Discourses of Barbarity and Travel to England in the Formation of an Elite French Social Identity: a Recontextualisation of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*

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Declaration

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I, Emma Pauncefort, confirm that the work presented in this dissertation is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the text.

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It would be remiss not to head these acknowledgements with a sincere note of thanks to my parents and my brother, Thomas. Without the encouragement and support of my parents at every stage of my education, I undoubtedly would not have come this far. Meanwhile, for a sibling, I could not have wished for a better brother.

If my school years were fundamental in sparking my curiosity in linguistic and historical enquiry, my undergraduate studies laid the firm foundations for the present research. I would, therefore, also like to acknowledge here my undergraduate supervisors whose energy, reassurance and endless inspiration ignited an early interest in pursuing my interests. I owe part of the early germination of the current project to Mark Darlow. Special mention also goes to my former Director of Studies, Alison Finch, who continues to be a great support.

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This project grew, in part, out of personal curiosity. Family legend recounts that the 'first' Paunceforts crossed the channel with William the Conqueror and quickly settled in the south of England whilst taking on a proud 'English' identity. Meanwhile, tales on my maternal side relate how my great-grandfather, a cook in the British army, took a sincere liking to a Lilloise he saw from afar when on leave from the frontline in the First World War. In the end, it was the twin sister of the Lilloise who settled in Cheltenham, retaining few ties with family back in France. Perhaps an additional acknowledgement is, therefore, owed to my ancestors for their part in kindling an interest in a project that considers how, contrary to my personal examples taken from opposite ends of the chronological spectrum, French travellers to England, for the most part, held tenaciously to their sense of identity.

To all I have here implicated, I hope that the current output does their support and inspiration justice.

Abstract

Drawing on sociological conceptualisations of the formation of group identities, this study investigates the formation of a 'French' identity in the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Whilst championing a symbiotic relationship between theoretical frameworks and the historical case study, I consider how a twin discourse of barbarity, both forged and recorded in the first French monolingual dictionaries, was invested in a social practice in order to form an elite and restricted intra-European 'social identity', which would later be rearticulated as a national identity at the end of the eighteenth century. My main thesis is that the methodisation of – what I typologise as – Gallocentric travel to distant extra-European lands and the accounts resulting from such travel was mirrored in the culture of travel to England and travel writing, itself a practice employed as a further vehicle in the assertion and consolidation of the language of 'Frenchness'. To evidence this, I examine how the language of barbarism, first employed in the sixteenth century in relation to Eastern and Amerindian peoples, was reattributed to the lower English classes in the seventeenth century to construct a sense of superior 'Frenchness' within Europe and with it, a French 'social identity'. In turn, I study how in the wake of the Glorious Revolution exponents of a counter-culture of anti-Gallocentric travel challenged this particularised narrative on 'Englishness' and looked to upturn the language of barbarity. Overall, my study drives towards putting forward a fresh analysis of Voltaire's 1734 *Lettres philosophiques*. I argue for a new reading of this canonical text in light of my study of the language of 'social identity' and cultures of (anti-)Gallocentric travel and travel writing. In this, I suggest Voltaire's ambivalence in the face of increasingly 'enlightened' thought.

Introduction

From perfunctory surveys to close linguistic analyses, the study of travel writing has rapidly developed into a rich interdisciplinary field with its own wealth of methodologies.[1] This evolution has been underpinned by the systematisation of travel texts in detailed bibliographies, which build on early factual surveys of travellers.[2] In the field of early modern French travel writing on England, the focus of my current study, the mostly anglophone surveys of continental travellers to England of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were early adumbrated by Georges Ascoli and Gabriel Bonno's studies of Anglo-French relations in the period.[3] Ascoli and Bonno's seminal accounts have, in turn, been more recently complemented by more

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[1] Travel writing has been established as its own idiom, as is exemplified in the following general surveys: Peter Hulme, and Tim Youngs, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002); Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011); Tim Youngs, ed., *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013). New trajectories and directions for travel writing have, meanwhile, been outlined, for example, by Feroza Basu, Charles Forsdick, and Siobhan Shilton, *New Approaches to Twentieth-Century Travel Literature in French: Genre, History, Theory* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006).

[2] See Jennifer Speake, ed., *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia,* 3 Vols. (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003), and Edward Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel: Including Voyages, Geographical Descriptions, Adventures, Shipwrecks and Expeditions*, 3 Vols. (Seattle: University of Washington, 1949).

[3] William Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First* (London: Russell Smith, 1865); Smith, Edward, *Foreign Visitors in England and What They Have Thought of Us: Being Some Notes on Their Books and Their Opinions During the Last Three Centuries* (London: Stock, 1889); Daniel Pasquet, 'La Découverte de l'Angleterre par les Français au XVIIIème Siècle', *La Revue de Paris,* 27 (1920), 831-51; Rosamond Bayne-Powell, *Travellers in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Murray, 1951); William Robson-Scott, *German Travellers in England, 1400-1800* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1953). For a typical early survey of an individual French traveller, see Ira Wade, 'Destouches in England', *Modern Philology,* 29 (1931), 27-47. See the third volume of Cox's *A Reference Guide* for listings of travel writings on England.

specialised studies on the art of travel.[4] Continuing interest in this area, as well as testimony of the extent of research still to be conducted is, meanwhile, evidenced by Gábor Gelléri's most recent publication, *Philosophies du voyage: Visiter l'Angleterre aux 17e-18e siècles,* which builds on his doctoral dissertation.[5] In both studies, Gelléri provides an undoubtedly valuable and overdue *longue-durée* reappraisal of this area of research. My aim here is to complement his work by giving an alternative account of the development of French travel cultures in relation to England. This account is shaped by a contrasting interdisciplinary theoretical framework and, in the focused linguistic excavation it undertakes, resultantly offers an alternative interpretative terminology which might be applied to this strand of early modern French 'culture'.

My current study takes snapshots from the record of French travel and travel writing in relation to England between the sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries, of which I give a preliminary list in Appendix I. My intention is to testify to the role of travel as a changing social practice and the

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[4] Georges Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française: depuis la guerre de Cent Ans jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Universitaire Gamber, 1927); Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVII siècle*, 2 Vols. (Paris: Librairie Universitaire Gamber, 1930); Gabriel Bonno, 'La Culture et la civilisation britanniques devant l'opinion française de la paix d'Utrecht aux *Lettres philosophiques* (1713-1734)', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series,* 38 (1948), 1-184. For a general cross-European bibliography of methodising travel writing, see Justin Stagl, *Apodemiken: Eine räsonierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: Schoeningh, 1983) and Luigi Monga, 'A Taxonomy of Renaissance Hodoeporics: A Bibliography of Theoretical Texts on "Methodus Apodemica" (1500-1700)', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 14 (1996), 645-62. For a parallel survey of such travel writing in French, see Norman Doiron, *L'Art de voyager: Le déplacement à l'époque classique* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1995).

[5] '"Cette chose ordinaire et inutile": Le voyage d'Angleterre de 1660 à 1789: Défi philosophique, enjeu politique, pratique sociale' (unpublished doctoral thesis, École des Hautes Études en sciences sociales; Université Eötvös Loránd, 2009); *Philosophies du voyage: Visiter l'Angleterre aux 17e-18e siècles* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2016). I am grateful to Gabor Gelleri for sharing a copy of his earlier work.

shifting mode of writing it spawned in the formation of an elite French 'social identity' in the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. I use the term 'early modern' to refer to the period here implicated. This chronological demarcation is not arbitrary. Rather, it has a partially rhetorical use in insisting upon the sixteenth century as the period in which the foundations of social structures and a concomitant 'social identity' were laid down and subsequently developed and challenged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this course of research, my aim has been to bridge the gap between conventional surveys of Anglo-French relations and more recent methodisations of travel writing, which include widespread acknowledgement of both the crafting of the travel text and the role of travel and travel writing in forming a sense of identity against 'Others'. In Chapter 1, I address this theoretical backdrop at length and also outline my rationale for importing relevant sociological models into this study. My aim in this introduction is, therefore, to outline key parameters that inform the seven chapters comprising my study of the formation of an elite French 'social identity' through discourses of barbarity and travel to England, and my subsequent fresh analysis of Voltaire's canonical text, the *Lettres philosophiques*, which I present in Chapter 8.

In the first instance, I would like to explain my choice of texts. Before going any further, it is perhaps worth noting here an aspect of my study, which I address in Chapter 2: namely, that in dealing with texts, my focus is inevitably on the upper echelons of early modern French society. For reasons which I explain in Chapter 1, my focus is additionally on the French elite. Otherwise, whilst I concentrate on French travel writing on England, the texts I bring together to elucidate its development are drawn from other genres, with a particular focus on lexicography, as I rationalise in Chapters 2 and 3. I also incorporate canonical texts: François de La Noue's *Discours politiques et militaires* and the relevant discussions in Michel de Montaigne's *Essais*, which I address in Chapters 2 and 5. Together with the first early modern monolingual French dictionaries, La Noue and Montaigne's writings help to identify, I argue, the development of the language of barbarism that is

central to my analysis of the linguistic crafting of travel writing on the English 'Other', as well as early responses to the way in which language shaped new courses of travel. Yet, in so doing, my aim is also to respond to existing scholarly circumscription of travel writing as a genre. The genre of travel writing, scholars note, can be tentacular and not easily distinguishable from other forms of writing.[6] In implicating a range of texts not ordinarily encompassed by travel writing studies, I wish to highlight the centrality of the 'discourses' of barbarism and travel in early modern French society and the way in which these twin concerns permeated writings. Nevertheless, I have imposed certain delimitations in order to avoid a sprawling corpus which might begin to defy definition.[7] Beyond Montaigne and La Noue's

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[6] Attempts to circumscribe the genre of travel writing have given way to open definitions. Zweder von Martels has questioned 'whether we may still speak of travel writing where the 'distinction between travel writing and fiction becomes small, and the novel comes into being' ('Introduction' in *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing,* ed. by Zweder Von Martels (Leiden: Brill, 1994), ix). Similarly, Thompson, in response to Certeau's claim that 'every story is a travel story' with travel intrinsic to the very act of writing (quoted in Thomspon, *Travel Writing,* 24), remarks that the 'genre' of travel writing is best understood 'as a constellation of many different types of writing and/or text, these differing forms being connected not by conformity to a single, prescriptive pattern, but rather by a set of what the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein would call 'family resemblances''. He thus concludes that 'there is little point in policing [the boundaries of travel writing] too rigidly' (Ibid., 26). Parallel to these evaluations are Clifford, Hulme and Young's interpretations. In the first instance, James Clifford defines ethnography as a 'hybrid textual activity' which 'traverses genres and disciplines' (*Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. by James Clifford and George Marcus (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 26). In their survey of travel writing as a critical idiom, Hulme and Young, in turn, settle on the notion that 'travel writing is best considered as a broad and ever-shifting genre' (Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 'Introduction' in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Peter Hulme, and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002).

[7] Elsewhere, I emphasise the danger of incorporating too wide a corpus of texts in delineating new cultures of travel. In relation to a recent survey of 'Republican travel', I suggest that the category explored by the volume becomes amorphous (review of *La République en voyage, 1770-1830*, ed. by Gilles Bertrand and Perna Serna, *French History*, 29:1 (2015), 123).

discussions, in addition to the lexicographical analysis of Chapter 3, the travel writing I consider here is, therefore, that which directly relates to the practice of French travel, whether that be its methodisation or its record, whether it be presented in manuscript or printed form, and whatever format in which the discussion of travel is embedded.[8] A further implication of the broad definition of French travel writing under which my study operates is additionally that I take into account the travelogue of a Swiss traveller, Béat Louis de Muralt. I give further justification for this inclusion in Chapter 7.

In the second instance, I would like to outline further here how my approach to this body of writings differs from existing comparative studies. Complementing the shift away from the redaction of isolated national histories, travel writing studies have long moved beyond the sphere of influences and exchange in favour of interconnected histories. As I outline in Chapter 1, a considerable influence in this regard has been the developments in the fields of ethnography and anthropology, which have led to scholars designating the symbiotic relationship between 'cultures' as fundamental to their creation and maintenance. An exemplar study of this in the field of identity formation is Liah Greenfeld's *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, which charts the overlapping development of a sense of national identity in England, France, Russia, Germany and America.[9] As for studies of cultures of travel, the influence of this new theoretical approach is particularly

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[8] I therefore here adopt broader definitions of travel writing, such as that given by Martels, which incorporate the novel (see n. 6). In so doing, I also accept Jean Viviès' more recent theoretical positioning that identifies the travel text as an extension of the novel and not a discrete genre (*English Travel Narratives in the Eighteenth Century: Exploring Genres* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002)). In turn, I counter Percy Adams' insistence that the novel is necessarily distinct from the travel text (*Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), 279. (See also 38-57 for a discussion of those writings he does include in his definition). Adams' stance can be seen to derive from Jacques Chupeau's earlier study that identified the novel on the frontier of travel writing ('Les Récits de voyages aux lisières du roman', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* (1977), 536-53).

[9] (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1992). I consider Greenfeld's study in Chapter 1.

pronounced in the mushrooming literature on noble travel in Europe. This has resulted in the term 'Grand Tour' being commonly and – as I contend in Chapter 6 – unhelpfully applied in analyses of those courses of instructive travel undertaken by the French elite from the sixteenth century onwards. The move towards a pan-European and even pan-continental survey has facilitated great inroads in the reconfiguration of current understanding of historical evolution. It has helped to reveal how, for example, geographical spaces were 'co-imagined' and even helped to formulate an early sense of 'Europe'. This impulse has come, however, I argue, with unintended distortions, which bury the intra-European dynamics that were fundamental to the formation of a French 'social identity' in the early modern period. This is not to advocate study of the intra-European in isolation. As I argue in Chapter 4, intra-European practices and associated discourses were born out of extra-European voyages of 'discovery' and drew their rhetorical potency from them. Nevertheless, it remains my contention that differentiation existed alongside collaboration.

This is particularly evidenced, I suggest, in the relationship between the English and French. Existing studies of Anglo-French relations underline the multifarious channels of Anglo-French cooperation, notwithstanding a colourful history of enmity, which also characterised the relationship.[10] Intellectual, noble, diplomatic and, increasingly, scientific networks no doubt developed between England and France in the early eighteenth century. French writing on character, meanwhile, as Paul Langford has identified, echoed those conclusions drawn by commentators from elsewhere in Europe.[11] My contention is, however, that beneath the shared 'culture'

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[10] See the following studies, for example: Robert Gibson, *Best of Enemies: Anglo-French Relations since the Norman Conquest* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1995); Isabelle Tombs and Robert Tombs, *That Sweet Enemy* (London: Pimlico, 2007); Simon Burrows, Edmond Dziembowski, and Ann Thomson, eds., *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century*, SVEC 4 (2010); Lise Andries, John Dunkly, Frédéric Ogée, and Darach Sanfey, eds., *Intellectual Journeys: The Translation of Ideas in Enlightenment England, France and Ireland* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013).

[11] *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character 1650-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University

suggested by these networks and overlapping evaluations was a fundamental and formative sense of distinction. This was a sense of difference which developed, as I discuss in Chapter 3, in the first instance through a language that distinguished between 'non-French barbarians' and 'French non-barbarians', and, in the second, as I study in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, through a particularised French culture of travel I here term 'Gallocentric'. This mode of travel, I argue, saw tangible experience give authoritative substance to such language. Its development relied, I further suggest, on a symbiotic relationship between language and social practice. This culture of travel, in turn, affected the dynamics of the relationship of the French elite with the English. This relationship was founded as much upon difference between states as between social classes and fed into the development of an 'elite social identity', which would later be injected into a broader sense of national identity. In sum, I here outline the early modern French imagining of England. This is an imagining which is perhaps first indicated in the early modern use of 'Angleterre' as a catch-all term for the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, which would come to form 'Britain' (and hence my use of the term 'England' rather than 'Britain' throughout my study). Here, I argue that this was an imagining that had multiple levels, with the basis deriving from geographical boundaries onto which was superimposed a social differentiation. In so doing, my study is concerned with perceptions of social reality, even if it considers how shifting geopolitics informed such perceptions.

My study examines two contrasting perceptions of social reality. In the first instance, I consider the perception of French superiority over peoples in the New World and Old World alike, which provided the basis for a nascent sense of identity in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was the perception of French writers in the service of the elite and the French monarch, as well as the elite themselves. It was a perception which these social actors nurtured through their narratives of voyage and 'discovery' far

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Press, 2000).

afield and by their belief in the superiority of codified manners and social behaviours back in France. In the second instance, I consider the birth of a contrasting perception of English eminence at the end of the seventeenth century. This was the perception of those on the margins of French elite society and was influenced by evidence of English military power in continental conflicts and the prosperity that seemed to accompany the abrupt regime change of 1688. Together, these contrasting perceptions kindled the trend of 'Gallocentrism' and its converse 'anti-Gallocentrism' that I trace in this study.

This brings me back to my reappraisal of the terminology currently employed in studies of French travel writing on England, which warrants further discussion here. The term 'Gallocentrism' is currently employed to designate loosely a focus on France and its capital.[12] It has most latterly been used in the formulation 'bourgeois Gallocentrism' to define the sense of middle-class identity in the late nineteenth century.[13] My use similarly has social connotations in that I identify 'Gallocentrism' to be an elite trend, which was nurtured for the French nobility and endorsed by its members. My rationale for employing this terminology is, meanwhile, underpinned by the particular approach I have here adopted: that is, to take as my starting point the French conditioning of the noble in order to understand the cultural baggage that encumbered him on his travels. This contrasts with conventional approaches and the terminology such approaches have spawned: that is, to start with the subject of French writing, in this case, on English 'culture', and then to chart responses to it. In the field of Anglo-French relations, this has resulted in the widespread use of the terms 'anglomania', 'anglophilia' and 'anglophobia'. Employed in early surveys, these terms continue to shape interpretations of French engagement with

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[12] See, for example, Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 46.

[13] Srdjan Vucetic, '"Making Identity Count" beyond IR' in *Making Identity Count: Building a National Identity Database*, ed. by Bentley Allan and Ted Hopf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 208.

English culture, including Gelléri's most recent study.[14] In one sense, there is historical rationale for such terminology: the term 'anglomanie' was coined by the bitter detractor, Fougeret de Montbron, in his state-sponsored work *Préservatif contre l'anglomanie* to denote the unbridled enthusiasm of some Frenchmen for all things English.[15] The more recent distinction made between 'anglomania' and 'anglophilia', with the latter denoting less superficial reverence of English 'culture', such as admiration of the English political model, and its converse – 'anglophobia' – therefore seems to resonate with the historical excavation I undertake here.[16] My rejection of such labels derives, however, from the overly strict dichotomised interpretation they impose on the study of Anglo-French relations and, especially, French travel writing on England. As I consider in relation to the use of these labels in studies of Voltaire's engagement with English 'culture' in Chapter 8, these labels force an interpretation of either endorsement or rebuttal of an alternative value system that was rarely so clear-cut. This is particularly pronounced in the texts under scrutiny here. The foundational texts of 'Gallocentric travel' were precisely coloured by a concurrent acceptance of elite English 'culture' and a denigration of 'common' English culture. It was, in fact, this bifurcation in attitude that fed into the formation of the 'social identity' I outline throughout my study.

In proposing fresh terminology, I also seek to revise with a theoretical justification existing typologies of French travel. As I argue throughout this dissertation, studies of French travel writing on England are plagued by the false homogenisation of travel cultures. In addition to the obfuscating label

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[14] See n.5. The following studies are a sample: Frances Acomb, *Anglophobia in France, 1763-1789: An Essay in the History of Constitutionalism and Nationalism*, *Duke University Publications* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1950); Josephine Grieder, *Anglomania in France 1740-1789: Fact, Fiction and Political Discourse* (Genève: Droz, 1985); Philippe Bordes, 'Jacques-Louis David's Anglophilia on the Eve of the French Revolution', *The Burlington Magazine,* 134 (1992), 482-90.

[15] (Minorque: [s.n.], 1757).

[16] See, for example, Edmond Dziembowski, 'The English Political Model in Eighteenth-Century France', *Historical Research,* 74 (2001), 151-71.

which is the 'Grand Tour', travel writings have variously been miscategorised as antiquarian, picturesque or, indeed, in the case of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*, as is Golléri's contention, not a travel work at all.[17] This is unsurprising given the extensive imbrication of cultures of travel and travel writing in early modern France and, indeed, their common categorisation by early modern readers under the all-encompassing term 'Histoire'. My aim here is not to proffer Gallocentric travel as a neat category. As I evidence throughout, Gallocentric travel was informed by other cultures of travel, including that conducted by antiquarians. Instead, my objective is to proffer a fluid term, which acknowledges the tessellation of travel cultures whilst taking as its starting point the cultural conditioning of the traveller which inevitably informed his representation of other cultures.

Overall, this study is, therefore, concerned with the contextualisation and recontextualisation of French travel writing on England, with a particular view to contributing to the perpetually burgeoning literature on Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*. It is to this end that the complementary interdisciplinary theoretical framework I outline in the opening chapters of this dissertation is invested.

A note on primary sources.

Finally, before turning to the main body of my study, I would like to outline my use of primary sources. Where possible, modern critical editions of early modern texts have been cited. In some cases, these critical editions reproduce the original text; in others, the text has been modernised. Citations follow the text as given in the critical editions. Otherwise, the spelling of sixteenth- seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts has been adopted.

Many of the texts studied in this dissertation enjoyed multiple editions in their lifetime. It is beyond the scope of the current study to analyse the development of these texts in full. Naturally, these permutations are of considerable interest, especially in charting the evolution of the practice of travel and engagement with other peoples, as well as the response of

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[17] 'Le voyage d'Angleterre', 30.

readers. To take a later edition of a text without acknowledgement of the evolution in thought it presents, therefore, can lead to a further distortion in the historical record. With this in mind, where possible and where modern editions are not available, the first editions of texts have been used with reference made to subsequent emendations as appropriate. In the main body of this dissertation, shortened titles are given for early modern texts. Full titles are given in the bibliography.

Chapter 1

The *Barbare* and an Elite Cultural System of Frenchness

The 'barbare': a protean social type

Social types pervade French writing and thought of the early modern period.[1] Employed as a device for articulating observations and perceptions of French society, the often caricatural and highly fictional figures they produced were famously ridiculed on stage and lampooned in pamphlets or other forms of satirical writing.[2] Through the denigration of disdainful customs and habits, the formulation of types was an effective means of condemning that which was perceived as marring and even threatening the fabric of society.[3] Just as the staging of farcical characters sought to nurture and advise of customs through seemingly inconsequential badinage, the deprecatory portrayals and the anti-models composed outside of the theatre

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[1] This is a common feature of structures of European thought of the period. For an extensive bibliography of scholarly work on stereotypes in early modern England, for example, see Mark Knights, 'Taking a Historical Turn: Possible Points of Connection between Social Psychology and History', *Integrative psychological and behavioural science,* 46 (2012), 592.

[2] The Mazarinades produced during the Fronde and other seventeenth-century writings include, for example, the type of the Parisian peasant, identifiable through his/her poor standard of speech. Whilst there is evidence that lower-class Parisians spoke a dialect closely related to that spoken in surrounding rural areas, the reliability of such portrayals is hotly debated (Wendy Ayres-Bennett, *Sociolinguistic Variation in Seventeenth-Century France: Methodology and Case Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 81). For other examples of studies on early modern types, see Sydney Anglo, 'Henri III: Some Determinants of Vituperation' in *From Valois to Bourbon: Dynasty, State and Society in Early Modern France*, ed. by Keith Cameron (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1989) and Virginia Scott, *Women on the Stage in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[3] In the preface to his commentary on French society, La Bruyère reveals his hope that the portrayals he presents have an instructive value: to encourage the correction of the vices he portrays (Jean de La Bruyère, *Les Caractères de Theophraste traduits du grec avec les caracteres ou les mœurs de ce siècle* (Paris: Chez Michallet, 1688), 154).

likewise had an underlying purpose: to generate positively-differentiated diametric opposites; the models to which the most socially important sections of French society might aspire. In creating polarised models, type-casting played an organisational role. With the binaries, dyadic systems and hierarchies the process erected, it became one early modern means borne out of the Renaissance impulse to organise the natural and human world and to impose an order, albeit artificially constructed and often idealised, upon the complex society that contemporaries endeavoured to comprehend and master.[4] In part, the creation of order was a quest to garner knowledge for the benefit of the developed societies of Europe. This quest was, however, often concerned with an additional and more inward-looking journey: to formulate a particularised sense of identity in an era in which geographical boundaries demarcated the division between little more than political entities and in which society was highly stratified. In sum, the creation of order through processes such as type-casting was one means by which individuals could conceive of their place within that order, that is to acquire essential self-knowledge.[5]

A vast corpus of scholarship has championed the notion that the first glimmerings of a broad identity in the early modern period were affirmably

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[4] This is not an aspect to which scholarship on French types in the early modern period alludes. In an article responding to criticisms of his seminal essay on anti-popery in post-reformation England, Peter Lake does, meanwhile, emphasise that type-casting in the early modern period had hidden agendas ('Anti-Puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 80-97). A parallel between type-casting and the wider impulse to classify the world can be evidenced, for example, in Brian Oglive's study of the rise of a taxonomy of the natural world in the Renaissance (*The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[5] In his study of the rise of French nationalism, Bell highlights the long history of the notion of the 'nation' before it came to refer to a coherent unified cultural entity. He takes as part of his evidence, the definition of 'nation' in the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* published in 1694, which demonstrates how little the semantics of the term had changed since the twelfth century (*The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 5-6).

cross-European. These interpretations rely on the view that this sense of geographical cohesion was developed in contradistinction to extra-European nations in the wake of exploration and 'discovery' in the New World to the West and in response to the rise of the Turkish menace to the East.[6] Both positive and negative types have been implicated in this. On the one hand, studies have highlighted how the classical image of the noble savage came to be filtered through portrayals of North-Amerindian peoples and the Eastern Turk.[7] This rejuvenation of an age-old form of positive type-casting was employed, scholars suggest, to present a biting critique on what was increasingly perceived as the degenerate society of the Old World. Articulated in relation to the Turk, for example, this type identified a fractured West in opposition to a well-trained and unified enemy whose military prowess and resultant power deserved reverence.[8] Meanwhile, scholars also point to the common use of the negative image of the cruel barbarian.

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[6] The term 'discovery' is employed throughout this dissertation with the caveat of its Eurocentric resonances. For discussion of the concept and its related terms, see Alan Gordon, *The Hero and the Historians: Historiography and the Uses of Jacques Cartier* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 24. In terms of scholarship in this area, there is an extensive bibliography for both subjects. For a seminal study on eighteenth-century discourses on the New World, see Michèle Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire au siècle des lumières* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995). A stimulating account of the response to the Ottoman threat is given by Nancy Bisaha in *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). Although the focus of the study is much more restricted than the title suggests – Bisaha's sources are mainly Florentine humanists – Bisaha's analysis provides important context for the responses in France, as this chapter studies below. For a classic study of the failed diplomatic entreaties of Europe towards the Turks and the worsening of political relations, see Dorothy Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances, 1350-1700* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1954).

[7] The way in which humanists reinvented the classical trope of the noble savage forms the crux of Bisaha's study of the Turkish barbarian. This, in turn, adds an important revision to Duchet's study of pre-ethnographic writing. According to Duchet, the writings on New World peoples by missionaries demonstrate originality in that they 'inventent les "bon sauvages"' (*Anthropologie*, 10).

[8] For praise of Turkish might, see Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, 88-91.

Reformulating the original ancient Greek formulation of the barbarian, commentators used the type to instil a sense of superior civility and unity amongst Christian nations.[9] Western portrayals of the Turks thus employed an epideictic formula, that is the co-existence of praise and blame, in order to build cohesion.

As Chapter 2 demonstrates, rhetorical firepower characterised both avatars of the Turkish barbarian. Nevertheless, this version of the historical narrative threatens to obscure the complexity of intra-European dynamics that lay beneath the unificatory veneer of such narratives. In its apparent endorsement of a straightforward duality of Europe versus non-Europe, such an interpretation obfuscates the multiple and more localised divisions felt both outside as well as within political boundaries, understood at both the continental and the national level.[10] As is evidenced by the increasing

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[9] The process of Greek identification through the 'barbare' has, more recently, been studied at length by Paul Cartledge. Cartledge notes that the term 'barbare' was employed to create 'two mutually exclusive and antithetical categories: 'Us' and 'Them'. These opposed categories facilitated, he argues, the construction of an idealised, positively-constructed vision of the 'non-barbarian' ideal Greek (Paul Cartledge, *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 11-2). See also Paul Cartledge, 'Greeks & Barbarians', in *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, ed. by Anastasios-Phoivos Christidis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Through the study of material culture, a counter-current in classical scholarship has more recently sought to nuance the nature of interaction between different ethnic groups in Europe. (See, for example, *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, ed. by Larissa Bonfante (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)).

[10] A classic example of this is found in Elias' seminal study, *The Civilizing Process*. In his examination in which he employs the term 'barbarian' as a synonym for 'uncivilized', Elias' hypothesis is that civility was a form of social organisation which unified European court society in the wake of a period of factions and disunity ((Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 47). Other studies that similarly suggest a straightforward duality include Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen, and Diana Loxley, eds., *Europe and its Others: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature, July 1984*. 2 Vols. (Colchester: University of Essex, 1985), and Felix Konrad, 'From the "Turkish Menace" to Exoticism and Orientalism: Islam as Antithesis of Europe (1453–1914)?', *European History Online,* 2011≤http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/models-and-stereotypes/from-the-turkish-menace-to-orientalism≥

number of studies that insist upon 'Europe' as a symbolic construct imbued with different meanings to different peoples and covering different spaces over time, cosmopolitan impulses have historically co-existed with the propensity to labour internal difference. Europe is, one scholar has underlined with reference to Edward Saïd's seminal work on the western construction of the East, one of the many 'imaginative geographies' characterised by multiple 'symbolic maps' that are themselves 'highly contingent, varying according to perspective and purpose as well as changing over time'.[11] In the early modern period, a common 'symbolic map' of Europe was actively constructed by individuals originating from different points of the compass.[12] A simultaneous counter-current was meanwhile characterised by the propensity to continue the process of exclusion and division that itself formed the building blocks of the notion of Europe. Stark fissures emerged between eastern states and the rest of the continent, especially in the eighteenth century; in essence, Europe came to be synonymous with 'Western Europe'.[13] Meanwhile, a North/South distinction,

[accessed 26 October 2015]. In his cross-European study, Konrad notes that the term Turk became interchangeable with Muslim. His study also takes into account North African stereotypes.

[11] Wendy Bracewell, 'Europe', in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Carl Thompson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 341. The notion of 'imaginative' or 'imagined' geography was coined by Saïd to identify the East as an entity formulated by Western perceptions (see Chapter 2 of *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978), 49-73). Benedict Anderson subsequently developed the notion of imagined geographies in his explanation of national identity as deriving from the belief in an imagined community (*Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 2006)).

[12] Wendy Bracewell considers the writing of Europe to resonate with the dominating narrative by those from what is now referred to as Eastern Europe ('The Limits of Europe in East European Travel Writing' in *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Writing on Europe,* ed. by Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008), 61-120).

[13] Bracewell and Drace-Francis, 'Foreword' in *Under Eastern Eyes*, viii. For a much-cited study of the 'imagined geography' of East Europe as it was developed in the eighteenth century, see Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of*

most recently labelled 'The Great European Divide', further precluded the foundation of a truly cohesive Europe.[14]

In the current study, I build on the continuing scholarly impulse to identify divisions and analyse the complexities of the changing 'mental map of Europe'.[15] I consider those fictions which were superimposed upon geographical space and which originated at all points of the compass in the early modern imagining of one continent. I investigate the highly fractured Europe that lay behind the rhetoric of unity, a Europe whose peoples sought to define themselves on a supracontinental level at the same time as they endeavoured to obtain intracontinental distinction. In supracontinental terms, I consider how individuals identified themselves as, on the one hand, the diametric opposites of enemies encroaching upon Europe in the near East and, on the other, historically-advanced antithetical beings in comparison to native peoples encountered in the distant West. On the intracontinental level, parallel processes of differentiation were also employed. Ultimately, I implicate one branch hitherto neglected: a form of French identity constructed in contradistinction to what was necessarily a French vision of English mores. In other words, I examine the dynamics of one determinative constituent of France's 'mental map' of Europe.[16]

Early modern France imposed a firm sense of distance between itself and other European nations, especially the old adversary found in England.

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the Enlightenment (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994). A particularly fruitful area of study has been research into the construction of the area now labelled the 'Balkans'. For a seminal study, see Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[14] The term is Quinones' and heads a recently published study (Ricardo Quinones, *North/South: The Great European Divide* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016). Quinones' study is one of many works responding to Roberto Dainotto, *Europe (in Theory)* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

[15] The phrase is Bracewell's ('Europe', 341).

[16] This dissertation employs the term 'Frenchness' to refer to the early sense of being 'French' that had an important but nevertheless loose connection with the geographical area that was 'France'. This mirrors the use of the term 'Europeanness'.

The type of the 'barbare' was, I argue, one means of articulating such difference, particularly in relation to other nations. In her study of French writings on non-European populations, Michèle Duchet argues that the objective was to harness knowledge of other peoples and places so as to achieve a better understanding of a superior European self rather than to create 'un savoir nouveau'.[17] I contend that the desire to formulate a particularised French self, in addition to creating a European self, as Duchet presents, gave rise to writings on other European peoples. In league with other European nations, the 'barbare' facilitated the distinction from extra-European people. Meanwhile, writers employed the same type, I contend, to establish a sense of Frenchness in contradistinction to one northern European neighbour – England. The objective underlying the employment of the type in relation to extra-European peoples, which I identify as a bid to assert a superior sense of Frenchness, was, I argue, emulated and amplified in its use in relation to intra-European peoples. The 'barbare' facilitated one form of long-lasting differentiation within the Northern part of the North/South divide; a form of differentiation that remained remarkably constant despite shifting Anglo–French political alliances.[18]

    In its early modern inception, the 'barbare' was in the first instance synonymous with the non-European non-Christian. This facilitated identification of the French king as the exemplar non-barbarian. The result was that the 'barbare' came to be antonymically linked to those 'frames of

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[17] Duchet, *Anthropologie*, 14.

[18] In surveying the states included in each half of this division, Quinones remarks upon France's particular status as *duelle*, that is, split in half by virtue of its southern Occitanie culture (*North/South*, 6-7). Dainotto similarly highlights that nineteenth-century commentators came to consider France as uncertainly located (*Europe*, 168). To enter the debate of what constituted North and South Europe is beyond the scope of the current study. Indeed, as Bracewell has underlined, the 'cultural coordinates – North, South, East, West' are not 'fixed and immutable' and rather contingent on an individual's perspective ('Europe', 341). Given the siting of the France's political centre in the North, that is either Paris or Versailles dependent on which point of the early modern period is considered, this dissertation takes France as part of Northern Europe.

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reference' Anderson identifies as central to the formation of the avatar of 'imagined community' he examines in a French national identity: the 'religious community' and the 'dynastic realm'.[19] All the same, the 'barbare' maintained a certain degree of autonomy in its functioning. Through its focus on collective elite conduct, it constituted, I argue, a separate 'frame of reference'. This focus had little connection with issues of faith. It did, however, necessarily remain linked to the monarch, given the increasing emphasis laid on the king as the model exemplar and the importance of being in the king's service, what came to constitute the *raison d'être* of the upper echelons of French society. The 'barbare' thus stood as an inversely significant shaping constituent in the network of structures that formed a French identity predicated upon social elitism.

In sum, I identify in the type of the 'barbare' an amorphous vehicle employed in different guises in the creation of multiple and complementary 'Others' or 'Grand Autres', the construction of which necessarily endow a subject with an identity.[20] Permutations of the 'barbare' proliferated as French writers sought to locate themselves in a constantly shifting world order both for themselves and their community of readers. The 'barbare' and its concomitant discourse, with discourse understood in its Foucauldian sense as the use of practices and languages in the service of creating power in society, thus nuanced the common claim of universality to be found in early

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[19] Anderson argues that nationhood was developed through these 'frames of reference' (*Imagined Communities*, 12).

[20] Jacques Lacan, *Le Séminaire. Livre II: Le Moi dans la théorie de Freud et dans la technique de la psychanalyse*, ed. by Jacques-Alain Miller (Paris: Seuil, 1978). In Lacanian theory, the *Grand Autre* or 'Other' is distinguished from the 'other', that figure which directly resembles the self and is encountered, for example, when an individual views their image in a mirror and becomes aware of their existence as an individual being. The term 'Other' is a central tenet of postcolonial theory. Although this dissertation seeks to build upon investigations in this field which, in the wake of Saïd's seminal studies ((*Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993)), consider the formation of identity in contradistinction to an 'Other', it is rather the more recent move in scholarship to draw on sociological theory with which this study aligns itself.

modern writing, that is, the claim to engage in a global view whilst considering all peoples to be of an equal standing.[21] In his survey of French writing on other cultures, Tzvetan Todorov criticises the 'faux universalisme' espoused by writers who did not have the experience or knowledge to occupy a universalist position.[22] My study does not adopt Todorov's view that universalism was a false category. Rather, my contention is that early modern thinkers conceived of universality differently: it was, I suggest, a stance that could be openly advocated even though French structures of thought were placed at its centre. The advocation of such a form of universality derived from the belief that everything emanated outwards from a superior French society that deserved being advocated as the benchmark against which all other societies, including the European, ought to be compared. In this, the potent type-casting effected through the 'barbare', a process that positioned Frenchness on the top rung of the ladder of civilisation and relegated diametric opposites or Others to the gutters, was a formidable prop.

The core aim of this study is to underline the dynamism inherent in the early modern type of the 'barbare' and its resultant centrality in establishing the particularised sense of identity that lay behind the rhetorical veil of universality. This dynamism, I suggest, accounts for its stubborn survival into the period dubbed the 'Enlightenment'.[23] Chapters 4 and 5 offer evidence of the malleability of the type and its discourses in their study of how the 'barbare' shaped the social practice of travel to England that developed out

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[21] Michel Foucault formulated this definition of discourse in his seminal work *L'Archéologie du savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969).

[22] *Nous et les autres: la réflexion française sur la diversité humaine* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), 24-6.

[23] My study will employ the term 'Enlightenment' in the knowledge that, as Wokler underlines, this is a problematic modern category (see in particular Wokler's critique of Isaiah Berlin (Robert Wokler, *Rousseau, the Age of Enlightenment, and Their Legacies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 244-59). As I will consider in later chapters, this designation falters especially given the inevitable persistence of pre-existing structures of thought.

of travel to the East and West in the sixteenth century and, as is studied in Chapter 6, informed commentaries recording such travel. Analysis in Chapter 7 of the mounting attacks launched against the type in the early eighteenth century identifies that the 'barbare' was a fundamental element of the system of beliefs pre-enlightenment thought sought to unravel. The 'barbare' emerges as a fundamental constituent of a French identity to which the French elite remained steadfastly subscribed. This status is evidenced, I maintain, in a text long considered to be emblematic of 'enlightened' thought: Voltaire's (in)famous 1734 *Lettres philosophiques*, on which I offer fresh analysis in Chapter 8.

To explicate this tenacity of the barbaric type, I consider how the 'barbare' not only differentiated between peoples but also produced social hierarchies during an era in which distinction between social ranks was equally or perhaps even more important than that established between national boundaries. As Bisaha herself notes in her survey of the more moderate responses to the Turkish *threat*, expressions of supposed unity, perhaps most strongly suggested in Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's coining of the adjective 'European', were borne out of 'a perception of opposition to the Turks and "Asia"', rather than out of 'any genuine sense that European countries shared many strong similarities beyond religion and the common language of Latin beyond the elite'.[24] Similarly, Bracewell remarks that the shared sense of civilisation voiced by commentators from eastern Europe in echo of their western counterparts only concerned the 'educated elite' whilst the 'burden of otherness' was borne 'above all [by] the common people'.[25] The polarised duality the type established was likewise not just between a generalised French entity and its English Other. Rather, the opposition the

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[24] Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, 86. This is not to deny the central power of the Latin language in building a sense of community in early modern Europe, as Peter Burke underlines in redefining Latin as a 'language in search of a community' rather than a 'language without a speech community' ('Latin: a language in search of a community' in *Language and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 43-4.)

