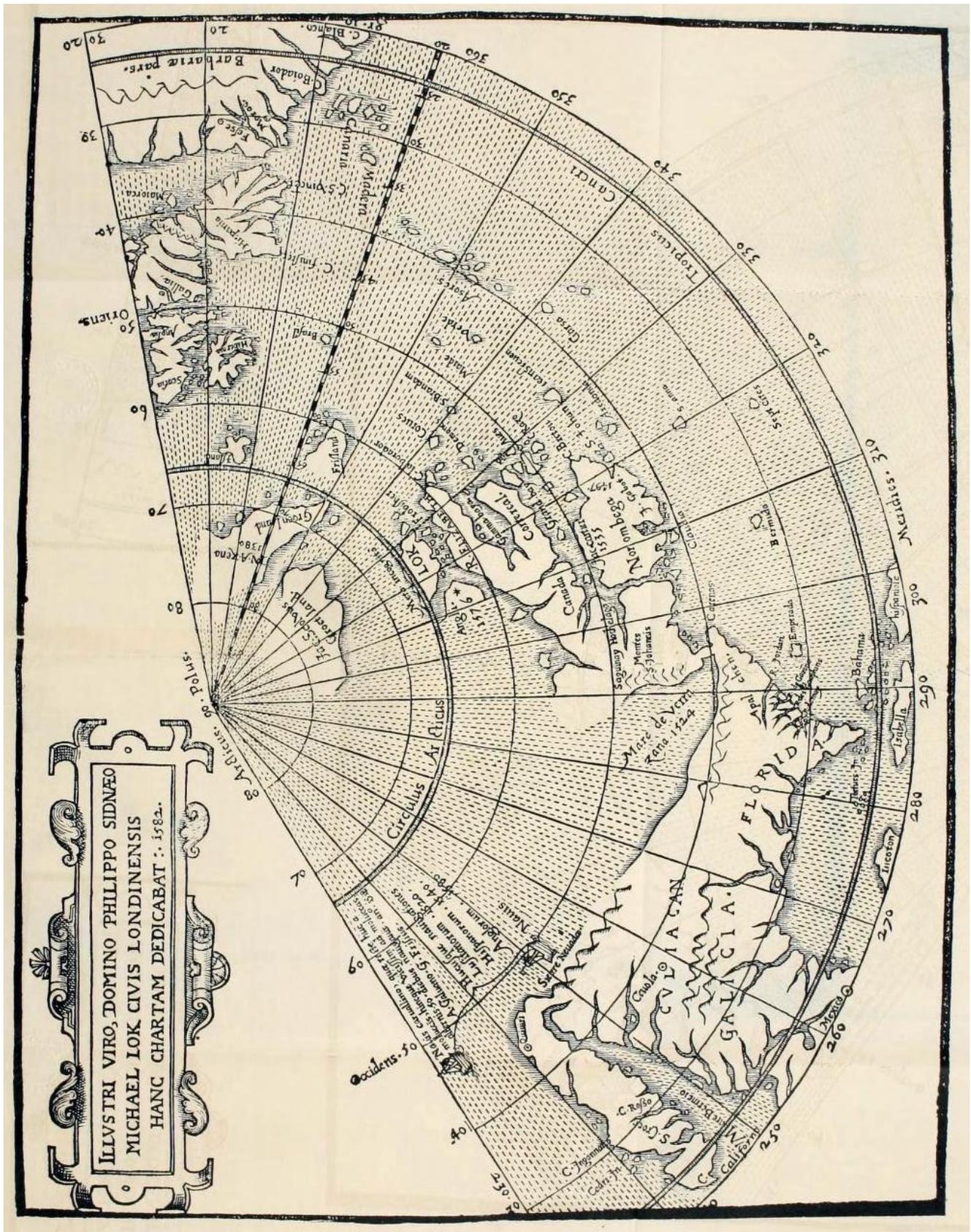


Figure 6. World map by Michael Lok, dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, and printed in some copies of Divers Voyages (1582)



Figure 7. Abraham Ortelius's Parergon (Antwerp: Vriens, 1612)



Figure 8. Abraham Ortelius's *Parergon* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1595)

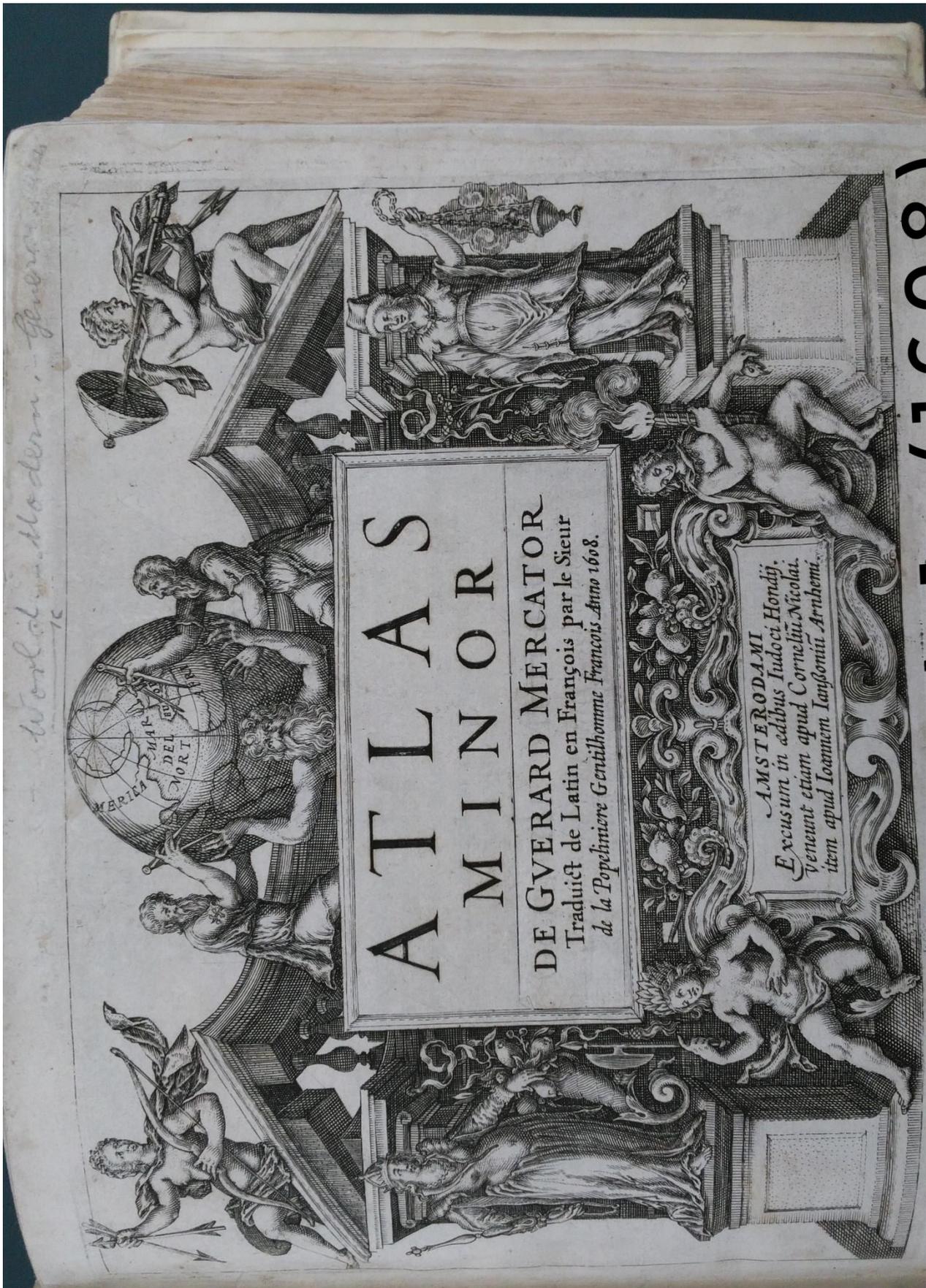