[25] 'Limits of Europe', 73.

'barbare' constructed in one of its European avatars pitted a socially-defined Frenchness against an English Other that was also itself socially defined.

This interpretation brings further specificity to the existing scholarly record. Bisaha acknowledges the social dynamics at stake in the act of differentiation by examining the sense of shared values within the same social stratum and also across national boundaries. She underlines the elitism bound up in ancient Greek attitudes towards other peoples that Florentine humanists subsequently adopted. However, she does not consider whether social hierarchies and more localised identities were inherent in Florentine responses to the Turk.[26] By forging a link between identities and tightly circumscribed social behaviours, the 'barbare', I argue, formulated a Frenchness that was to encompass the French elite alone. The social division that characterised the original use of the term was, I contend, necessarily amplified in this early modern metamorphosis.

My work offers a point of clarification in the study of the formation of an early modern French identity, considering whether the widely accepted idea of a nascent 'national' identity superimposes too teleological an understanding of identity. In her study of the origins of French nationalism, Greenfeld argues that to examine identity in this period is to excavate that 'consciousness of being French' which was 'limited to a narrow elite circle' and had existed for centuries; how it was constructed, as well as how it was maintained for such a long period before conditions allowed it to be 'reinterpreted as a national identity'.[27] As such, Greenfeld's study places a sense of elite identity within the remit of a national identity. My focus on a 'social identity' instead eschews potentially anachronistic readings driven by the quest to identify the origins of nineteenth-century nationalist ideologies.[28]

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[26] Bisaha, 46.

[27] Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 91.

[28] Bell repeatedly reproaches the tendency of historians to be guided by nineteenth-century nationalism in their analysis of identity in the early modern period (See 'Recent Works on Early Modern French Identity', *Journal of Modern History,* 68 (1996), 84-113). In the introduction to her study of the rise of an English national identity in the seventeenth century, Anna Suranyi argues that the 'early discourses' of English nationalism 'merit consideration…

Whilst the use of the 'barbare' instituted a hierarchy of nations, both outside and within Europe, its employment also established a further level of differentiation in the construction and perpetuation of a strict social hierarchy within France. In early modern France, there was no question of advocating a sense of identity that would include prince and pauper alike; it was, I contend, a pre-national era during which loyalties and identities were in flux. It was also an era in which the French elite, though seeming to represent a veritable gallimaufry of interests and institutional loyalties, sought some form of cohesion and coherence as a result of entering a period of crisis. According to Davis Bitton, the misfortunes suffered by the upper French elite after 1560, in part due to the decline in seigniorial incomes, followed the outbreak of peace.[29] Not only were military offices now scarce, but competition intensified as positions of royal service were opened up to the lower rungs of the elite: the bureaucratic *noblesse de robe*. The resulting political system was more than ever characterised by 'fragmented and hierarchized social identities' and a veritable 'millefeuille nobiliaire'.[30] Meanwhile, instead of a status as a co-governing 'power-elite', the nobility of the sword became a 'service elite'.[31] With the political emasculation of the nobility of the sword firmly set in motion, an emasculation which would be brought to completion on Louis XIV's accession to personal rule in 1671 and which would leave an old nobility bereft of its conventional source of identity, a situation was created in which a social group was no longer in control of their status and fate. This heightened the importance of social hierarchy and placed greater emphasis on customs and manners in the quotidian existence of the upper elite. To be veritably admitted as part of the elite social group, it became imperative to cultivate social skills to maintain some manner of

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if for no other reason than because looking at the roots of modern ideologies can help us in interpreting their later existence' (*The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 22)

[29] *The French Nobility in Crisis, 1560-1640* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 1-2.

[30] Colin Jones, *The Great Nation* (London: Penguin, 2003), xxiv; Michel Figeac, *Les Noblesses en France: du XVIe au milieu du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2013), 26.

[31] Greenfeld, *Nationalism,* 121.

eminence.[32] This was the 'state civilizing process' so famously outlined by Norbert Elias. The upper elite reveled in its superior status, in being a model for social behaviour, and in standing as a group that reserved admission to its inner precincts to a highly select few. Writings of the period analysed in this dissertation reveal the extent to which, not only elite themselves, but those placing themselves in service to that elite, heavily invested in the construction of such social hierarchies. The species of identity formation here examined in which the 'barbare' is identified as a component, is not, therefore, the study of what could be termed a 'national' identity, but rather a much more limited 'social identity' constructed by an elite 'social group'.

We can better understand the figure of the 'barbare' and the species of identity it served to create through dialogue with ethnographical, anthropological and historical conceptualisations of value systems and the formation of identity, which are themselves to be juxtaposed with the theoretical models formulated by sociology. Through these complementary and interdisciplinary theorisations, we can begin to interrogate and (re)interpret the nature and functioning of the 'barbare' in early modern French society. A subsidiary but nevertheless important branch of such inquiry is the re-evaluation of contemporary theorisations themselves. In this study, I therefore aim to establish a mutually elucidating dialogue between theory and historical case study.

The first stage in this is to consider how the 'barbare' might be articulated with contemporary understanding of 'culture', especially in terms of how 'culture' is brought into being and maintained, and the role it plays in identity formation.

Multifaceted theoretical tools

The 'barbare' as a constituent of 'culture'

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[32] Michael Moriarty, *Taste and Ideology in Seventeenth Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 51.

Hitherto, I have maintained that the 'barbare' played an organisational and systematising role in French society, that its chameleonic nature allowed it to be reformulated and reattributed to produce more specific levels of identity. It functioned as a device whose unificatory powers operated just as deeply on an *intra-* as *inter*national scale. In short, the 'barbare' was a means by which a shared self-definition could be developed by and for a heterogeneous French elite. In this way, the type of the 'barbare' should be examined as a constituent of structures that fed into an early modern French form of 'culture'.

'Culture' is an elusive term defined by Eagleton as a 'complex of values, customs, beliefs and practices which constitute the way of life of a specific group'.[33] Further specificity as to the make-up and construction of culture, and, in turn, justification for interpreting the type of the 'barbare' within its framework is to be found in Swidler's conceptualisation. Her model terms the components of the complex of culture constitutive 'repertoires'. The building bricks provided by the "tool kit' of habits, skills, and styles' of a 'repertoire', Swidler asserts, bring a 'culture' into being and shape it. Culture is a system continually under construction and does not itself create social structures, but relies on the mediatory role of the constituents of a 'repertoire' to transform or modify its composition.[34] The formative and developmental characteristics I identify in the type of the 'barbare' suggest that in

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[33] Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 34. From this point on, any references to culture are made in light of this definition and the ensuing discussion, hence the absence of citation marks. The same process will be followed in relation to other theoretical terms discussed in this chapter.

[34] Ann Swidler, 'Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies', *American Sociological Review,* 51 (1986), 273. For complementary characterisations of 'culture' as dynamic, see Clifford in *Writing Culture*, 2. For a comprehensive discussion of this view of culture, see James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988) and James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). This view of 'culture' is also espoused by Paul Hopper in *Understanding Cultural Globalization* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 36.

representing and designating 'habits' it formed part of the broader repertoire that produced and shaped early modern French culture. My reading of the role of the 'barbare' thus underlines the dynamic nature of early modern French culture. Nevertheless, in maintaining its position as a key constituent of culture well into the eighteenth century, I suggest the 'barbare' also nuances Swidler's reconceptualisation: while culture itself might have enjoyed dynamism, my work insists on the restricted dynamism of the 'repertoire' of culture that paradoxically fed into a more fluid superstructure. It is this aspect, that is the rigidity or otherwise of culture and one of its constituent parts, that I will explore throughout this dissertation through the case study of the French 'barbare'.

The 'barbare' and the process of 'culture'

If we accept the early modern avatar of the 'barbare' as a component of French culture of the period, then to elucidate the birth and development of culture and its elements must take the form of an historically informed study. In this regard, the interpretation of culture as a relative system is central. Anthropologists have long acknowledged that societies and their customs tend to develop relationally. Lévi-Strauss early highlighted that societal customs rarely arise from 'quelque nécessité interne ou accident favorable'. He added that the behaviours of one group tend to develop in response to those potentially more regulated practices of another group.[35] Similarly, Leiris observed that culture – as an entity understood as the central differentiator between man and animal – develops necessarily through contact with other value systems and that, in fact, cultures need one another so as not to stagnate.[36] More recently, studies of ethnographical writing have also affirmed that 'cultural centres' predominantly come into being through

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[35] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Race et histoire* (Paris: Denoël, 1987), 17.

[36] Michel Leiris, *Cinq études d'ethnologie* (Paris: Denoël, 1969), 36, 52-3.

contact to the extent that, in Saïd's words, all cultures are 'hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic'.[37]

As I evidence here, a specifically French cultural centre, the source of a sense of identity, was in part the product of engineered contact with the 'authored invention' of English culture by French commentators, especially those who had travelled or who were generally invested in the practice of travel.[38] Exemplifying the considerable agency and innovation that can underpin the creation of required points of contact, I examine the conscious development of new forms of French interaction with the English through that one central tool: the type of the 'barbare' and its associated discourses. In so doing, I examine further the active role of social-psycho or internal factors and the shifting requirements of social actors in the formation of a culture. However, I also revise Lévi-Strauss' interpretation in part: it was, I argue, the *lack* of regulation observed in English culture that facilitated the development of new points of contact and, in turn, specifically French behaviours.

Meanwhile, my study endorses the idea that the inevitable jostling for prominence between cultures frequently produces an asymmetrical relation between them. Saïd's seminal studies in postcolonialism, which conceive of cultures comparatively and adopt a Lacanian informed understanding of the Other, also help to theorise this dynamic.[39] In *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*, Saïd stresses the power hierarchies and the narratives at stake in the construction of discourses on the Orient and Western empires. Fictions and attempts to assert supremacy, Saïd argues, fed into the formation of Western culture and a concomitant sense of identity. This identity was formulated on the one hand in contradistinction to the East, and on the other, in contradistinction to subordinated colonised peoples. In her examination of

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[37] James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 3; Michael Fischer, 'Ethnicity and the Post-Modern Arts of Memory', in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. by James Clifford and George Marcus (University of California Press: Los Angeles, 1986), 199; Saïd, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage Books, 1994), xxix.

[38] Clifford, *Routes*, 24.

[39] See n. 20.

the multiple processes of 'Othering' present in British India, Spivak also identifies the role of the denigrated Other in the formation of colonial culture and a sense of identity. In one process labelled by later commentators as 'debasement', Spivak demonstrates how representations of the Indian Other were constructed through dehumanising terms in a bid to justify colonial assertions of power.[40] Repertoires of culture are thus themselves made up of many components and cultures seldom engage in equal bilateralism: one culture is inevitably subordinated to another when two value systems interact. The relational process on which the formation of 'culture' and identity relies has, therefore, been widely characterised by a high degree of asymmetry. As well as the use of dehumanising language, subordination also occurs by placing the Other at a more primitive point in history.[41] What unifies these different examples of the process is the investment in an active agenda to assert control and pre-eminence, which, in some cases, employs a crafted rhetoric to justify acts of aggression. Whilst conscious that to apply postcolonial models could be considered anachronistic, I argue that these models allow us to see how similar power structures, which formed and maintained a notion of culture in nineteenth- and twentieth-century contexts, informed the early modern French type of the 'barbare'.[42]

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[40] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds., *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998), 172. Gayatri Spivak, 'The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives', *History and Theory,* 24 (1985), 254-7.

[41] A now classic study by Johannes Fabian studies how anthropologists create a temporal disjuncture between themselves and their object of study according to which the anthropologist places himself in the present and relegates the Other to a regressive state in an undeveloped time period (*Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002)).

[42] Postcolonialism as an academic discipline and theoretical model has increasingly come under fire from scholars who identify the persistence of colonial tendencies in such studies. For a survey of critical engagement with postcolonialism, see Claire Lindsay, 'Travel Writing and Postcolonial Studies' in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Carl Thompson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 25-34. One important criticism highlighted by Lindsay is the assumption that all case studies bear the same characteristics and power

The further permutation of the 'barbare' studied here – a socially-defined barbaric English Other – evidences parallel uses of dehumanising language. This language was later employed to justify attacks on the English in the eighteenth century during the bitter colonial battles of the Seven Years War (1756-1763) and to validate the National Convention's call to exterminate English prisoners during the French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1802).[43] My aim is to examine the nascency of this language and its long germination; to explain how such rhetoric came to be formed and integrated into a cultural arsenal for later deployment as required. The power of such language to form a credible narrative to incite war and even, as suggested in the Revolutionary government's draft bill, to instigate an early form of ethnic cleansing, relied on its initial construction to present an image of an intra-European Other who was asymmetrically antithetical to a value system understood as French culture and, as such, a threat to the core of what it had come to mean to be French. I explore how the linguistic building blocks of one structure of power, which might be termed a 'micro-repertoire', came to bolster a sense of identity by shaping the 'macro-repertoire' which was early modern French culture. Taking as my basis Lévi-Strauss' understanding of culture formation as necessarily relational, I contend that the structure of power in question is necessarily characterised by two sets of connected repertoires, with the second being the contra-defined repertoire. My focus is, therefore, on the two entities involved and how they interrelate. To this end, Reinhart Koselleck's work within the field of *Begriffsgeschichte*, which developed in parallel to the postcolonial analyses of Saïd and Spivak, and which sought to scrutinise the semantic agency of language, enriches the

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hierarchies (Ibid., 28). My study draws on seminal writings in the postcolonial current to elucidate internal dynamics without seeking to endorse the entire postcolonial model.

[43] A prominent articulation of such rhetoric coloured the state-sponsored work by Antoine-Léonard Thomas (*Jumonville, poëme* (Paris: [s.n.], 1759))*.* For a study of the National Convention's recycling of the image of the English barbarian, see Sophie Wahnich, *L'Impossible citoyen: L'étranger dans le discours de la Révolution française* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997), 237-325.

theoretical framework hitherto outlined. Whilst complementing Swidler's characterisation of repertoires as the triggers for the formation of active cultures, Koselleck's theorisation facilitates closer study of how individual elements operate within a repertoire.

Barbarity and concepts and counterconcepts

In *Begriffsgeschichte*, items of language termed 'concepts' facilitate the examination of historical social structures, especially those involved in the formation of group identity. Distinguished from a word or 'simple name or typification', the 'concept' is defined as the '[index] of extralinguistic content… the [indicator] of social structures or situations of political conflict' which is imbued with 'political or social agency'.[44] The 'concept' is, Koselleck argues, 'not merely a sign for, but also a factor in, political or social groupings' since it allows self-circumscription through the exclusion of others.[45] In the formation of such groupings, Koselleck outlines a process involving a pair of concepts: the 'concept' and the 'counterconcept' whose creation it triggers. He identifies in the 'concept' a term used to designate an Other which brings into being a counterconceptual self defined in contradistinction to that Other. In other words, the Other affirmably exists before the 'self'.[46] Similar to Saïd

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[44] Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time.* trans. by Keith Tribe (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 160, 82. This area of study was first developed by Koselleck in collaboration with Otto Brunner and Werner Conze in an eight-volume encyclopedic work on historical lexicon (*Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1972-1997). Koselleck has, however, been the greatest exponent of the methodologies as espoused by *Begriffgeschichte*. Koselleck makes a distinction between the 'concept and the 'word'. He remarks: 'Each concept is associated with a word, but not every word is a social and political concept' (*Futures Past*, 83).

[45] Ibid., 160.

[46] This theoretical stance is echoed in multiple places in scholarly literature: in Clifford's assertion that 'every version of an "other", wherever found, is also the construction of a "self" (Clifford, 'Introduction' in *Writing Culture*, 23) and in Fischer's comment that 'the ethnic search is a mirror of the bifocality that has always been part of the anthropological rationale:

and Spivak's identification of power relations in the act of self-defining against an Other, Koselleck likewise underlines the creation of hierarchies. 'This kind of self-definition', he remarks, 'provokes counterconcepts which discriminate against those who have been defined as the "other"' and are 'unequally antithetical'.[47] Together, the 'concept' and 'counterconcept' and the hierarchies they implicate, he argues, provide the core structure of the identity of a group with a political function.[48]

Within this framework, the barbarian is Koselleck's typical example of the '"asymmetric" classification' employed to create a group identity: contrary to mutually accepted labels such as 'mother' and 'daughter', it is used 'only in one direction', denies 'mutual recognition' and produces an opposition that is 'not equally antithetical'.[49] The conceptual pair of barbarian and counter-defined non-barbarian, is an historically important dualism which, from its earliest inception as a way of classifying non-Greeks, helped create the appearance of a superior identity through the denigration of Others.[50] In its early usage, temporal difference was superimposed onto geographical separation: whilst the initial criterion for identifying the barbarian relied on physical distance, the antithesis was confirmed through 'the noncontemporaneousness of… cultural levels' despite 'present contemporaneousness' of existence.[51] For Koselleck, it was this asymmetrical aspect, despite the increasing importance of territorial distinctions, that allowed the barbarian/non-barbarian conceptual pair to be moulded throughout history to suit different groups' needs in the bid to claim prominence and construct an identity: in early history, in the distinction between Christian and Heathen, and much later, for example, in the

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seeing others against a background of ourselves, and ourselves against a background of others' (Michael Fischer, 'Ethnicity and the Post-Modern Arts of Memory', in *Writing Culture*, 199).

[47] *Futures Past*, 160, 162.

[48] Ibid., 160-1, 83.

[49] Ibid., 159-61.

[50] Ibid., 165.

[51] Ibid., 169. This is echoed by Fabian (see n. 41).

Aryan/non-Aryan dichotomy triumphed by National Socialism in twentieth-century Germany.[52] By dint of the different historical contexts from which each usage emerged, the linguistic structure of the formulations – or micro-repertoires in the terms hitherto employed in this dissertation – was necessarily different. Nevertheless, Koselleck argues that the internal power dynamics remained closely linked.[53] Mirroring other scholars in taking the context of empire, he identifies a prominent early modern example in the human/non-human conceptual pair following the discovery of America. In combining the 'annexation of space' with the 'temporal fulfilment' produced through this pair, Europeans were able, he suggests, to articulate and justify the common experience of the subjugation of native peoples and, in turn, bring together a diverse Christian community.[54]

Studies of French identity currently present the 'barbare' as a one-dimensional notion, rather than a determining active agent of culture and identity with its own internal structure or micro-repertoire. My analysis of the construction of the non-French barbarian and the positively-differentiated French non-barbarian through the English Other, as inspired by writings on extra-European Others, examines an unexplored concept and counterconcept pairing. I consider the complementary anthropological, ethnographical and historical frameworks hitherto outlined to be essential for illuminating the hierarchies and linguistic implications of this case study. Nevertheless, with their predominant concern being with macro-structures of identity, those formulations that span nations and even continents, I see these frameworks as only providing a theoretical starting point.[55] Even though the two entities studied here involve the significant geographical separation created by the English Channel, a separation which, all the same, had its own role to play in exacerbating narratives of difference, the two

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[52] Ibid., 175-86, 195-6.

[53] Ibid., 163.

[54] Ibid., 188.

[55] Koselleck echoes the focus of Duchet and Bisaha in concentrating on predominantly cross-national oppositions.

formations were implicated in more finely articulated structures of identity. Apart from highlighting the formation of a French identity in contradistinction to European neighbours, social class and rank *within* both sets of territorial boundaries brought a further defining aspect to the unequal opposition. In its long history of existence, it was in early modern France that the 'barbare' became minutely particularised. My aim is, therefore, to place the aforementioned ethnographical, anthropological and historical theoretical positioning in dialogue with sociological understanding of the formation of the 'social group' and the construction of a more limited 'social identity'. I therefore additionally draw on social representation theory as a means of excavating further the dynamics of an early modern non-barbaric French 'social identity'.

Barbarity and sociological models

Sociologists define the 'social group' as 'a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership in it'.[56] The identity such groups form is, in turn, labelled a 'social identity' and defined as 'knowledge of membership of a social group… together with the value and emotional significance of that membership'.[57] As for the environment in which a group might find a 'common definition' and form an identity, similar to cultural theorists and historians, sociology prioritises intergroup or intercultural contact: as one

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[56] Henri Tajfel, and John Turner, 'An Integrative Theory of Integrative Conflict', in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. by William Austin and Stephen Worchel (Monterey: Brookes/Cole, 1979), 40.

[57] Henri Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 255.

research group maintains, 'groups never live in isolation'.[58] Resonating with Koselleck's theorisation, sociology thus provides a general model for analysing units of differentiation that result from intergroup contact. This has the benefit of conceptualising those terms, or 'concepts' in Koselleckian language, that are specifically involved in identity formation. It also allows a theoretical excavation of the dimensions at stake in the concept or micro-repertoire, such as the entity of the 'barbare' studied here, that feeds into the macro-structure of culture.

Groups are said to rely on the construction of 'social representations' whose function, as explicated in Serge Moscovici's classic definition, correlates with the understanding of culture as an organising system explored above. According to Moscovici, a 'social representation' is:

> …a system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function: first to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world and to master it; and secondly to enable communication… by providing a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their worlds and their individual and group history.[59]

Here, Moscovici highlights the consequence of investing social representations with value judgements of relevance only to a particular group: the establishment of a conditioned code, which acts as an individualised form of communication within social groups. More recently termed 'homogamic communication', this mode of interchange is identified,

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[58] Wolfgang Wagner, Gerard Duveen, Robert Farr, Sandra Jovchelovitch, Fabio Lorenzi-Cioldi, Ivana Marková, and Diana Rose, 'Theory and Method of Social Representations', *Asian Journal of Social Psychology,* 2 (1999), 97.

[59] Moscovici puts forward this definition in his foreword to Claudine Herzlich's *Health and Illness: A Social Psychological Analysis* (London: Academic Press, 1973), xiii.

not only as the medium through which members of a group interact, but also as the means by which an 'in-group' maintains itself: its members can engage with one another through the use of a common language whose elements, in being components of the group identity, each member is concerned to perpetuate.[60] The implication is, therefore, that the dynamism of culture is wholly reliant on group actors and their use of a social representation, which implies their endorsement of it.

At this juncture, a note on the interaction between this case study and contemporary theory is of import. As much as the ethno-sociological framework elucidates the role of the 'barbare' in the formation of a sense of Frenchness, in the formulation hitherto discussed, the historical type of the 'barbare' also calls into question the very models that aid its study. The malleability, dynamism and developmental nature of the 'barbare' jars with Moscovici's aforementioned definition of a 'social representation' and the suggestion that a representation is first formulated into a fixed structure and then put into use. Far from being the static entity Moscovici conceptualises, the 'social stereotype' of the barbarian that fed into the social representations constituting French culture manifested characteristics typical of an historical linguistic structure. By virtue of the evolution it went through, the 'social stereotype' of the 'barbare' was, to borrow Knights' formulation, one of those 'complex entities with histories'.[61] Following its integration from ancient culture into early modern thought, the image of the barbarian was repeatedly recast, with each reformulation carrying forward some of the historical baggage and semantic weight of its earlier uses to new references. Study of an historical 'stereotype' as a constituent of an historical social identity thus

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[60] Wagner et al., 'Theory and Method of Social Representations', 97, 99; Wolfgang Wagner, and Nicole Kronberger, 'Killer Tomatoes! Collective Symbolic Copying with Biotechnology', in *Representations of the Social: Bridging Theoretical Traditions*, ed. by Kay Deaux and Gina Philogene (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 149; Serge Moscovici, 'Attitudes and Opinions', *Annual Review of Psychology,* 14 (1963), 251.

[61] Mark Knights, 'Historical Stereotypes and Histories of Stereotypes', in *Psychology and History: Interdisciplinary Explorations* ed. by Jovan Byford and Cristian Tileaga (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 266, 250.

affords a means by which the components of sociological models might themselves be brought into question. As I excavate the nature and function of a little-studied avatar of an historical entity, I am, therefore, equally concerned with how the sociological corpus, as well as the historical and anthropological models hitherto evoked, might themselves be revised. In terms of the former, this theoretical questioning extends to super structures such as the social representation, as well as to the units of such structures or elements of the macro-repertoire of culture of which the 'stereotype' is key.

Sociologists identify the 'stereotype' as a semantically loaded entity that constitutes a central component of a group language.[62] The 'stereotype' formulates, a representation of an 'out-group', subsequently allowing the 'in-group' to positively differentiate itself.[63] In order to execute this central formative role, the 'stereotype' does not rely upon a simple or uncalculated structure. Herein lies the paradox of the stereotype. Though defined by Stallybrass as an 'over-simplified mental image' in respect of the reality it represents, the formation of a digestible and comprehensible image relies upon the convergence of multiple elements.[64] The 'stereotype' is, in fact, a 'well-structured domain of knowledge' comprising a 'complex set of beliefs', or, in the terms here espoused, is made up of a multifaceted micro-repertoire of its own.[65] My study examines this micro-repertoire of the stereotype,

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[62] The extensive debate surrounding the relationship between the social representation and stereotype goes beyond the remit of my study. Here, I adopt Abrams and Hogg's categorisation of the stereotype as a species of social representation (Dominic Abrams, and Michael Hogg, *Social Identifications* (London: Routledge, 1988); Dominic Abrams, and Michael Hogg, eds., *Social Identity Theory* (Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990).

[63] Tajfel and Turner highlight that identifications of groups tend to be 'relational and comparative', with 'marked stratification' normally underpinning the creation of a unified social category. This underpins their argument that groups have a clear propensity to aim for 'positive distinctiveness' when creating their identity ('An Integrative Theory of Integrative Conflict', 40, 35, 46).

[64] Cited in Tajfel, *Human Groups*, 143.

[65] Wolfgang Wagner, José Valencia, and Fran Elejaberrieta, 'Relevance, Discourse and the 'Hot' Stable Core of Social Representations – a Structural Analysis of Word Associations',

understood in Koselleckian language as the concept which brings into being the counterconcept, an entity notably undefined by sociology.

To ensure such investigation is historically rooted, I do not examine the components of the 'barbare' in isolation but rather foreground my analysis with consideration of the conditions of intercultural contact. To this end, I draw on sociological explanations of the complex conditions that stimulate group actors to seek out intercultural contact. Tajfel develops the notion of the 'social stereotype' in his study, which places traditional evaluation of the cognitive function of the stereotype for individuals within the broader social function of the stereotype for groups. For the benefit of their social group, he argues, individual members employ this species of stereotype in order to defend or preserve 'systems of values', what I have outlined here as culture.[66] Tajfel specifies three different sets of circumstances triggering the formulation of a social stereotype by a group. The first, which he labels 'social causality', occurs when a group seeks to understand 'complex and usually distressful, large-scale social events'. This notion corresponds with formulations espoused by other sociologists, according to which the creation of the Other is a symptom of 'symbolic coping'; that is a response to the 'unfamiliar and threatening'.[67] A second set of conditions – 'justification'– refers, Tajfel explains, to a situation in which in-groups seek to justify 'actions, committed or planned, against out-groups'.[68] Finally, the third situation – 'differentiation' – arises, for example, when in-

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British Journal of Social Psychology, 35 (1996), 333. David Schneider, *The Psychology of Stereotyping* (New York: Guilford Press, 2005), 566.

[66] Tajfel, *Human Groups*, 146.

[67] Wagner et al., 'Theory and Method of Social Representations', 97. Tajfel & Turner note that social representations are often created in stratified societies as a result of the fight over resources. However, they note that the circumstances need not always be conflictual. Rather, the forging of a social representation is said to rely on the relevance of selected attributes of a relevant social group in line with the social conditions in which the representation is created ('An Integrative Theory of Integrative Conflict', 36, 46).

[68] This process is evidently at work in the later call for extermination of the English (see n. 43).

groups consider that 'positive differentiation… from selected out-groups' is necessary due to 'such differentiation… becoming insecure and eroded'.[69] In this formulation, the stereotype is not a spontaneous construction, but rather a response mechanism to a social experience.[70] In turn, contact can be, in the terms already employed here, 'imagined' in rhetoric, without necessarily requiring physical proximity.[71] My study of the conditions that produced the 'barbare' draws in particular on Tajfel's first and third sets of circumstances. I align these notions with Swidler's research on 'strategies of action' in 'unsettled' as opposed to 'settled… periods of culture'. In the latter, variety is more tolerated.[72] Although there are efforts to 'refine and reinforce skills, habits [and] modes of experience', there is 'low coherence' and little mark of consistency with regards to the repertoires employed. This status quo contrasts markedly with 'unsettled periods of culture' during which differences cause tension and ignite 'bursts of ideological activism'.[73] Social actors consequently foster 'high' levels of 'coherence' and 'consistency' in order to fend off the competition deriving from 'other cultural views'.[74] Periods of tumult and crisis provide, therefore, the most propitious conditions for the development of a social stereotype. The decision to employ 'strategies of action' thus depends less on the actions of members of another culture than on the status and health of the home culture. In short, although intergroup contact is at stake in the formation of the social stereotype, Swidler's model in conjunction with Tajfel's tripartite explanation of conditions underlines social stereotyping as an internal process that cannot be triggered by external factors alone. Nevertheless, the implication remains that in

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[69] Ibid., 156.

[70] From this point, this dissertation will use the term 'stereotype' interchangeably with the 'social stereotype'.

[71] As outlined in the introduction, this study is concerned with discourses rather than social reality or events, planned or executed, although I acknowledge that such discourses are most often borne out of lived experiences.

[72] 'Culture in Action', 280.

[73] Ibid., 278-9.

[74] Ibid., 282.

'unsettled periods of culture' greater levels of proactivity are likely to stimulate the search beyond the internal structure of a cultural system for resources that might facilitate 'coherence' and 'consistency'. The 'bursts of ideological activism' associated with periods of tumult can, therefore, be responsible for the active pursuit of that fertile nursery ground of the social stereotype and the resultant sense of social identity hankered after by an in-group: intercultural contact. These complex conditions nuance Koselleck's more simplified understanding of conditions according to which negative terminology is re-used by Europeans in response to changing balances of power.[75] My aim is to bring these conditions of the social stereotype to bear on the study of the 'barbare' in early modern France.

Conclusion

This study employs the complementary theoretical framework outlined in this chapter to revise current understanding of the emergence and nature of an early modern sense of French identity. In this, I consider stereotypes to exist in the first instance on a social level, even if they might later become part of a national narrative.[76] In light of sociological conceptualisations of the social group and the social stereotype as a constituent of the social representation, as well as theorisations of how instability – perceived or otherwise – in societies trigger processes of social causality and differentiation, the succeeding chapters explicate how and why a French elite social identity was maintained until the early eighteenth century. The aim is also to examine how, why and to what extent the structure of a French elite social identity came to be challenged in 'pre-enlightenment' and early 'enlightenment' thought, and whether this reworks current sociological understanding of social change. In contextualising a canonical text within a

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[75] *Futures Past*, 160.

[76] Roche remarks that in the study of travel writing it is 'les stéréotypes nationaux' that are important to uncover as they indicate how the world was read as a book (*Humeurs vagabondes: De la circulation des hommes et de l'utilité des voyages* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 27).

corpus of little-studied early modern printed and manuscript material, my work highlights a previously unacknowledged stage in the development of a French identity. In the example of France, a social identity was not, I argue, reformulated as a national identity.[77] Rather, my work suggests that the rigid structure of a social identity first had to be dismantled before it could possibly provide the building blocks of a more inclusive national identity. This was a difficult process with which, I contend, even the greatest 'enlightened' thinkers such as Voltaire grappled.

The interdisciplinary framework I have established highlights the need to examine the type of the 'barbare' and the literature it informed within a fresh theoretical context. Despite widespread scholarly acknowledgement that the 'barbare' was a central component of early modern French thought, it is currently studied as a one-dimensional entity, with no consideration given to the depth of the semantics bound up within it, nor its function. Furthering the work of Mark Knights who, amongst others, has highlighted the need to unpick early modern types, the proceeding chapters present the 'barbare' as an early modern social stereotype that fed into a broader social representation constituting French 'culture', both in the forms widely studied by scholars and in the further metamorphosis analysed here: as a label for selected social ranks of the European neighbour, England.[78] To draw on the parallel historical analysis by Greenblatt, I present the 'barbare' as one element of the 'symbolic technology' evidenced in those 'engaged representations, representations that are relational, local, and historically contingent'.[79] I study the 'barbare' as a composite term with its own 'micro-repertoire' whose elements each made a contributory emotional investment in it. Such investment would, in turn, become all the more charged with each usage, especially in relation to an old nemesis, the English, as members of the upper echelons of elite society communicated with one another. It was its

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[77] This is Greenfeld's contention (See n. 27).

[78] See n. 1 and n. 61.

[79] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 12.

intricately interwoven composition that in part contributed, I suggest, to the perduration of the type in French thought. The 'barbare' was a multi-dimensional, multi-faceted and highly elastic structure of thought in the formation of an early modern French identity. Far from allowing easy deconstruction, its plasticity only put down deeper roots in early modern French 'culture'. To subvert the 'barbare' required the disassembly of a structure whose elements had been increasingly soldered together.

In turn, my study of the 'barbare' in this revised framework casts fresh light on a well-studied historical shift: the changing occupation, make-up and identity of the French elite in a period of unsettled culture. In Jones' slightly caricatured terms, the 'bellicose, provincially-rooted warrior of yore was becoming the polished and urban courtier, loyally respecting the whims of his monarch'.[80] Sociological models, however, suggest a much more profound metamorphosis was taking place as greater focus was brought to bear on social behaviours and court life, including the requirement for a noble to be fully versed in the characteristics of other lands and peoples so as to be equipped with the self-knowledge that conditioned modes of elite interaction, and competition and ambition became all the more fierce. As Greenfeld contends, an anxiety over status, an avatar of Durkheim's 'anomie', was triggered in the highest ranks of the nobility in the seventeenth century.[81] In sum, the elite perceived rising incursions to be taking place on their conventionally hermetic social group. The 'barbare' provided a line of defence. It was a resource that could be employed by the upper elite to engage in the processes of 'social causality' and 'differentiation' and, in so doing, construct and communicate a clear vision of a new order. In its formulation that allowed a French elite to nurture a sense of superiority over the English populace, the 'barbare' was one means through which a sense of crisis could be negotiated and a nascent sense of localised cohesion kindled.

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[80] *The Great Nation,* 15.

[81] *Nationalism*, 151. The sociological term 'anomie' as developed by Durkheim denotes the situation whereby the bonds between an individual and society break down.

In a period in which travel and exposure to new places and peoples challenged contemporary understanding and fragile parameters of knowledge, such order was necessary for the development of an identity. I contend that the act of travel and the formulation of travel as an elite social practice was a prong of the 'ideological activism' born out of the changeable situation of the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. A mode of elite travel, which I term 'Gallocentric' travel in a theoretical sharpening of the conventional scholarly designation, the 'Grand Tour', was developed, I argue, through the type of the 'barbare' so as to promote a form of intercultural contact that was profitable by dint of the particularised social hierarchy it encouraged. Strange places and peoples were to be viewed and 'known' in elite circles through the highly partial French lens that was 'Gallocentrism'. Expediently executed connections with other peoples could provide the additional fodder for the social stereotype that the French elite, whose precarious situation was exacerbated by internal political developments, required to maintain an emergent sense of social identity. To speak in Bourdieusian terms, elite travel came to be formulated as an 'interested' 'social practice' whose 'symbolic profit' was to be derived from the unshakeable sense of French superiority it afforded and, with it, the construction of an elite French social identity.[82] Social practices and the social stereotype came to be inextricably linked in the seventeenth-century quest to bring together a previously inchoate social group, even if some members nevertheless maintained their regional affiliations. In the face of shifting balances of power that could not fail to impact the way in which France and, more specifically, its elite conceived of its status within Europe, a specific challenge was posed to pre-enlightenment thinkers and those who

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[82] As David Swartz outlines, Bourdieu's sociological framework considers interest to extend beyond the economic to 'nonmaterial goods' and identifies that any social practice is 'fundamentally "interested" whether directed toward material or symbolic items'. This, Swartz further explains citing Bourdieu, means that in Bourdieuian analysis, all social practices are 'oriented towards the maximisation of material or symbolic profit' (*Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 42).

sought to champion 'enlightened' thought. This was not simply to reformulate the type of the 'barbare' so that it did not prop up a prejudiced hierarchy of peoples and the classes within it. It was also to reinvest, or indeed divest, the practice of travel as employed to form social structures and, with it, to reconceive of the role of travel in the formation of a sense of self.

Chapter 2

Texts and Linguistic Evolution of the Discourse of Barbarity

Introduction: texts, travel and culture

Speech and the written word are mediums that facilitate contemporary analysis of the social group and the social stereotypes underpinning its identity. Historical study is, in many cases, restricted to the text. Nevertheless, the written word affords privileged access to such past structures, especially those erected by elites, amongst whom literacy levels were alone sufficiently high until the eighteenth century.[1] Cultural theorists have recently placed emphasis on the pivotal role of the written text in shared systems. According to Clifford, culture only comes into being once it has been 'textualised for circulation' and is 'not exterior to its inscription but emergent from play with it'.[2] If culture as a macro-structure is brought into being through the written text, then micro-structures such as those found in the social stereotype and its micro-repertoire are also necessarily created through the written word. In addition, if social stereotypes are the means by which groups communicate, then the written text, as the receptacle and breeding ground of such social structures, is the medium by which such communication can formally take place. The implication is, therefore, that the written text is inextricably connected to social and political structures as Salman Rushdie argued in his seminal refutation of Orwell's essay *Inside the Whale*.[3] In Saïd's words, 'each cultural work is a vision of a moment'.[4] Whilst

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[1] Tim Blanning notes that the 'ability to read and write' was 'the preserve of a small elite' until the eighteenth century. Acknowledging regional variation, he gives literacy rates for men and women in the 1680s as 29% and 14% respectively (*The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 112).

[2] Clifford, 'Introduction' in *Writing Culture,* xi, xv.

[3] '…works of art, even works of entertainment, do not come into being in a social and political vacuum; and the way they operate in a society cannot be separated from politics,

Clifford's sole focus on the text in culture formation is disputable, nevertheless I here uphold the central role of the written word in creating structures of thought of socio-political relevance. However, in my analysis of stereotypes in early modern texts I seek to underline the dynamics absent in Clifford's evaluation, which, as I have argued, Saïd discusses: that is, the imbalance defining culture exchange and the use of the text to assert control.[5] Whilst any text might be considered the breeding ground of both macro- and micro-structures of control, as studies produced in the wake of Saïd's works argue, perhaps the travel text, broadly defined, stands as the written form that most amply facilitates such formative processes.[6] As analyses of travel writing have come to form the core of postcolonial studies, scholarship has dispensed with the long-held conception of travel writing as the repository of factual geographical knowledge.[7] Conscious of the role of fiction and the crafting of the text outside of those forms conventionally considered as 'literary', scholars now look to unearth the fictions and discourses at play in the travel text.[8]

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from history. For every text, a context…' ('Outside the Whale', *Granta*, 11 (1984) <http://granta.com/outside-the-whale/> [accessed 10 June 2014], §130).

[4] *Culture and Imperialism*, 79.

[5] See Chapter I, n. 11, n. 20.

[6] For references in relation to the genre of travel writing, see Introduction, n. 6.

[7] Adams' study of travel writing, nevertheless, demonstrates a hangover from such tendencies: his presupposition that some writing can be 'factual' informs his exclusion of the novel from his survey (see Introduction n. 8). Studies of French travel writing on England produced in roughly the first half of the twentieth century are emblematic of such a current. See Introduction, n. 3.

[8] Building on Natalie Zemon Davis' insistence on the act of fiction in the redaction of legal texts, Scholar and Tadié maintain that the study of fiction should be extended 'beyond the literary' to analysis of the 'formation of legal and philosophical ideas', amongst others (Richard Scholar, and Alexis Tadié, 'Introduction' in *Fiction and Frontiers of Knowledge in Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Richard Scholar, and Alexis Tadié (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 1). The work to which this volume clearly nods is Zemon Davis' *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987).

This concern is replicated here in my study of how the imagined geography of England was coloured by the crafted vision of an interiorised English Other, a vision itself developed so as to 'anchor' and give greater substance to the historical type of the 'barbare'.[9] This vision of an intra-European Other relied, I contend, on the development of a generalised discourse of barbaric Otherness, which was, in turn, deployed in the creation of the more localised type. In short, I argue that the English avatar of the barbarian owed its formation to the initial articulation of the stereotype in relation to Eastern and Amerindian peoples. My contention is that this discourse was transferred from the extra- to the intra-European context and that the potency of the more localised avatar with which I am concerned derived from the articulation of the 'barbare' in relation to distant geographies.

In this chapter, I chart the development of the extra-European barbarian in two texts: François de La Noue's 1587 *Discours politiques* and Michel de Montaigne's evolving essay 'Des Cannibales'. Placing these works within the broad definition of travel writing outlined in the introduction to this dissertation, I argue that these two texts chart rhetorical responses to perceived external threats.[10] In short, I examine these writings as a textual manifestation of social causality. I contend that they demonstrate the employment of the language of barbarism in the bid to create a sense of cohesion. Taking as evidence the reasonably wide dissemination of the texts, I suggest that La Noue and Montaigne's use of this language confirms the extra-European resonances bound up with the discourse of barbarity from an early stage.[11] These resonances would become, I argue, intrinsic to

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[9] The process of 'anchoring' sees a stereotype named and characteristics attributed to it (Wagner et al., 'Theory and Method of Social Representations', 97).

[10] See Introduction, n. 8.

[11] La Noue's *Discours* was first published in 1587 and was followed by a number of pirated and revised editions. The following year saw the publication of a further edition from the press of François Forest and an apparent pirated version, possibly published in Paris. Other editions of the *Discours* were published in 1590 ([s.l.]: [s.n.]), 1591 (Basle: Pour François Le Fevre), 1596 ([Lyon?]: Pour François le Fevre), and 1612 ([s.l.]: [s.n.]). All citations here are

the discourse, as is evidenced in its development in early modern dictionaries in relation to French social behaviours – the focus of the following chapter. I also take La Noue and Montaigne's testimony of the early colouring of a nascent discourse as the point of departure for an historicised linguistic study of barbarism, as put forward in the concluding comments of this chapter and practised in the linguistic excavation undertaken in Chapter 3.

This chapter thus turns first to the articulation of the extra-European 'barbare' in prominent texts penned in the late sixteenth century by members of a French elite in turmoil.

The formative extra-European 'barbare'

A French vision of the Turkish 'barbare'

Travel to the East outside of a diplomatic context would take off in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to the nineteenth-century bibliographer, Boucher de La Richarderie, 'Aucune contrée en Europe, sans en excepter même l'Italie et la Suisse, n'a été autant visitée que la Turquie européene par des voyageurs de toutes les classes'.[12] In her analysis of travel to the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century, Thomson argues that resultant writings were not simply reflections of 'Eurocentric prejudices', but

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taken from the Frank Sutcliffe's critical edition (*Discours politiques et militaires* (Genève: Droz, 1967)). Montaigne's *Essais* were a bestseller. Following the first publication in 1580, the essay went through multiple editions. The seminal edition of the *Essais*, which will be cited here, first produced by Pierre Villey and revised by Verdun Saulnier, presents the text of the Bordeaux edition, that is Montaigne's 1588 copy with his manuscript emendations (*Les Essais,* ed. by Pierre Villey and Verdun Saulnier (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965)).

[12] Gilles Boucher de La Richarderie, *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages*. Vol. 2 (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1808), 50.

were used to kindle 'internal European debates'.[13] In Chapter 4, I argue that this oriental preoccupation in sixteenth-century travel was engaged in the rising impulse to methodise travel whilst developing a sense of Frenchness. I consider this systematisation, with the attempts it made to encourage contact with the East, if only paradoxically to install a sense of anthropological distance, to be of pertinence here. In this chapter, I suggest that this impulse was informed in the first instance by attempts to distance the peoples of the East, and to peddle an antithetical vision of them, to readers back in France. The crafting of such visions was underpinned, I suggest, by the quest to formulate a French self.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries provided fertile ground for potent typecasting. As the Wars of Religion raged in France and bitter religious schism divided Europe, writers from the upper French ranks looked for a means to encourage solidarity in Christendom.[14] To this end, the image of the 'barbare', with a credible subject found in the ferocious Turkish warrior, emerged as a fruitful resource. In other words, internal turmoil led to the creation of contact in the written text. Following the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, vitriolic portrayals of the non-Christian 'barbares' from the East – the Ottoman enemy – 'thundered across the printed page'.[15] The astounding military successes of Ottoman forces and the material riches enjoyed in the East fuelled concerns at the threat of possible encroachment of Eastern rule into Europe, and, in turn, a feeling of inferiority.[16] Consequently, as a counterbalance to European admiration for Turkish military shrewdness, the dominant image of the barbaric Turk loomed large as writers sought to upturn

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[13] Ann Thomson, 'Travels among the Turks: Discovery of the Other or Ideological Weapon?' in *L'Invitation au Voyage: Studies in Honour of Peter France*, ed. by John Renwick (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), 33.

[14] Neil Kenny, *An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century French Literature and Thought: Other Times, Other Places* (London: Duckworth, 2008), 162-4.

[15] Amanda Wunder, 'Western Travelers, Eastern Antiquities, and the Image of the Turk in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Early Modern History,* 7 (2003), 92-3.

[16] Kenny, *Introduction*, 163-4.

in rhetoric the hierarchy of nations being challenged in warfare.[17] Religious topoi and ethnic difference were conjoined to present the Muslim opponent as the heretical force of the Antichrist, an inferior people and an unquestionably diametric Other. Taking as evidence the brutal military conquests of the Ottomans, writers cast the Turk without any social exemption as the naturally ferocious barbarian capable of untold and unprecedented savagery.[18] Such pungent stereotyping meant that even though the perceived threat of the Turk had greatly abated by the end of the sixteenth century, 'le Turc barbare' was nevertheless still articulated with customary vigour.[19] Kindled by an historical event, the discourse of Turkish barbarity had become an autonomous entity by 1600.

In his study of ancient formulations of the barbarian, Keyser seeks to explain why positive images of Others tend to predate negative ones. He remarks that the Greeks created simplified and idealised images of Others who were unknown to them and with whom they had little contact. In his view, more complex procedures in the formulation of Others resulted from greater contact and knowledge of those Others.[20] These arguments, I

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[17] This reverence for the military acumen of the Turks was perhaps most evident in the ceremonial carousels organised by academies founded to instruct the young nobility. Carousels were organised to display to polite society the impressive skill of young nobles, especially in equestrian arts. When performing at these events, young nobles attired themselves in exotic dress, including that of the Turk (Mark Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat: The Education of the Court Nobility, 1580-1715* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 145-6).

[18] Writers initially gave as their evidence the Ottoman invasion of the Balkans and Mediterranean (Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 65).

[19] Wunder analyses the use of the topos of antiquarian collecting in French travel accounts of Constantinople as a means of differentiating cultures of the West from the East, thus evidencing the increasing complexity of the Turkish barbaric stereotype ('Western Travelers, Eastern Antiquities', 92). According to Wunder, the pinnacle of the stereotyping of the Turkish barbarian was reached during the Siege of Vienna in 1529 (Ibid., 93).

[20] Paul Keyser, 'Greek geography of western barbarians' in *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, ed. by Larissa Bonfante (Cambridge: Cambridge

suggest, explain the quick development of the Turkish barbaric type in response to the Ottoman advance, especially by those mindful of safeguarding the French elite. As Meserve notes, the reputation of Turkish ferocity developed proportionately with Turkish conquests of the early fifteenth century, gathering pace as attacks increased.[21] Rebuffing the Turks in the text was an important part of the defence of Europe. Here, I argue that the type was also harnessed in the formulation of an elite French social identity; that it was as much employed to safeguard existing cultural structures as to create new forms of them.

The 1587 *Discours politiques et militaires* penned by the Breton Huguenot *noble d'épée*, François de La Noue, whilst a prisoner of the Spanish monarch, King Philip II is a case in point. Scholars have devoted much attention to the counsel on military matters that the *Discours* offers to the French monarch, as well as the reformed programme of education for France's elite that it recommends.[22] My contention is that a further objective drove La Noue's composition of this text: to reaffirm with great fervour the imagined image of the Eastern Other as the epitome of barbarity, a figure which mirrored the cruel tyrannical government of the distant lands. La Noue was not the first to write about the Turk in disparaging terms. In his survey of Turkish customs, the interpreter attached to the 1536 embassy to the Ottoman Empire, Guillaume Postel, spoke of '[les] Prince[s] barbare[s]' in his discussion of Turkish rulers, despite his self-designation as 'cosmopolite' in the dedicatory epistle.[23] Nor was La Noue an anomaly amongst his contemporaries: Jacques Esprinchard, a socially ambitious Protestant

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University Press, 2011), 53.

[21] See n. 18.

[22] David Lawrence, for example, argues that the *Discours* was 'a much-quoted source for Elizabethan and early Stuart military writers, particularly on matters related to cavalry warfare' (*The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 235). For a survey of La Noue's education reform, see James Supple 'François de La Noue and the Education of the French Noblesse d'Épée', *French Studies,* 36 (1982), 270-81.

[23] *De la République des Turcs* (Poitiers: Marnef, 1560), 71.

merchant from La Rochelle and Thomas Pelletier, two writers of importance in the development of travel to England, also wrote extensive works on the Ottoman Empire that were punctuated by the language of barbarism.[24] The reason for my focus on La Noue's *Discours* is twofold. Firstly, given his status as a member of the upper elite, La Noue testifies to the employment of the language of barbarity in inter-elite communication. Secondly, his evocation of such language in the *Discours* evidences the migration of the concept from a text resulting from travel – that of Postel – to a text nominally giving general advice to noble counterparts. Given the take-up of the language of barbarity in Pelletier and Esprinchard's later writings, I suggest that the *Discours* provides insight into the emergence of such use.

Scholars disagree on La Noue's core allegiance in the *Discours*. Not only is opinion divided as to the relative importance of religious and social considerations in his sense of identity, but there is similarly no consensus as to whether his loyalty to his native Brittany indicates a belief in broader cohesion, or whether, in fact, multiple or even no loyalties were at stake. These debates also colour La Noue's decision to evoke, if fleetingly, the Eastern barbarian.[25] Here, I consider La Noue's presentation of the barbaric

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[24] Jacques Esprinchard, *Histoire des Ottomans ou empereurs des Turcs* (Paris: Orry, 1609). Pelletier acknowledges his debt to Jacques Esprinchard in his dedicatory epistle, even though Esprinchard's historical survey appears to have been published later (Thomas Pelletier, *Histoire des Ottomans, grands seigneurs de Turquie* (Paris: Chez Orry, 1600)).

[25] In his classic biography of La Noue, Hauser claims La Noue harboured '[un] sentiment très vif de la nationalité française' (Henri Hauser, *François de La Noue, 1531-1591* (Paris: Nizet, 1892), 223). Sutcliffe labels this interpretation anachronistic. Instead, he sees a hope for French unity with the French monarch as a figurehead in La Noue's assertion that after God one's obligation is to 'la patrie'. With regards to La Noue's evocation of the image of the Turk, Sutcliffe sees this as an expression of adherence to the belief that Christianity alone affords salvation (*Discours*, xxviii). He further contends that La Noue considered the war against the Turks to be a means of giving the Christian world a sense of unity (Ibid., xxx). Contrastingly, James Supple discounts any underlying motivation and instead considers La Noue's discussion of a war against the Turks to be driven by 'dispassionate analyses' ('François de La Noue's Plan for a Campaign against the Turks', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance,* 41 (1979), 273). If there is a discernible 'religious orientation' stimulating his

Eastern Other as indicative of a shift from triumphing Christian unity to encouraging social unity. Against the backdrop of the repeated concern that La Noue shows for the future of France as a state and the role of the youth in its defence, I suggest that the endorsement of the type in the *Discours* indicates a desire to nurture a social unity that might, in turn, underpin a sense of cohesion expressed in relation to the vaguely geographical area of France, that is a proto- (though not necessarily pre-) national sentiment.[26] Alongside a punctuating 'nous' and a sustained focus on the upper echelons of society at the expense of the denigrated lower orders, La Noue employs the term 'barbare' at multiple points. Condemning internal divisions in France, he asks which individual, 'sinon quelque esprit barbare', would desire to increase the violence and misfortune of the nation; whilst his continued belief in religious devotion is strikingly demonstrated when he asks which Frenchman, 'tant barbare puisse-il estre', does not carry the image of God in his soul?[27] Nevertheless, his alignment of the term 'barbare' with the

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'political theories', this is not, Supple adds, invested in a bid to create internal cohesion (Ibid., 277). Elsewhere, Supple disregards La Noue's social class as a shaping influence. In his view, La Noue's suggested programme of reform for the nobility of the sword did not mean he favoured his class over faith or his commitment to the entity of France ('La Noue and Education', 273-8). Meanwhile, other scholars, such as Motley, point to the centrality of La Noue in 'set[ting] the new tone of noble thinking on education' in bringing together 'vernacular instruction in sciences' of use to military men and politicians with 'physical exercise' (Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat*, 125).

[26] References to 'le royaume' punctuate the volume.

[27] The *Discours* demonstrates La Noue's keen interest in creating ties with the elite. In his analysis of the outbreak of the troubles, for example, he delivers a damning appraisal of the common people in France – 'le tiers estat' – whom he takes as an amorphous whole with no distinction between Catholics and Protestants. He characterises the lowest of the two sections into which he divides the third estate – 'le peuple champestre' – as fickle and driven just as much by their own desires as by reason ('se conduire autant par les affections que par la raison'), adding they are 'si grossier' that they are completely unaware of the superior workings of the soul (*Discours*, 606). (The term 'grossier' here is of interest in analysis of the discourse of barbarity, as I discuss in Chapter 3. La Noue's use charts the term's early development in relation to a lower social class.) Earlier in the *Discours*, he also gives consolation to the noble impoverished by the exploits of war: his wealth might have dwindled

Turk halfway through his text in its last evocation reveals the underlying figure that was to colour any reference to the nondescript 'barbare'.[28] In this way, the connection that La Noue endeavours to make with France's upper elite comes to be underpinned by a sustained language of barbarity whose use suggests an inherent hope that other readers might equally subscribe to it.

The allusion to the Eastern barbarian reiterated an old stereotype which, to judge from the competition between printers to produce pirated and revised editions of the *Discours*, held currency among an apparently voracious readership.[29] This was a particular triumph for La Noue, as well as for the author of the opening dedicatory epistle to Henri III, Philippe Canaye, Sieur de Fresnes.[30] By 1587, both La Noue and Canaye were employees of the French monarch. However, their positions were fragile and their acceptance into the hermetic circles of the inner French elite questionable.[31] Until the end of the 'first war' in 1570, La Noue had commanded the Huguenot infantry forces in their battles against those loyal to Charles IX. It would not be until the early years of the 'sixth war', which broke out in 1585, that he would switch to the monarch's camp. As for Canaye, whilst his legal career had been furthered through the purchase of the position of 'Conseiller du Roi en son Conseil d'État & Privé' from Henri III, he remained a convert to

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but this is nothing to grieve over, 'car il y a en ce Royaume quatre millions de personnes, qui n'ont pas la dixieme partie' of a noble's wealth (Ibid., 185). Meanwhile, in the fifth section of the *Discours*, La Noue advises on the importance of nourishing and instructing the 'ieunes gentil-hómes François' (Ibid., 133-59.) For the term 'barbare' see 45 and 93.

[28] La Noue attributes the impossibility of an alliance between the proud Turkish nation and the Christians to the former's state as 'barbare' (*Discours,* 424).

[29] See n. 11.

[30] Here, I accept Sutcliffe's argument that Canaye was not the author of the main body of the text (*Discours*, xxi-xxii).

[31] Sutcliffe cites the disgruntled assessment of Henri III who is supposed to have declared in reference to La Noue: 'il ne garde ni foi, ni loi, car je luy ai sauvé deux fois la vie, le duc d'Albe une autre fois à Mons, et il n'a rien tenu de ses promesses' (*Discours*, xv).

Calvinism.[32] Canaye, like La Noue, was not a Protestant by birth, but a Protestant by conversion. This was a precarious status. Until the ratification of the Edict of Nantes, a treatise which marked an inconclusive end to the wars, there was little immunity from persecution for those who spurned the Catholic faith.[33] To nurture a shared elite language of Eastern barbarity and its constituent stereotypes in the *Discours* amidst expressions of concern for the health and survival of 'le royaume de France' was, therefore, a device for both La Noue and Canaye to claim and assert a sense of Frenchness in addition to their extra-territorial religious loyalties.[34] In addition, the type afforded some form of social confirmation and reinforced ties with the inner Catholic elite, especially in the case of La Noue.[35] The record of eminent Catholic owners of various editions of the *Discours* suggests that it enjoyed at least some success as a text that bridged denominational differences.[36] Even in the absence of direct evidence of the role of the type of the 'barbare' in such endorsements, it nevertheless remained a key stylistic device.

That beneath their efforts to establish a cross-European religious identity in their mobilising calls to all of Christendom, La Noue and Canaye simultaneously sought to express more localised loyalties, is also evidenced

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[32] See *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, Vol. 17 (Paris: Chez Schlesinger Frères, 1872), 951, and *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1855), 412-3.

[33] The Edict of Nantes was signed on 30 April 1598 by Henri IV.

[34] See n. 27.

[35] Hauser claims that despite having converted to the reformed religion, La Noue continued to enjoy the protection of the Catholic Guise family. In 1560, for example, the Guises were responsible for his inclusion in the entourage accompanying the return of Mary, Queen of Scots to Scotland from France (*La Noue,* 9).

[36] Bindings and book stamps of extant copies of the Discours give insight into the work's readership. The anti-reformer Claude Crespat, owned a copy of the 1587 edition. The Catholic bishop of Lyon, Camille de Neufville possessed a copy of the 1612 edition. (Both of these copies are now held in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon – the shelfmarks are 302967 and 340283 respectively.) As has been evidenced, the *Discours* had a readership outside of France, including in England (see n. 22). The interest of French Catholic readers nevertheless remains striking.

in their choice of language. Despite maintaining glimmers of cross-border affiliations, the use of French rather than the elite lingua franca of Latin was telling.[37] Nearly forty years earlier, in his *Deffence,* Du Bellay had attempted to debunk the damning appraisal of the French language as 'barbare'.[38] In so doing, his apology had signalled the changing of the tide with regards to language usage.[39] The use of the French vernacular in the *Discours* thus indicates an unfailing commitment to vindicate a much more local and rigidly circumscribed identity: an elite form of Frenchness. To write in the French vernacular was to employ a linguistic medium spoken by a fraction of the population residing within the territorial boundaries of France, and which owed its roots to a dialect spoken by the region inhabited by the French court.[40] Its use in a period long before French would become the lingua franca of an international elite is, therefore, of interest. Bracewell's comment in relation to travel writing proper is applicable here: that 'travel accounts written in languages of international circulation for a readership abroad… might depend upon very different relations of power and knowledge than accounts written in a national vernacular for a domestic audience'.[41] In this case, as indeed for the entire corpus of the present study, the choice of the French vernacular points to a restricted target readership: namely, the French elite. To write in French, I contend, was to prioritise ties with a royal

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[37] The form of Latin used in this period was neo-Latin. This was a form that spurned Medieval and Church Latin and instead favoured the original Classical language.

[38] Joachim Du Bellay's *Deffence* was published in 1549 and served as the linguistic manifesto of the Pléiade poets (Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence, et illustration de la langue françoyse*, ed. by Jean-Charles Monferran (Genève: Droz, 2001)).

[39] Robin Adamson, *The Defence of French: A Language in Crisis?* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matter, 2007), 2; Hassan Melehy, *The Poetics of Literary Transfer in Early Modern France and England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 17; The second chapter of the *Deffense* is entitled 'Que la langue française ne doit être nommée barbare' (*Deffence*, 76-9).

[40] The development of a standardised French vernacular took as its basis the court dialect, conventionally labelled 'francien'. For a summary of this development, see Adrian Battaye, Marie-Anne Hintze, and Paul Rowlett, *The French Language Today: A Linguistic Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2000), 14-31.

[41] 'Limits of Europe', 65.

employer and symbolically represent a commitment to a French identity of which he was figurehead instead of reinforcing links with a broader Christian community. That the 'barbare' featured so prominently in the development of the vernacular is strong evidence that by the end of the sixteenth century the type had become invested in a linguistically-founded species of Frenchness.

La Noue's *Discours* does not, therefore, simply recount a textualised episode in the political and military intrigues of the late sixteenth century. Arising out of a context of intra-European enmity, it reveals the levels of identity at stake in early modern France. Whilst scholars have debated at length the origins, characteristics and development of a French national identity, the text underlines that to examine French identity before the late eighteenth century is not to enter debates on the nature of a national identity. Nor, as I argued in Chapter 1, should French identity be examined only by virtue of the religious loyalties it reveals. Both internal textual evidence and compositional choices of the *Discours* demonstrate that it was a social group rather than a sprawling population upon which the loyalties of a select group of sixteenth-century writers were starting to focus.

The example of the *Discours* also facilitates revision of the traditional ethnographical and sociological theories concerning the prescribed circumstances for the creation of the Other, namely a perceived sense of danger or threat that sets in motion the process of social causality or symbolic coping. The territorial ambitions and increasing power of the Ottomans had certainly once been perceived as real threats to the balance of power in Europe. However, since this perceptible threat had lessened by the time of the composition of the *Discours*, and both La Noue and Canaye had much to gain from perpetuating the *perception* of threat, I contend that at play was less a process of symbolic coping than what might be termed 'symbolic expedience'. In other words, the external factor of geo-politics was not the sole impetus for an *internal* cultural process, even if it was a major contributing cause. A punctuating concern of my study is the many avatars of symbolic expedience and how they interrelate with external geopolitical

events and internal cultural systems.[42] In the present case study, I consider this to be an expediency that relied on the reiteration of an old stereotype in order to initiate homogamic communication between the French elite. The result, as denoted by Shapin (interestingly in relation to the travel text), was to introduce 'epistemological decorum' into a text.[43] The terrible Turk was a fitting formulation for a common elite language. This was a language that evidently facilitated the forging of a connection between socially ambitious authors and their elite reader(s). Notwithstanding the considerable obstacles presented to the modern-day researcher in determining the circulation and dissemination of early modern texts, let alone its reception amongst readers, the reiteration of stereotypes sheds light on how a text fitted into the complex cultural context which conceived it.[44] The representation of the Turkish barbarian demonstrates that in early modern France the Other was a rhetorical device employed as much according to the wills and whims of the writer as in response to the changing geopolitics of his society and his resultant attempt to create a sense of being within it.

Peoples in the East were not, however, the only ideological props subordinated to the search for a sense of identity. Peoples discovered in the Americas offered a complementary vehicle for differentiation and the articulation of a social identity.

Montaigne and the Amerindian 'barbare'

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[42] See Chapter 5 for my discussion of Montaigne's reshaping of Gallocentric travel. See also my analysis of the responses to a new form of early eighteenth-century travel writing in Chapter 7.

[43] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994), 193.

[44] Justifying his categorisation of anglophobic French texts produced during the bitter conflict of the Seven Years War as simply 'concerted propaganda campaigns on the part of France's foreign ministry', Bell insists that 'we do not know how widely any particular text circulated, let alone how readers responded to it' (*Cult of the Nation*, 44).

In reference to the peoples to the West, instability and uncertainty can be discerned as the distinguishing characteristics of the 'barbare' and the concomitant search for identity. The type was one with which the most eminent and distinguished individuals, both in terms of social rank and erudition, tussled at length. Montaigne, for one, was particularly influenced by New World exploration, and his magnum opus, *Les Essais*, highly coloured by European discovery to the West.[45] According to Langer, Montaigne was the 'first to explore with sensitivity and sophistication the challenge of the New World to Europe's sense of itself'.[46] Montaigne's *Essais* thus afford considerable insight into contemporary grappling with a nascent formational concept.

A lexical survey of the *Essais* reveals that the term 'barbare' does not feature prominently in the text as it had evolved by 1588. In the singular it features only five times, whilst in the plural, and its adjectival cognates, there are sixteen uses apiece.[47] This contrasts with the corresponding incidence of the term 'François', which features ninety-one times in various forms, a statistic placed in even greater relief given the complete absence of 'européen' and the single incidence of 'Europe'.[48] Yet, in Montaigne's much-studied rumination on colonial conquest in 'Des Cannibales'*,* there is only a single use of the adjective to refer to a French measurement of distance – Montaigne speaks of 'une lieue Françoise'.[49] My aim here is to consider whether the seemingly unshakeable sense of Frenchness suggested in Montaigne's generous use of forms of the term 'françois' elsewhere in the

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[45] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Histoire de Lynx* (Paris: Plon, 1991), 278.

[46] Ullrich Langer, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Montaigne*, ed. by Ullrich Langer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 5; The *Essais* have also been hailed by Tom Conley as a 'keystone in the literature of discovery' ('The Essays and the New World', in Ibid., 75).

[47] This search was conducted thanks to the online search engine developed by The Montaigne Project. (See electronic resources in the bibliography for full details).

[48] These forms include françois, françoise, françoises. The search accounts for both adjectival and nominal forms.

[49] *Essais*, 308.

Essais, falters when he comes to discuss this sense of identity as predicated upon an inferior Other.

Montaigne's *Essais* represent a sustained attempt to understand the self, especially in relation to the surrounding world and in relation to his social class.[50] The self which Montaigne presents is, as many critics have sought to reconcile, a highly enigmatic entity, which seems to shift in viewpoint and become increasingly incoherent.[51] More recent criticism has argued that difference and incoherence should not be considered problematic but rather an indication of the authoring of complex ideas to which Montaigne returns at multiple points.[52] Here, I endorse the view of a single voice. However, I underline the social colouring of this voice, arguing that a single *elite* voice pronounces in the *Essais*. In so doing, I consider the

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[50] The *Essais* are conventionally analysed as consubstantial with Montaigne, with the published text identified as the means by which Montaigne communicates his self to his readers. See Giovanni Dotoli, *La voix de Montaigne: Langue, corps et parole dans les "Essais"* (Paris: Lanore, 2007), for example.

[51] Extensive debate has centred on apparent contradictions in the *Essais*, especially as a result of their evolution and repeated redaction. Pierre Villey's early criticism sought to reconcile this through dating different sections of the *Essais* (*Les Sources et l'évolution des Essais de Montaigne*. Vol. 1 (Paris: Hachette, 1908)*,* 406-11). More recently, Robert Garapon has reassessed Villey's dating of chapters in Book III in a bid to reinforce the view of the work as consubstantial with its author ('Quand Montaigne a-t-Il écrit les *Essais* du livre III?', *Mélanges Frappier,* 1 (1970), 322-7).

[52] This mode of reading Montaigne is evident in Steven Rendall's study *Distinguo: Reading Montaigne Differently* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Rendall argues for a synchronic analysis of the different versions of Montaigne's text. There is much discussion on the periodisation of Montaigne's voice in the *Essais* and the division or otherwise between the authorial voice and the figure of Montaigne proper. David Posner gives a succinct analysis of the conventional division of Montaigne's voices and intellectual development in the *Essais* as first put forward by Montaigne's critical editor Pierre Villey and more recent critics (*The Performance of Nobility in Early Modern European Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 22-3). This leads him to argue with Rendall against the division of Montaigne's voices. In Posner's view, 'such correspondences are often not only reductive but unprovable' (Ibid., 23). For a recent study of the evolution of the *Essais*, see Philippe Desan, *Montaigne dans tous ses états* (Paris-Fasano: Schena, 2001).

influence of Montaigne's experience as part of a recently ennobled family and the anxiety surrounding the confirmation and maintenance of that status on the *Essais*. The allocation of a social status to Montaigne, a jurist, yet a member of the nobility of the sword by virtue of his great-grandfather's social rise, has caused considerable critical angst. In the view of Supple, Posner and Van Orden, Montaigne is a noble who straddles different echelons of upper classes. The literary Montaigne, argue Supple and Nakam, rises above the concerns and prejudices of his new-found noble class and, in so doing, displays a manner of exteriority in his commentary on society.[53] My aim here is not to advocate a strictly conventional biographical reading.[54] Nor do I emulate Supple and Nakam in analysing the *Essais* as a text entirely detached from Montaigne's everyday reality.[55] Rather, my aim is to carve out a middle-path: to suggest that the sketching out of a self in the *Essais* is informed by Montaigne's personal experience. In sum, in seeking to shed new light on the biographical dilemma of the *Essais*, I argue for the presentation of a single elite Montaignian self, which was inspired by the real Montaigne if not entirely concomitant with him.[56]

Critics have identified emblems through which Montaigne mediates this journey of internal exploration. Nakam, for instance, has highlighted the frequency of the symbol of the mirror in the text, arguing that Montaigne conceives of most things as a potential looking-glass whose images might

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[53] Supple critiques the conventional emphasis laid on Montaigne's noble pride (*Arms versus Letters*, vii). Géralde Nakam's stance is encapsulated in the following statement: 'Sa vision des choses n'est pas commandée ni par une appartenance sociale ni par des habitudes professionnelles' (*Les Essais de Montaigne, miroir et procès de leur temps: Témoignage historique et création littéraire* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001), 17).

[54] Typical of such readings are Philippe Desan's *Les Commerces de Montaigne* See also n. 50.

[55] My impulse here is informed by the linguistic contextualism early advocated by the 'Cambridge School'. This was famously outlined by Quentin Skinner in his seminal essay 'Meaning and understanding in the history of ideas', *History and Theory*, 8 (1969), 3-53.

[56] From this point on, my references to Montaigne concern this biographically-inspired literary figure.

allow the productive transformation of knowledge.[57] In 'Des Cannibales', the Amerindian Other is put forward, I suggest, as a fundamental vehicle or mirror through which such a 'voyage of self-discovery' could be effected.[58] Montaigne's discussion is also revelatory of the dynamics colouring the early development of the barbaric type. As his tussling with the label demonstrates, it was not a vehicle that made for an easy journey, in that sense mirroring the difficulty in searching for a sense of being. Bringing the process of alterity to bear on a discussion of the self in his essay on the Tupinambá of Brazil, Montaigne belies great unease in concluding what the 'barbare' is or even to whom the 'barbare' might justifiably refer. He suggests the inadequacy of the term before rejecting the authority of forebears and contemporaries who upheld its usage, even though he himself does not achieve any conclusive clarity. Despite Montaigne's repeated attempts to (re-)valorise the term 'barbare' with each reiteration, he appears unable, or unwilling, to dissociate the negative semantics that seemed to cling so obstinately to it.

His persistent use of the term in light of the polarised opposites it set in motion produces, I suggest, what has been referred to as the 'strange contortions and inconsistencies' in his argument.[59] Though Montaigne is

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[57] Nakam, *Essais de Montaigne*, 18-20.

[58] Conley, 'The Essays and the New World' in *The Cambridge Companion to Montaigne*, 75. Alison Calhoun posits that the punctuating 'je' of the prefatory address to the reader of the *Essais* ('L'Auteur au Lecteur'), most evident in the assertions '*ie* veulx qu'on *m*'y voeye en *ma* façon simple', '…c'est *moy* que *ie* peinds' and '*ie* suis *moy mesme* la matiere de *mon* livre' (my emphases) reveal Montaigne's desire to present himself authentically ('Redefining Nobility in the French Renaissance: The Case of "Montaigne's Journal de Voyage"', *Modern Language Notes,* 123 (2008), 838). This focus on the 'je' might, however, be read as Montaigne's indication to the reader that a single self is the subject of the *Essais*. As is indicated in the use of 'façon', Montaigne, I suggest, wishes the reader of the *Essais* to identify the subject 'Montaigne' as an entity that is in the process of being formed through his discussions.

[59] In his twin analyses of 'Des Cannibales' and the corresponding essay 'Des Coches', Edwin Duval schematises five perspectives of the 'barbare' employed in the essay ('Lessons

labelled as a founding father of cultural relativism, his hesitant foray ('Essais' simply means 'attempts') into the uncertain territory that was the semantic field of the 'barbare' demonstrates the extreme difficulty with which such relativism is negotiated.[60] Nevertheless, a key vignette in 'Des Cannibales', as read in light of the essay 'Des Coches', as well as the posthumously entitled *Journal de voyage* (1580-1581), does perhaps evidence one certainty: that whilst the French as an abstract entity might demonstrate behaviour meriting the label 'barbare', the application of such an epithet to the elite was far less straightforward.

Although Montaigne's criticism in 'Des Cannibales' is initially directed at the Portuguese Conquistadores, the punctuating 'nous' of the essay implicates other imperial nations of Europe. This criticism of the Old World is later reinforced in the essay 'Des Coches'. Here, as Timothy Hampton has demonstrated, Montaigne omits the third mark of modernity, describing the printing press and gunpowder, but neglecting to mention the nautical compass. In an apparent bid to question the 'greatness of the age', Montaigne appears to construct a 'kind of crossroads where diachronic binaries (ancients versus moderns) intersect with synchronic binaries (European versus Americans)'.[61] Notwithstanding this veiled attack on the Old World, it is striking that Montaigne restrains from extending his criticism to the heart of Frenchness: the King and the upper ranks. Drawing his essay 'Des Cannibales' to a close, Montaigne records a conversation he supposedly conducted with one of the Tupinambá who had been given an

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of the New World: Design and Meaning in Montaigne's "Des Cannibales" (I:31) and "Des Coches" (III:6)', *Yale French Studies,* 64 (1983), 99).

[60] This status was most famously bestowed on Montaigne by Lévi-Strauss in his essay, 'En relisant Montaigne', which features in *Histoire de Lynx,* 277-97. In an earlier study, Todorov likewise pointed to Montaigne's striking endorsement of other cultures at the expense of his own (*Nous et les autres*, 59-72). This attribution has, however, more recently been challenged by Norris Johnson in 'Cannibals and Culture: The Anthropology of Michel de Montaigne', *Dialectical Anthropology,* 18 (1993), 153-76, amongst others.

[61] *Literature and Nation in the Sixteenth Century: Inventing Renaissance France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 203.

audience with the French king, Charles IX.[62] With reference to the young Charles IX's interaction with his guards, Montaigne documents the surprise of the 'sauvage' (as he now labels the 'cannibale'), both that adult males should take commands from a child, and that the wealthy upper half of French society should bathe in abundance whilst the rest of the population languishes in need. At this, the narrative comes to a close without any indication of Montaigne's position in relation to such attitudes. However, it is precisely in this absence of commentary that he powerfully relays his view. As if asserting his authorial right to contain the damning commentary he describes, Montaigne stops short of giving justification to the remarks of the savage. As Certeau has argued, the essay silences the Other.[63]

To agree with Todorov, Montaigne's essay 'Des Cannibales' documents a use of the 'barbare' in 'un sens éthique et négatif' that co-exists with 'un sens historique et positif'.[64] However, *pace* Todorov, attributing some worth to the Other does not seal the full-scale condemnation of French society. Rather, it provides a desired projection that, as a result of the textual absence of the Other, Montaigne hopes might be immediately applied to the French noble. This objective, in turn, explains the intriguing 'paradoxical encomium' presented in the essay, which has conventionally occasioned interpretations of inconsistency.[65] Such apparent protectiveness of the French elite is somewhat mirrored in the *Journal de voyage* in which, according to Calhoun, Montaigne strives to assert his 'status as *gentilhomme*': this was Montaigne's attempt to affirm his membership of the upper ranks of the elite, even if this meant shifting away from an archetype of nobility premised on 'epic example of military heroism' in favour of 'a more conciliatory model in which the ideal was to live and die well'.[66] Intertextual

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[62] This took place in Rouen in 1562.

[63] Michel De Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 70.

[64] Todorov, *Nous et les autres*, 69-70.

[65] The label is Eric MacPhail's ('Philosophers in the New World: Montaigne and the Tradition of Epideictic Rhetoric', *A Journal of the History of Rhetoric,* 30 (2012), 29).

[66] 'Redefining Nobility in the French Renaissance', 839.

readings and the attachment to an elite that they highlight thus underline the social discourse that comes to bear on discussions of barbarity. Here, I take up the mantle from Terence Cave, whose theory of 'prehistory', has tackled the common impulse to impose anachronistic readings on early modern texts, an impulse evidenced in designations of Montaigne as a cultural relativist.[67] To judge from his engagement with the 'barbare', Montaigne was fully subscribed to, and even unavoidably conditioned by, the social reality in which he lived.

Montaigne's writings show that the 'barbare' was a highly charged concept, which achieved particular potency through its use in relation to multiple far-off peoples, whose 'barbarity' few could or would deny. Studied in the context of the intriguing biographies of its authors, La Noue's *Discours* has provided a fruitful starting point in the study of the construction and preservation of Frenchness through the 'barbare'. Meanwhile, reassessment of the core impulse driving Montaigne's much-studied discussion of the 'cannibale' has identified that the search for a sense of French identity was inextricably linked with social hierarchies that seemed to be granted immunity from the difficulties that came with such stark differentiation.

Together, these examples provide the basis for a re-evaluation of the ways in which scholarship has conceived of the role of the Other in early modern French thought and identity construction. In his survey of the rise of French nationalism, Bell contends that 'the French did not define themselves primarily by "othering" foreigners', particularly their old enemy, the English.[68] As La Noue and Montaigne testify however, the Other, in its first loose general formation, facilitated exploration of just what being French might mean.

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[67] Cave first developed his theory of 'prehistory' in *Pré-histoires I: textes troublés au seuil de la modernité* (Genève: Droz, 1999). A second volume developed this methodology (*Pré-histoires II: langues étrangères et troubles économiques au XVIe siècle* (Genève: Droz, 2001).

[68] *Cult of the Nation*, 44. Chapter 5 gives extensive evidence to counter this contention.

***The development of a discourse of barbarity: further theoretical
considerations***

Hitherto, my study has referred to an unspecified entity of Frenchness
in its focus on a more localised social rather than territorially-based national
identity.[69] Taking the near contemporary writings of La Noue and Montaigne
as exemplary case studies, I have argued that this entity came into being
through the articulation and constant reapplication of the fluid social
representation that was the stereotype of the 'barbare'. I have shown that
this type-casting process was effected by writers and thinkers invested in
elite society, who strove towards a common aim: to conceive of a sense of
French identity and thereby communicate a belief in and commitment to an
emerging French social order. I have suggested that through this process,
Frenchness was not simply constructed as the antipode of the 'barbare'.
Rather, through the simultaneous creation of a hierarchy of peoples and
social groups, I have argued that a sense of Frenchness was formulated as
the positively-differentiated superior community in contradistinction to a
debased antithetical Other. In demonstrating that the French vernacular was
employed with socio-political intent, I have identified that language was a key
component in this process. I have evinced the importance of the written text
in this formation of culture and identity and have pinpointed the textual space
as the area in which extended discussion of the constituents of the 'barbare',
and by proxy, the 'non-barbare' took place. In short, I have shown that the
experience of new peoples moved freely from context to text. Meanwhile, I
have underlined that constant re-articulation of the 'barbare' in reference to
different peoples was critical to maintaining what was perceived to be a
fragile nascent sense of Frenchness, itself a sense of identity that required
constant assertion given its growing importance to the inner fabric of French
society.

To bring focus onto a prescribed antithetical social group as opposed
to a more nebulous Other would, in turn, require articulation of the semantic

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[69] See Chapter 1, n. 16 for clarification of this usage.

reach of the term 'barbare'. In this, the development of a micro-repertoire of terms, even if such terms were occasionally vague in their reference, was vital in facilitating a clearer differentiation between the self and Other. As Bell underlines, the construction of an identity need not only 'start with a definition of friends and enemies, "us" and "them"'.[70] In the case of an early sense of Frenchness, an identity would be forged through a lengthy exploration of exactly what made 'us' different from 'them'; or rather, how 'they' were different from 'us' and how 'we' might be understood through 'them'. In sum, the formulation of a micro-repertoire for the barbaric type constituted the continual asymmetric process of Othering that underpinned the development of a French identity. This evolving process relied on the nurturing of a lexical field that might resonate at once in multiple contexts.

For an historicised linguistic study of the discourse of barbarity

In the description of this study's methodology outlined in Chapter 1, I argued for the intersection of multiple yet complementary theoretical positions. In particular, I put forward an interpretation of the 'barbare', founded upon the sociological notion of micro-repertoires, as a complex entity arising out of the symbiotic relationship between the extra- and intra-European contexts. In so doing, I emphasised the interdependence of cultural and historical contexts and the discourse of barbarity.