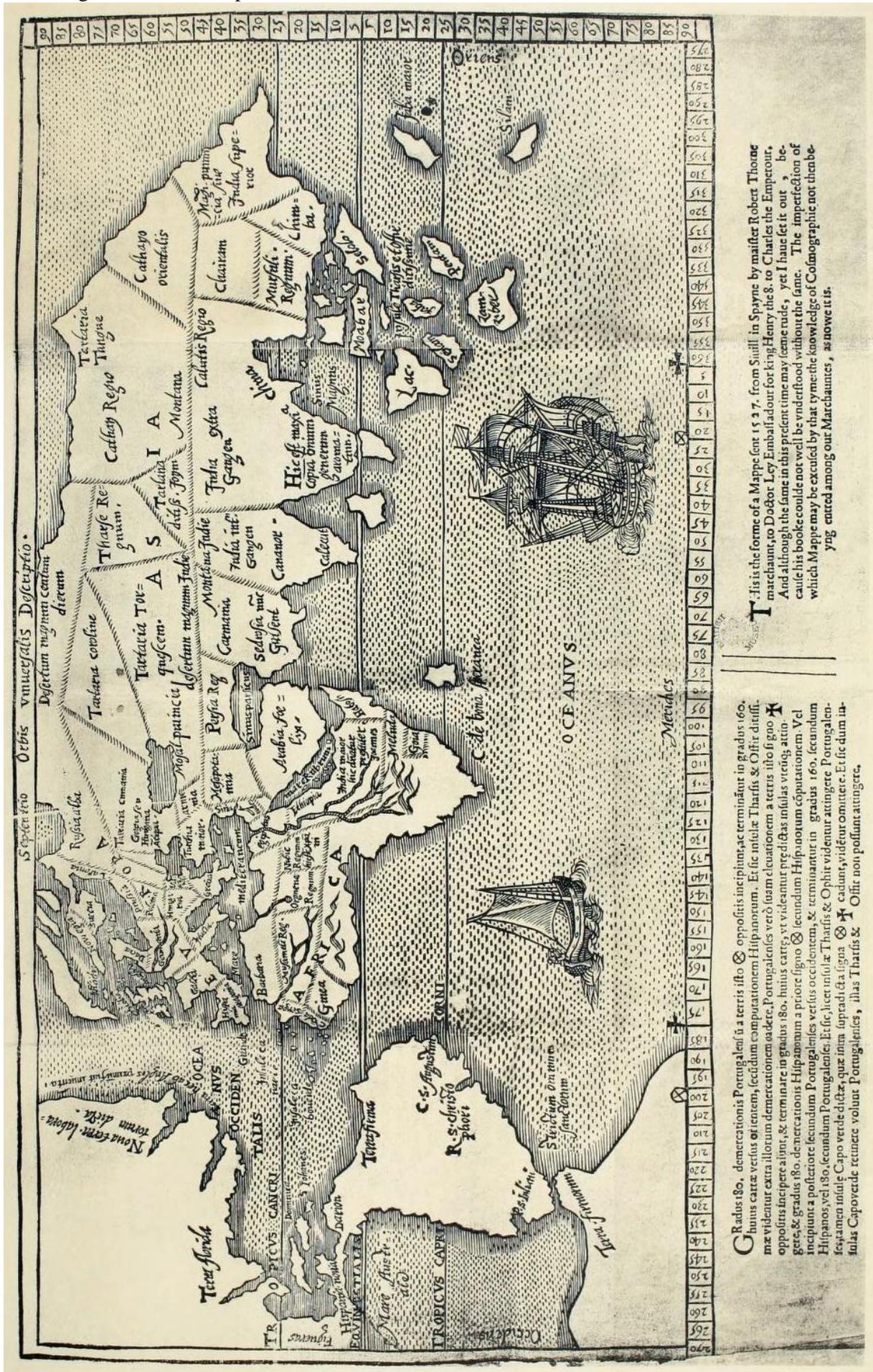


Figure 9. Frontispiece of the Mercator-Hondius's Atlas minor, translated into French by La Popelinière (1608). Courtesy of British Library, location Maps C.3.A.1.