In this chapter, I have engaged in empirical study of the early evolution of this discourse through the writings of La Noue and Montaigne. To give further theoretical foundation to the analysis of the evolution of this discourse as tackled in the following chapter, it seems appropriate here to consider in greater detail the relationship between my chosen methodology and an historical case study, and to outline further the focus of my linguistic study.

The first stage in this is to examine the points of divergence between methodologies, in addition to the overlaps I identify in Chapter 1. One such

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[70] 'Recent Works', 106.

discrepancy, which bears materially on the present study, is that existing between Koselleck's historical conceptualisation and its parallel in sociological studies. There is no doubt that, in Koselleck's words, 'historical experience' shaped and reshaped dualisms and could even 'lead to their refutation'.[71] However, Koselleck's ensuing suggestion that concepts, once semantically structured, can be divorced from linguistic contexts and re-appropriated in new contexts – as he conceives of the re-emergence of the Hellene/barbarian dualism in the guise of the Christian/Heathen after the fall of Rome, and the Aryan/non-Aryan duality as advocated by National Socialism – suggests that ideas and ideologies as communicated by concepts are not soldered to the lexical unit that identifies them.[72] This jars with sociological reasoning. As Clifford explains, the stories and discourses that constitute cultures tend to be palimpsestic: that is, the new does not replace the old but instead tends to be superimposed upon it.[73] Similarly, in addition to advocating the omnipresence of the palimpsest in cultures, Harris puts forward the notion of 'fossilization' to denote the continuation of past ideas into the present and inexorable blurring of the distinction between past and present.[74] Dualisms that have historically played a formative role in past societies are, therefore, highly likely to maintain at least some resonances of their former use as they are recycled for new ends. Conceptual pairs do, of course, have a certain mobility, as has been evidenced by the French use of the term 'barbare' to discuss peoples from almost opposite ends of the globe. My contention is, however, that the repeated evocation and re-use of the term 'barbare' emphasises the inextricable link between a concept and the language used to create it.

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[71] *Futures Past*, 162. Augusto De Venanzi echoes this finding in his study of the 'historical and cultural contexts providing meaning' for the label of 'hooligan' ('Social Representations and the Labeling of Non-Compliant Youths: The Case of Victorian and Edwardian Hooligans', *Deviant Behaviour,* 39 (2008), 195).

[72] *Futures Past*, 163-4.

[73] Clifford, 'On Ethnographic Allegory' in *Writing Culture*, 121.

[74] Wilson Harris, 'Creoleness: The Crossroads of a Civilization?', cited in *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*, 174.

Consequently, I contend here that the 'barbare' was what sociologists have labelled a 'hot' word, that is a term with a 'proximal, bodily and affective/emotional meaning'. It was not, as is insinuated by Koselleck's espousal of the distant relationship between language and ideas, a 'cold' word, understood as a 'more intellectual and distant term'.[75] As Koselleck himself acknowledges, concepts are never 'empty'.[76] Just as semasiology and onomasiology allow investigations of the past, as Koselleck also contends, so should linguistic methodologies continue to inform the entirety of investigations.[77] Given that my aim here is to unpick the discourse of the 'barbare', then my linguistic study of 'hot' words must also engage in 'discourse analysis', defined as, 'the qualitative and interpretive recovery of meaning from the language that actors use to describe and understand social phenomena'.[78]

An acknowledgement of the historical underpinning of the discourse of barbarity is particularly important given that it was not an identity that hinged upon the term 'françois' alone, nor the semantic colouring that accompanied the conjoining of the 'barbare' to Frenchness. As a consciousness of community increased (a consciousness that Koselleck explains as the probable circumstances for the original articulation of the barbarian/Hellene

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[75] Wagner et al., 'Relevance, Discourse and the 'Hot' Stable Core', 333. Wagner has conducted further work with Fatima Flores on the role of the 'hot' word in social representations of AIDS ('The Impact of Aids on Women's Social Life in a Mexican Rural Community', in *Coping with Global Environmental Change, Disasters and Security: Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks*, ed. by Hans Brauch et al. (Berlin: Springer, 2011), 1081-90).

[76] In his final example of the conceptual couple he identifies in the Aryan/non-Aryan dichotomy under the Nazi regime Koselleck argues that the original barbarian/Hellene dualism was an 'elastic figure of negation whose actual arrangement was at the disposal of whoever had the power to fill linguistic vacancies or empty concepts' (*Futures Past*, 196).

[77] Ibid., 86. Koselleck notes that a 'series of negative epithets' might have designated the non-Greek barbarian (Ibid., 166). However, he does not examine how these epithets could inform discussions.

[78] Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko Herrera, Alastair Johnston, and Rose McDermott, 'Identity as a Variable', *Perspectives on Politics,* 4 (2006), 702.

dualism), I argue that a compendium of lexical items would be employed in order both to attribute sense and form to that consciousness and to create specific bounds for the society to which an individual believed that they belonged.[79] As early writings on the Other and the later publication of the first monolingual French dictionaries attest, the term 'barbare' itself came to be construed to evoke a host of terms which demarcated 'non-Frenchness' and thus also a tightly-bound terminology of Frenchness. In short, the 'barbare' featured as one key term in the meticulous construction of non-Frenchness and resultant Frenchness. These constructions fed into the symbolic system that comprised French culture and identity.

Here, drawing on theories of the function of the adjective in social systems, I attribute the historical perpetuation of the 'barbare' and the constituents that came to make up the discourse of barbarity to the focus on the adjective. In Semin and Fiedler's linguistic category model, parts of speech are classified according to their function in the 'interplay between language and social cognition'.[80] At the other end of the spectrum from description action verbs such as 'meet', which refer to a 'single behavioural event', the adjective is classified as having 'no clear definition of beginning and end'; it has 'no context reference' and is 'highly interpretative'.[81] Given its fluid temporal boundaries, the adjective evidently is a useful vehicle in palimpsestic writing. As a consciousness of Frenchness developed, some degree of precision would be brought to a selection of amorphous adjectives to shape a long-lasting identity. In many ways, a set of adjectives came to function as what Raymond Williams terms 'keywords', defined as 'significant, binding words in certain activities and their interpretation' and 'significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought'; words which have shared meanings for a society.[82] The activity of identity formation in early modern

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[79] *Futures Past*, 167.

[80] Gün Semin and Klaus Fiedler, 'The Linguistic Category Model, its Bases, Applications and Range', *European Review of Social Psychology,* 2 (1991), 2.

[81] Ibid., 3.

[82] *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fourth Estate, 2014), 15.

France gave semantic function to those adjectives intrinsic to a conception of French identity. If we are to accept that a 'representation' cannot be 'experienced outside of language' and language can 'help to constitute behaviour as much as passively record it', then just as in other early modern representations, the 'literary fashioning' of the keyword was of central importance here.[83] In the realm of identity, this fashioning was to acquire even greater importance.

In the network of keywords that fed into a consciousness of identity, the term 'barbare' had a co-operative role to play. At times, the foundational term 'barbare' was at the core of representations of the Other; at others, another unit of the network would constitute the prime focus. The term 'barbare' was one emotive 'hot' word amongst many in a network whose constituents each evoked the type. To build on the evidence of other scholars, the barbaric social stereotype did not, therefore, rely predominantly on the rigid core that Jean-Claude Abric advocated in his study of representations.[84] Nevertheless, as the examples of La Noue and Montaigne

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[83] Early Modern Research Group (EMRG), 'Commonwealth: The Social, Cultural, and Conceptual Contexts of an Early Modern Keyword', *The Historical Journal,* 54 (2011), 661-2.

[84] Abric's thesis of a dyadic system governing the structure of a social representation was first introduced in his 1976 doctoral thesis, *Jeux, conflicts, représentations sociales* (Université d'Aix en Provence). Complete exegeses were published in *Coopération, compétition et représentations sociales* (Cousset-Fribourg: Delval, 1987) and *Pratiques sociales et représentations* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994). A summary of the theory was published in the paper 'Central System, Peripheral System: Their Functions and Roles in the Dynamic of Social Representations', *Papers on Social Representations,* 2 (1993), 75-8. Abric's structuralist approach to social representations is still adopted wholesale in a diverse range of studies. (See, for example Erik Cohen, *Jewish Youth around the World, 1990-2010* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), and Maura Pozzi, Francesco Fattori, Piero Bocchiaro, and Sara Alfieri, 'Do the Right Thing! A Study on Social Representation of Obedience and Disobedience', *New Ideas in Psychology,* 35 (2014), 18-27.) However, it has also been vigorously challenged, both by sociologists (see, for example, Wagner et al. in their study of 'hot' and 'cold' words (see n. 75) and Pascal Moliner and Anaïs Martos' theory of the 'noyau matrice' ('Une Redéfinition des fonctions du noyau des représentations sociales', *Journal International sur les représentations sociales*, 2 (2005), 89-96)), as well as by historians, such as Mark Knights. In a collaborative study of 'what work 'commonwealth'

have testified, context, or in Abric's terms, the 'periphery', remained essential to the birth and nature of early modern social representations, not least that which constituted an early modern sense of Frenchness.

In later chapters of my study, I consider one historical context and form of experience that would shape and reshape Frenchness – that of travel and the record of travel to England in the early modern period as it grew out of and in conjunction with extra- and other intra-European discourses and concomitant travel practices. To facilitate this analysis, I will examine the network of keywords that made up the discourse of barbarity through the record provided by the first monolingual dictionaries. A justification for this course of analysis and, in turn, the analysis itself, thus provides the subject of the following chapter.

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performed for contemporaries and how its meaning changed over time' in early modern England, a study group led by Knights has evinced that the 'commonwealth' was expressed as a 'network of terms that constitute[d] a conceptual field, a network that [was] constantly changing both in the composition of terms and in the meanings of some of those terms' (EMRG, 'Commonwealth', 660-1). (For a full discussion of the methodology underpinning this study see Mark Knights et al., 'Towards a Social and Cultural History of Keywords and Concepts', *History of Political Thought,* 31 (2010), 427-48.) These findings are replicated in Knights' most recent study of the representations of reform in early nineteenth-century Britain ('Historical Stereotypes and Histories of Stereotypes', in *Psychology and History: Interdisciplinary Explorations* ed. by Jovan Byford and Cristian Tileaga (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 242-67). Both studies of the 'commonwealth' and 'reform' build on Peter Lake's seminal work on discourses of anti-popery and anti-puritanism in early modern England, which argues for a 'constellation of ideas, attributes and narratives', rather than rigid definitions ('Anti-Puritanism' in *Religious Politics*, 96). Although Neil Kenny does not refer to the sociological corpus in his study on the family of terms surrounding 'curiosity' in the early modern period, he echoes these findings in his insistence that the discourse of 'curiosity' had no 'eliminable core', but rather functioned through a number of interwoven elements (*The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 5, 8, 10).

Chapter 3
A Lexicographical Curation of Frenchness

Introduction: lexicographical cultural narrative

In this chapter I engage in socio-linguistic excavation of contemporary dictionaries, taking as my starting point a recent exposition of historical method, which argues that any text of any genre merits study for the discourse(s) it might contain.[1] I also start from John Considine's valorisation of lexicographical study in the analysis of identity formation. Echoing the view of other scholars, Considine asserts that 'Words are a living and portable inheritance from the past, and … embody a culture with particular fullness'. Dictionaries are, in his view, 'depositories of the whole culture in microcosm' due to their gathering together of 'the names of all the distinctive institutions of a culture'. Consequently, they chart, he contends, the development of any form of identity, not necessarily just a national identity.[2] In the case of a

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[1] Knights et al., 'Towards a Social and Cultural History of Keywords and Concepts', 438.

[2] *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 15, 9. Kenny similarly affirms that 'ordinary language is our only way of accessing processes of the past; how terms were shaped, reshaped and semantically contested' (*Uses of Curiosity*, 3). The role of language in the formation of a French identity is hotly contested. Bell, in particular, finds fault with scholarship that identifies the implementation of a coherent linguistic policy by the monarch instead seeing, for example, 1539 Edict of Viller-Côterets as an attempt to restrict the use of Latin rather than legislate for the sole use of French ('Recent Works', 97, 99). Anderson, on the other hand, sees the vernacular as key to the shift away from a religious to geographically-based identity (*Imagined Communities*, 15-19). Here, I accept Considine's revision of Bray who had earlier argued that the publication of monolingual dictionaries correlates more specifically with a 'growing awareness of national or regional identity' (Laurent Bray, 'Richelet's 'Dictionnaire François' (1680) as a Source of 'La Porte des Sciences' (1682) and Le Roux's 'Dictionnaire Comique' (1718)', in *The History of Lexicography. Papers from the Dictionary Research Centre Seminar at Exeter, March 1986*, ed. by Reinhard Hartmann (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1986), 13).

French identity, Considine considers the geopolitical situation of 1594 – the near of the end of the Wars of Religion and the resultant consolidation of power by Henri IV, which was accompanied by efforts on the part of the elite to confirm their social standing – to have stimulated the codification of the French language.[3] He also points to the mutual reliance between lexicography and geopolitics at the end of the seventeenth century when all arts were subordinated to the exaltation of Louis XIV's greatness.[4] If, as Considine espouses, dictionaries are taken as repositories of 'narrative' and 'works of the imagination', then close analysis of their contents affords a window onto how French culture and concomitant identity was imagined, as well as understood to be imagined, by lexicographers who were reacting to their social reality.[5]

My focus is on five dictionaries. Two are key bilingual French-Latin dictionaries: Robert Estienne's 1539 *Dictionaire francoislatin, contenant les motz & manieres de parler Francois, tournez en latin,* which was printed in response to the 'growing importance of French as a language of communication and the need to codify it', and Jean Nicot's 1606 *Thresor de la langue francoyse tant ancienne que moderne.*[6] The other three dictionaries I examine are symptomatic of that surge of interest in lexicography at the end of the seventeenth century: César-Pierre Richelet's 1680 *Dictionnaire françois* (heralded as the first 'truly monolingual dictionary'); Antoine Furetière's three-volume 1690 *Dictionnaire universel*, which was published posthumously, and, thirdly, the rival two-volume *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise* in 1694.[7]

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[3] *Academy Dictionaries 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 29.

[4] Ibid., 1.

[5] *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe*, 4.

[6] Terence Woolridge, 'The Birth of French Lexicography' in *A New History of French Literature*, ed. by Denis Hollier (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 178.

[7] Ibid., 179. Unless otherwise indicated, in making general reference to language recorded in these dictionaries, I will resort to modern orthography. In citing from the dictionaries themselves, I will use the spellings as employed in each work.

Here, I argue that these dictionaries were not simply implicated in the general 'systematisation of knowledge', but in the formative construction of self-knowledge.[8] My aim is to trace the gradual systematisation of self-knowledge through the language of barbarity by those committed to the social hierarchy and the symbolic investment in language required to maintain it.[9] The lexicographical record attests, I suggest, to what might be termed the *ideological consolidation* of an emergent structure of thought. In short, I contend that the incremental lexicographical inscription of a network of terms in the articulation of a French social identity exemplifies the consistent process of refinement and reinforcement Swidler identifies as ordinarily characteristic of settled cultures.[10]

My analysis works from the assumption that these dictionaries played a 'significant role in the… choice of what was considered to be appropriate vocabulary' and are, by dint of their commercial success, key cultural indicators.[11] I consider sixteenth- and seventeenth-century dictionaries to be both receptacles and creators of the value system that was French culture. I argue that these dictionaries sought to imbue Frenchness with – to speak in Bourdieusian terms – a form of 'cultural capital' which would, in turn, feed into

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[8] Considine, *Academy Dictionaries*, 2.

[9] The impulse for the 1680 *Dictionnaire françois* stemmed from Richelet's frustration at the slowness of redaction of the dictionary of the Académie Française (Bray, 'Richelet's 'Dictionnaire François'', 14). Furetière's 1690 *Dictionnaire universel* led to his expulsion from the Académie Française in 1685 on the charge that he had stolen information destined for the Académie's first dictionary. This fall from academic grace was, however, succeeded by a life dedicated to the cause of Louis XIV and the socialisation of the elite. (For discussion of Furetière in the context of the myth-makes of the Sun King, see Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 78.) Considine designates the 1694 *Dictionnaire* a 'celebration of the absolutist French monarchy, of which the Académie française has been called the 'literary arm' (*Academy Dictionaries*, 52).

[10] 'Culture in Action', 282.

[11] Nicholas Hammond, *Creative Tensions: An Introduction to Seventeenth-Century French Literature* (London: Duckworth, 1997), 13. Considine and Bray also underline the cultural significance of the dictionaries (*Academy Dictionaries*, 58; 'Richelet's 'Dictionnaire François'', 15).

the development of the 'interested' social practice of travel undertaken by the French elite to confirm their sense of self.[12] In the example par excellence of Bourdieu's notion of linguistic capital I evoke, I nevertheless argue for a refinement of Bourdieu's classification of forms of 'cultural capital'.[13] In the link I suggest the dictionaries encourage between cultural capital and geographical space, I reaffirm my assertion made elsewhere that 'cultural capital' can 'manifest itself in a localised form, as well as in the embodied, "objectified" and "institutionalised" forms classified by Bourdieu'.[14] The symbolic power of Frenchness did not simply rely on the use of the French vernacular, although this was naturally of import as the vernacular overtook Latin as the language of elite communication. Rather, I contend that Frenchness came to draw its potency from the mastering and deployment of a valorised discourse constructed within the French vernacular. Simultaneously at work in these volumes is, I argue, both a micro- and macro-discourse set in motion by a belief in French superiority: a micro-discourse on the level of semantics; a macro-discourse driven by the way the semantics shaped or were conceived to shape social reality. These discourses are, I suggest, set in motion in the paratexts of the dictionaries in the link between language and elite customs made in the main body of the works that they foreground. The paratexts also colour any entries for 'France' and 'françois'. These discourses are developed in the twin discourses of

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[12] As summarised by Swartz in his overview of Bourdieu's sociological thought, Cultural capital is 'a form of power as capital in the differentiated societies that Bourdieu conceptualises by extending the logic of economic analysis to ostensibly noneconomic goods and services' (*Culture and Power*, 75). See Chapter 1, n. 82.

[13] For a summary of Bourdieu's thesis of the central role of language in obtaining cultural capital: see John Thompson's introduction to an abridged English edition of Bourdieu's study, *Ce que parler veut dire: l'économie des échanges linguistiques* (Paris: Fayard, 1982) (Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. and ed. by John Thompson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 18).

[14] 'Capitalising on the English Urban Model: The Writings of Miège (1685/1725) and Muralt (1725) and the Pitting of Economic Capital against the "Cultural Capital" of Paris', *L'Esprit Créateur,* 55:3 (2015), 41, n. 4.

barbarity – non-French barbarity and non-barbaric Frenchness – relevant entries bring together.

This chapter first of all turns, then, to the dedicatory epistles and prefaces of the dictionaries in question.[15]

Foregrounding the link between language and elite customs in the paratext

Estienne and Nicot's dictionaries both argue for the utility of their substantial folios. In the adulatory dedication to the eminent statesmen Jean Bochard that prefaces the 1606 *Thresor,* the publisher-bookseller David Douceur acts as spokesperson for the recently deceased Jean Nicot. He maintains that Nicot's lexicographical masterpiece is not just of service 'a toutes gens de quelque sçauoir', as Robert Estienne had similarly claimed in his 1539 *Dictionaire Francois-latin.* The *Thresor* is also, he asserts, an assiduously-hewn tool in the fight 'contre la barbarie & l'ignorance'. To succeed this foregrounding of Du Bellay's unsoldering of the link between the French language and barbarism, Douceur subsequently encourages his readers to conceive of words as more than just units of language. He endorses the adherence of writers to old maxims, citing the view of an unnamed man of letters that to reformulate maxims would be to alter '[les] façons de vivre' since 'la correspondence [est] grande entre le langaige & les meurs d'un pays'.[16] Douceur's belief in the utility of the *Thresor* derives in part, therefore, from its role in documenting those modes and manners that had been passed down through the generations.

Whilst Douceur makes a link to geographical space in justifying the record of the French vernacular, the paratexts of later dictionaries, starting with that of Richelet's 1680 *Dictionnaire*, nevertheless testify to the

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[15] The epistles and prefaces of the dictionaries are unpaginated, hence the omission of references in the ensuing section.

[16] See Chapter 2, n. 38.

predominant focus on social rather than spatial circumscription of customs through language.

Richelet's dedicatory epistle to Prince Ferdinand, Bishop of Münster, demonstrates a belief in the inextricable link between the French language and the articulation of a socially-restricted Frenchness. In his address, Richelet draws on the testimony of an external noble to give greater authority to his presentation of a superior French language. He declares his choice of dedicatee is on account of the Prince's love for France. Such admiration can only suggest, Richelet believes, that the prince is a proponent of the French language. In his view, to like France is to harbour a love of – he asserts in a thinly veiled reference to France – the most polite nations ('des Nations les plus polies') as well as any states that used the French language. The connection between the greatest level of politeness and the use of the French language should, Richelet adds, cause little surprise, given that the French language is endowed with greater beauty than that of any of 'les langues mortes'. This elegance is, he argues, evidenced in the writings of 'nos plus excellens Auteurs' – the source material for the current work.

Rather than expressing a sense of 'nationness', the references to the 'nation' and a sense of community in the 'nous' of 'nos plus excellens Auteurs' are here firmly invested, I suggest, in a socially-defined and tightly-bound French grouping. Disclosing his desired readership of the *Dictionnaire* in the *Avertissement*, Richelet delineates the social group who might find the *Dictionnaire* of some use: '[les] honnêtes gens'. This is why, he continues, that his focus had been on only the best authors, from whom he had taken '[les] mots les plus reçus, aussi-bien que… [les] expressions les plus belles'. If we accept Pruvost's designation of the *Dictionnaire* as 'le premier vrai dictionnaire monolingue de la langue française', together with his dedicatory epistle, Richelet's *Avertissement* therefore reveals the prevailing attitude governing the production of the late seventeenth-century monolingual dictionaries: to champion the French language as a vehicle of communication

at the service of great individuals and cast lexicography as a venture pursued for elite advantage.[17]

This attitude is consolidated in the preface to Furetière's 1690 *Dictionnaire universel* in which Pierre Bayle, though a Protestant in exile, extols the perfection of the French language and presents widespread use of French in the great courts of Europe as proof of the superiority of the French vernacular over other languages. The strongest link between the vernacular and France's own elite is, however, made in the multiple paratextual elements of the 1694 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise*. Here, the attestation of cross-European use of the French language is used to advocate a concentric view of France and its culture and to express elitism and exclusion in the field of language.

The academicians employ the lengthy dedicatory epistle addressed to the Louis XIV to affirm the close relationship between the French language and a global elite. As well as a work invested, they assert, in the endeavour to 'embellir' the language so that it might more ably proclaim the great exploits of the French monarch, the hope is, the editors add, that it might also aid the attainment of the future status they desire for the vernacular. This status is, they assert, one which might see the French language triumph over its counterparts in foreign nations and limit the use of other vernaculars to '[le] commun du Peuple'. In light of this presentation, Considine's designation of the *Dictionnaire* as 'a celebration of the absolutist French monarchy' rings true.[18] The academicians claims also suggest that lexicography ought to be added to the many aspects of culture identified by Burke as complicit in the fabrication of the Louis XIV myth.[19] To nuance both these points however, I contend the following: that veneration of Louis XIV in the epistle was underpinned by the belief that French glory and eminence as channelled through the person of the monarch relied as much on cultural domination as

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[17] Jean Pruvost, *Les Dictionnaires de langue française* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), 29.

[18] *Academy Dictionaries*, 52.

[19] See Burke, *Fabrication of Louis XIV*.

exercised through the medium of language as on the political domination of other lands.

This view, I suggest, reverberates throughout the ensuing preface in which the academicians outline their hope that the readership of the work will encompass foreigner and Frenchman alike, with, of course, a focus on the elite alone. In their rationale for their inclusion of only certain areas of language, the academicians explain that the work is directed exclusively at 'la Noblesse': the concern has been, the editors relate, to open up access to 'le bel usage' for the native and foreign noble. Consequently, any word able to 'servir à la Noblesse & à l'Elegance du Discours' is to be found in the two-volume work. Some compromises have, the academicians admit, however, had to be made, namely with regard to the inclusion of proverbs and moral maxims. These are items which they consider to have been 'avilis dans la bouche du menu Peuple' and thus only suitable for use 'dans le style familier'. Nevertheless, since these units of language constitute a considerable part of the language, they have merited inclusion as the academicians strive towards one aim: to 'mettre la Langue Françoise en estat de conserver sa Pureté'. This aim for purity and the resulting care taken over the composition of the dictionary is, they underline, not for the benefit of 'le Vulgaire', who employ language simply as a vehicle of comprehensible communication. Rather, the volumes are to be of service to 'les Esprits esclairez', a further oblique reference to the elite, who, they add, 'veulent connoistre les differentes Idées sur lesquelles nos Paroles se forment'. At this point, the editors make a reference to the nation: the entire enterprise was supported most lately, the academicians proudly note, by the sage politician Colbert who believed in its worth for 'la gloire d'une Nation'. Nevertheless, their commitment to forming a 'nation' of elites rather than an all-inclusive state of peoples remains in place by virtue of multiple references to the elite in the preface. The term 'nation' might be recorded by the 1694 *Dictionnaire* as designating 'tous les habitants d'un mesme Estat, d'un mesme pays, qui vivent sous memes loix, et use de mesme langage'. However, the qualification of sharing language, as opposed to the former stipulation of

living in the same geographical area, seems to be have been deemed by the academicians to be of greater importance in creating the French community.

This elitist conception of Frenchness confirmed in the paratexts of the seventeenth-century monolingual dictionaries is furthered in their respective entries for 'France', and 'François'.[20] Whilst neither Estienne or Nicot's dictionaries include an entry for 'François', the brief entries in Richelet's and Furetière's respective volumes reveal that the notion of the 'françois' did not directly inform a sense of identity. Both Richelet and Furetière observe that an individual 'qui est né en France' is 'françois'. Their entries also record a sense of the 'françois' being linked to a political entity (termed the 'nation' in Richelet and 'patrie' in Furetière).[21] Richelet additionally details that the adverbial expression 'a la françoise' signifies 'in a French manner', with pertinent examples expressed in the verbal phrase 'être habillé' or 's'habiller a la Françoise'. Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* goes further in its elucidation of the semantic overtones of the term. The entry reveals the sense of superiority and betterment bound up in the term through its repeated discussion of the adjective-noun combination 'bon françois': as a nominal label, the 'bon françois' designates the individual who honours those obligations required to demonstrate attachment to the fate of one's 'patrie'; meanwhile, the adverbial expression 'en bon François' refers to a way of speaking that is 'franchement & en paroles claires et nettes'. As for entries for 'France', Estienne's one-word listing, and Nicot's almost equally brief entry are neither echoed or extended in Richelet and Furetière's dictionaries; they fall silent on this term.[22] The most striking omissions are, however, in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise*: there is neither an entry for 'France' nor for 'françois'.

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[20] The spelling 'françois' is here used as it is attested across all the dictionaries, unlike other terms discussed here (see n. 7).

[21] Richelet lists a possible usage of the term in the phrase 'il est François de nation'. In Furetière's entry, the good Frenchman is characterised as he who is 'attaché aux interests de sa patrie'.

[22] Nicot gives the Latin equivalent for 'né en France, françois' and notes the adjectival appendage 'de France' indicates important offices held in the kingdom.

Nevertheless, my contention is not that the entities 'françois' and 'France' played no part in a sense of identity. Rather, I contend that the brevity or omission of entries indicates the loose implication of the political entity 'France' in the formation of identity in an era in which a strictly territorially-based sense of Frenchness was not yet nascent. This missing link is similarly evidenced, I suggest, in the corresponding absence of entries for other nationalities and countries, for example, 'Anglois' and 'Angleterre'. The focus on elitism in the paratexts evidences that identity, at least on an intra-European level, was for the time being expressed socially.[23]

As my study of the writings of La Noue and Montaigne and their engagement with the term 'barbare' has demonstrated, a distinct sense of belonging to a 'French' community was in germination, even if this community was not yet to find its ultimate definition in the terms 'françois' and 'la France'. The adjective 'françois' was already in common usage and could be employed as the term around which an identity could be constructed, especially given the sentiments of superiority bound up in it. In short, the epithet 'françois' was, in the first instance, a useful place-holder in the articulation of a French identity, rather than being a term which itself encapsulated the semantics required to articulate that identity. The term's semantic weakness was the result, I suggest, of the almost complete divorce between territory and the understanding of identity. Similar to Koselleck's counterconcept/concept dualism in the Christian-Heathen construct, the Frenchness and non-Frenchness dualism was not firmly underpinned by the 'initial territorial separation' present in the 'Hellene and barbarian' distinction (though, of course, this separation played a role, both in the early articulation of the Eastern and Amerindian 'barbare', and later, in the conceptualisation of the intra-European 'barbare'). For the lexicographers, the difference in the progress of civilisation, or the distinction in temporal terms, was of greater importance.[24] This temporal differentiation informed the development of the

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[23] Whilst there is no entry for 'Turquie', there is an entry for 'Turc' that lists both the positive stereotype and negative stereotype.

[24] *Futures Past*, 178.

term 'barbare' and the twin discourses associated with it, as I will now analyse in the remainder of this chapter.

Twin discourses of barbarity

The concept: non-French barbarity

The content of the entry for the term 'barbare' in Estienne's 1539 dictionary reveals the way in which a firm opposition between an Other and the 'nous' was early erected. In a further foregrounding of Du Bellay's *Deffence*, the primary definition defines the 'barbare' as that which 'n'est point de notre langage'. The centrality of this dichotomising aspect of the term is confirmed in the secondary usage of the term: beyond the linguistic domain, 'barbare', the *Dictionaire* states, refers to anything 'appartenant aux barbares'. Whilst Latin had distinguished between the linguistic and more general usage in the two adjectives 'barbarus' and 'barbaricus', Estienne documents the dropping of this distinction as the term was absorbed into the French vernacular in the sixteenth century. This was confirmed in the seventeenth century: Nicot's 1606 volume only lists the primary definition of the *barbare*. Meanwhile, the corresponding entries of the later monolingual dictionaries testify that the extended semantics of Otherness or 'non-Frenchness', as effected by the negative polarisation inherent in the concept 'barbare' had become embedded in language usage.

In his 1680 *Dictionnaire*, Richelet emphasises the function of the composite term 'barbare' to denigrate the 'category defined as opposite' that had been central in its original Ancient Greek use and now had a new application.[25] Richelet opens his entry with one of the earliest uses of the term: it was, he records, used by 'les Romains' to designate any people other than the Greeks or those who lived under Greek laws. He also records the extended semantics of the term 'barbare' as long attested by much earlier writings. The 'barbares' are, Richelet notes, those peoples 'sans police,

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[25] Cartledge, *The Greeks*, 13-14.

ignorans & qui vivent d'une maniere grossiere'. He then reiterates the negative characteristics evoked by the term in the head entry for the adjective 'barbare' and emphasises this aspect in a note on use of the adjective with reference to language: in such contexts, the adjective does not, he remarks, only signify that which is 'étranger à la langue', but also that which is 'mauvais… grossier' and 'rude'.[26] His third subentry testifies, in turn, to the bleeding of the language of coarseness from one part of the entry to the next. The detail of the subentry also signals the single core use Richelet wished to communicate. Although defining a noun, the third entry gives a succession of adjectives and adds to the now punctuating adjectives 'grossier' and 'rude' the labels 'cruël' and 'fâcheux'. This evocation of a constellation of terms associated with 'barbare' continues in yet a further subentry, in which another adjective is enumerated: 'inhumain'. Similarly, the entries for the cognates of 'barbare' – 'barbarement' and 'barbarie' – reinforce the link between the barbaric and the cruel.[27] Richelet's entry for the 'barbare' thus highlights that the term relied on multiple negating adjectives for its definition.

In his characterisation of the concept/counterconcept, Koselleck notes that from the outset the dualism was articulated with humankind, with the adjective 'inhumanum' employed as a 'means of defining the boundary at which a person ceases to be a member of universal human society'.[28] This delineation is equally evident in the early modern concept of non-French barbarity, not only in Richelet's *Dictionnaire*, but in the reciprocal entries of both the dictionaries of Furetière and the Académie Française. The primary and secondary definitions of 'barbare', as well as the entries for its cognates in Furetière's *Dictionnaire* stress the association with the 'cruel', the 'grossier', the 'rude', as well as the 'inhumain'. Likewise, the Académie's dictionary evidences a close association between the 'barbare' and the network of terms brought together elsewhere. Meanwhile, the entries for 'barbare' in both Furetière and the Académie's dictionaries also testify to the

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[26] '*Babare, adj.* Qui est sans police, grossier, ignorant…'

[27] The entry for 'barbarement' reads 'd'une maniere cruëlle' and that for 'barbarie', 'crüauté.

[28] *Futures Past*, 186-94.

incorporation of further damnatory adjectives, as well as additional terms formulated through taking the positive term 'poli', which had been linked in the prefaces to Frenchness, and negating it: in Furetière, 'mal poli' is given as a supplementary definition; in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*, a similar alternative is communicated in the phrases 'ne pas avoir politesse' and 'manque de politesse'. As such, the dictionaries demonstrate the co-formulation of terms in the complementary network of keywords that constituted the counterconcept or discourse of non-barbaric Frenchness. Meanwhile, an additional development of the barbaric concept is the link made in both dictionaries to the 'sauvage' which, in its respective entry in the dictionaries of Furetière and the Académie, is commonly defined as 'farouche' and described as a label appropriate for descriptions of animals rather than humans. To these elucidations the Académie also adds the adjective 'feroce', a term whose respective entry in the dictionaries confirms the link with the language of barbarity, both in the abstract and in its application to the Eastern barbarian.[29] The inclusion of term 'inhumain' in the entries for 'barbare' alongside a host of denunciatory terms attests, therefore, that the concept of barbarity involved a fluid boundary between the animal and the 'humain'. This fluidity would, I argue, underpin the temporal colouring of the concept of barbarity and the linked counterconcept of non-barbarity.

Overall, corresponding entries record that the 'barbare' was only definable through reference to a selection of other French terms, or 'hot' keywords, which encapsulated the same affective semantic strength as one another and together formed an evocative image of what constituted the 'barbare'. To cite Richter, the 'barbare' is typical of the concept in being 'designated by more than one word or term'.[30] The 'barbare' and

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[29] Furetière's *Dictionnaire* notes that 'feroce' signifies 'cruel' and is a term most suited for 'des bestes'. Furetière also details that the term 'se dit figurativement 'des hommes cruels… ou d'un mauvais naturel' and in citing 'les Tartares' as an example, additionally links the term with the Eastern barbarian. The 1694 dictionary echoes Furetière in announcing that 'feroce' designates 'de tout genre… qui est farouche & cruel'. The Académie's dictionary also records the figurative use to refer to 'un homme cruel'.

[30] Melvin Richter, *The History of Political and Social Concepts: A Critical Introduction*

corroborating terms 'cruel', 'facheux', 'grossier', 'rude', 'impoli' (variously expressed), 'sauvage', 'feroce' and 'farouche' were thus brought together to constitute a countermodel, a concept that maintained that essential ambiguity whilst remaining 'more than a word'.[31] The 'barbare' represented the language of barbarity as a whole and offered a concept against which the counterconcept or label and understanding of the self could be formed. As indicated by Richelet's reference to mores in the phrase 'qui vivent d'une manière', this network of terms had a central role to play in the understanding and formation of French social reality: it provided the conceptualised countermodel for a way of living or manners and customs, those systems of values defining the culture to which one should aspire. By the end of the seventeenth century, to speak of the 'barbare' was thus to engage in a discussion of much broader significance than just to describe an Other; it was to describe *the* Other, with various peoples as its initial trigger, and against which a sense of Frenchness could be constructed.[32]

The function of designating a general Other was fulfilled by the terms 'estrange' and 'estranger': Richelet's definition of the 'estranger' as 'd'un autre païs que celui où il est' is echoed in the dictionaries of Furetière and the Académie. Nevertheless, the term 'estrange', and later the term 'estranger', would equally, if more loosely, become subscribed to the network of 'hot' words that constituted the discourse of barbarism. The more general definition Richelet attaches to 'estrange' – that which is 'suprenant, grand, extraordinaire, fâcheux, impertinent' – is echoed in the two later dictionaries, though now subsumed under the heading of 'estranger' and with the negative terms 'fâcheux' and 'impertinent' dropped from the entry. The nascent link between the 'barbare' and the 'estrange' had already been confirmed in Richelet's listing. If the 'estrange' did not at this point carry the same emotive weight as 'barbare', it nevertheless remained coloured by the more general

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(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 9.

[31] Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 84.

[32] For Lacan's distinction between 'other' and Other, see Chapter 1, n. 20.

sense of Otherness and consequently exemplifies the way in which the discourse of barbarism came to engulf an increasing number of terms.

Nevertheless, the maintenance of the discourse of barbarity did not only rely on a rich denigratory language, but also the complementary discourse of non-barbaric Frenchness. This complementary discourse was, I further contend, of particular importance, given the semantic infancy of the term 'culture' in comparison with the keen lexicographical interest in 'mœurs' and 'coutumes'.[33]

The dictionaries are replete with references to 'meurs/mœurs' and 'coustumes/coutumes'. Estienne's entries for both terms include long lists of phrases in which the terms might be appropriately employed. Richelet's entry for 'mœurs' confirms this prevalent usage. The entry first remarks that the term refers to 'La façon de vivre, & agir d'une personne'. It then lists examples relating to the demonstration of good or bad manners and, notably, observes that one tends to adopt the manners of those who are frequented on social visits, thus suggesting that demonstrative behaviour and interaction with the correct sort of individual was key. The centrality of 'coûtumes' is likewise attested from early on in the dictionaries. To preface the equivalent Latin term, Estienne, for example, suggests how it might be defined: '*une* Coustume, et *maniere de faire qu'on a*'. In turn, the later seventeenth-century dictionaries expound at length on the signification of 'coustume' and engage in the recording and shaping of social reality: Richelet's entry, which records that custom is the 'maniere d'agir ordinaire', is greatly extended in both the dictionaries of Furetière and the Académie Française in which emphasis is laid on the link between 'coustume' and those actions repeated naturally. The elucidation of what constituted 'ordinary behaviour' for the elite and the centrality of such behaviour for a sense of identity was detailed, I argue, in

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[33] Contrary to modern-day use, 'culture' was not a term widely employed beyond the domain of husbandry until the late eighteenth century, as is attested by the relevant entries of the early monolingual dictionaries. For a brief discussion of historical development of semantics of the term 'culture' in European languages see Williams, *Keywords*, 84-90.

the network of terms relating to the 'non-barbare', that is the discourse of non-barbaric Frenchness. In this, 'poli' was a core term.

The counterconcept: non-barbaric Frenchness

If to be 'barbare' was conceived as 'mal poli', as the entry in Furetière's 1690 *Dictionnaire* notes, the evident corollary was that to be 'non-barbare' was to be 'poli'. In the discourse on non-barbaric Frenchness 'poli' is, in fact, documented as a 'hot' keyword. As the entry in Furetière's *Dictionnaire* testifies, the term confirmed the opposition between the 'barbare' and 'non-barbare' or 'non-French' and 'French'. Following the opening survey of the literal meanings of the verb 'polir' is a note on its figurative usage: the term, Furetière records, is used 'figurement en Morale' and is synonymous with the verb 'civiliser'. A link is then made between the adjective 'poli' and the description of peoples: 'poli', Furetière remarks, can describe 'des peuples'. This leads discussion to a sample sentence, which links a cognate of 'poli' back to the entry for 'barbare': as the dictionary notes, 'On a du mal à *polir* les Barbares, à les ranger dans une société honneste & civile'. Here, the antithesis between the 'barbare' and the term 'poli' as articulated in the entry for 'barbare' is mirrored. As such, the entry confirms the status of the 'barbare' as the antipode of non-barbaric society and establishes the characterisation of that society through taking 'poli' as the prime reference point. Meanwhile, the sample sentence discloses further terms that define and condition the 'non-Other' society – 'honnête' and 'civil'.[34] Like the 'barbare', the trigger term for the counterconcept was, therefore, not definable in and of itself. Rather, 'poli' was an access point for alternative

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[34] These complementary terms are evoked in the entry for the verb 'polir' and 'politesse' and are also listed in Richelet's entry for 'poli' and 'polir' and the academicians' definition of 'poli' and its cognates. In the entries for 'honnête' and its cognates, the reference back to 'poli' is made in Richelet and the Académie's dictionary, whilst various forms of 'civil' punctuate the entries for 'honnesteté' in all three.

terms which together built a network detailing that behaviour considered antithetical to the 'barbare'.

To be 'non-barbare' did not, however, simply rely on bearing non-barbaric characteristics: at stake was subscription to a greater order, as the remainder of Furetière's entry elucidates. Since the 'barbare' cannot be 'civilised' or 'ordered' into society, or 'rangé', to return to the terms of the entry 'polir', the 'non-barbare' is not just different or a 'non-Other'. Rather, the 'non-barbare' is that being who enacts manners and customs which, as the reference to order implies, are subject to specific conditions and codification. In other words, the 'non-barbare' is the circumscribed and regulated 'non-Other'. This order is, Furetière elaborates in a sample sentence for 'politesse', specifically French. '[L]es voyageurs', he asserts, 'ont trouvé beaucoup de *politesse* dans les cours des Rois de Perse & de la Chine'. Nevertheless, he continues, 'on ne sçauroit voir plus de *politesse* qu'il y en a à la Cour de France'. Behind apparent praise for the non-French elite lies, therefore, a belief that the true model of non-barbaric behaviour impossibly involves the worldly nobility. To return to a key point of this study, the cohesions of 'traditional aristocracies' might have meant greater loyalty could be expressed across borders than within.[35] However, the affinity felt across the upper ranks was, as is again here evidenced, always to be limited. Here, the counterconcept is rigidly restricted to the inner precincts of the French court. In short, Frenchness is made socially locatable to wherever the French court and its elite might reside. Its localisation is not in the geographical space of territory that would become equated with and define the French 'nation' and in turn, a French 'national' identity. Whilst subscribing 'poli' to that network of terms encompassing the 'civil' and 'honneste', Furetière's entry thus adds social precision to the semantic reach of 'poli'.[36]

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[35] Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 77.

[36] Of interest for later chapters of this dissertation, the entry also provides some immunity for the foreign elite in the articulation of non-barbarity and identifies travel as a social practice implicated in the instruction of non-barbaric Frenchness.

The terms 'honneste', 'civil', and 'poli' were not, moreover, the only words in the network of Frenchness. In the entries for 'honnesteté', the additional terms 'courtois' and 'bienseant' are added to the constellation of 'hot' words. The codification suggested in the defintion for 'poli' is also elaborated upon in the entries for the 'honneste' and its cognates. Furetière's *Dictionnaire*, for example, makes explicit the centrality of regulation in social behaviour in the statement that 'les regles de l'*honnesteté* sont les regles de la bienseance'. The pattern of interlocking terms is, in turn, evidenced in the articles for 'courtois' and 'bienseant'. The definitions for 'courtois' in all the later dictionaries are punctuated by references to the 'honneste' and the 'civil'. Similarly, the relevant entries for 'bienseant' in Furetière are coloured by discussion of the 'hot' term 'civil' and also reaffirm that it is only social actions linked to the upper ranks which are of importance: 'Il est', Furetière notes, 'la *bienseance* de se tenir descouvert & en une posture honneste' in front of 'les Grands'. Importantly, Furetière's entry additionally emphasises that such conduct is not cursory advice but an obligatory model: 'la *biensance*', he adds, 'exige de nous plusieurs devoirs & civilitez. Il faut en toutes choses observer les *bienseances*'. In juxtaposing 'devoirs' with 'civilitez', the entry makes one point particularly clear: that whilst 'poli' forged the link between barbarity and non-barbarity, the 'civil' enjoyed a status as an organising category under which aspects of the 'non-barbare' might subsequently be placed.

Just as elsewhere in early modern Europe, 'civility' was, therefore, 'integral' to an understanding of French identity.[37] Placing his study within the field of *Begriffsgeschichte,* Roger Chartier has discussed the concept of 'civilité' at length.[38] He has argued that the term forms part of a 'semantic field that is extensive, unstable and variable'. He has also identified that it is inextricably linked to social structures, though adds that the term remained

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[37] Suranyi, *Genius of the English Nation*, 53. Suranyi argues that civility was of particular importance to the construction of an early modern English identity.

[38] *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*. trans. by Lydia Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 71-109.

abstract until put into practice.[39] In delineating the semantic field of civility, however, he constructs a rigid hierarchy in which 'civil' is placed at the top and the different terms associated with it subordinated to it. Here, I contend that, though a central term, 'civil' and its cognates nevertheless functioned on a similar plane to other elements of the network of non-barbaric Frenchness; that, indeed, other terms could become of equal import.

The notion of 'civility' features as a prominent term in the dictionaries: the term appears as a shaping notion in definitions relating to social behaviour and lengthy entries are included for 'civil' in the three late seventeenth-century dictionaries. Furetière's entry for 'urbanité', for example, features a cascade of terms headed by 'civilité' and followed by 'politesse' and 'courtoisie'. As for entries for 'civil' itself and its cognates, the dictionaries attest to the interlinking with other terms hitherto studied. In Richelet, the civil is labeled as the 'honnête, poli' and 'qui a de la civilité', whilst 'civilité' is defined as that 'science' guiding an individual in what to say and do only that which is 'honnête' and 'bien' in the commerce of life. Likewise, the verb 'civiliser' records the same set of internal references with the definition outlined as to 'rendre poli, civil, honnête'. This sustained intertextuality with its repeated articulation of the myriad terms constituting Frenchness is replicated in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*: the entry for 'civil' notes that the term can signify that which is 'courtois' and 'honneste'. In a double reassertion of the role of opposition, the entry also adds that the 'incivil' is that which is 'contre toute bienseance'.

In a parallel case to those entries for 'poli', the corresponding entries in Furetière's *Dictionnaire* document the most extensive, if encoded, clarification of the role of rank in the system of Frenchness, as articulated through civility. In the definition of the verb 'civiliser', the reference to 'poli' and 'courtois' is succeeded by the note that 'les paysans ne sont pas civilisez comme les bourgeois, & les bourgeois comme les Courtisans'. Following repeated references to 'poli' and 'courtois' in the subsequent entry for 'civilité', a further suggestion of social gradation is appended to the definition in the remark that

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[39] Ibid., 71-2.

'il n'y a que les paysans, les gens grossiers, qui manquent à la civilité'. In both sentences, a strict demarcation is drawn between the civilised and uncivilised within the context of a rigid social hierarchy. There is some acceptance of the status of bourgeois – unsurprising, given that Furetière was himself of that social class. Nevertheless, the social stratum to be most lauded as highly civilised, as asserted in other terms of the network, is maintained: namely, those who frequent court – the nobility. In addition, the definition of the non-civilised lower order is amply reinforced in the articulation of the 'hot' word 'grossier' in connection with 'les paysans'.

Further detail on the localisation of Frenchness to the court and elucidation on how to emulate court behaviour or, in other words, enact a socially-differentiating Frenchness, is notably given in Richelet and Furetière's entries for 'bourgeois'. Richelet's definition reveals that this localisation of Frenchness need not only be the court itself, but any space imaginable as an extension of the court. As the dictionary remarks, 'bourgeois' designates the individual who, as well as not being 'tout à fait poli', cannot mirror the social space of the court through aping courtly manners, in his words: 'qui n'a pas l'air de Cour'. Furetière's *Dictionnaire* on the other hand emphasises social opposition in advising how civility, and with it, Frenchness, might be enacted. In a secondary entry for 'bourgeois', Furetière cites an example of the sort of behaviour one might expect from the 'homme civil': in receiving visits from those of similar rank, the 'homme civil' performs a flurry of appropriate gestures, not only 'avec beaucoup… d'honnesteté' but also with 'beaucoup de ceremonies'. The 'civil', and concomitantly the French, thus relies, he discloses, on an element of ritual, on the performance of a codified routine of ceremony. To be French was, therefore, to perform being French, with the emphasis placed less on being French, than on appearing to be French, a defining subtlety to be inferred from Richelet's earlier use of the verbal phrase 'avoir l'air'. The damning label of bourgeois was not simply attributed to the individual who was not of the court, but to the person who could not cloak himself in the apparel of Frenchness. Only a limited number of individuals could don such garb. Those

who were not in this inner circle were, as is evidenced in the broader literature of the period, to be ridiculed for harbouring aspirations far above their social station.[40]

Frenchness was thus formulated around appearance. In terms of its expression, identity thus mirrored the regulation of the theatrical stage by bringing dramaturgical concerns to bear on the social stage. As the dictionaries attest, terms which encapsulated the importance of seeming rather than being in the codification of French classical theatre – 'bienseance' and 'vraisemblance' – were incorporated into the commentary on acceptable French social behaviour; 'bienseance' was implicated directly, whilst 'vraisemblance' was implicated by inference. They were not core notions in the articulation of Frenchness, as Richelieu's entry for 'vraysemblance' evidences in its exclusive reference to the implementation of the term in the world of poetry and dramatic art. They were, however, increasingly important peripheral nominal notions without which Frenchness, predominantly articulated through a selection of adjectives, could not be performed and witnessed. Although absent from Semin and Fiedler's linguistic category model, I argue here that the noun, both in the form of cognates of the adjectives hitherto discussed, as well as expressed in separate but nevertheless linked notions, was an important reinforcing element, which acted in conjunction with adjectives and verbs, in what I term the secondary network of non-barbaric Frenchness.[41]

A secondary network and the enactment of non-barbaric Frenchness

The enactment of Frenchness was indicated by nouns such as 'bienseance'. To engage in such enactment, however, necessarily relied on

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[40] Molière's 1670 comédie-ballet *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* famously satirised the desperate efforts of the denigrated middle-class to climb their way up to the higher ranks of gentility.

[41] See Semin and Fielder for a summary of the different roles attributed to verbs and adjectives ('The Linguistic Category Model', 5).

the inclusion of suitable verbs in the performative secondary network. As the entry for 'bienseance' in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* attests, a core verb was 'paroistre' by virtue of the way in which it resonated with the requirement to appear French. The term designates, the academicians declare, 'de tout genre, qui paroist vrai, qui a l'apparence de la verité'. Here, the prominent use of the verb 'paroistre' ahead of the noun 'l'apparence' indicates that 'seeming true' is not only state but also an action. In Semin and Fiedler's terms, the entity 'paroistre' is a form of 'state action verb': that is a verb that makes no reference to 'concrete action frames but to states evoked by unspecified action'. It does not express the same manner of 'emotional consequence of action' as other examples Semin and Fiedler cite in their linguistic category model, such as 'surprise' and 'amaze'. I also contend that the verb 'paroistre' has further application than the 'state verb' and its reference to a single occurrence.[42] In embodying that unspecifiable demonstration of Frenchness that was to encapsulate an identity, 'paroistre' referred to a continuing and repeatedly asserted state. If the performance of Frenchness was to be demarcated in part by the term 'bienseance', an active state of Frenchness could, then, be communicated in the notion of 'to seem' ('paroistre') rather than 'to be' ('être').

By following the trail of Frenchness laid in the dictionaries, the entry for 'paroitre' in turn provides the link back from the generalities of the term 'bienseance' to more explicit discussions of French behaviour. No entries are attested in Nicot and Estienne's dictionaries. Richelet, Furetière, and the Académie's dictionaries, on the other hand, record the centrality of social importance and expressions of rank in their respective entries: the dictionaries document that 'to seem' is to actively assert superiority and create prominence, to make oneself be seen and to stand out. Both Furetière's dictionary and the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* emphasise the point of 'standing out': to 'paroistre' is to ensure one can be distinguished from the crowd, to 'se faire distinguer' (Furetière) or 'se faire remarquer' (*Dictionnaire de l'Académie*), an oblique reference to prominence only coming to the select

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[42] Ibid., 5. The archaic spelling is employed here as it is replicated across the dictionaries.

few who actively seek it. The link between 'paroistre' and performance reaffirms the key contextual element of 'Frenchness': how Frenchness might not just be defined, but enacted and displayed, and its corollary, observed. Hammond notes in his study of the tensions inherent in seventeenth-century literary genres that 'so much in the seventeenth century is about performance and disguise'.[43] The lexicographical testimony of the way in which notions normally associated with literature and art were implicated in social behaviour demonstrates that 'performance and disguise' were not restricted to literature, but to a great extent coloured social reality; tensions in literature emulated the tensions deriving from competition within social space.

The verb 'paroistre' seems to have performed a similar peripheral function in the articulation of Frenchness to 'goût'. Taste would later underpin the bitter controversy in eighteenth-century France over the introduction of Shakespeare, so intrinsic was the concept to an understanding of that which was considered to condition all artistic production in the seventeenth century.[44] Here, I argue that its later centrality also stemmed from its early agency attributed to the term in the formation of Frenchness. As Moriarty evinces in his intricate analysis of taste in the writings of seventeenth-century moralists and essayists, taste possessed its own discourse of power 'through which a measure of sociocultural control' was negotiated and 'hegemonic struggles' fought out.[45] It was, moreover, a discourse 'manipulated' by some authors 'so as to privilege certain social groups'.[46] The testimony of the dictionaries, I suggest, highlights that taste had also become one of the symptoms or enactments of Frenchness. In addition to 'paroistre', it came to refer to an active state and was consequently included in the secondary network that gave the primary discourse of 'Frenchness' the context required

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[43] *Creative Tensions*, 103.

[44] For a survey of the divided opinion over Shakespearean art in relation to taste, see for instance John Pemble, *Shakespeare Goes to Paris: How the Bard Conquered France* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), 17-41.

[45] *Taste and Ideology*, 2.

[46] Ibid., 4.

to exist as a social reality. It also itself implicated further terms in that secondary network.

The changing length and content of the dictionary entries for 'goût' demonstrates the growing importance of the term. Estienne and Nicot's references briefly state the function of 'goût' as a sense. By the time of Richelet's dictionary however, the mot 'goût' had, in his words, acquired 'un usage fort étendu' in the figurative sense and was to be applied to processes rather than states. Hence, he heads the sample contexts for taste with the most common uses of the term in predominantly verbal phrases such as 'avoir le bon goût' and 'se faire le goût aux ouvrages antiques'. The first phrase in particular is reminiscent of Furetière's espoused expression 'bon françois'. This parallel, I suggest, provides detail as to the behaviour required from a good Frenchman. To turn to Furetière's entry, the extension of use of the term and, concurrently, the extension of the network is also recorded. In the remark that taste required the exercising of '[le] jugement de l'esprit', the term 'esprit' is additionally implicated in the secondary network of Frenchness. The close association of 'esprit' with 'goût' and non-barbaric Frenchness and the incorporation of both terms in the secondary network is, in turn, documented through the link made back to the 'barbare' and other items in the secondary network in the dictionaries of Furetière and the Académie.

Furetière's listing for 'esprit' first of all gives the primary reference of the term to the soul, as given by Richelet. His subsequent attestation of the term's use in the demonstration and enactment of good qualities evidences, however, that by the 1690s the term encompassed a much broader semantic field. In his entry, 'esprit' is presented as a term demonstrative of not just a social state, but a civilised social action. To measure this, he evokes the 'barbare' as his benchmark. A man can be said, for example, to show 'beaucoup *d'esprit'* or judgement or 'bon sens', he adds in a further evocation of the adjective 'bon'. Conversely ('au contraire') it is said of the 'stupides' or 'barbares', or – if the nouns are understood as part of a form of tmesis – of the 'barbares' who are 'stupides', that 'ils n'ont point d'*esprit'*. With this, the

link between esprit and the display of non-barbaric Frenchness, as well as the necessary implication of the network of barbaric non-Frenchness, is made explicit.

The reference to the 'barbare' is not replicated in the Académie's listing. However, in the qualification of who might be considered 'beaux esprits', the entry underlines those qualities of prominence and superiority, themselves supported by the display of core attributes, which were intrinsic to the formation and articulation of Frenchness. The 'beaux esprits', are, the academicians note, 'ceux qui *se distinguent* du commun *par* la *politesse* de leurs discours & de leurs ourvages'.[47] Employing the verb 'se faire distinguer' Furetière had evoked in his entry for 'paroistre', the academicians confirm the link between 'esprit' and other contextual elements of Frenchness. The 'bel esprit' was to be lauded as a designation earned by those sporting the superior elite French identity, as the prominence given to the compound designation in the entries for 'beau' in the dictionaries of Furetière and the Académie Française additionally highlights. Together with 'goût', therefore, (in what might appear somewhat of a paradox given that 'goût', like 'honnêteté', has been considered to embody the ineffable and indefinable in early modern French culture) 'esprit', brought some manner of precision to 'Frenchness'.[48] Moreover, the academicians' inclusion of a cognate of the 'hot' word 'poli' ('politesse'), as well as the framing of this cognate in a grammatical construction conveying a process, ties together the primary and secondary networks of Frenchness.

The testimony of the dictionaries is, therefore, that non-barbaric Frenchness could not exist without the two interlinking networks of terms triggered by articulation of what constituted the 'barbare'. The primary network relied on a collection of adjectives – 'poli', 'honneste', and the 'civil'. The secondary network employed the verbs and nouns 'paroistre',

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[47] (My emphasis).

[48] In relation to 'goût', Moriarty, for example, speaks of the impossibility of reaching a general definition. Instead, he advocates study of how 'goût' functioned in different contexts (*Taste and Ideology*, 8-9). See also n. 68.

'bienseance', 'vraysemblance', 'goust' and 'esprit' to ensure Frenchness was not an abstract counterconcept of the barbarian, but a performable and observable set of behaviours. Together these networks of 'hot' keywords, which were derived from the network of barbaric non-Frenchness, itself triggered by the term 'barbare' but drawing strength from a flurry of related terms ('grossier', 'rude', 'cruel', 'fâcheux', 'inhumain', 'farouche', 'feroce'), constructed a discourse of positively-differentiated Frenchness that could only come into existence through asymmetric opposition to the barbarian.

Exposition of the twin discourses of barbarity gives foundation to the notion that early modern terms were 'notoriously difficult' to define and '[escaped] simple definition'.[49] My analysis nevertheless helps to explain this complexity. The apparent elusiveness of the definitions of individual words derived, I suggest, from the reliance on a number of widely used terms to underpin the construction of complementary networks, which could, in turn, inform a fundamental structure of thought. These components were difficult to define precisely because to define what it meant to be 'françois' was difficult to pin down. Together however, they provided some means of articulating and even enacting a French identity.

Lexicography at the service of developing social structures

Overall, the dictionaries evidence the construction of a language of Frenchness that aimed to circumscribe a 'sharply bounded community' that was 'hostile or indifferent to outsiders', and lent itself to the 'demonization' of enemies who could be 'portrayed as barely human'. These enemies were not at this stage 'national', but identifiable as the diametric opposites of a community which employed a tightly delineated language to aid homogamic communication. The lexicographical testimony therefore counters Bell's contention that by the end of the seventeenth century '"civic" representations of the community prevailed', with 'claims for the superior qualities of a French

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[49] Hammond, *Creative Tensions*, 78, 22.

people… almost entirely absent'.[50] My linguistic excavation also challenges Bell's contention that eighteenth-century France had 'no single, hegemonic system of classification, reflecting an "obvious" social reality by which observers divided society into different classes'. Analysis of Richelet, Furetière and the Académie's dictionaries has attested that by the end of the seventeenth century the emergent discourse of Frenchness provided some social clarity in what was otherwise a 'confused and contested linguistic field' occupied by terms such as 'public' and 'nation'.[51] If the terms implicated in this discourse were vague and cyclical, then at least they could boast inter-referential coherence. They provided a French-specific – to employ Bell's terms – 'vocabulary of human relations of period', one more geographically and socially particularised than that identified by Bell as bound up in much broader terms such as 'société', 'opinion', 'publique', 'mœurs', 'peuple' and 'police'.[52] The intertwined and self-defining dual network of terms records, I therefore contend, the discourse resulting from a French 'lived experience' of human relations in the period. If lived experience and the discourse resulting from it sets in motion the process by which individuals 'learn to recognise themselves in their response' and 'accept a place within a certain order', then the dictionaries record that the French lived experience was one that allowed Frenchness to be placed at the summit of an order of peoples.[53]

The dictionaries also themselves play out a form of lived experience. As the editors of the late seventeenth-century dictionaries comment on the use of language, they inevitably communicate their perception of their place in society. For some of the academicians, themselves members of the king's entourage or directly in the monarch's service, it was unproblematic to espouse an elite sense of Frenchness; it was a means of asserting and

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[50] Bell, 'Recent Works', 89-90.

[51] Ibid., 96.

[52] Bell points to these as offering what he terms as the 'vocabulary of human relations in this period' (*Cult of the Nation*, 25).

[53] Moriarty asserts that 'lived experience' involves the 'inexorable insertion of individuals into the space of discourse'. He thus underlines that discourses emerge from the articulation of lived experience (*Taste and Ideology*, 21).

protecting an order from which they themselves benefitted.[54] If discourse is not spontaneously produced but comes from the 'institutions into which the individual is inserted as a subject', then engaging in the lexicographical project of one organisation invested in the glorification of the monarch allowed insertion into a key institutional framework dedicated to upholding a superior French culture.[55] Meanwhile, the examples of Richelet and Furetière (two individuals from France's bureaucratic class) evidence that the production of discourse can also result from a subject's *symbolic* alignment with an institution through their voicing of the same values espoused by that institution. In the lived experience they allow, in addition to the discourse they record, the three later dictionaries thus all play a 'constitutive' rather than 'instrumental' role in the discursive space of Frenchness.[56]

The timing of this 'constitutive' role and the heightened focus on the discourse of Frenchness is of interest, particularly in the case of Furetière and the Académie's dictionaries. The 1690s saw France embroiled in fighting a war on the continent. This was the Nine Years War, a war that would last until 1697 and which had brought the French state head-to-head with a former ally: the increasingly formidable European power, England. The close of the seventeenth century also witnessed the beginning of a period in Louis XIV's rule conventionally portrayed by historians as one of decline.[57]

Whether or not there is justification for this portrayal, the pages of dictionaries convey that by the 1690s even those who were not part of the

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[54] Examination of the 'Liste de l'Académie François' in the prefatory material to the 1694 *Dictionnaire*, identifies the significant number of academicians in direct service to the king or part of the old elite.

[55] Moriarty, *Taste and Ideology* 21.

[56] 'Towards a Social and Cultural History of Keywords and Concept', 434. This theoretical distinction is made in an exposition of the methodological approach employed in an investigation of the 'shifts of usage of commonwealth' in early modern England (EMRG, 'Commonwealth').

[57] This was early asserted by Arthur Tilley in *The decline of the Age of Louis XIV: or French Literature 1687-1715* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1929). This conclusion has since been echoed by many historians such as Blanning (*Culture of Power*, 103-4).

upper elite but remained in their service accepted the relationship between social behaviour and Frenchness, whilst believing in the greatness of France and its culture. The centrality of the court and the culture of social competition it engendered seemed to remain unchallenged. King and courtier remained reliant on each other, entwined in a necessarily symbiotic relationship. Whilst in the reign of Louis XIV the king required a court of courtiers to assist in the fabrication in the myth of the Sun King, the courtiers relied on the king for their status and even existence. The court, as the dictionary entries corroborate, was accepted as the 'nerve centre for the distribution of power, position and prestige'; the court and its customs had become the locus of exemplar Frenchness.[58] Court life depended on a theatricality and ceremony most famously exemplified in extravagantly staged 'lever du roi'.[59] The transfer of such ceremony into the articulation of Frenchness attested to the reverence for the social space of the court, as did the proliferation of references to the court in the dictionary entries in resonance with non-lexicographical texts.[60] Penetrating the site of Versailles became all the more key after 1682 when Louis relocated the court permanently to Versailles as 'power' now 'defined itself as visibility [and] physical closeness to the monarch'.[61] The workings of the court were now almost entirely dissociated from any other space, even Paris, the site of the salons and one of the institutions patronised by the king: the Académie Française.[62] Meanwhile, by the end of the seventeenth century, the social weight of the French language

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[58] Moriarty, *Taste and Ideology*, 47.

[59] Burke, *Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 87. Burke goes on to note that the court was nothing other than the 'ritualisation of the king's everyday life'.

[60] A sign of the times as the century drew to a close is indicated in the titles sported by social guides of which Faret's 1685 pamphlet headed *L'Art de plaire à la Cour*. Likewise, La Bruyère's decision to base the majority of his description of common types and character on 'la cour de France' underlines the perception of the court as the centre of manners of social behaviour. (This is outlined in the extended preface of the 1696 edition of *Les Caractères*, (4)).

[61] Jones, *The Great Nation*, 4.

[62] Louis would only visit Paris once.

was so marked that the 'educated classes south of the Loire [were] abandon[ing] their Occitan dialects for French'.[63] French was now the language of choice amongst the 'wealthy nobility and bourgeoisie' in the south, as well as in La Noue's native region of Brittany.[64] In linguistic and textual terms therefore, Frenchness was flourishing in response to the everyday reality of the upper echelons of French society.

Conclusion: lexicography into travel

If, as Todorov claims, a discourse is not simply a passive representation, but itself a 'moteur de l'histoire', then the suggestion is that the dictionaries document a two-stage process.[65] In the first instance, they afford a window onto the lived experience of lexicographers, as observed above. In the second, if Todorov's argument is taken into account, their documentation of a discourse could feed into the shaping of a formative lived experience for the French elite.

This brings my analysis to the question of whether 'templates' are provided by culture, of which one branch is the discourse of Frenchness studied here, to help order or 'organise… social experiences' or whether, in fact, social experience assists in the formation of templates for 'culture'.[66] In the ensuing chapters, my core contention is that French travel to England highlights that experience was in fact fundamental rather than supplementary to the formation of culture and the discourses that fed into it. Travel accounts produced by those who travelled are my means of studying this process.

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[63] Bell, 'Recent Works', 104.

[64] Ibid., 106.

[65] Todorov argues that discourses are events in their own right (*Nous et les autres*, 14).

[66] 'Culture doesn't force itself upon us, but rather provides templates that help us organize our social experiences' (Schneider, *Psychology of Stereotyping*, 23). Tajfel & Turner give theoretical extremes for explaining how culture might condition intergroup relations: at one end of the spectrum, interactions are 'fully determined' by memberships of a group and 'not at all affected by inter-individual personal relationships between the people involved' ('An Integrative Theory of Integrative Conflict', 33).

Nevertheless, my study does not analyse travel writings in isolation. Rather, in a further example of the travel of ideas between different literary genres, it places accounts of travel to England in dialogue with lexicography. As already noted, my concern is not the eminence of the French language per se in the formation of identity, although I have scrutinised in the form of contemporary dictionaries the vehicles employed for asserting the vernacular's eminence. Rather, through study of the symbiotic relationship between lexicography and travel writing, my interest in the following chapters is how the French language would become a malleable prop as the social role of language grew; how it was shaped as per the demands of the social group it helped to define before and after it was documented in dictionaries. Greenfeld argues that the French language would become 'an object of ardent love among scholars and men of letters – the creators of symbols of collective identity – and as a result a central symbol of the French identity'.[67] The following chapters underline that the link between language and the formation of a collective identity derived, not simply from the use of the vernacular, but from the way in which the suppleness of the early modern French language was capitalised upon in the articulation of a sense of self. In this, travel and the record of travel were, I contend, of central importance in the development of formative language.

In my presentation of the set of terms I have identified as constituent of Frenchness, I have sought to unearth a dominating view of the semantic underlay of these terms rather than offer a falsely homogenised account of meaning.[68] The semantic exploration allowed through the study of dictionaries facilitates, I suggest, diachronic study of how these semantics were brought out of the abstract through the experience of travel to England. Since the process of reflecting on the experience of travel to another culture

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[67] *Nationalism*, 99.

[68] Both Moriarty and Kenny in their studies of 'taste' and 'curiosity' respectively stress the importance of, as Moriarty asserts, embracing and appreciating the 'complexity and richness' of taste, or as Kenny remarks, the 'untidy messiness' of curiosity (*Taste and Ideology*, 68; *Uses of Curiosity*, 8).

is understood by scholars as one that compels a writer to employ – whether subconsciously or otherwise – terms associated with the known social reality of his native culture, the evocation of terms aligned in this chapter with the discourse of Frenchness testifies to the core role of that discourse in the social reality of a French nobleman.[69]

In light of my advocation of the symbiotic relationship between travel writing and lexicography, my aim here is not to suggest that travel and its associated writings were alone responsible for the creation of the language of barbarism and, in turn, a French social identity. Nevertheless, given the conditions required for the birth of such language, I argue that French travel, understood as that "interested" social practice, both in terms of physical displacement and the texts related to it, was essential to the construction of such an identity. The positive differentiation that resulted from the twin discourses of barbarity was nurtured in multiple aspects of social experience in early modern France. In the hailing of a French golden age, which saw brilliance emanate outwards from the head of its social elite, the Sun King Louis XIV, it would require all aspects of French culture, not just medals, engravings, coins and painting, but also the record of travel to nurture the discourse of Frenchness.[70] An elite French social identity achieved confirmation in the lived experience of the French court. I argue that its initial germination, however, required contact with 'les peuples' to which the dictionaries continually made reference. This contact was of especial import for young nobles who, as 'voyageurs', were expected, as the entry for 'poli' insinuates, to leave France with that strong French measure that was the discourse of barbarism through which they might view other peoples and return with that measure confirmed.

Two questions remained: in the first instance, how such contact was to be best formulated through the language of barbarism; in the second, where

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[69] As Lévi-Strauss notes, cultural values, and the prejudices that often accompany them, are internalised and move around with an individual (*Race et histoire*, 43-5).

[70] Burke studies the different media employed in the fabrication of the myth of the Sun King (see *Fabrication of Louis XIV*).

such contact could be most usefully sought so that resultant accounts could credibly prop up the language of barbarism for an elite readership back in France, as well as encourage others to confirm their sense of superior Frenchness through similar courses of travel. In the following chapter, I address the first issue in my analysis of the early efforts of explorers to establish a new breed of formative travel for the French elite.

Chapter 4
All roads lead to France:
the Establishment of Gallocentric Travel
in the Sixteenth Century

Introduction: the extra-European

The previous chapter suggested that the co-development of the language of barbarism and cultures of travel in support of the establishment of a socially-defined elite resulted in a profound transformation in French society. The roots of such seismic upheavals are to be found in the sixteenth century, and so it is to this period that I return in the present chapter. I addressed one half of this narrative in my earlier analysis of the writings of two nobles, Montaigne and La Noue, and their early articulations of the language of barbarism in relation to unseen yet still potently imagined extra-European Others to the West and East respectively. Here, I tackle the other corresponding half of the narrative: the consolidation of this language through the development of a culture of travel by those who willingly placed themselves in the service of the elite and the French crown. In so doing, I aim to further underline the pertinence of the extra-European context to my main focus: intra-European differentiation in the formulation of a French social identity.

Scholarship has long moved on from its early obsession with the material and economic impact of the discovery of America.[1] Nevertheless, in the extensive literature on the ideological ramifications of exploration, the focus remains broad, with surprisingly little consideration given to the influence of New World travel on the highly formative localised practice of travel within Europe. I contend that just as the usage of the language of

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[1] Tzvetan Todorov's seminal work, for example, examines the human impact of such exploration (*The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992)).

barbarism was early developed in writings on extra-European peoples, so the methodisation of intra-European travel, and the resulting articulation of a French identity in contradistinction to an intra-European Other, were born out of the efforts to systematise extra-European voyages of discovery. I further argue that the subsequent transfer from the extra- to the intra-European context imbued more localised travel with symbolic potency.

Multiple studies have underlined the impact of the humanist impulse to systematise knowledge upon the swathes of new information yielded by sixteenth-century travel.[2] From one end of Europe to the other, sixteenth-century commentators united in their desire to effect a shift away from the directionless and unregulated wanderings of the medieval knight.[3] The result was the publication of writings in the genre of the art of travel or *ars apodemica*, which Rubiés has termed 'meta-cultural discourses'.[4]

The apodemical pan-European landscape traced across the scholarly corpus argues convincingly that ideas and intellectual currents did not take root in isolation but rather blossomed across the fluid state boundaries of the 'Republic of Letters'. As Roche exemplifies in his boundless survey that examines material from different centuries and cultural contexts, themes were markedly consistent across time periods and resonated harmoniously

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[2] Roche, *Humeurs vagabondes*, 62. Justin Stagl points to the cross-European influence of Ramism and the rising importance of empiricism in the early methodisation of travel (*A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800* (London: Routledge, 2004), 64ff. Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See', *History and Anthropology,* 9 (1996), 142-7. (This article is reprinted in Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).) Luigi Monga, 'A Taxonomy of Renaissance Hodoeporics: A Bibliography of Theoretical Texts on "Methodus Apodemica" (1500-1700)', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 14 (1996), 647.

[3] Stagl, *History of Curiosity*, 74. Normand Doiron has written at length on this aspect of travel. See especially: *L'Art de voyager*; 'Voyage et humanisme', *Liberté,* 35 (1993), 37-48; 'L'être et l'espace', *Dix-Septième Siècle,* 3 (2011), 489-500.

[4] Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers', 141.

between different geographical literatures.[5] Bracewell has similarly pointed to the development of a 'literature of travel instruction' as a means by which travellers from the East and West were encouraged to experience Europe as a 'multipolar space made up of cities, provinces and states, each with their own specific characteristics'. Countering Hazard's seminal analysis, Bracewell also argues that variety appears to have existed in rhetoric alone: as portrayed in travel writings, places seemed to share attributes leading to a conflation of different poles into one shared elite Europe.[6]

There was undeniably some form of shared elite culture beyond diplomatic circles alone. Nevertheless, broad interconnected surveys that focus on a collective early modern culture alone bring with them unintended distortions and obfuscations. In the first instance, the resultant suggestion has been that one form of travel was developed and practised across Europe with only limited local colouring.[7] Secondly, the aforementioned significance of the transfer from the extra-European to the intra-European context has gone unacknowledged.[8] These twin fault-lines run through Doiron's study of

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[5] Roche's survey is particularly fluid in its approach to primary material (*Humeurs vagabondes*).

[6] 'Limits of Europe', 71-3. In his seminal study, *La Crise de la conscience européenne* (Paris: Fayard, 1935) Paul Hazard had argued that travel writing from the late seventeenth century provided a site for critiquing society. Here, I uphold Hazard's thesis and will nuance it in my analysis a new mode of travel writing in Chapter 7.

[7] Ilda dos Santos, for example, sees the rise of patriotic sentiments in Portugal to be in part borne out of the methodisation of internal travel. She makes no suggestion, however, of the development of a Portuguese species of travel ('De l'utilité des voyages? Eclats d'une polémique bien oubliée: deux Manuels... sur la *Pérégrination*', in *Vents du large: Hommage à Goerge Boisvert*, ed. by Jacqueline Penjon and Anne-Marie Quint (Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2002), 141-65).

[8] Both Rubiés (who takes as his starting point Robert Hooke's ruminations on the recent expedition of the English sailor Robert Knox to Ceylon) and dos Santos, for example, remark that travel to far-flung lands and the resultant records of such journeys could not fail to spark interest in travel more generally in Europe ('Instructions for Travellers', 141; 'De l'utilité des voyages?', 143). In electing to study writings concerning travel in the New World in conjunction with apodemical literature, Doiron also points to the stimulus provided by the extra-European context (*L'Art de voyager*).

the *art de voyager*. Contrary to what is suggested by the title, his study is not concerned with a specifically French means of travel, but rather with those methodisations of travel traceable in the French canon given their redaction either in Latin or the vernacular. Meanwhile, in his analysis of French travel writing on New France, the prime focus of his study, Doiron points to the mirroring of the themes identified in straightforward methodising. In other words, his volume juxtaposes two complementary sets of texts but stops short of identifying the way in which their internal dynamics intersect. Consequently, the evidence he draws from French travel writing on the New World is used to uphold the narrative of a feverish pan-European impulse to co-methodise an increasingly important social practice.

Undoubtedly, the reformulation of travel in early modern Europe fed into shared cultural systems, which were derived in part from the shared intellectual milieu fostered by the Renaissance-era 'Republic of Letters'. My contention here, however, is that beyond the 'general European movement of late humanists concerned with putting in order the great amount of new and old information', a specifically French movement, in the service of the elite alone, was born and developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[9] International language usage, first in Latin, and later in French, was a powerful means of forging closer links between a geographically disparate community. The cross-European contact inevitably facilitated by travel also helped to create a sense of a cosmopolitan community. However, just as the veneer of European unity created through the language of barbarism concealed the formation of a highly stratified set of peoples (see Chapter 2), likewise the development of intra-European travel practices was characterised by local differentiation. This differentiation was not effected through the articulation of an alternative focus of travel – the advice to observe local politics, history, custom, character and the exhortation to break into elite social circles and forge appropriate social connections became

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[9] Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers', 144.

almost formulaic in European writings on the art of travel.[10] Rather, the cultural significance of a particularised French art of travel was derived from a shared methodisation being articulated in the same highly-charged language that afforded differentiation on an ideological level: namely, the language of barbarism. This language helped to colour the lens through which travellers would view custom and character. It would, in turn, be reaffirmed in the highly selective report of pertinent historical events that were related in travel accounts, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Here, I suggest that the shared social system of early modern European travel must necessarily have encompassed multiple species of travel, each of which reflected localised ambitions. It is beyond the remit of my study to examine the nature of these other forms. Nevertheless, that the humanist reformulation of travel *could* be initiated in extra-European writings and thereafter filtered through emergent discourses of localised identity is exemplified in the specifically French form of travel that I here term 'Gallocentric'. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to examination of the birth of this 'Gallocentric' travel, whilst Chapters 6, 7 and 8 track its development, as manifested in shifting forms of travel writing on England.

In the French case, the reformulation of the age-old practice of travel for specifically French benefit would be initiated by French explorers to distant lands. The early employment of those terms that would later become intrinsic to the language of non-barbaric Frenchness can be traced in sixteenth-century discourses on travel produced both as part of the explosion of New World exploration – here studied in the writings of Jacques Cartier – and as a result of the continuing investigation of the Muslim and Judeo-Christian world to the East – as exemplified in the paratextual ruminations of

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[10] A case in point of this shared focus is Justus Lipsius' apodemical advice in a letter composed in Latin, which advised the Flemish noble Philippe de Lannoy on the course of travel in Italy (*Epistolarum Selectarum Centuria Prima Miscellanea* (Antverpiae: Apud Plantinum, 1578), 53-65). The letter was republished in later editions of Lipsius' correspondence and also translated into vernacular languages. An English edition, for instance, was produced by John Stradling (*A Direction for Travailers Taken out of Justus Lipsius* (London: Bourne, 1592)).

André Thevet and Nicolas de Nicolay. Their writings, I argue, bear witness to the early methodisation of Gallocentric travel, mirroring the works of Montaigne and La Noue from the geographical periphery in their articulation of a sense of elite French social identity. I therefore cast these travellers-turned-writers as early 'apodemicists', that is, the early practitioners of the *ars apodemica*.[11] In so doing, my aim is to place greater importance on the role of these agents in the evolution of a specifically French mode of travel.[12]

This study shall suggest that tensions lay at the heart of Cartier, Thevet and Nicolay's contributions to the development of Gallocentric travel. In advocating the elevated role of sight in knowledge acquisition, their championing of an emergent culture of travel contributed to a crisis of humanist education, which reformers proved incapable of averting.[13] In a rejection of the scorned bastardised Latin of their medieval forebears, Renaissance scholars had forged a closer link with classical culture through effecting a return *ad fontes* in the study of classical literature. This renewed engagement with the literature of antiquity was complemented by the concordantist approach, which aimed to marry pagan and Christian beliefs.

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[11] The alternative term 'hodoeporics', a term derived from the word 'hodoeporicum', which was used by Renaissance Latin scholars to refer to the travel journal, has recently been suggested by Monga ('Taxonomy of Renaissance Hodoeporics', 5). Here, I will use the more conventional term 'apodemical' and its cognates, given its direct employment by methodisers of travel.

[12] Doiron includes all three writers in his chronological list of travel treatises (*L'Art de voyager*, 233). Stagl's bibliography and monograph, on the other hand, omit all three writers and only trace the start of the methodisation of travel back to 1568/9. His studies also locate it as beginning in Germany (*Apodemiken*, 107-8; *History of Curiosity*, 57ff).