Figure 10. Frontispiece of the Mercator-Hondius's Atlas minor, translated into French by La Popelinière (1609 or 1613). Courtesy of the British Library, location Maps C.3.A.2.



This is the forme of a Mapped sent 1537. from Suiffil in Spayne by maister Robert Thorne marchchaunt, to Doctbor Ley Embadour for king Henry the 8. to Charles the Emperour. And although the same in this present time may seeme rude, yet I haue let it out because his booke could not well be vnderstood without the same. The imperfection of which Mapped may be excused by that tymes the knowledge of Colimographic not then being carted among our Marchauntes, as nowe it is.

Gradus 80. demeracionis Portugalesis in terris isto & oppositis incipiunt, ac terminantur in gradus 160. huius carae vertus orientem, secundum computationem Hispanicorum. Et sic intulit Thartus & Offit distillata videntur extra illorum demeracionem cadere. Portugaleses vero suam cluacionem a terris isto signo & oppositis incipere a iunt, & terminare in gradus 180. huius carae, ut videntur praedictas insulas vtriusq. attingere, & gradus 180. demeracionis Hispanicorum a prioris signo & secundum Hispanicorum computationem. Vel incipiunt a portuore secundum Portugaleses vertus occidentem, & terminantur in gradus 160. secundum Hispanicos, vel 180. secundum Portugaleses. Et sic, licet intulit Thartus & Offit videntur attingere Portugalesis fixationem intulit Capu verde distat, quae inna supra dicta signa & Offit videntur omittit. Et sic dum intulit Capoverde retinere voluit Portugaleses, illas Thartus & Offit non possunt attingere.

Figure 11. Robert Thorne's world map printed in Hakluyt's Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America (1582)

Conclusion

In this research, I attempted to show how Richard Hakluyt and Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière developed the link between history and geography to justify English and French colonialism, in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. To do so, I analysed the similarities as well as the important differences between their editorial practices, regarding La Popelinière's general perspective of expansion and Hakluyt's focus on extending the traveller's experience to the reader. I, then, moved on their converging and complex uses of Iberian works, conquests and colonial knowledge as sources of exemplarity. Finally, I attempted to show how their works can be better understood not only in comparison to each other, but as discourses developing a distinctive and overarching 'geo-historical' form of inquiry, which served to support colonial expansion. In other words, I chose to emphasise the similarities in their uses of geographical knowledge and historical narrative to motivate the usefulness of human artifices and curiosity in ordering, through conversion, overseas trade and colonial settlements, the world understood as God's creation.

The comparison between the works by Hakluyt and La Popelinière not only allows us to see the making of such 'geo-historical' form of inquiry – often expressed in the topos of 'geography as the eye of history' –, but also nuances the separation between Northern European Protestant works and the Iberian works and conquests. It, thus, relativizes the modern historiographical status of Hakluyt and La Popelinière as foundational characters of a history of English travel writing and of French historiography, respectively. Any degree of distinctiveness of their works has already been thoroughly studied and, by choosing to emphasise their convergences, I did not mean to overlook the immediate context of both authors' lives and writings, such as the influence of Hakluyt's network of royal officers, merchant corporations, explorers, learned men in England, or La Popelinière's activity as a Huguenot soldier in the Wars of Religion and his decisive confrontation with the Huguenot leaders and the Synod in La Rochelle.