[13] Multiple reforms, including the planned establishment of state-funded academies, were put forward in order to reformulate humanist education to better suit the changing requirements of the nobility. For discussion of two such proposals see James Supple, 'The Failure of Humanist Education: David de Fleurance-Rivault, Anthoine Mathé de Laval, and Nicolas Faret', in *Humanism in Crisis: The Decline in the French Renaissance*, ed. by Philippe Desan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 35-53; Denise Carabin, 'Deux Institutions de gentilshommes sous Louis XIII: *Le Gentilhomme* de Pasquier et *l'instruction du roy* de Pluvinel', *Dix-Septième Siècle,* 1 (2003), 27-38.

These two convergent trends spawned a rich corpus of neo-Latin texts penned by intellectuals across Europe.[14] Of greatest significance for the present study is that this new body of literature, in conjunction with the writings of the Church fathers, were sacralised as the unwavering sources of *auctoritas* or authority on any topic. A model humanist education had, in turn, been identified in rigorous engagement with the classical canon, complemented by the study of holy writings, ideally undertaken within the confines of one's cabinet or that of a reliably informed tutor. Cartier, Thevet and Nicolay mounted a challenge to the status of such writings as the sole source of knowledge, though even they struggled to loosen their ties to such conventional attitudes. Their writings evidence a tussling between an urge to display erudition and religious devotion through reference to classical and biblical writings and their underlying desire to shift focus to experiential knowledge. Individuals' engagement with the discourse of barbarity, both in the abstract, as demonstrated in the writings of Montaigne and La Noue, and in relation to a social practice, as analysed in this chapter, was thus equally characterised by difficulty.

Early apodemicists did not dispense entirely with the core humanist structure of learning, as encapsulated in the phrase, 'visa, audita, lecta' (the sighted, heard and read).[15] In championing sight, these writers reinforced a key element already extant in a humanist mode of education. Sight did not, however, supersede either the written text – the 'lecta' – or the testimonies and guiding words of sage individuals – the 'audita' – in instruction, but rather

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[14] Prominent examples can be found in the political poetry of the Scottish humanist, George Buchanan, and the *Hymnes* of the Greek humanist, Michael Marullus, wherein attempts were made to align the Christian creation story with classical narratives of the origins of the world.

[15] In his critical edition of Thevet's record of travel to the East, Lestringant notes that Guinée identified this hierarchy (André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, ed. by Frank Lestringant (Genève: Droz, 1985), xlix. All citations are taken from this edition, which reprints the 1556 Lyon edition of the *Cosmographie* in full with its original pagination. (The *Cosmographie* was first published in Lyon in 1554 and was subsequently republished in 1556 in a simpler format in Antwerp and, later in the same year, in a revised and augmented edition in Lyon.)

relied on them for its agency. As argued in Chapters 1 and 2, the macro-structure of culture and its essential constituent micro-structures, of which the early modern French social stereotype of the 'barbare' and its attendant micro-repertoire are one example, are impossible without the presence of the socially- and politically-infused written text. The text, I have argued, is paramount to the construction of an elite group identity since it is the written word that best facilitates those forms of elite homogamic communication lying at the core of its formation. In the act of publishing their experiences of travel, which they prefaced with their meta-cultural discourses, Cartier, Thevet and Nicolay attested to the impossibility of those things sighted becoming of any import without the prop of the written text. It was only through the production of reading material for both their social equals and the social superiors to whom their texts were dedicated that the 'visa' could be capitalised upon and employed to reinforce more localised values and beliefs. Such material could also become a new source of oral instruction if read out loud in small elite circles. The defining humanist triad of instruction was thus left intact whilst two of its elements were subordinated to the superior function attributed to the spectacle. According to the apodemicists' scheme, those things read and heard were to act as the supports to appropriate observation, which, in turn, would be communicated back to an eager readership at home.

Consequently, I maintain that the Gallocentric social practice that developed did not simply affirm that 'travel-knowledge connection' as conceptualised by Yaël Schlick.[16] Following the significant conditioning of the sight element, the visual became a privileged vehicle in the development of the language of barbarism, as well as a means of enacting Gallocentric tendencies. I therefore contend that a *sight-knowledge* connection that could be furthered through travel and appropriately articulated through recognisable and meaningful language was gradually established. The travel text, initially as apodemical literature, and latterly as accounts of travel,

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[16] *Feminism and the Politics of Travel after the Enlightenment* (Plymouth: Bucknell University Press, 2012), 8.

consolidated the sight-knowledge connection and meant that Gallocentrically-directed sights could inform a French social identity.

Herein, therefore, lay the intrinsic paradox to the new form of instruction, as well as a further point of tension, which I consider in the second half of this chapter. The germ of experiential knowledge advocated by Cartier, Thevet and Nicolay was one shackled and strictly regulated. The result was that the conditioning of knowledge by one form of authority was replaced with another more beguiling kind. The eyewitness view laboured the pretence that access was being granted to a truer and even more individual form of knowledge. In reality, however, the Gallocentric lens would filter out anything that challenged the espoused national and social hierarchies and instead harness those sights that supported it. Notably, this paradox would appear to remain unchallenged in the extra-European domain.

The remainder of this chapter is concerned with elucidating the way in which extra-European discourses were developed, in advance of Chapter 5's examination of how they intersected with their intra-European counterparts and were themselves, in turn, reshaped as multiple courses of more localised travel developed. This linguistic study of an emergent French apodemical practice examines how the gap between abstract language and concrete practice began to be bridged. It identifies the means by which those in the service of the French monarch encouraged the employment of a concrete social practice to underpin the more abstract linguistic imagining of a superior French self. It thus points to the simultaneous development of the methodisation of a mode of travel for the benefit of the French nobility and a sense of social identity and the language employed to articulate it. In short, the languages of travel and identity were made to converge.

The branch of early modern French thought which was a mode of travel articulated through the type of the barbarian also provides strong evidence, I suggest, of the innovative and more amplified employment of negative type-casting found in societies undergoing significant upheaval.[17]

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[17] See Chapter 1, n. 73-4.

This innovation is also a reinforcement of Foucault's identification of the use of both languages and discourses to create power.

In sum, this chapter emphasises that the French hubris nurtured by travel, itself understood as an avatar of Bourdieu's 'interested' practice, drew its 'symbolic profit' from the active language through which its development was filtered.[18] Reinforcing Bourdieu's conceptualisation that links cultural practices with the assertion of cultural eminence, my ensuing analysis thus underlines that the cultural capital underpinning a sense of early modern Frenchness relied on the reinforcement of a form of language through its attachment to tangible social structures and practices.[19]

In the French example of travel under scrutiny here, this is evidenced, in the first instance, in the theorisation of a social practice in relation to the extra-European sphere.

A foundation for Gallocentric travel: Cartier, Thevet and Nicolay

The growth of exploratory travel in the sixteenth century was driven by the mercenary interests of emergent European states. Through travel, new territories could be acquired and their resources commandeered. The opening up of new trade routes, especially with Asia, goaded ambitious rulers into turning greater attention to the possibilities offered by travel.[20] France was no exception. In addition to taking Italian artists into his service, François I engaged the Florentine explorer Giovanni de Verrazzano to set sail for lands to the West.[21] Whilst the voyage ended in disaster when

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[18] See Chapter 1, n. 82.

[19] See Chapter 3, n. 13.

[20] Travel had long been important to monarchs, not least due to the itinerant nature of early courts. For a study of the changing nature of royal travel, see Roche, *Humeurs vagabondes,* 670-6.

[21] According to Bideaux, François I did not show a great deal of interest in travel to the Americas due to the more pressing concern of fighting the English (*Jacques Cartier Relations*, ed. by Michel Bideaux (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986), 34-5). (All references to the *Relations* are taken from this edition.) The example of Verrazzano

Verrazzano was killed by Amerindians, the account of his expedition nevertheless confirmed the potential riches of adventurous travel in terms of trade and the control of waters.[22] This led to the French monarch sponsoring further voyages, initially headed by the socially ambitious Breton sailor, Jacques Cartier.[23] The first Frenchman to sail West under the auspices of François I, Cartier made three thwarted attempts to find a western passage to Asia and establish a colony.[24] Accounts were produced for each of these visits, but only the second was printed for wider consumption following his return in 1545.[25] In this work, entitled *Brief récit et succincte narration de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada, Hochelage et Saguenay et autres*, Cartier relates his exploration of the land around and near the mouth of the St Lawrence River. To this, he appends a brief list of everyday French terms and their corresponding translations in the language used by the people of the village of Hochelaga and the area that he identifies as 'Canada'. This format is itself an indication of Cartier's limited interest in the nature of new peoples on their own terms. Instead, his focus was on the opportunity afforded within a general record of his encounters with native peoples to put

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and Cartier, nevertheless attests to the monarch's qualitative interest. The redaction of accounts of other explorers, such as René Laudonnière, also points to the cultural importance of long-distance travel. For an English translation see *Three Voyages: René Laudonnière*, ed. and trans. by Charles Bennett (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975).

[22] For background on Verrazzano's expedition and his account, see *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano, 1524-1528*, trans. by Lawrence Wroth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

[23] Jacques Cartier was a Breton mariner whose status rose on his marriage to a daughter of a noble family. Cartier entered the service of the French king shortly after the Edict of Union in 1534, which annexed Brittany to France.

[24] Cartier sailed to the West three times between 1534 and 1542. A French stronghold on the North American continent would not be established until 1603 (Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France 1524-1663*, trans. by Patricia Claxton (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), xi).

[25] (Paris: Roffet et le Clerc freres). For discussion of each of Cartier's voyages and the resultant texts, see *Relations*, 9-83.

forward his approach to travel, which he announces in the dedicatory epistle to the French king.[26]

Contrary to existing scholarly currents, my interest here is the discourse delivered in this epistle in light of its subsequent take-up by travel writers. Study of Cartier is currently restricted to two interlinked areas. Firstly, considerable attention is given to Cartier's status as 'the first European to navigate and chart the St Lawrence River and attempt the first French settlement in the area' and the resultant nature of his writings as early comprehensive geographical descriptions of the land that would become Canada.[27] Secondly, in the wake of seminal studies on nationalism, such as Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983), Cartier's status as an historical national hero, around which a sense of Canadian identity could be constructed, has dominated more recent criticism. In the first instance, even if Bideaux's edition of the *Brief récit* points to the agency of the text in constructing a key historical moment, scholars have not applied such discourse analysis to the paratextual dedicatory epistle, despite its centrality to the rationale informing the redaction of the travel account proper.[28] As for the more recent validation of Cartier as a central figure in Canadian history, the result is that his parallel significance in mainland French history and, more specifically, his role – admittedly somewhat oblique – in the formation of a sense of French identity is eclipsed. Notwithstanding the historical importance attributed to Cartier by both critical currents, scholars have downplayed his contemporary prominence, as well as that enjoyed by his

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[26] For the brief study of native language, see *Relations*, 184-90.

[27] Ramsay Cook, 'Donnaconna Discovers Europe: Rereading Jacques Cartier's *Voyages*' in *Voyages of Jacques*, trans. and ed. by Henry Biggar (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), xii. Carl Sauer's study similarly concentrates on the content of Cartier's account (*Sixteenth Century North America: The Land and the People as Seen by the Europeans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 77-97).

[28] Bideaux argues that the *Brief récit* is 'à la fois témoin et moteur [d']une aventure historique' (*Relations*, 10). The lack of critical attention to the opening epistle could be put down to its omission from various subsequent editions: it was dropped, for example, in Ramusio's Italian edition (see n. 29).

Brief récit, which was never republished in its original French edition.[29] This leads one critic to conclude that there was a greater interest in travels to the East.[30] Whilst the output of such travel literature on the East was higher than that concerning the Americas, this assumption nevertheless neglects the significance of André Thevet's personal dealings with Cartier.[31] This documented interaction, shored up by the deep respect that Thevet manifested for the Breton explorer through constant reference to him in his own travelogue is of import given Thevet's status as a central writer of travels to the East.[32] Prominent intertextual resonances in the preface to Thevet's 1554 *Cosmographie de Levant* and their subsequent echo – as this chapter will demonstrate – in the prefatory elements of Nicolay's 1568 *Les Quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales* suggest not only the link between travels to the West and East but also a sustained engagement with the nascent Gallocentric discourse on travel previously put forward by Cartier.[33] Although Cartier might have failed to satisfy the material demands and tangible empire-building exploits desired by his royal sponsor,

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[29] Bideaux claims that few knew Cartier in his own lifetime (*Relations*, 47). Bideaux also rehearses the conventional account of the text's dissemination, which relates that exposure to it was mainly through excerpts appearing in Ramusio's Italian compilation of travels and Hakluyt's English travel compendium (Ibid., 34-41). For parallel arguments, see Gordon*, Hero and Historians,* 24-31.

[30] André Berthiaume, 'La fortune d'un couple mythique: Jacques Cartier et l'Amérindien', *Études littéraires,* 8 (1975), 81.

[31] According to Claude Reichler, the output of works on the East was double that on the Americas (review of *L'Écriture du Levant à la Renaissance. Enquête sur les voyageurs français dans l'Empire de Soliman le Magnifique*, by Frédéric Tinguely, *L'Homme,* 163 (2000), 252).

[32] *Relations*, 292.

[33] There is a critical edition of Nicolay's travelogue (*Les Navigations, pérégrinations et voyages faits en la Turquie*, ed. by Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud and Stéphane Yérasimos (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1989)). This edition does not, however, include the dedicatory epistle or Ronsard's prefatory elegy, both of which I cite below. In the interests of clarity, I will, therefore, cite the original 1568 edition (*Les Quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales* (Lyon: Chez Rouille, 1568).

the ideological impetus he injected into the function of travel was evidently revered by his contemporaries.[34]

Cartier's 1545 'Brief récit'

The tone and content of Cartier's dedicatory epistle underline the ancillary status of geographical and ethnographical enquiry in his travels in comparison to his overarching objective to cast travel as an act of service to the French monarch. In his address to 'Au Roy tres chretien', Cartier insists that such determination to aid the monarch permitted his sailors to overcome all their fear of potential dangers. The language of the qualification of their service – that the sailors had hoped to extend 'la saincte foy chrétienne' – is redolent of the rhetoric of the Crusades (and foreshadows the justifications for territorial conquest used by colonists). However, religious motivation is, shown to be subsidiary to the more localised political incentives underpinning both the execution of travel and its subsequent report. In extending the hold of Christianity, Cartier explains to the king, the sailors hoped to '*vous* [i.e. the King] faire tres humble service'.[35] Thus whilst a rhetoric of religious proselytism and conquest continues to colour his text, Cartier does not cast himself and his fellow mariners as returning crusaders but rather as the king's itinerant proxies, whose aim is to facilitate the monarch's own more comfortable travel. 'Ainsi', Cartier remarks at the end of the epistle, 'qu'il vous plaira *veoyr* par ce present livre auquel sont amplement contenues toutes choses *dignes de memoire,* que avons *veues*, & qui nous sont advenues tant en faisant ladicte navigation, que estans & faisans seiour en

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[34] To compound his failure to establish secure French colonies, Cartier returned to France with disappointing plunder: most of what he had believed to be gold and diamonds turned out to be iron pyrite and quartz (Marcel Trudel, 'Cartier, Jacques (1491-1557)', in *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, ed. by Université Laval/University of Toronto (Library and Archives Canada, 2014). <http://www.biographi.ca/fr/bio/cartier_jacques_1491_1557_1F.html> [accessed 21 May 2016] (para. 5 of 45)).

[35] (My emphasis) *Relations*, 126.

vosditz pays & terres'.[36] A report produced for the king's delectation, the *Brief récit* was thus also a vehicle through which the monarch might himself vicariously witness and experience lands far away.

This pronounced aim is striking given the opening of the dedication in which Cartier insists upon the link between sight and knowledge. Contemptuous of the unquestioning assumptions made by those writing about lands they have never seen, he champions the sight-knowledge connection in his evocation of the Aristotelian dictum 'experientia est rerum magistra'.[37] Nevertheless, in making reference to a classical authority, Cartier brings to the fore the tension that existed between sight and study as means to acquire knowledge for Renaissance travellers and travel commentators until well into the seventeenth century. Paradoxically, Cartier's citation lauding the centrality of sight draws upon the words of an ancient philosopher which could only have been gleaned through bookish wisdom. Moreover, by triumphantly presenting his account as the means by which the king could vicariously gain the necessary experience to acquire knowledge of new places, Cartier undermines the centrality of personal observation in the acquisition of sight-knowledge. Such is the authority enjoyed by an eyewitness observer – and subsequent documenter – of foreign lands, claims Cartier, that a reader could be assured of obtaining knowledge by proxy through a valorised means.

Cartier's suggestion that knowledge through sight could be acquired vicariously by the reader required two conditions to be followed in the redaction of the travel text. Firstly, the text had to be construed with a vividness captured by sustained use of enargeia, the rhetorical trope whereby a very real image of something is relayed outside of the realms of personal sight or experience.[38] Secondly, the travelogue was to maintain credibility with the reader by adhering to a form of epistemological decorum

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[36] (My emphasis) *Relations*, 128.

[37] Ibid., 126.

[38] For analysis of enargeia, see Heinrich Plett, *Enargeia in Classical Antiquity and the Early Modern Age: The Aesthetics of Evidence* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 101.

established by recourse to the conventional authorities of classical literature and religion (as is evident in the reference to those things 'dignes de memoire'). Both conditions were founded on the premise that the *illusion* of a believable experience rather than direct experience was of prime importance. Consequently, once information supposedly obtained through an eyewitness view was committed to text, it would necessarily be influenced by bookish authorities.

Nevertheless, in tying together the observations of travel and service to the king, Cartier forged a link between practice and identity that would be furthered by his travelling successors. As Doiron remarks, in his use of a well-known Aristotelian aphorism, Cartier initiated 'un nouvel âge de la pensée'.[39] Whilst this new current of thought would spread throughout Europe, I argue that it came to have a distinctly French strain. In light of subsequent writings, Cartier's *Brief récit* is thus far from an anomaly amongst the body of texts composed as a result of Crown-patronised travel and which employed the paratextual spaces of the travelogue to indulge in meta-cultural discourse on the art of travel. I contend that the *Brief récit* is emblematic of the humanistic framework from which the Gallocentric art of travel would emerge. Its ideological reasoning would, in turn, be developed in the travelogues of Cartier's near contemporaries, Thevet and Nicolay. The paratexts of Thevet and Nicolay's accounts of travel to the East likewise explore the dynamics of the sight-knowledge connection. However, a critical difference can be detected outside of the hallmarks of devotion to religion and the expressions of adherence to the authorities of humanism both texts sport. In drawing upon the twin discourses of barbarity to discuss travel and the relationship between sight and knowledge, Thevet and, more especially, Nicolay demonstrate a commitment to a particularised French loyalty and the French social identity that could accompany it.[40] In addition, though articulated through the example of classical figures, Thevet and Nicolay

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[39] *L'Art de voyager*, 49.

[40] There is not, in fact, a single instance of the term 'barbare' in Cartier's text. Instead, Cartier employs the term 'peuple' to refer to the native Amerindians.

extend their discussion to the importance of travel for the French elite. Through their texts, the connection between travel and Frenchness, formerly loosely soldered through the figure of the monarch, is firmly welded together through evocative language.

Linguistic consolidation in the writings of Nicolay and Thevet

Thevet and Nicolay were both well-seasoned travellers. Their social backgrounds differed slightly. Thevet was a Franciscan monk who came to enjoy the protection of his native town's leading noble, François de La Rochefoucauld.[41] Sprung from a recently ennobled family of a bureaucratic background, Nicolay fought both for the French king and as a mercenary for other European monarchs. Significantly for this study, he had also earlier undertaken a course of travel to England on the invitation of John Dudley, the first Duke of Northumberland.[42] Both Thevet and Nicolay's courses of travel to the Ottoman Empire were, like that of Cartier's, undertaken within

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[41] Thevet undertook multiple long-distance journeys. His most famed voyage was to Brazil between 1555 and 1556, when he served as the expedition's chaplain. His subsequent account, *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique*, which was published in 1557, established his reputation and was subsequently translated into Italian (1561) and English (1568) (see Frank Lestringant, *André Thevet: cosmographe des derniers Valois* (Genève: Droz, 1991), 89-125). (For a critical edition, see *Le Brésil d'André Thevet: Les singularités de la France Antarctique (1557)*, ed. by Frank Lestringant (Paris: Chandeigne, 1997). The longer and more complete version of this expedition has recently been published in a critical edition (*Histoire d'André Thevet Angoumoisin, Cosmographe du Roy, de deux voyages par luy faits aux Indes Australes, et Occidentales*, ed. by Claude Laborie and Frank Lestringant (Genève: Droz, 2006)). For Thevet's family background, see Lestringant, *Thevet*, 19-32.

[42] For a brief survey of Nicolay's ancestry, see Nicolas de Nicolay, *Description du Berry et diocese de Bourges au XVIe siècle*, ed. by Victor Advielle (Paris: Chez Aubry, 1865), 9-12, and George Huppert, *Les Bourgeois Gentilshommes: An Essay on the Definition of Elites in Renaissance France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 131-8. There is no extant account of Nicolay's travel to England. In the dedicatory epistle of his later work, *La Navigation du Roy d'Escosse Iacques Cinquiesme* (Paris: Chez Beys, 1583), Nicolay does, however, give details of the diplomatic circumstances of his trip.

the framework of official travel: they accompanied the embassy of Gabriel de Luetz to the court of Emperor Suleiman I, which Luetz had headed since 1546.[43] Their subsequent accounts were likewise both presented as an endeavour to set their experiences of travel within the context of boundless service to the French king and his nobility.[44] Again, like Cartier, the official account of their experiences feature previously neglected paratextual components that opine on the nature of travel, and are thus of considerable apodemical interest.[45] Thevet and Nicolay demonstrate the increasing tension that accompanied rising efforts to extol the acquisition of knowledge through a form of sight which was free from any external conditions. Both writers grapple with the authoritative hold of classical and religious

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[43] Scholars disagree as to the purpose of Thevet's trip, though the common consensus is that Thevet undertook a pilgrimage (see Frédéric Tinguely, *L'Écriture du Levant à la Renaissance: Enquête sur les voyageurs française dans l'Empire de Soliman le Magnifique* (Genève: Droz, 2000), 54-9); Lestringant, *Thevet*, 33-64; Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud's *Le Crépuscule du Grand Voyage: Les récits des pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458-1612)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999)). For a reading of Thevet's travels as espionage, see Christine Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel: The Ottoman and French Alliance in the Sixteenth Century* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 171-2). The background for Nicolay's travel is less problematic: he himself relates that he was commanded by Henri II to join the entourage of d'Aramon in 1551 (*Navigations,* 9-10).

[44] Scholars are divided as to the authorship of the *Cosmographie*. Lestringant, for example, argues that the work was co-authored by Thevet and François de Belleforest (*Thevet*, 30). For the sake of clarity, I here designate Thevet the traveller-turned-author and Belleforest, the ghost-writer.

[45] Whilst scholarship has moved on from Geoffrey Atkinson's damning designation of the work as 'médiocre', studies of the *Cosmographie*, for example, have tended to place it in the context of Thevet's negotiation of humanism and the church (*Les Nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance* (Genève: Droz, 1935), 296). See, for example, *Cosmographie*, lxi-lxvi, and Lestringant, *Sous la leçon des vents: Le monde d'André Thevet, cosmographe de la Renaissance* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), 366. With regard to studies on Nicolay, critical attention has conventionally focused on his cartographic contribution. See, for example, Roger Hervé, 'L'œuvre cartographique de Nicolas de Nicolay et d'Antoine de Leval, 1544-1619', *Bulletin de la Section de Géographie du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques,* LXVIII (1955), 233-63.

reasoning. Nicolay, in particular, also tries to navigate the language of Frenchness and the identity it offered in order to supersede any religious affiliation.[46] He brings to the fore the search for identity in his suggestion that the new Gallocentric conditioning of the sight-knowledge connection might be fully capitalised upon by readers willing to embark upon their own programme of travel in order to see for themselves the non-Frenchness of other places.

As with Cartier, the sight-knowledge connection is endorsed from the outset of Thevet's *Cosmographie* (1554)*.* However, in dedicating the work to his patron, La Rochefoucauld, Thevet suggests a championing of this connection not just for the king, but also for an elite social stratum. The introduction of themes in the dedicatory epistle, which are subsequently taken up in the preface proper, additionally herald engagement in the conditioning of travel for the nobility.

In his address to La Rochefoucauld, Thevet explains that the objective of his recent travels was to 'voir et connoistre l'experience des choses'. To gain knowledge, the eyewitness view, he insists, is central: out of all the senses, 'le regard humain' is 'le plus actif'.[47] He reiterates this championing of the sight-knowledge connection in the preface proper: 'il n'y ha savoir plus certein', Thevet asserts, 'que celui qui nous est acquis par la vuë'. Nevertheless, in his choice of wording, Thevet undermines his seemingly full-scale valorisation of sight. Far from being original formulations, both assertions are, as Lestringant notes, drawn from the same classical writer to whom Cartier had had recourse: Aristotle.[48] The resulting paradox – that a classical source is relied upon to bring authority to the text and its content –

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[46] Here, I espouse an alternative view to that held by Lestringant. Lestringant argues that Thevet's cosmographic writings endorse the image of an accomplished Christian traveller. He also considers these writings to have an uncomplicated relationship with classical and biblical texts (*Thevet*, 49). My interpretation aligns more closely with Lestringant's presentation of Thevet as a writer at odds with contemporary thought (Frank Lestringant, 'The Crisis of Cosmography at the End of the Renaissance', in *Humanism in Crisis*, 17).

[47] *Cosmographie*, 3.

[48] Ibid., xlix-xlx.

is, therefore, replicated from Cartier's text. The tension is heightened, however, since the citation is given in the French vernacular, thus giving it the semblance of an original formulation. Thevet's commitment to the *auctoritas* of classical sources is particularly marked, as he himself openly acknowledges in a declaration of his dependence on the ancient savant later in his preface. Following a sequence of references to Aristotle as 'ce tant excellent Filozofe', Thevet's later comment that knowledge is best procured through sight concludes an extended rehearsal of Aristotle's philosophy, which, Thevet notes, first stated that one is to 'voir, puis savoir'.[49] However, perhaps the greatest testament to Thevet's inability entirely to replace study with sight comes from the commentary accompanying his initial reference to Aristotle. The human view, Thevet explains, is of use, since through it man can better 'entend[re] &… plus parfaitment descrire ce qu'il connoissoit par livres, l'ayant soigneusement examiné & experimenté à vuë d'œil'.[50] Each reference to Aristotle is inevitably coloured by this early affirmation of bookish wisdom. Notwithstanding his apparent dismissal of the reliance on classical sources in the dedicatory epistle – he asks, 'Nature s'est-elle tellement astreinte & assugettie aux ecris des Anciens?' – his repeated evocation of the Greek philosopher, in conjunction with the dependent role he assigns to sight as a means of bolstering knowledge gained in books, appears to answer this question: whilst nature itself might not be subjected to the writings of the ancients, any account he might give of it cannot be divorced from reliance on classical texts.[51] It is ironic, then, that Thevet came under fire from his contemporaries for questioning the secular authority of the Ancients, when in fact his conception of the sight-knowledge connection was wholly reliant on that authority he was accused of shunning.[52]

In the prefatory elements of his *Navigations* (1568)*,* Nicolay likewise reveals his difficulty in creating independence for knowledge acquired

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[49] Ibid., 13.

[50] Ibid., 3.

[51] Ibid., 4.

[52] See n. 46.

through sight rather than through textual authorities. References to classical and biblical authorities abound in his dedicatory epistle to Charles IX, whom he follows Thevet in labelling as the 'tres chretien roy de France' and who, as a choice of dedicatee, reaffirmed the role of travel as a means of serving the king. Such references, which also punctuate his preface entitled 'Preface a la louange des peregrinations et observations estranges, declarant l'intention de l'auteur', undermine Nicolay's advocation of the sight-knowledge connection through travel.[53] The fragility of the sight-knowledge connection is also communicated through syntactical choices. At one point in his preface, he declares that he was obliged to exercise his curiosity and to 'voir, visiter, & coignoistre' all parts of God's creation.[54] The unstable formulation of the sight-knowledge connection through Nicolay's interpolation of 'visiter' between 'voir' and 'coignoistre', in contrast to Thevet's parallel evocation in which 'voir' and 'connoistre' are directly juxtaposed, is significant. Its effect is to destabilise the link between the two actions and even, given the odd chronology in knowledge acquisition that it suggests, entirely undermine it. If travel and the experience of travel effected through sight are the means through which knowledge is acquired, then it follows that the visit would precede the sight. Although the use of hysteron proteron – the placement of an idea at the forefront of an utterance, despite it referring to a temporally subsequent event – was a common classical device with which Nicolay would have been familiar, its employment here is suggestive of hesitance rather than emphatic endorsement. Moreover, Nicolay's formulation, nestled as it is amongst expressions of commitment to textual authorities, points to his ineluctable   adherence to those things sighted in texts rather than upon travel. Though more veiled than Thevet's attempt to reconcile knowledge obtained through bookish wisdom with sight, Nicolay's encomium to travel

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[53] Nicolay refers to Greek and Roman philosophers in the opening of the dedicatory epistle. The intermingling of classical and biblical references is given prominence in the ensuing preface through the use of marginal references. (As the dedicatory epistle is unpaginated, from this point on citations will not be referenced apart from for clarity.)

[54] *Navigations*, 3.

thus demonstrates the problems faced in attempting to loosen ties to accepted fields of knowledge.

Testifying to the difficulty of truly championing the eyewitness view, Thevet and Nicolay's texts both reinforce the other point of tension between *auctoritas* and autopsy: the transferability of the sight-knowledge connection. Referring to travels by their customary Renaissance label 'histoire', Thevet announces to his patron La Rochefoucauld that 'en ce discours… vous *verrez* maintenant histoires'.[55] In a reinforcement of Ronsard's praise of the armchair travel afforded by the *Navigations*, which he affirms in an elegy prefacing the *Navigations*, Nicolay likewise, if rather obliquely, employs his dedicatory epistle to endorse the transmission of knowledge through second-hand sights.[56] He alights on the topic in his praise of travellers who, he asserts, have 'longuement peregrine & curieusement veu & observé, retenu, & depuis *faict participans les autres (moyennant leurs escritz)* des choses plus dignes & singulieres, par eux veües & observes en leurs loingtaines peregrinations'.[57] Like Cartier and Thevet before him, Nicolay thus embraces the role of travel and its ensuing record as a means of providing access to the sight-knowledge connection to readers back in France. Moreover, together with Thevet, Nicolay ensures a continued if revised role for bookish wisdom by arguing that textual insight was not restricted to old authorities, but could be found in the new canon provided by travel writing too.

However, a key distinction existed between these old and new authorities. Whereas the former, in their championing of the shared cross-national cultures of antiquity and religious belief, could reinforce a sense of European cohesion, the latter, with Nicolay's Gallocentric inflection, encouraged a sense of French cohesion. In this alternative focus, the language of barbarism as outlined in Chapter 3, was fundamental.

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[55] (My emphasis) *Navigations*, 5.

[56] Ronsard designates the reader 'nostre François' and adds that courtesy of the *Navigations* the reader 'aura parfaite cognoissance de ces peuples loingtains' without ever leaving France again.

[57] (My emphasis).

During one of Nicolay's many affirmations of the importance of sight over other senses in the quest for knowledge, he gives a survey of the multiple perils he overcame during his travels. Although a commonplace feature of such texts, nevertheless the terms in which Nicolay evokes the challenges that he faced are related so as to have local pertinence to the reader beyond that of recounting the traveller's distant strife. Counting himself amongst the 'bons esprits' who are 'naturellement enclins à voyages loingtains & peregrinations' and are not content to have only 'literallement leu, ouy et entendu les lieux', he enumerates the threats experienced by those so committed to the eyewitness view that they are not deterred from embarking upon the perilous activity of travel.[58] He alludes to the threat of slavery, as well as the dangers posed by inclement weather. He reserves his most impassioned description, however, for his outline of animate dangers. Shifting to more emotive language, as signalled by an onrush of negating epithets, he recounts that he had faced 'des hommes *inhumains*' and that he had fended off 'des fieres bestes sauvages, *cruelles*, ravissantes, devorantes, ou venemeuses'.[59] In the application of the adjective 'inhumain' to the noun 'homme', Nicolay makes a deliberately jarring characterisation of native peoples as sub-human. Such anthropological distancing is subsequently reinforced in the following reference to wild beasts, whilst a link is forged between the two descriptions through the common evocation of the language of barbaric non-Frenchness. As outlined in Chapter 3, the terms 'inhumain' and 'cruel' are constituents of the constellation of terms underpinning the notion of barbarism. The result of their evocation here in Nicolay's text is that to travel is not simply to put oneself in potential danger, but also to guarantee encounters with terrible avatars of barbaric man, or, in the terms employed in this study, the figure of non-French barbarism.[60]

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[58] *Navigations*, 4.

[59] (My emphasis) Ibid.

[60] Later speaking of Hercules' attempt to rid the earth of scourges, for example, Nicolay speaks of 'de *cruels* geans & tyranns *inhumains*', thus re-employing the language of non-French barbarism in a chiasmal construction ((My emphasis) Ibid.).

Nicolay's discussion of the perils of travel emerges as a pretext for a plentiful evocation of the twin discourse of barbarism.

This, in turn, lays the foundation for an exposition of the French benefits of travel as effected either in person or through the vicarious experiences of travel provided by appropriate texts. On one level, claims Nicolay, travel could engender a sense of religious cohesion. God desired that 'par telles peregrinations & communications toutes les nations diverses du monde se apprivoisent & familiarizent les unes aux autres, se emendent mutuellement les vices *barbares*, se enseignent pareillement la vray religion, les vertus & *honnestetez* morales, *civiles* et politiques'.[61] However, as his ensuing discussion reveals, travel could equally well assist in the formation of a more localised community. His belief that the nurturing of the virtues of 'honnestetez' and civility is a far from reciprocal activity is indicated by the spatial precision that Nicolay earlier attributes to the 'barbare'. Detailing his own travels in the dedicatory epistle, Nicolay remarks that he visited, 'ces barbares nations'. By dint of the displaced adjective, the 'barbare' here is emphatically presented as not that which can be experienced anywhere, but rather strictly localised in those other places to which an individual might travel. Consequently, the word 'barbare' is put forward as an umbrella term under which can be subsumed those terms – such as 'inhumain', 'sauvage' and 'cruel' – elsewhere employed to designate the characteristics of objects encountered in foreign lands. Meanwhile, the reference to 'la langue' in Nicolay's comment that 'l'un des principaux et plus nécessaires organes à la pérégrination étrangère est la communication de la langue' assoicated with that place from which the traveller sets out. In other words, here Nicolay makes an oblique reference to the importance of disseminating the French vernacular. This allows him to turn discussion of the obstacles facing the traveller into a springboard from which he can begin to categorise the 'elsewhere' through the semantically-loaded terminology of the non-French. Whilst a spatial element is attached to the 'barbare', travel is contextualised within specifically French, rather than broader European, concerns.

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[61] (My emphasis) *Navigations*, 3.

Linguistic localisation of non-barbaric Frenchness is further shored up through intertextual references that add precision to the terms 'sauvage' and 'cruel'. Claiming the development of travel as a divinely-instigated practice resulting from God's deliberate dispersal of varieties of animals and natural resources around the globe, Nicolay enumerates examples of beasts that only thrive in certain countries. This brings his focus to Europe, including France. Calling upon the *auctoritas* of the testimony of the Latin Church Father Saint Jerome, Nicolay ushers forth the fortuity of 'la Gaule' as a land that does not harbour '[des] bestes monstrueuses, *sauvages* & *cruelles*'.[62] Accordingly, 'sauvage' and 'cruel' are wholly inapplicable terms by which to denote animate beings in France. They belong to a lexicon reserved for the description of locations elsewhere, such as in Nicolay's depictions of the East. This geographical colouring of 'sauvage' and 'cruel' resonates, in turn, with the semantic underlay of 'honneste' and 'civil'. In their designation of qualities which the traveller ought to acquire, the 'honneste' and 'civil' come to take on a more specific meaning than simply referring to universal virtues: through internal cross-referencing, they can additionally be identified as affirmably French virtues. From the localisation of the 'barbare' and its constituent terms stems the elaboration of a discourse of non-barbaric Frenchness. Through the practice of travel and the intercultural contact that it encourages, these twin discourses are subsequently brought into being.

Whilst attempting to loosen the grip of classical and religious *auctoritas*, in the language he employs in his discussions of the nature of travel, Nicolay thus sustains a commitment to a specific French community. Beneath what Marcus Keller has termed the 'manifesto of human cooperation' in Nicolay's preface, there is a continued attempt to conceptualise the French in terms of 'an organic, unified and natural community'.[63] Keller remarks upon Nicolay's use of 'negotiable and variable plurals' such as 'honnêtetés' and labels them as part of a 'rhetoric' employed

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[62] (My emphasis), *Navigations*, 2.

[63] 'Nicolas de Nicolay's *Navigations* and the Domestic Politics of Travel Writing', *L'Esprit Créateur,* 48 (2008), 21, 23.

to '[mask] the power struggles' raging in sixteenth-century France.[64] My contention is that instead of looking to mask internal divisions, plurals such as 'honnêtetés' are offered as part of a productive discourse that sought to nurture unity amongst the French elite. This discourse centres around a new conception of Frenchness found in the interlinking of a network of positive keywords, such as 'honneste' and 'civil', with a network of diametrically opposed negative keywords, evidenced in the terms 'barbare', 'sauvage' and 'cruel'. Together, these terms and the complementary networks that they evoke situate the espousal of the mutual benefits of travel within a more Gallocentrically-orientated discourse. The crafting of this discourse ensures that Nicolay's efforts to 'benefit and strengthen France in a time of profound crisis' are not just momentarily evident in the preface, as Keller suggests, but rather determine each twist and turn of the prefatory elements of the *Navigations*.

Nicolay's semantic crafting is particularly pointed when compared with the function of the same terms in the preface to Thevet's *Cosmographie*. By addressing a local French noble, Thevet indicates the more localised link between travel and identity that was early forged in the travel text. His use of similar language to Nicolay likewise attests to the impossibility of speaking about travel without engaging the particular lexical field in which the 'barbare' and related terms were to become connected. In his address to La Rochefoucauld, Thevet twice employs the term 'honneste'. The first occurrence appears in his justification of travel, where he declares that to shun travel is to 'faillir par ignorance, chose fort *deshonneste*'.[65] The term again features in his concluding comment that he had undertook 'le voyage de Ierusalem' in the conviction that it was '[une] chose louable & *honneste* aux Chrestiens'. In addition to the term 'honneste', he also uses the term 'civil' in a further discussion of the sight-knowledge connection: the impetus to travel stemmed from a desire, he asserts, to 'voir, ouir, & apprendre, pour

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[64] Ibid., 22.

[65] (My emphasis) *Cosmographie*, 15.

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avoir connoissance des choses naturelles & *civiles*'.[66]   Amongst this employment of non-barbaric Frenchness, Thevet asserts an identification with France, which brings geographical focus to the religious concerns suggested in the rationale behind his peregrinations. At the end of his preface he remarks that, despite recognising the benefits of travel, he had nevertheless found himself in a state of surprise upon leaving his native France.[67] The *Cosmographie* omits the practical details usually given to pilgrims and does not make the same impassioned call to utilise travel for the purpose of propagating the Catholic religion typically found in religious travel texts of the period.[68] In his paratextual apparatus however, Thevet does not colour his language so as to communicate a further secular identification with a geographical space, namely a sense of Frenchness. Given Thevet's standing as a much-lauded traveller in his own lifetime (perhaps more so even than Cartier), it is highly possible that Nicolay's subsequent fashioning of Gallocentric travel derived from Thevet's *Cosmographie*.[69] Thus, although lacking an explicit link, the *Cosmographie*, I suggest, paved the way to the development of a travel discourse that shackled sight-acquired knowledge with new restraints for the creation of a cohesive elite French community. Moreover, I contend that the foundations laid by the *Cosmographie* presaged a further development in Nicolay's *Navigations*: the use of the twin discourse

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[66] *Cosmographie*, 16-17.

[67] 'l'estois fort eshabi de m'eslongner de la France, d'ou ie suis natif, pour m'acointer d'une terre inconnue' (Ibid., 16).

[68] See, for example, the travel treatise penned by the Franciscan monk Claude Vicar. For Vicar, the core argument in favour of travel resides in the imprints that God has left on the earth for the benefit of posterity's curiosity (*Petit discours de l'utilité des voyages ou pelerinages* (Paris: Roger, 1582)).

[69] Lestringant points to cosmography as the main reason for Thevet's rise up the social ranks (*Thevet*, 11-17). Thevet's esteemed reputation is attested by the poems dedicated to him by contemporaries. For a selection of these, see 'Appendice I' (Ibid., 343-51). Elsewhere, Lestringant points to Thevet's efforts to undermine Cartier's *Brief récit* through claims that his own description of Canada, which he appended to *Les Singularitez*, was in fact the first account (Frank Lestringant, 'Nouvelle-France et fiction cosmographique dans l'œuvre d'André Thevet', *Études littéraires,* 10 (1977), 149).

of barbarity, not only to advocate the benefits of travel, but also to exhort the reader to travel. Although Nicolay advocates the transfer of the sight-knowledge connection, his programmatic discussion maintains that travel via text alone cannot sustain the protracted and complex process involved in the formation of a cohesive community. This message, first delivered in the dedicatory epistle, is subsequently reinforced through Nicolay's self-designation as a 'bon esprit'.

Launching his address to Charles IX, Nicolay outlines the 'trois choses principales… dont l'homme peut iouyr durant le cours de ceste vie'. In a nod to the Neo-Stoic principles in vogue amongst his contemporaries, the third item he lists is 'la vertu'. However, according to Nicolay, such an abstract attribute was of little value unless one enjoyed the first two fortuities, both of which depended on possession of a suitable social condition. The principal happy circumstance to befall an individual, Nicolay claims, is to be 'descendu de parens Illustres', especially those who have exercised power over peoples and lands. To suitable parentage, Nicolay counsels the acquisition of sufficient wealth – 'la richesse' – so as to be able to execute 'le plus grand part de ses desirs & volontez'. This systematisation of fortune that takes social status as its measure reveals the royal and noble readership that Nicolay aspired to address. Meanwhile, Nicolay turns to the central question animating his discussion: how might men of rank support and partake in a French community? Characteristically, his starting point for imparting such advice is the example of antiquity, where his gaze quickly falls upon the Greek geographer Strabo's endorsement of the ancient approach to travel. According to Nicolay, Strabo repeatedly asserts that 'les hommes' who do not travel are 'vrayement *grossier*s & peu aptes aux affaires publiques'.[70] Although drawing upon a classical authority, the language employed by Nicolay maintains a marked link with his contemporary context. With the term 'grossier' Nicolay establishes a connection with the language of otherness employed in his subsequent preface. He also provides a suitable

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[70] (My emphasis) *Navigations*, dedicatory epistle.

countermeasure to prop up his complementary designation of those exemplary individuals who do travel as members of the 'bon esprit'.

As described in Chapter 3, the term 'esprit' comes to be a constituent of a secondary network of Frenchness outlining how a non-barbaric Frenchness might be enacted. The engagement of 'esprit' in this secondary network is not documented in dictionaries until Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* (1690), which records a semantic extension of the term beyond the divine to encompass the more general demonstration and enactment of good qualities. Yet, here, in a text penned over a century earlier, wherein religious affiliations are clearly subsidiary to a localised French identity, the use of the term 'esprit' is not only divorced from any mention of religion, but is also inextricably linked to a social act rather than to the state of the soul. By designating himself as one of the 'bons esprits' who embarks upon travel, Nicolay exhorts his noble peers to follow his example, and thus avoid earning the damning epithet of 'grossier' reserved for the non-traveller.

The evocation of both discourses of barbarity in his veiled call to travel testifies to the truly elite nature of the community that Nicolay endeavours to nurture. Regardless of wealth, Frenchness is not, he demonstrates, a status automatically conferred on an individual. Rather, it is condition that has to be nurtured and earned in addition to boasting monetary riches. If the true occupation of the nobility is to be taken into the employment of the king, it is up to them, Nicolay insists, to ensure that they undertake the correct training. By implicating the social practice of travel in the quest to obtain inclusion in a social group that could be considered to be French, the derogatory term 'grossier' is thus arrayed alongside the arsenal of terms semantically nuanced so as to designate otherness and non-Frenchness. Being part of the French community, which ought to be defined as the 'non-sauvage', 'non-babare', and, according to one articulation, the 'non-grossier', is not an automatically assumed state but rather a goal to which individuals might aspire. In this conception, travel is to be undertaken by any man of wealth and status who wishes to become an active member of the French community. This is what Nicolay himself had undertaken to do, as he proudly

outlines in the remainder of the preface. Following a childhood in south-eastern France, he had set out on a decade and a half of travel to the East as well as around Europe. In Nicolay's case, this was travel undertaken in the context of military service in the forces of successive French kings. Yet, such is the import of travel for Nicolay that he is at pains to stress that excursions need not only be undertaken within this framework. If travel is an essential precondition to membership of the French community, then those individuals who are not directly engaged by the king to obtain such sight-knowledge experience are exhorted to seek out other independent means to obtain the necessary training in order to still serve their king and elite community.

Nicolay's shift of emphasis away from a religious identification in favour of a more specific Frenchness is confirmed in his closing comments. Aside from observing his obligation to revere God, the rationale behind his account was, he asserts, to bring honour 'à mon roi et à ma patrie' in being of 'quelque utilité aux hommes François'.[71] The cultural reach of the prefatory components of Nicolay's *Navigations*, which amplify themes found in Cartier and Thevet's travel writings, thus extends beyond the specific context in which it was conceived. In place of a summary of the peoples and lands with which the *Navigations* purports to be primarily concerned, Nicolay's paratext, like Thevet and Cartier's, is dominated by an impassioned call to travel. The attempt to present travel as a practice of broader cultural import culminates in the *Navigations* where social concerns converge to lay the foundation of a new mode of travel. Thus, almost exactly contemporaneous with Zwinger's and Blotius' ruminations on the art of travel, there emerged a specifically French presentation of the art of travel.[72] Each component of the paratext of the *Navigations* encourages a merging of the previously disparate social structures which were the instruction of the nobility and a vernacular language that, as conceived in response to other

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[71] *Navigations*, 8.

[72] Stagl considers Zwinger and Blotius to be two of the 'first methodologists of travel' (*History of Curiosity*), 57-64.

peoples and other places, could create a sense of Frenchness, and inform the practice of travel. Nicolay brings these together as he endeavours to realise his ideal of a French elite community, divested of purely parochial affiliations, and ruled by the king as figurehead. Not long out of the cradle, Nicolay, according to Ronsard's elegy, had abandoned 'les Françoises provinces / Pour obeir aux Roys, qui lors furent noz Princes'. As the apodemical narrative heading his *Navigations* evidences, Nicolay evidently hoped others might soon follow suit.

Chapter 5

The Early Development of Intra-European Gallocentric Travel

Introduction: the intra-European

As the Wars of Religion continued to rage, a fundamental socio-cultural development was taking place in France: the emergence of a conception of travel as an extra-religious and extra-regional elite social practice, a practice that could unite a French elite community through the experience it afforded, as well as through the language in which it could be conceived. This shift was being effected by travellers-turned-writers who – as I have documented in Chapter 4 and will continue to identify in the current and following chapter – back in France after a period of travel, and faced with a divided society, employed their written record of travel for the benefit of the French in-group. As I have argued, the aim was both to facilitate second-hand travel and to encourage readers to undertake their own course of travel. The successful publication of Nicolay's *Navigations*, as well as the rising number of French writers who likewise took up their quills to pen their own complementary reflections, suggests that the advocation of a French species of travel intrigued readers.[1] In fact, such was the cultural relevance of travel theorisations that methodisations came to inhabit textual spaces outside of the paratext and the travel account proper, thus providing the subject matter for the main bodies of essays, treatises and printed correspondence. Writers endorsed the shift in focus effected by Nicolay in the wake of Cartier and Thevet's ruminations: namely, from discussion of the

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[1] Further French editions of Nicolay's *Navigations* appeared in 1576 and 1586. The *Navigations* were also translated into German (1576), English (1585) and Italian (1576). The output of methodising travel literature rose exponentially over the course of the latter half of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century. Bibliographies for this branch of travel writing are given by Stagl, Monga and Doiron (see Introduction, n. 4). In a quantitative analysis of Stagl's bibliography, Roche reckons at least thirty-five and a hundred and twenty-seven texts were published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively (*Humeurs vagabondes*, 53).

art of travel in the most general terms to the circumscription of travel as an expedient and necessary French noble practice propping up notions of non-barbaric Frenchness. In sum, Nicolay's experience of travel had facilitated his articulation of a new blueprint of travel, albeit one which drew on existing nascent linguistic templates, which was quickly taken up by his contemporaries.

The development of noble travel to England independently of antiquarian travel cultures highlights that the transfer of Gallocentrism from the extra- to the intra-European travel context relied predominantly on a form of temporal distancing. In a reformulation of the conventional humanist study of history, noble travellers took to viewing England through the lens of the past, either by narrating the horrible history of the land and its people, or by using sites linked to England as an opportunity to speak of great French victories. In the identification of an English Other afforded through these two branches of a temporal viewing mode, the twin discourses of barbarity were also brought to bear on the intra-European context and given further substance, whilst remaining redolent of the denigrated extra-European Other.

My aim here is not to provide a comprehensive survey of travel to England from the sixteenth century onwards: elements of this development were early considered by Ascoli's extended study and have, most recently, been reconsidered by Gelléri's reappraisal of the scholarly narrative surrounding early modern travel to England.[2] Rather, one concern here is to elucidate the development of intra-European Gallocentric travel as witnessed in the course of travel to England through analysis of exemplary travelogues, which I analyse in the context of the reference guide to extant manuscript and printed material I give in Appendix I. For the purposes of the current chapter, my interest is the early methodisation of travel given in Jean Bernard's posthumously published 1579 travel guide, *La Guide des Chemins d'Angleterre*, which I set against the portrayals of English character given in an early travel account of England and in early histories of England. My

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[2] See Introduction n. 5.

objective is to demonstrate how narratives on England transferred from what might be considered conventional histories to a historicised conception of Gallocentric travel to England. Meanwhile, my survey identifies the social particularity of the discourse of English barbarism: that it gradually came to be directed at the English populace. In other words, I argue for a social bifurcation in French characterisations of the English.

An additional aim here is to explore the complex dynamics that accompanied such ideological activism in intra-European travel practices. As I evidenced in analysis of Montaigne's chapter 'Des Cannibales', elite actors themselves tussled with the implications of the discourse of barbarity. A complementary dimension of Montaigne's writing on the Other and an alternative tension to those which accompanied the development of Gallocentric travel in the extra-European sphere is the way in which Montaigne grappled with the development of Gallocentric travel in the chapter 'De l'institution des enfants' in his *Essais*.[3] His criticism of noble travel to Italy attests, I argue, to an elite concern over the loss of individual freedom and judgement in subordinating to a homogeneous social identity and, in turn, reinforcing it through the strictly regulated practice that was Gallocentric travel.

I take as the basis of my analysis Rendall's more recent advocation of a synchronic interpretation of the *Essais*, as well as Posner's biographical examination of the single voice of Montaigne speaking out as an individual of recent noble lineage who was negotiating a sense of elite identity.[4] For my part, I contend that Montaigne's chapter on elite education demonstrates an attempt to shape or even *re*shape the emergent practice of localised Gallocentric travel. I suggest Montaigne sought to (re)formulate travel so that young nobles might attain a more personal sense of self rather than adopt the common template of the non-barbaric French self without exercising independent thought. In so doing, my aim is to expand on Wes Williams'

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[3] *Essais*, 145-77.

[4] *The Performance of Nobility*, 23. For discussion of apparent discrepancies and the responses of critics to this, see Chapter 2, n. 52, n. 53.

presentation of 'De La Vanité' as Montaigne's bid to offer himself as the 'exemplary traveller'.[5] My aim is also to consider further Williams' discussion of Montaigne's sceptical engagement with early modern cultures of travel, which he analyses through examination of Montaigne's *Journal de voyage* and sees echoed in Montaigne's chapter on education.[6] By contextualising Montaigne's musings within noble travel however, I give an alternative focus to Williams' contrasting contextualisation within the debates on pilgrimages led by both reformers and counter-reformers.

My juxtaposition of analyses of Montaigne's essay and travel to England also has a further purpose. In the first instance, Montaigne's discussion helps, I contend, to elucidate alternative reasons why travel to England was restricted in this period: the predominance of travel to Italy and the rising concerns articulated in relation to it. In the second, Montaigne's chapter provides, I suggest, an interesting counterpoint to early eighteenth-century contestations of Gallocentric travel as they would come to be articulated in relation to England, which I examine in Chapter 7. In short, I argue that Montaigne's early chapter on the transalpine experience provides an indication of the discourses that historically developed in relation to travel cultures to England and their role in a search for identity. To give the necessary intra-European context to Montaigne's musings, this chapter thus first considers the early methodisation and practice of travel to England.

The foundations of Gallocentric travel to England

The development of a course of elite travel to England sought to complement the well-trodden path of travel southwards, whilst keeping within the bounds of conventional disciplines, of which history was arguably the

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[5] *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: The Undiscovered Country* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 62.

[6] ''Rubbing up against Others': Montaigne on Pilgrimage', in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. by Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 101-23.

most important. Jean Bernard's 1579 *La Guide des chemins d'Angleterre*, which was appended to a didactic history of the English monarch and nobility, offers a prominent early example of such methodisation.[7] Unlike his French model, Charles Estienne's hugely successful 1552 *Guide des Chemins de France*, Bernard's *Guide* was sparing in the practical information it relayed to the would-be traveller, perhaps due to a lack of personal experience of England.[8] The *Guide* nevertheless remains of apodemical importance. Bernard was the French monarch's interpreter for English and Scottish material and he had a long-standing interest in the acrimonious relationship between the English and the French. As his choice of the title 'des querelles et pretensions anciennes des Anglois *contre* les François' for one manuscript discloses, Bernard was also invested in the French elite

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[7] The first part of the volume is entitled *Discours des plus memorables faicts des roys & grands seigneurs d'Angleterre depuis cinq cens ans*. Testimony to the importance of the *Discours*, Louis Coulon's later travel guide to England used Bernard's text as its base (*Le Fidèle conducteur pour les voyages de France, d'Angleterre, d'Allemagne et d'Espagne* (Paris: Chez Clouzier, 1654)).

[8] Estienne's self-published vade mecum, which offered advice on suitable accommodation and how to avoid brigands, went through multiple editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (For a critical study of the *Guide*, including analysis of its reception, see Chantal Liaroutzos, 'Les premiers guides français imprimés', *In Situ*, 15 (2011) <http://insitu.revues.org/486> [accessed 28 April 2015]). By contrast, Bernard's guide was less than a tenth of the length of Estienne's *Guide* and gave little pragmatic advice in addition to marking the distances between towns. In terms of publication, whilst Charles Giry-Deloison is erroneous in noting that the *Guide* was never reprinted, it was only republished once in 1587 ('France and Elizabethan England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 14 (2004), 238). It is unclear whether Bernard ever travelled to England. Herbert Fordham's identification of Holinshed's 1577 *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* as one of Bernard's sources supports the view that the *Guide* is, in fact, a compilation (*Studies in Carto-Bibliography, British and French, and in the Bibliography of Itineraries and Road-Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 34). As the interpreter and translator of English and Scottish material to the French monarch, it is feasible that Bernard copied this text. (See following note.)

system and identified the English as a useful measure within this.[9] My contention here is that, in addition to being an important early road-book of England, the *Guide* testifies to the transfer of geo-political and historical interests into travel writing. Through study of the *Guide*, a window is also afforded onto the foundational development of intra-European Gallocentric travel as it evolved in relation to travel to England.[10] Bernard's volume identifies that early modern travel practices for the nobility grew out of the study of history, with history almost wholly conditioning the way in which the French noble was to view new places.

Evidence of the wider endorsement of this methodisation of travel to England is, moreover, found in the grounds Bernard's publisher, Gervais Mallot, gives in the dedicatory epistle heading the volume for the co-publication of a travel guide and potted history. Pointedly, Mallot's justification centres on the utility of knowledge of the English in the instruction of a French noble.[11] Addressing a high-ranking elite counsellor of the King, Mallot remarks that 'la cognoissance des histoires & pays estrangers' amongst the nobility was excellent in relation to continental states such as Spain, Italy, Germany, Piedmont and Flanders. This knowledge did not extend, however, he laments, to the English and Scottish. The present volume thus offers, the subsequent preface notes, 'un echantillon & avantcoureur de l'histoire generalle d'Angleterre'.[12] The first half of the volume therefore presents a didactic historical survey of the monarchs and nobles of England and charts the vicissitudes resulting from

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[9] For a summary of Bernard's works, see Barthélemy Mercier, 'Notice sur quelques manuscrits de Jean Benard', in *Magasin encyclopédique ou Journal des sciences des lettres et des arts*, ed. by Aubin Millin (Paris: Chez Dufour, 1809), 277-300. Further manuscript references are given by Giry-Deloison, 'France and Elizabethan England', 227.

[10] Fordham, *Studies in Carto-Bibliography*, 121.

[11] The preface ends with a reference to 'ces presents discours' and their provision of sample histories. Giry-Deloison argues that the reference is only to the opening *Discours* ('France and Elizabethan England', 237). In light of the historical content of the second half of the volume however, I would argue that Mallot is in fact referring to both sections of the text.

[12] It is unclear whether the preface was authored by Mallot or Bernard.

factions, ostensibly as a warning to young nobles to beware the possible downfall resulting from unwise governance. Notwithstanding the geographical summary of the Guide in the epistle, the *Guide* was, I contend, part of this historical survey. The *Guide* resonated with the subjugation of the English past to French advantage, as put forward in the *Discours* to help maintain the balance of power in the hands of the French king and his elite.[13] The way in which the travel experience was to be filtered through the lens of the past in order to aid the construction of a hierarchy of peoples offered, in fact, a highly formative versing in history.

As well as rehearsing histories of English towns and remarking upon their striking architecture, the references to French incursions on English settlements are conspicuous by their inclusion: in a display of French might, French forces had, Bernard notes, burnt and pillaged the towns of Dover and Gravesend in 1294 and 1379 respectively.[14] Estienne's road-book had similarly alluded to great French conquests over the English in the remark that the duchies of Guyenne, Aunis, Saintonge, Angoumois and Poitou had been brought under French rule in the reign of Charles VII.[15] This brief historical reference had, however, been counterbalanced by comments of contemporary note, such as advising the reader to behold buildings and antiquities during his peregrinations. Bernard's historical references are also accompanied by an entreaty to the reader to contemplate an object of note – in his case, the royal residence in Greenwich.[16] The implication of juxtaposing historical references with an implicit advocation of the eye-witness view is, however, altogether different for Bernard's *Guide*. In Estienne's work, the overriding image is that of strong French continental power, which can fend off threats to its territory. In Bernard's travel guide on the other hand, the geo-historical view puts forward a desired vision of

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[13] The *Guide* gives, Mallot notes, 'la description de plusieurs villes, chasteaux, passages, rivieres, Abbayes, montaignes, & provinces d'Angleterre'.

[14] Ibid., kii.r-kii.v, kii.v.

[15] *Guide des chemins de France*, 195.

[16] *Guide des chemins d'Angleterre*, kiii.v.

France as a state that can assert its power over foreign lands, especially old foes such as England, and consequently as a state that boasts not only an historical pre-eminence, but also a contemporary superior status that is to be articulated through a controlled eye-witness experience of England. This was an important point, though, in the context of a relatively weak channel neighbour, it did not require excessive articulation. Meanwhile, however, linguistic choices could ensure the *Guide* resonated with emergent French structures.

Bernard's commitment to a French community is early indicated in the presentation of an 'us' in the phrase '*noz* voisins' in the preface. It is, in turn, reinforced through the evocation of components of the secondary network of non-barbaric Frenchness, akin to Nicolay's *Navigations*. In a further justification of the volume's utility and in a mirroring of Nicolay's earlier designation of the non-traveller, Mallot suggests that ignorance of England constituted a rejection of the instruction befitting a noble: 'quelle *messeance*', he remarks, to be unaware of the manners, laws and customs of neighbouring lands.[17] If, as I have argued, 'bienseance' came to signify a way in which Frenchness could be enacted, then it follows that 'messeance' was the rejection of such behaviour. Meanwhile, if the label 'mal poli' simultaneously evoked the networks of non-barbaric Frenchness and non-French barbarity then the formulation of 'messeance' similarly brings the twin discourse to bear on the text. Given the context of this comment in a volume dedicated to English history, a further particularity of 'bienseance' is also evidenced: that being part of the French elite required being instructed in the mode of English history the volume sought to espouse. In other words, the presentation and ensuing content of Bernard's text subsumes the study of English society, as effected through the joint medium of travel and history, into the nascent understanding of an elite self.

The imbrication of travel and history in texts consumed by French readers was nothing new. The renowned early attempt at a renewed history

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[17] (My emphasis) unpaginated preface.

of England given in the 1534 *Anglica Historia* by the Italian immigrant at the English court, Polydore Vergil, testifies to the way in which travel to England and the subsequent acquisition of knowledge it afforded could be invested in an historical account.[18] The presentation of English history and the redaction of travel accounts in Gallocentric terms for the benefit of high-ranking addressees and the elite also had their precedents. Emblematic of this impulse are Jean de Beagué's 1556 *Histoire de la guerre d'Escosse* and Estienne Perlin's 1558 *Description des royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Escosse*. There were addressed respectively to 'Monseigneur messire François de Montmorency' and, in a lengthy hyperbolic designation, which indicates Perlin's attachment to the French monarchy, 'a tres haulte et magnamine Princesse, Madame Marguerite, Duchesse de Berri, seur unique de tresnoble Roy de France Henry de Valloys furtur monarchque & Empereur de tout le monde'.[19] Their texts demonstrate that writers before Bernard also had recourse to the language of barbaric non-Frenchness and considered it suitable for their articulation of the English character and, by extension, England itself. In addition, their narratives on Englishness explain, I suggest, the colouring of Bernard's volume.

In the first instance, Beagué's account of English sieges on Scottish towns provides the premise for his damning account of English character. The sorties were led, he relates, by an unnamed English commander who was 'un Tyran tant miserablement *cruel* & *barbare* que depuis trois ou quatre moys... il n'auoit obmis vn seul acte de l'impieté des plus *inhumains* Mores de l'Afrique'.[20] Here, Beagué implicates multiple terms from the primary

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[18] The publication of Vergil's *Anglica* in Basel was a huge success. The work enjoyed at least six further editions in the sixteenth century alone. It also formed the basis of the French historian Guillaume Paradin's apocryphal *Anglicae Descriptionis Compendium,* which Paradin dedicated to the Chancellor of France – a further indication of the connection forged between the study of England and the French elite. (Paradin noted in his final chapter, for example, that the English bore tails ((Paris: Apud Galtherot, 1545), 69-70)).

[19] *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse* (Paris: Chez Trepeau, 1558). *Histoire de la guerre d'Escosse* (Paris: Pour Corrozet, 1556).

[20] (My emphasis) *Histoire*, f. 85v-f. 86r.

network of barbaric non-Frenchness. The image of the barbaric Englishman is also given additional rhetorical fervour through being equated with an avatar of the barbarian – the Muslim Other, which had commonly been articulated in relation to the Turks. Together, these devices, propped up by supposed historical evidence, facilitate the final casting of the officer as the barbaric English Other: as Beagué later designates him, he is 'le *cruel* Tyran'.[21]

In the travel account he redacted around six years after visiting England, the cleric and historiographer Estienne Perlin echoes Beagué's narrative with, however, one key difference. The presentation of the English Other is no longer indiscriminately applied to any Englishman, but rather assigned only to the lower ranks of English society. In other words, the elite are given immunity whilst the English populace become the pawns in the bid to assert a social identity that relied as much on rank as on geographical distinction.[22] This gives all the greater force to Perlin's proto-*histoire tragique* of the English character. In his innocently titled *Description* Perlin claims the authority of the rare eye-witness observer and professes to adhere to the obligations to which the historiographer is beholden: namely to describe that which is 'veritable' and to relay 'les choses tout ainsi comme ils sont, sans rien changer, ou innover'.[23] These avowals underpin his occasional willingness to relieve his readers of the more outlandish apocrypha, suggestive of an English inability to harness and tame the natural habitat – notably, the widely-held belief that wolves still roamed the English

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[21] (My emphasis) Ibid., f. 87v.

[22] From his narration of events, we can deduce that Perlin visited England between 1551 and 1552. The main focus of the 'histoire tragique' was to present the dark side of human nature. The genre was introduced into France by Pierre Boaistuau's *Histoires Tragiques* (1559). Perlin's rendition of the hideous English character thus appears to foreshadow this formal introduction of the genre. (All citations are taken from the more widely available eighteenth-century edition (London: Re-printed by Bowyer and Nichols, 1775)).

[23] *Description*, 41. Williams remarks upon the conscious use of the title 'description' (*Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 138-40).

countryside.[24] His claim to speak the truth also has a contrasting purpose: to aid his depiction of a treacherous and barbaric English populace. This image is first articulated through adjectives outside the language of non-barbaric Frenchness: the English people are, he asserts, 'fier, seditieux, de mauvais conscience, infidelle, mechans, adonnes à tout vent'.[25] Perlin's damning description is, nevertheless, propped up by a nod to Gallocentric language, which sees some stability given to the term 'civil'.[26] Perlin comments that English manners are 'quelque peu incivilz' given, for example, the English tendency to 'rout[er] a la table sans honte & ignomomie'.[27] The most biting relation of English barbarity is, however, delivered in the brief eye-witness account, which, in its vividness, employs the device of hypotyposis. Recounting the execution of the rebel noble, the Duke of Northumberland (the same Duke who had earlier invited Nicolay to England), Perlin gives a terrifying description of a lame executioner garbed in a butcher's apron and a scaffold surrounded by a bloodthirsty chorus of children who, once the lord was executed, hurried to collect up the blood gushing forth from the noble trunk.[28] Here, compassion is shown towards Northumberland, thus resonating with the sympathy expressed for English monarchs and the elite as a result of the capriciousness of the English subject.[29] Elsewhere, dehumanising language is again employed in the designation of the English

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[24] Ibid., 25.

[25] Ibid., 12. Parts of this description are reiterated later in the text (see Ibid., 15).

[26] Chartier argues that the term civility was unstable (see Chapter 3, n. 38).

[27] *Description*, 26.

[28] The text reads: 'le bourreau estoit un boyteux. Car j'estois present à l'execution, & un tablier blanc comme un boucher'. Following an account of Northumberland's final moments, Perlin continues: 'Et apres l'execution faicte, vous eussiez veu les petis enfans qui ramassoyent le sang qui estoit cheu par des fantes de l'echarfault, sur lequel il avoyt esté decapitè' (Ibid., 16-7). Here, Perlin's reiterated claim to eye-witness authority is coupled with an endeavour to transfer the eyewitness experience for his reader in the past conditional construction 'vous eussies veu'.

[29] Perlin repeatedly remarks upon the grim fate of nobles at the hands of the populace (Ibid., 9 ,11) and their lack of fidelity (Ibid., 10, 12).

enemy as 'pire qu'un dragô, serepent, cocodrile, & aspic'.[30] There is no social specification. Nevertheless, in light of the sympathy shown towards the elite whilst aspersions are cast on the lower ranks, the figure of the English Other is, Perlin underlines, to be filtered through the English populace.

This social particularity colours, in turn, other character generalisations, of which perhaps the most pointed comes in the opening of the account. Foreshadowing Nicolay's discussion of 'ces barbares nations', Perlin draws on long-held characterisations, such as those given by poets who, he asserts, have considered England to be 'une terre *barbare*, & estrange'.[31] Unlike his refutation of other earlier appraisals, here Perlin reiterates old evaluations to endow his account of English barbarity with further authority.[32] According to this narrative, England is not just another place, as is communicated in the adjective 'estrange'. As the prominent placing of 'barbare' indicates, despite the sympathy he harbours for the English elite, perhaps by virtue of the importance of social deference adhered to in France, the terrible behaviour of the populace informs his characterisation of England. In other words, he reserves his core use of the language of non-French barbarism for a powerful synecdochical construction, according to which the English populace define the geographical space of England.

By contrast, Perlin gives a generous appraisal of the French character: the French are, he claims, 'francs de cœur & noble d'esprit' and, to speak favourably of the French in historical terms, boast an illustrious progeny.[33] Juxtaposed with his antipodal vision of Englishness, which he articulates with the added authority of the traveller, this affirmation of Gallocentrism takes on a more potent quality. It asserts a French superiority that is to be evidenced, not simply in and of itself, but through a deprecatory

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[30] Ibid., 32.

[31] (My emphasis) Ibid., 10.

[32] See n. 24.

[33] Ibid., 12. Perlin rehearses a well-worn foundational story of the French as descendants of the Trojans.

portrayal of English character and history articulated in relation to the populace. This social distinction assisted, I suggest, in the focus on an elite form of Frenchness. In his 1572 *Histoire universelle du monde*, François de Belleforest would similarly give an unfavourable account of the English populace in terms linked to the twin discourse of barbarity in contrast to his account of the nobility.[34] Perlin, however, confirmed the transfer of this discourse into the space of the travel text. In this, his *Description* contributed to the creation of a socially-differentiated and geo-historically infused – to take the terms I employ in this study – concept, which might in turn bring an elevated vision of counterconceptual elite Frenchness into being.

Bernard's volume stands, therefore, as an articulation of a Gallocentrically coloured geo-historical discussion of travel born out of existing writing trends. General histories of England, in addition to Vergil's *Anglica Historia*, continued to be published and would be widely used by travellers.[35] Favourable appraisals of the English still punctuated French writings: the 1578 manuscript travel account of a Louis Grenade and Jean Bodin's 1576 *Six livres de la République* were both generous in their evaluations.[36] Nevertheless, in the wake of the publication of Cartier, Thevet and Nicolay's texts, Bernard's *Guide* testifies to the early methodisation of a new form of consolidatory travel to England for the French elite that

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[34] Belleforest writes: 'le peuple y est fort *incivil* & malplaisaint' whilst conceding that 'la noblesse est courtoise & affable' (Paris: Chez Mallot), f. 243v.

[35] See n. 18. William Camden's *Britannia*, first published in 1586 and which went through multiple editions, was another history that would enjoy a cross-European readership (Robson-Scott, *German Travellers in England*, 33). For surveys of the text's redaction and reception, see Stuart Piggott, *William Camden and the Britannia. Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. 37 (London: Cumberlege, [1953]) and Fred Levy, 'The Making of Camden's Britannia', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance,* 26 (1964), 70-97). The Britannia was used for example, by the Duc de Rohan, whose travelogue I examine in Chapter 6.

[36] For Grenade's travelogue see Ian Archer, and Derek Keene, eds., *The Singularities of London, 1578 by L. Grenade (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Reg. Lat. 672)* (London: London Topographical Society, 2014). (I assisted in the preparation of this critical edition.) For Bodin's review of the English character see Giry Deloison, 'France and Elizabethan England', 225.

capitalised upon the existing link forged between writing on England and the sense of non-barbaric Frenchness.

Notwithstanding the foundational importance of Bernard's work, Gallocentric noble travel to England would see limited expansion until the turn of the seventeenth century when it would be concurrently methodised and practised in the travelogue of the noble traveller, the Duc de Rohan, as I study in Chapter 6. However, to assert that the paucity of written material and new editions of existing texts 'confirms [a] lack of real interest in English history and in England among the French population' seems unfounded.[37] Extra-diplomatic travel was undertaken, for example, by the Rochelais Protestant writer, Jacques Esprinchard, to verse himself in the knowledge required to enter elite society.[38] Meanwhile, diplomatic and antiquarian forms of travel to England continued to be executed.[39] The predominant focus of noble travel for educational reasons and curiosity remained in a southwards direction to Italy. Nevertheless, a parallel culture of travel to England was in its nascency.

This culture of travel northwards did not develop hermetically but evolved, I contend, as an alternative modern course of travel in contrast to the predominantly antiquarian focus that characterised travel to Italy and which Gallocentric noble travel sought to limit. My concern here is not to consider the ways in which travel to Italy was methodised and practiced; this is an area with a voluminous literature and its own set of considerations.[40]

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[37] Giry-Deloison, 'France and Elizabethan England', 239.

[38] There is no extant record of Esprinchard's trip. For a brief survey, see Léopold Chatenay, *Vie de Jacques Esprinchard, rochelais, et journal de ses voyages au XVIe siècle* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1957), 37-53.

[39] See Appendix I.

[40] For recent surveys see Jean Balsamo, 'Le voyage d'Italie et la formation des élites françaises', *Renaissance et Réforme,* 27 (2003), 9-21; Jean Boutier, 'Le Grand Tour: une pratique d'éducation des noblesses européennes (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)'*, Bulletin de l'Association des Historiens modernistes des Universités*, 27 (2004), 7-21; Jean Boutier, 'Le Grand Tour des gentilhommes et les académies d'éducation pour la noblesse: France et Italie, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle', in *Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und Europaïsche Kultur Vom 14.*

Nevertheless, the conflicts and tensions that travel to Italy early occasioned are of pertinence to the study of elite travel to England, as I argue above.

In his survey of the criticisms of travel to Italy, Balsamo identifies the basis of refutations of key figures such as La Noue as stemming from an internal concern to rebuild the kingdom of France after an extended period of tumult.[41] Balsamo also references Montaigne's dismay at the way in which fencing schools in Rome were overrun with Frenchmen.[42] The complexity of these home-grown anxieties remains, however, unaddressed, especially in critical analyses of Montaigne's musings on noble travel.[43] The Gallocentric impulse conditioning the development of travel cultures and responses to them was not only characterised by the desire to create community; it was also, I argue, coloured by a hope that young nobles would maintain an element of independence whilst becoming members of that elite community. The asymmetric structure of peoples that Gallocentric language and its implementation in travel was designed to construct, had, in the eyes of the invested contemporary commentator who was Montaigne, a particular

Bis Zum 18. Jahrhundert, ed. by Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2004), 237-53. For an extensive bibliography of scholarship on travel to Italy, see Gilles Bertrand, 'Le Grand Tour: une expression problématique pour désigner les pratiques du voyage des élites en Europe à l'époque moderne?', *CRLV*, (2009) <http://www.crlv.org/conference/le-grand-tour-une-expression-problématiquepour-désigner-les-pratiques-du-voyage-des>, [accessed 18 November 2015]. For a detailed study of the development of travel to Italy from earlier modes, see Gilles Bertrand, *Le Grand Tour revisité: Pour une archéologie du tourisme (Le voyage des Français en Italie, milieu XVIIIe siècle – début XIXe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2008).

[41] Balsamo, *Le voyage d'Italie*, 16-9.

[42] Ibid., 15.

[43] Montaigne critics have expounded at length on the role of travel in his *Essais*. Phillippe Desan, for example, speaks of 'le lien étroit qui unit le voyage et le livre des *Essais*' (*Montaigne: les formes du monde et de l'esprit* (Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne: 2008), 77). Jean Starobinski also gives a reading of the essay in light of the emphasis Montaigne lays on the importance of travel for community in 'De la vanité' (*Montaigne in Motion* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982), 109-11). A consequence of the scholarly impulse to analyse noble travel within cross-European practices however is that no study has been undertaken of Montaigne's engagement with a culture of particularised French travel.

drawback: in bringing together an elite community it seemed to require members of that community to sacrifice their 'franchise'. The question remained as to whether or not such a sacrifice was a necessary evil. Montaigne's chapter 'De l'institution des enfants', as read in conjunction with his writings on travel, evidences, I here contend, that endorsement of the new form of travel was accompanied by fundamental reservations about the Gallocentric terms in which it was carried out.

Montaigne's response to Gallocentric travel

With his *Essais* in print and suffering from acute kidney stones, Montaigne embarked upon his own program of travel, with a copy of his magnum opus in tow.[44] His itinerary was a strictly European one – he travelled through France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Italy – and was nominally conducted in search of a cure for his ailments. His experience did, however, evidently come to take on another dimension: to confirm his view that travel ought to be central to a noble's education. This view is one reinforced in the many emendations Montaigne made to his essay on the topic of education, 'De l'institution des enfants', which, he claims, he wrote in response to a request from a member of the elite French community, Madame Diane de Foix, the Comtesse de Gurson.[45] An educational treatise nominally written to advise on the instruction of de Gurson's son, from its first inception the essay championed the practice of travel.[46] Notwithstanding the generalised title, Montaigne devotes the majority of the chapter to presenting his conception of noble travel as it ought to feature in a young nobleman's education. The conception he puts forward responds to the emergent

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[44] Villey, *Sources et l'évolution des Essais*, Vol. 1, 406.

[45] 'Quelcun donq ayant veu l'article precedant, me disoit chez moy, l'autre jour, que je me devoy estre un peu estendu sur le discours de l'institution des enfans' (*Essais*, 148).

[46] Villey notes that the many alterations made by 1588 reinforced rather than transformed the first edition (*Sources et l'évolution des Essais*, Vol. 1, 407). For a more recent study of the evolution of the *Essais* which similarly identifies an increasingly confident authorial voice, see Thomas Newkirk, 'Montaigne's Revisions', *Rhetoric Review,* 24 (2005), 298-315.

Gallocentric art of travel, not only as methodised by Nicolay and Bernard, but also, Montaigne insinuates, as already being practised by members of the French nobility in their travel to Italy. Employing a metaphor that resonates with Nicolay's argument that a worthy character is not automatically bestowed upon an individual at birth, Montaigne remarks that, although it takes little effort to plant seeds, seeds need sustained cultivation. In his words: 'on se charge d'un soing divers, plein d'embesoignement et de crainte, à les dresser et nourrir'.[47] The parallel nurturing required to rear a child is best conducted, Montaigne espouses, in setting a young noble on a program of travel and encouraging selective schooling in conventional modes of education to complement it. His chapter thus seeks to outline a conception of instruction orientated round travel that goes 'contraire au commun usage'.[48]

Drawing on his educational experience at the Collège de Guyenne, Montaigne is highly critical of the servile approach to knowledge acquisition delivered within the confines of a French institution.[49] Advocating instead independent judgement, he validates a limited role for humanist instruction and looks to reinvest it in his reappraisal of Gallocentric travel. Two interlinked areas receive his attention: classical writings, including those of the great philosophers, and history. Continuing to draw on personal experience, he states that as a child he was happy to obtain a foundational understanding of ancient philosophers, but beyond that, refused to 'y enforcer plus avant' and to '[s]'estre rongé les ongles à l'etude d'Aristote'.[50] His advocation of limited study of the much lauded Greek philosopher is paralleled in the restricted role he outlines for history, a discipline, he declares, he has also liked with 'une particuliere inclination'. History is, he additionally remarks in a statement strikingly redolent of the preface to Bernard's *Discours*, to allow pupils to learn from the examples contained

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[47] *Essais*, 149.

[48] Ibid., 150.

[49] Montaigne critiques his education at the end of the chapter (Ibid., 175).

[50] Ibid., 145.

within and to engage and assert independent judgement on the past.[51] The implementer of such education is, Montaigne outlines, a suitable governor. The governor is to encourage his pupil to express himself instead of just imbibing information, thus producing a pupil with 'la teste bien faicte' rather than 'bien pleine'.[52] These delineated roles for two areas of enquiry give specificity to a constantly reiterated concern, which receives reinforcement in his later emendations: that bookish wisdom ought not to form the kernel of a child's instruction but provide an important, if ancillary, function.[53] Instead, the kernel ought, he argues, to be found in the formative practical experience afforded to a noble germ of travel distinct from the courses of travel of the savant and one which was selectively filtered through the discourse of Gallocentrism so as to protect individual freedoms.