Rather, I was interested in looking into the making of a pro-colonial discourse from the 'periphery' of European colonial expansion in the sixteenth century. Despite the English colonisation of Ireland, it became clear that Hakluyt and La Popelinière assumed an English and French colonial belatedness or absence, respectively, in comparison to an, overall,

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successful Iberian – and particularly Portuguese – colonial experience and knowledge. In this regard, unlike previous studies, I considered Hakluyt's assertion, in *The Principall Navigations*, that his travel collection was, in part, a response to La Popelinière's comment, in *L'Amiral de France*, about the English absence from colonial expansion despite their insularity, in comparison to the Spaniards and Portuguese. In sum, by the 1580s, both authors had developed a discourse to address pressing issues, such as the fragility of England and France in overseas trade due to Iberian expansion, the French failure in colonial expansion, the relative English lack of travel literature, the 'rise and fall' of the genre of cosmography, and questions of how to represent the world – namely the geographical, political and cultural polyphony of Africa, Asia and America as narrated in travel literature, particularly in Iberian works. As Renaissance armchair travellers, they used, in their discourses, classical, biblical, medieval and modern authorities to raise and attempt to solve those issues. Influenced by Ramusio's travel collection, by Northern European cartography and cosmography, and by Iberian works of history and geography, the two authors balanced a global outlook with 'national' (or local) enterprises of colonial expansion.

Therefore, across their works, Hakluyt and La Popelinière developed a discourse in support of colonialism *in response to* a sense of colonial failure or uncertainty and *against* a perception of Iberian colonial experience, increasingly narrated and circulated in local and regional networks of oral, written and printed news. I have emphasised how these 'news' increasingly dealt with global issues, expressed in the wide and changing fields of history and geography. As a result, their geo-historical articulation, I argued, allowed for an ontological and epistemological openness in Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's texts. Such geo-historical discourse was expressed in Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's use of historical and geographical passages in their texts, in the multiple ways of arranging their source material, in their ambivalent assessment of Portuguese and Spanish imperial ambition by referring to their histories, geographies and travel accounts, in Hakluyt's proposal of alliances with other-than-European peoples, in La Popelinière's defence of the traveller's mode of observation and vocabulary in a scholarly theory and method of history, in both authors' defence of overseas trade as a means to promote global agreement under a Christian European aegis, and in their praise of the art of navigation and the historical record of conquests. All these features signified the difficulties of their own monumental editorial enterprise in addressing the successive failures of English and French attempts to establish colonies in Virginia, Florida, and Brazil.

Conclusion

They wrote *because* of the apparent French and English inability to imitate or improve the Iberians' 'modes of colonisation'; *because* of the polyphony of the world, expressed in its ethnographic diversity of more or less known 'pasts', polities and environments in Asia, Africa, America, and the *terra australis*; and *because* of the resulting European anxiety about matters of evidence and credibility in the narrative of human deeds and in the description of the world. Finally, all these aspects fell under the broad fields of geography and history in the Renaissance and it was in those geo-historical terms that both authors' supported colonialism and why I have chosen to emphasise their convergences rather than their divergences.

Joyce E. Chaplin has recently suggested that Hakluyt's 'Discourse of western planting' should be read as a natural-theological assessment of the abundance of the world and the condition of humans as sinners seeking signs of paradise on a planetary dimension. Chaplin argued that, in Hakluyt, the natural world did not merely embellish the 'Discourse', instead it was the epistemological foundation of his support of colonialism.⁵⁵¹ Indeed, similar arguments explained many aspects of works by La Popelinière and, probably, could be extended to other authors often studied in isolation. I hope to contribute to a decentred intellectual history of early modern European discourses on colonialism, which, in the case of Hakluyt's and La Popelinière's geo-historical projects, attempted to exert control over, while also deepening the entanglement between the local/national, the continental and, increasingly, the global.

⁵⁵¹ Chaplin, "No Land Unhabitable, nor Sea Innavigable".

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