In this, travel required reformulation, as his attack on 'la visite des pays estrangers' as currently effected 'à la mode de *nostre* noblesse' evidences.[54] Eschewing references to Aristotle, Montaigne scorns the new culture of travel, which he interprets as a conventional education in a new guise: the acquisition of exhaustive knowledge and the regurgitation of trivial details such as the size of the Pantheon in Rome, or even, he mocks, 'la richesse des calessons de la Signora Livia'.[55] These criticisms and his earlier advice that a good governor should aim to produce 'un habil' homme' rather than 'un homme sçavant' demonstrate a hope to curb the antiquarian influence on noble travel.[56] My additional contention here is that this impulse was informed by his more general engagement with a social identity to

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[51] Ibid., 146, 156.

[52] Ibid., 150.

[53] Knowledge is 'un grand ornement… un outil de merveilleux service' (*Essais,* 149). Montaigne later adds that 'Sçavoir par Coeur n'est pas sçavoir' since 'une suffisance purement livresque' is of little utility. His hope that knowledge might one day 'serve d'ornement, non de fondement', was also an addition (Ibid., 152).

[54] (My emphasis) Ibid., 153. An equally bitter critique of the way in which the French travel is given in 'De la vanité', a chapter later added to the *Essais* (Ibid., 945-1001).

[55] Ibid., 153.

[56] Ibid., 150.

which, as the punctuating 'nostre' and 'nous' indicates, he was committed, but with whose use of a linguistic articulation of the Other he disagreed. In particular, his (re)evaluation of the noble travel practice and the identity it afforded, is executed, I argue, by vying with the language of non-French barbarism and the secondary network of the enactment of Frenchness, whilst sidelining the language of non-barbaric Frenchness.

Early on in his chapter, Montaigne tackles the role of the Other – in his words, the 'autruy' – in the formation of a young traveller seeking to become part of the elite French community. The practice of engaging with other peoples during travel is so widespread that it has become institutionalised: it is now, he declares, 'cette eschole du commerce des hommes'. However, he considers the process to be flawed. Montaigne speaks of 'ce vice' which, he goes on to highlight, lies in the traveller's inability to see the Other before him due to his blinkered focus on the French self. As Montaigne remarks: 'au lieu de prendre connoissance d'autruy, *nous* ne travaillons qu'à la donner de *nous*'. The tendency is, he adds, to 'emploiter *nostre* marchandise que d'en acquirer de nouvelle'.[57] Engagement with the Other, Montaigne bemoans, is above all perceived as an opportunity to prop up bookish wisdom and display components constituting that French self. Calling on the French community in a further iteration of the 'nous', Montaigne evinces that travel should instead be used as a means to 'frotter et limer *nostre* cervelle contre celle d'autruy'.[58] Here, the verbs 'frotter' and 'limer' reveal Montaigne's expectations of the traveller: to exert himself, even if this means challenging and subsequently shedding his own cultural norms and distinctions; exertion is required to go 'contre' the mindset of the Other. It is above all the Other, he affirms, that ought to challenge the traveller and force him to exercise crucial judgement. Sight cannot, therefore, automatically translate into knowledge.

Montaigne's verb choices have, in turn, implications for the conception of travel he wishes to advocate. Bound up in his advocation of active

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[57] Ibid., 154.

[58] (My emphasis) Ibid., 153.

engagement with the Other is a hesitancy to accept the hierarchy of peoples as confirmed by the Gallocentric language that conditioned and was itself confirmed in noble travel. In short, at the heart of Montaigne's rejection of Gallocentric travel is the misuse of the Other as first initiated in language and then reinforced through its investment in a social practice. His destabilisation of this language thus lies at the heart of his reshaping of Gallocentric travel and, in turn, the framework of a social identity.

Montaigne effects one branch of this destabilisation in a 1588 emendation to his earlier evocation of the term 'civil' in the language of barbaric non-Frenchness alongside a further reference to the 'nous'. The apparent explanation for the refusal to engage with the Other is, he remarks, 'une *incivile* importunité de choquer tout ce qui n'est pas de *nostre* appetit'. Here, Montaigne highlights that the rejection of the Other, as it occurs in the necessary pre-practice shaping of language, derives from the belief that the non-French is inherently 'incivil'. The consequence is, he suggests, that engagement with the Other is considered to be an engagement with the shockingly, not just non-French, but un-French. Notwithstanding the emphatic placement of the adjective before the noun, Montaigne is not, however, willing to endorse such attitudes. In the extensive manuscript addition he later appends to this comment, he marks himself apart from writers such as Nicolay who had espoused the mutual benefits of travel whilst, in truth, implicating other lands and peoples in the consolidation of a sense of superior Frenchness. Drawing on the beseeching modality of the subjunctive Montaigne instead exhorts the traveller to alter his ways: 'Qu'il *se contente*', he exclaims, 'de *se corriger* soy mesme, et ne semble pas reprocher à autruy tout ce qu'il refuse à faire'.[59] Furthering his call to the traveller to exert himself, Montaigne, in a succession of reflexive verbs – 'se contenter' and 'se corriger' – entreaties him to take independent responsibility for his self-improvement rather than filtering his development through a denigrated Other; that is to show an individual approach rather than subordinating himself to the language of civility.

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[59] (My emphasis) Ibid., 154.

This lays the foundation for Montaigne's subsequent attempt to undermine the language of civility and, with it, the language of Frenchness. In the context of relating his contempt of ceremony, Montaigne delivers a powerful exhortation to both his addressee and more general reader: 'Fuie ces images regenteuses et *inciviles*', he encourages.[60] There are two reinforcing stylistic choices here. Firstly, in displacing the adjective 'incivil' back to its rightful place after the noun, Montaigne indirectly denies the adjective a controlling role over noble behaviour. Secondly, in attributing the adjective to a noun relating to a construct formed by the traveller, he brings such an adjective to bear on the traveller himself. The image a French traveller currently harbours of the Other, Montaigne consequently intimates, can be considered a projection of an 'uncivilised' French self.

Intriguingly, deflection of the attribution 'incivil' so that, instead of being applied to the Other, it is assigned to the Frenchman, the attributor himself, is but momentary. Later relaying his agenda of instruction, the earlier endorsement he gave to such a mode is not only muted, but, indeed, appears to be challenged. The conclusion to his comments relating to his concern over the moral make-up of a young noble not only mutes such a re-designation but even disputes it. Now questioning the role of the Other in a noble's instruction whilst nevertheless even validating the language of barbarism he had so deftly rejected earlier on in the essay, Montaigne writes: '[Je] ne veux gaster ses meurs genereuses', he asserts with vehemence, 'par l'*incivilité* et *barbarie* d'autruy'.[61] In a bold use of the reinforcing noun, Montaigne appears to reinstate the language of incivility and reinforce the link between incivility and barbarism with a cognate of 'barbare', the pivotal term in the language of barbaric non-Frenchness.

This is not to suggest, however, that Montaigne fails to mount a sustained challenge to the Gallocentric conditioning of travel. My contention here is that the flickering attribution of language reveals a further dimension of Montaigne's endeavour to shape or, indeed, reshape the Gallocentric art

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[60] Ibid., 154.

[61] (My emphasis) Ibid., 164.

of noble travel. As I examined in Chapter I, the chapter 'Des Cannibales' sees Montaigne tussle at length with the common attribution of the term *barbare*. He poses direct challenges to the typical designation. Yet, he does not ultimately effect any clear assignment or re-assignment of the label. Nevertheless, the brief points at which he deflects the label onto those who normally allocate it acts as a powerful destabilising force on the typical application of the language. I argue that a similar process is employed in his essay on education. Upturning the meaning of incivility, even if momentarily, still constituted a threat to the stability of a nascent language, especially after the publication of works such as La Noue's *Discours*, which were coloured by the language of Frenchness. Moreover, Montaigne's commitment from the inception of his *Essais* to a sustained attack on the emergent and formative language of Frenchness is evidenced in other subversive uses of constituent terms of the primary and secondary networks of Frenchness: the terms 'grossier' and 'paroistre'.

Montaigne's use of a cognate of 'grossier' resonates with his later manipulation of the language of civility. In the first appearance of the term, he appears to entertain elements of the semantics suggested by Nicolay – the 'grossier' as designating the individual who lacks necessary knowledge or experience if he has not travelled – in aligning the term with himself. In the opening sentences of his essay, he declares that he deserves the label given his superficial understanding of a number of disciplines: he is, he admits, disposed only of a basic knowledge of medicine, jurisprudence and the four areas of mathematics, as he only knows 'grossierement ce à quoy elles visent'.[62] Nevertheless, despite this rehearsal of the term 'grossier', Montaigne stops short of reinforcing the term's more divisive semantics: as employed by Nicolay, the individual who was 'grossier' was to be excluded from the elite French community by virtue of his lack of appropriate schooling. In his turn, Montaigne sets in motion the destabilisation of the discourse of barbaric non-Frenchness by attributing positive characteristics to the term 'grossier'. The first stage of this subversion is implicit. In light of

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[62] Ibid., 146.

his sustained attack on exhaustive and comprehensive study, it is strongly insinuated that a lack of knowledge and the possibility of being labelled 'grossier' is not necessarily a cause for concern. The second stage is more direct and reinforces the first. In his further use of the term, again in its adverbial form, Montaigne suggests that the 'grossier' is a meritorious attribute. Engrossed in his discussion of travel, and having embarked upon his campaign to encourage concerted engagement with the Other, Montaigne turns to condemn the overprotectiveness of parents in the education of their children. In a flurry of criticisms, he laments that parents cannot abide seeing their child nurtured 'grossierement', even though, he pointedly adds, this is 'comme il faut'. The examples of tests of strength and endurance he gives to elucidate an alternative education are perhaps activities in which the barbaric Other might expect to be engaged.[63] Interestingly however, Montaigne eschews making the link to the Other. Meanwhile, on the one hand, the choice of extreme pursuits in the characterisation and subsequent endorsement of an education that is happily 'grossier' tacitly furthers his attack on the greatly contrasting form of instruction provided by books. On the other, it allows the 'grossier' to be emphatically elevated to the status of an attribute highly desirable for the elite and yet difficult to obtain. The result is that the boundaries between Otherness and 'non-grossier Frenchness' are left irrevocably blurred. Rather than reacting against the 'grossier', the young noble and those charged with directing his education ought, Montaigne contends, to view the 'grossier' as an aspirational position.

Montaigne's introduction of subversive fluidity into the primary network of Frenchness is perpetuated in his treatment of an element of the secondary network of Frenchness: the verb 'paroistre'. As I outlined in Chapter 3, by the seventeenth century, the verb 'paroistre' had come to denote the donning of an affected superior veneer and was an element in the enactment of Frenchness. Two points of interest emerge from Montaigne's use. Firstly, his argumentation underlines the emergence of inextricably interlinked twin

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[63] One such example is daring to ride a horse backwards (Ibid., 153).

networks of Frenchness at the end of the sixteenth century. Secondly, his disputation emphasises that multiple constituents of the overall discourse accompanied this process of formulation. With regard to his treatment of the verb 'paroistre' and the agency involved in Frenchness, the force of his criticism derives from suggesting that the 'autre', in its normal guise as an undesirable entity, is the Frenchman, whilst upturning the language of civility. Montaigne's contempt is not only for the static images commonly formulated of the Other, therefore, as he indicates in his exhortation to flee 'ces images regenteuses et *inciviles*'. His scorn also extends, as he demonstrates in his subsequent comment, to the active and ongoing process that is, in his view, to confirm a sense of French self through yearning to maintain at least the semblance of being anything but Other. His reasoning for this is that such a move prohibits an individual from shedding his childlike state. With a succession of plosives which underline the link between young behaviour and the impulse to don a character, he divulges his contempt of '[cette] *p*uerile ambition de vouloir *paroistre p*lus fin pour estre autre'.[64] Paradoxically, the insinuation is, in turn, that adherence to this process undermines any form of education. The corollary of this is that to be 'autre' is, equally paradoxically, to remain in an unformed state, contrary to the intended use in the nurturing of an individual.

At each turn, Montaigne's engagement with the language of Frenchness and Otherness is driven by the desire to dismantle or at least cause fissures in any clear-cut boundaries between one group and another. His chapter on education thus foreshadows the grappling with this emergent discourse that is most extensively evidenced later on in the chapter 'Des Cannibales'. Meanwhile, in the current context of a focus on a social practice, in rejecting the language bound up with it, Montaigne casts doubt on the noble activity of travel itself as he witnessed it. This doubt is, moreover, elevated to a full-scale rejection in Montaigne's concurrent efforts to underline the woeful impact of Gallocentrism on the sight-knowledge connection.

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[64] (My emphasis) Ibid., 154.

Examination of Cartier, Thevet and Nicolay's meta-cultural discussions has evidenced that the connection between sight and knowledge was being forged in the latter half of the sixteenth century, nominally at the expense of the humanist adherence to the guiding principle of *auctoritas* and in favour of Gallocentrism. Montaigne suggests, however, that the novel tool for acquiring knowledge, namely the sights experienced during a period of travel, impossibly bring the traveller any closer to truth or knowledge precisely because the view is misguidingly filtered through the distorting lens of Gallocentrism. Early on in his essay, he intimates in the choice of the adjective 'regenteux' in 'ces images regenteuses' that far from being a powerful prop for a traveller, existing guidance on travel controls the peregrinator and hinders his ability to judge and act independently. (It is this control that, as discussed above, effectively allows the traveller to be cast as an uncivilised being.)[65] The effects of such control are, Montaigne stresses in a further emendation to his essay, a devastating blow to personal liberty. In a revision of the end of his survey of the perfect governor, Montaigne expounds upon the societal role for which a governor ought to be preparing his noble tutee. If, Montaigne asserts, a governor is of a similar temperament to himself, 'il luy formera la volonté à estre tres loyal serviteur de son prince et tres-affectionné et tres-courageux'. Like his near contemporaries, Montaigne's vision of education and the role of travel in it is inextricably linked to the needs of a French community; it considers how social practices might be shaped so as to forge a being who might support the royal head of the French elite. Nevertheless, in line with the independent judgement he so vigorously advocates for the young noble, Montaigne restricts his endorsement of such a role. A governor should, he refines, only encourage his tutee to serve his monarch in so far as it is 'un devoir publique'. To be in the king's service is a public obligation and should not form the focus of a noble's life. To go beyond this obligation is, as Montaigne proceeds to outline, to shun the opportunity for independence that ought to remain dear to a member of the French community and is tantamount to self-subjugation.

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[65] Ibid., 154.

'Outre plusieurs autres inconvenients qui blessent *nostre* franchise par ces obligations particulieres', he cautions, are 'le jugement d'un homme gagé et achetté, ou il est moins entier et moins libre…'.[66] For Montaigne, the shackling of judgement is the ultimate disadvantage deriving from excessive servility since it constitutes the fettering of the core constituent of a person's being. The ensuing digression that this statement unleashes loses no time in accentuating the associated incursions on the freedom to speak and think openly, especially for an individual selected to be part of an inner circle.[67] In turn, in the context of Montaigne's discussion of travel, the implication is that allowing one's travels to be too overly guided by a Gallocentric discourse, as well as to be undertaken solely for one's monarch, results in the young noble becoming just as imprisoned in the act of displacement as when educated at home through books. To Montaigne's dismay, as is evidenced in his discussion of the potential enlightening effects of travel and his subsequent characterisation of the French view as blind, this imprisonment has already been injuriously imposed.

Building up to a reiteration of his concern that any view is currently overly focused on the traveller himself, Montaigne invokes the lexical field of light.[68] In a confirmation of the great benefits to be reaped when visiting other places, Montaigne remarks: 'Il se tire une *merveilleuse* clarté, pour le jugement humain, de la frequentation du monde'.[69] Here, a flagrant nod to the autonomous thinking he espouses early on in the chapter is made in the reference 'le jugement humain'. Meanwhile, the real benefit that might be drawn from a revised independent engagement with other peoples is communicated in the pointed adjective-noun formulation 'merveilleuse clarté'. As accounted for in Nicot's 1606 *Thresor,* the 'merveilleux' refers to that

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[66] (My emphasis) Ibid., 155.

[67] As he states : 'Un courtisan ne peut avoir ny loi ni volonté de dire et penser que favorablement d'un maistre qui, parmi tant de milliers d'autres subjects, l'a choisi pour le nourrir et eslever de sa main' (Ibid., 155).

[68] Ibid., 154 (see n. 59).

[69] (My emphasis) Ibid., 157.

which has such a great impact on the beholder that wonder and awe result.[70] Coupled with the metaphor of light, which focuses on the evident elucidation gained through independent travel, the displaced qualifying adjective thus emphasises the potential heights of clarification. Seeing the world and engaging with 'le monde' – the collective 'autruy' – can afford, Montaigne consequently suggests, a precious opportunity to behold sights that might inform the core element of an individual's being: the judgement on which Montaigne places such great emphasis. This is a considerable challenge given the current moderation of the view. Nevertheless, Montaigne's use of a present tense verb in 'il se tire' to preface his striking adjective-noun formulation indicates his belief that the privileged enlightened view, that view afforded to the unhindered individual undertaking travel, is an attainable eventuality.

To achieve this, Montaigne continues, the shackles of Gallocentrism have to be loosened. Subsequent to his expression of hope for a true sight-knowledge connection, Montaigne gives a stark reminder of the currently blinkered state of the French viewer, implicating himself and underlining the issue with a punctuating 'nous'. '*Nous* sommes', he continues asyndetically, 'tous constraints et amoncellez en *nous*, at avons la veue racourcie à la longueur de *nostre* nez'.[71] This lays the way for his most extended entreaty to the French reader and would-be traveller in which he expounds on his vision of the individual who eschews Gallocentric conditioning and subsequently reaps the full rewards of unencumbered travel. As he outlines:

> …qui *se presente*, comme dans *un tableau*, cette grande
>
> *image* de *nostre* mere nature en son entiere magesté; qui
>
> lit en *son visage* une si generale et constante varieté; qui

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[70] Nicot's choice of corresponding Latin terms emphasises this aspect: one Latin equivalent for 'merveille' is given as 'admirabilitas', which ushers forth the common tag in Vergil's *Aeneid* 'mirabile dictu', employed by the classical poet to underline a moment in his narrative that ought to inspire awe in the reader.

[71] Ibid., 157.

se remarque là dedans, et *non soy*, mais tout un royaume, comme un traict d'une pointe tres delicate: celuy-là seul estime les choses selon leur juste grandeur. Ce grand monde, que les uns multiplient encore comme especes soubs un genre, c'est *le mirouer* où il *nous* faut regarder pour *nous connoistre* de bon biais. Somme, je veux que ce soit *le livre* de mon escholier. Tant d'humeurs, de sectes, de jugemens, d'opinions, de loix et de coustumes *nous* apprennent à juger sainement des *nostres*, et apprennent *nostre* jugement à *reconnoistre* son imperfection et sa naturelle foiblesse: qui n'est pas un legier apprentissage. Tant de remuements d'estat et changements de fortune publique *nous* instruisent à ne faire pas grand miracle de la *nostre*. Tant de noms, tant de victoires et conquestes ensevelies soubs l'oubliance, rendent ridicule l'esperance d'eterniser *nostre* nom par la prise de dix argolets et d'un pouillier qui n'est conneu que de sa cheute. L'orgueil et la fiereté de tant de *pompes estrangieres*, la magesté si enflée de tant de cours et de grandeurs, *nous* fermit et asseure la veue à soustenir l'*esclat* des *nostres* sans siller les yeux.[72]

The opening few words of this entreaty, in conjunction with the final condemnation that closes it, summarise the rest of the passage. In the opening, Montaigne has recourse to a reflexive verb to add urgency to his exhortation to his reader to act, echoing his initial call to the reader to act independently.[73] The verb 'se presenter', which is reinforced a few clauses later in a further reflexive verb 'se remarquer', focuses on the central agency of the traveller in the view. The language of representation and reflection, with its overtones of sight, is also initiated in the nouns 'tableau' and 'image'

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[72] Ibid., 157-8.

[73] See n. 58.

and looks forward to the noun 'le mirouer'. The analogy to painting, as linked with the later reference to reflections, indicates the controlling role of constructions and projections as opposed to true visions of other cultures. These constructions and projections are, Montaigne damningly remarks in the close of the entreaty, obscured by too great a focus on the self. Drawing on the force of the tautological construction of the close synonyms 'l'orgeuil' and 'la fiereté' and the suggested transferred epithet 'estrangieres' – although the adjective 'estrangiere' strictly modifies the noun 'pompes', the content, particularly of the following sentence, suggests that the real reference is the traveller himself –, the overwhelming pride in those ceremonies he had earlier chastised places, he argues, the traveller himself in the category of the Other. The most devastating consequence of this pride is, however, that eyes are paradoxically closed to sights (as indicated in the verb 'fermir') and that, he derides in an ironical evocation of the noun 'éclat', sole and unblinking focus is given over to misplaced French greatness. In the opening, Montaigne admits that the self is inevitably the focus since travel is undertaken for individual instruction. He also admits that the view inevitably constructs rather than copies reality. These acknowledgements however only mildly temper his final condemnation, which drives the charged reappraisal of travel he gives in the passage.

Notwithstanding the constraints he identifies, Montaigne insists the traveller's view could be more fruitfully effected. He identifies that a form of self-knowledge – the possibility to 'connoistre' – and even revised self-knowledge – the opportunity to '*re*connoistre' – could be acquired through the resultant image of the view, if only the traveller were to truly contemplate the Other. Travel is, therefore, Montaigne asserts, an opportunity to re-learn and re-view. The de-emphasizing of the self and the shedding of Gallocentrism this entails is a dominating feature of the passage and is communicated in the subtle challenge Montaigne mounts to the agency of the 'nous'. Although 'nous' pervades the passage, in each occurrence it features as an object and is repeatedly subjugated to a domineering verb. Otherwise, the only other reference to 'us' is made in the pronoun 'nostre'.

Meanwhile, subverting the commonplace that was to speak of the book of the world, Montaigne enumerates the multiple chapters, with some flagged, in the alternative 'livre' that he believes the view of the Other offers; this more fruitful book being that which might help the production of an image in which the traveller features in part. The potential components he lists include temperaments, judgements, opinions, laws and customs. By bracketing the list with the nouns 'humeurs' and 'coustumes' firm focus is, however, brought on to manners and habits. This has the following implication: that the traveller is to consider how his self could result from engagement with the Other as manifested especially in these two aspects. The traveller, Montaigne hopes, will thus consider himself more as a constituent object of the resulting overall image of the intersecting cultures making up mother nature, rather than a dominating subject.

The extensive attempts to shift focus in this section, as similarly elsewhere in the treatise 'De l'institution des enfants', are typical of the procedure undergone by Montaigne and his authorial voice in the *Essais*.[74] Staying true to the title of his magnum opus, a title epitomising the various trials and tribulations endured by the author on discussion of each new topic, Montaigne's chapter on the education of children sees him grapple with the emergence of a Gallocentric art of travel. Like his near contemporaries, Thevet and Nicolay, Montaigne seeks to strike a balance between travel as a mode of instruction and the conventional process of learning through the written word so as to cater for the changing needs of the French nobility. His

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[74] In his complementary discussion in his chapter 'De la vanité', Montaigne displays his antipathy for the French traveller who, when travelling in a foreign land, condemns with compatriots observed customs as barbaric. Montaigne almost envisages such a grouping before him, declaring: 'les voilà à se ralier et à se recoudre ensemble, à condemner tant de *meurs barbares* qu'ils voient. Pourquoy non barbares, puis qu'elles ne sont françoises' (My emphasis). A later emendation underlines his contempt for such a custom. He notes that when travelling he avoided sitting with fellow Frenchmen and being served 'à la Françoise', favouring instead tables filled with '[les] estrangers' (Ibid., 985). In sum, Montaigne's profession of his own travel practices in his later chapter reinforces his destabilisation of the language of barbarity effected in his chapter on education.

reservations over the humanist reliance on text for the acquisition of knowledge are, however, much greater. Such hesitancy is predominantly evidenced in his apparent lack of concern for his paltry knowledge of areas of study considered key by humanists, despite his sanctioning of a limited role for history, as well as his presentation of humanist instruction as stultifying. Whilst he acknowledges the inevitable overlap between instruction of the savant and of the young noble, he is hesitant about the extent to which elements of antiquarianism, given the link he perceived it to maintain with humanism, ought to be reflected in the course of a noble's travels. Whilst another point of divergence between the texts is the almost complete absence of discussion of religion in Montaigne's treatise, the most prominent disjuncture is, nevertheless, evidenced in Montaigne's trepidation in endorsing the language of Frenchness, which was increasingly associated with the methodisation of travel.[75] In addition to the multiple attempts to destablise those terms Nicolay had employed with such vigour and determination, there is a striking absence of the language of ferocity and the inhumane that features so prominently in Nicolay's survey of the Other. Instead, placing himself in a virtually diametric opposition to Thevet and Nicolay, Montaigne beseeches his reader and would-be traveller to eschew the new conditions to travel, to rub or file away the control currently wielded over him due to its devastating consequences for the truly knowledge-endowing view.

Conclusion

In Montaigne's essay can be witnessed attempts to reshape the Gallocentric art of travel nascent by the end of sixteenth century. Testimony to the increasing advocation and take-up of this form of travel, his chapter records a contemporary concern at the convergence of prejudiced language and a social practice in order to formulate a superior sense of non-barbaric

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[75] There are, for example, only four fleeting references to 'Dieu' in 'De l'institution des enfants'.

Frenchness, that is a common elite French identity. Montaigne's ruminations on education pave the way to his later rejection of the emerging discourse that saw the Old World reign superior over newly 'discovered' lands, as I discuss in Chapter 2. In 'De l'institution des enfants' Montaigne meanwhile displays discomfort at the concurrent transfer of such views into the European context.

In his writings, I therefore find evidence of the co-existence of complementary discourses articulated in relation to the extra- and intra-European context. Montaigne's *Essais* underline, I argue, the extent to which the two discussions were indissociable and yet contentious when brought closer together. His ruminations also reveal the greater complexity characterising the formation of a more localised identity through a travel practice and associated language, especially in a period of social and political upheaval. Although the Gallocentric model was forged for the elite, this elite, Montaigne suggests, was not prepared to accept the servility bound up within it without an element of contestation. In sum, the fight to safeguard an individual freedom or 'franchise' intensified with efforts to make a French community more cohesive. The 'ideological activism' Swidler identifies in periods of 'unsettled culture' is, therefore, enacted through concurrent permutations of an ideology.[76] Or more precisely, the 'ideological activism' witnessed in periods of 'unsettled culture' can be accompanied by an attempt at *ideological limitation* founded upon a fear of enslaving homogeneity. The ideological limitation witnessed in Montaigne is, I suggest, a form of symbolic expediency which parallels that which I evidenced in my analysis in Chapter 2 of La Noue's *Discours*, and which was prompted by internal impulses rather than relying on external geo-political factors. Montaigne's ideological limitation coloured his appraisal of extra- and intra-European discourses. His efforts do, however, become more sustained once the French context becomes the focus.

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[76] See Chapter 1, n. 73.

Montaigne did not seek to refute wholesale the role of travel as a means of effecting, what Frédéric Tinguely terms in relation to Montaigne's *Journal de voyage*, 'le cercle anthropologique'; that is the use of the Other as a vehicle through which the individual can obtain their own image and subsequently, self-knowledge.[77] The underlying paradox of Montaigne's writing is that his conditioning restricts his ability to practise his revised theorisation. Nevertheless, as he reflects on education and travel before embarking upon his own peregrinations, Montaigne re-conceives a mode of displacement so that any individual in the French community, himself included as part of the 'nous', might reap the greatest benefit. The chapter sees him adhere to the agenda outlined in the introduction of the *Essais*: to maintain the spotlight on the 'je' and engage in a sustained process of self-formation. Meanwhile, the unfinished dismantling of the foundations of noble travel encourages the reader, and would-be traveller, or the individual responsible for directing the travels of young nobles, to partake in the same formative process. The chapter dares those interested in travel to (re-)shape the noble art of travel he outlines so as to obtain personal access to more useful forms of knowledge. To this end, Montaigne's exhortation is direct. In a Horatian citation that would come to epitomise the period of enlightenment, Montaigne commands his reader: 'sapere aude'.[78] In the hope that his noble counterparts maintain a modicum of that individualism and freedom conventionally enjoyed by the nobility, Montaigne goads readers into exercising wisdom wrought from independent judgment rather than derived from an enslaving Gallocentric agenda. His increasing adherence to this conviction, evidently in the face of the increasing hold of Gallocentrism is both demonstrated in the record of his travels in the manuscript *Journal de*

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[77] The manuscript *Journal de voyage* records Montaigne's efforts to engage with other people and customs were even trialed in private. Tinguely cites, for example, Montaigne's decision to sleep with mattresses and linen in line with local custom when travelling through German states ('Montaigne et le cercle anthropologique: réflexions sur l'adaptation culturelle dans le *Journal de voyage*', *Montaigne Studies,* 15 (2003), 25).

[78] *Essais*, 159. This formulation was most famously employed by Kant in his 1784 essay 'What is Enlightenment'. The quote is originally from Horace, *Epistles*, 1.2.

voyage and the myriad manuscript emendations he made to his own copy of the *Essais* in 1588. Yet, although he might show considerable unease at the evident potency of Gallocentrically-informed practices, a glaring irony remains: that in these efforts to dissociate travel from the formation of a noble identity, which he addresses to a selective French audience, he nonetheless forges a closer link with fellow French nobles. Whilst he confirms the centrality of travel to the nurturing of a young noble, in giving advice as to how to maintain a sense of uniqueness, he equally seems to admit that a noble will inevitably end up in the service of his monarch.

Montaigne's criticism of Gallocentric travel in conjunction with the endorsement of Gallocentric travel evidenced in the first half of this chapter demonstrates that by the end of the sixteenth century, the 'barbare' had come to be endowed with, what Koselleck refers to as, the 'plenitude of a politicosocial context of meaning and experience'.[79] The temporal aspect of the discourse of barbarity had come to inform specific social practices: travel southwards to Italy and travel northwards to England. The discourse had thus become a powerful prong in the spatial imagining of parts of Europe, including the old enemy England, and was an imagining which was increasingly formative in the development of a French self. Notwithstanding Montaigne's reservations, both the methodisation and practice of Gallocentric travel, especially to England, would consequently evolve in the seventeenth century. This development in the face of changing geopolitics forms the focus of the following chapter.

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[79] *Futures Past*, 84.

Chapter 6

The Duc de Rohan's Gallocentric Noble Travel to England[1]

Introduction: travel to England

The end of the Wars of Religions in 1598 occasioned great socio-cultural change. As I noted in Chapter 3, the French language and within it, the language of Frenchness, came to be in ascendancy. I also observed that once swords had been laid aside, a competitive social arena became key to the formation and maintenance of a French social identity. Whilst my focus was on the lived experience and concomitant discourse of Frenchness in the lexicographical record as it had evolved by the end of the seventeenth century, I argued that travel to England was a core social experience assisting in the formation of the templates of French culture. My subsequent analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 highlighted, in turn, the ideological activism born out of the unsettled period of war, which had led to the early methodisation of Gallocentric travel through the language of barbarity, first in relation to extra-European travel, and then in relation to more localised intra-European travel, including to England.

Here, I study the accelerated methodisation, practice and record of the nascent confirmatory form of 'interested' noble travel to England. Notwithstanding the ideological limitations Montaigne had sought to impose on localised Gallocentric noble travel, I identify the quick take-up of Gallocentric noble travel in the wake of Beagué's history of England and Bernard and Perlin's early apodemical writings on England. My aim is not to suggest that general detractors of travel did not continue to voice their

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[1] A version of this chapter will feature under the title 'The Duc de Rohan's *Voiage* of 1600: Gallocentric Travel to England in the formation of a French Noble' in the following volume: *Beyond the Grand Tour: Metropolises of the North in Early Modern Travel Culture*, ed. by Sarah Goldsmith, Rosemary Sweet and Gerrit Verhoeven (London: Routledge, [2017]).

repudiations.[2] Nor is it of interest here to rehearse the arguments of seventeenth-century savants in favour of travel as penned in texts directed at their intellectual and socially ambitious counterparts, or, indeed, to consider their own travel accounts, even though many of these enjoyed commercial success in their time.[3] As is exemplified in the case of Samuel Sorbière, this form of travel has hitherto dominated scholarly attention.[4] Antiquarian travel is, instead, of peripheral interest here. As I have argued at length, Gallocentric noble travel developed in contradistinction to antiquarian modes, even if it drew some of its inspiration from them.[5] In the seventeenth century, some nobles travelled like their antiquarian counterparts and their accounts achieved wide approbation amongst a growing readership, Nicolas Payen being a prime example.[6] Whilst general exhortations to travel punctuated

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[2] Interestingly, censures of travel tended to be French adaptations of English texts. The Swiss Protestant Theodore Jacquemot produced a French edition of Joseph Hall's 1617 treatise under the title *Quo vadis? Ou censure des voyages* (Genève: Chez Aubert, 1628). This use of English literature to challenge the utility of travel is counterbalanced by the translation of texts to endorse travel. One example is Richard Lassels' *Voyage d'Italie*, 2 Vols. (Paris: Chez Billaine, 1671). Perhaps also to be listed here is the sceptic Le Vayer's twin treatises on the utility and inutility of travel (*Œuvres de Francois de La Mothe Le Vayer,* Vol. 2 (Paris: Chez Courbé, 1654), 426-33). The treatises were first published in a volume entitled *Petits traitez en forme de lettres* ((Paris: Chez Courbé, 1648), 62-86).

[3] For a tabular summary of the works of antiquarian travellers and apodemicists who wrote on England, see Appendix I. For a study of an early travel guide see Alison Clarke, 'Jean Loiseau de Tourval: A Huguenot Translator in England, 1603–31', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London,* 20 (1960), 36-59. Full details of all other travel writings on England referenced in this chapter can also be found in Appendix I.

[4] Sorbière's travel account of England (*Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre* (Paris: Chez Billaine, 1664)) has long enjoyed considerable scholarly analysis outside of general surveys of travel to England since André Morize's early study 'Samuel Sorbière (1610-1670) et son "Voyage en Angleterre"', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France,* 14 (1907), 231-75.

[5] See Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) for a parallel study.

[6] Payen's *Voyages* were first published in 1663 and went through multiple editions. A parallel example is Samuel Chappuzeau, who published his *L'Europe vivante* in 1667 following multiple trips to England. Chappuzeau's travelogue was also repeatedly

texts penned by the socially ambitious, such as by the lawyer and man of letters, Nicolas Pasquier, and diplomatic embassies to England continued to account for a significant proportion of noble visitors, a culture of extra-diplomatic Gallocentric travel across the channel, stimulated in part out of an intellectual interest in England's past, was in the ascendancy.[7] This was a culture that sought, in the advisory words of Jean Chapelain to his correspondent Du Loir, tutor to the Duc de Valentinois during his course of travel to London, to ensure England was traversed 'avec avantage et promptitude'.[8] Viewing England, or at least London, through the lens of the past and applying the language of barbaric Otherness to the common people would be championed as a prop in the narration of contemporary French greatness.[9] In sum, in response to the questions I posed at the end of Chapter 3, this chapter underlines the central role of travel to England in facilitating the intra-European differentiation required to form and maintain a socially-defined French social identity.

Here, I focus on the particular species of travelogue this alternative course of travel spawned. Chapelain had charged Du Loir with ensuring his noble protégé kept '[une] relation journalière de tout ce qu'il verra et observera de notable dans son voyage'.[10] In this, Chapelain was making an oblique nod to the continued significance of the 'lecta' and to the importance

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republished.

[7] See Pasquier's letters to his children (*Les lettres de Nicolas Pasquier* (Paris: Chez Boutonne, 1623), 61-8, 312-4, 522-4, 586-92). Most accounts of diplomatic travel to England are brief and buried within lengthy memoirs. One exception is the small octavo manuscript account of the embassy of the Duc de la Ville-aux-clercs, who travelled to England as ambassador extraordinary to settle the marriage treaty between Prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria (Henri-Auguste de Loménie de Brienne, 'Relation du voyage de Monsieur de la Ville-aux-clercs en Angleterre, faict en l'année 1624', British Library, London, Sloane MS.1156).

[8] Jean Chapelain, 'Lettres et poésies de Jean Chapelain', Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, NAF, MS.1887, f. 119.

[9] As Robson-Scott notes, for most travellers, 'to know London was to know England' (*German Travellers in England*, 71).

[10] Ibid., f. 114.

of expediently redacting the experience of travel to England for the fruitful consumption of fellow members of the French elite; that is to facilitate armchair travel to a distant northern neighbour and encourage travel to England. These twin functions were to confirm the Gallocentric practice of travel to England as had been in germination in the sixteenth century. If Chapelain had added that it was Du Loir's duty to oversee the redaction of Valentinois' account including 'le choix de ses matériaux', this was first and foremost, I suggest, to ensure that the subordination of knowledge to the discourse of superior Frenchness was effected during the experience of travel itself.[11]

England came to exert great magnetism on members of a French nobility keen to assert themselves in a competitive social sphere. In the words of the eccentric noble apodemicist, François du Soucy, writing in 1650, so overrun was the country with travellers that England had become, he asserts, 'presque Françoise'.[12] Du Soucy's comment is no doubt a gross exaggeration. Nevertheless, his remark bears witness to the mushrooming of this direction of travel in the seventeenth century. In addition, it highlights the turgid French hubris that coloured discussions of travel and, with it, the concentric view of Europe that travel helped to construct.

In this chapter, I explore the consolidation of this little-studied culture of travel, as recorded in the travelogue of a *noble d'épée* and early practitioner. The Duc de Rohan's 'Description de mon Voiage', which was written up in 1600 after he had returned from his travels, confirms, I contend, that the form of historicised Gallocentric travel to England which allowed intra-European differentiation, was endorsed as a formative upper elite

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[11] Ibid.

[12] *L'Art de voyager utilement* (Paris: Chez Bessin, 1650), 2. Embedded in a volume with multiple texts guiding the would-be courtier, Du Soucy's presentation of travel for the upper elite reaffirms the themes of the early apodemicists, including the self-interest of noble travel. As he notes in the middle of his eulogy: 'les grands apprennent ce qu'ils valent chez les étrangers' (Ibid., 13).

practice as the seventeenth century dawned.[13] I argue that in his *Voyage* Rohan provided a template for travel to England that would be replicated, both in apodemical literature and the act of travel, throughout the century.[14] In addition to being one of the earliest extant accounts of Gallocentric travel to England, Rohan's travelogue is also, I suggest, of especial interest by virtue of the medium of its redaction: as a manuscript travelogue, it reveals the restricted elite readership Rohan – as similarly in the examples of later Gallocentric noble travellers – sought to target.[15] The continued relevance of the *Voyage* and the blossoming of this manner of travel is, meanwhile, demonstrated in its later publication in 1646.[16]

In the introduction, I argued that a core aim of my current study is to re-evaluate a falsely homogenising scholarly narrative of travel to England and instead identify specific germs of travel and consider their socio-cultural

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[13] For Rohan's manuscript, see 'Voyage d'un gentilhomme français en Italie, Allemagne, Pays-Bas, Angleterre et Écosse; signé 'H. D. R'', Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MS.17173. The text was later published as the *Voyage du Duc de Rohan en Italie, Allemaigne, Pays-Bas Uni, Angleterre, & Escosse* (Amsterdam: Chez Elzevier, 1646). All citations are taken from the later and more widely available printed version.

[14] The Huguenot writer and one-time refugee in England, Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, sent his son on a tour of Europe, including to England. Duplessis-Mornay even bequeathed funds so that his grandsons might also visit England (Charlotte Duplessis-Mornay, *Les Mémoires de Madame de Mornay*, ed. by Nadine Kuperty-Tsur (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2010), 91, 97, 147-50; Raoul Patry, *Philippe du Plessis-Mornay. Un huguenot, homme d'état, 1549-1623* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1933), 10-9). For advice on travel to England, see Thomas Pelletier's *La Nourriture de la noblesse* (Paris: Chez Jean Sara, 1604), 95v-107v. Other travellers to England include: the Duke de Chevreuse (1663); the Duke de Chavigny (1676), and an anonymous courtier (1671).

[15] The account of the anonymous courtier travelling in 1671 is a prime example. Some nobles, such as François de Laboullaye Le Gouz, published their travelogues. The majority of accounts, however, remained in manuscript as a result of their intended elite readership. A further contextual point is that authors endured an uneasy status before the eighteenth century, with writing for an occupation denigrated by the upper classes.

[16] Circulation of the manuscript around the French elite is evidenced, for example, in its subsequent ownership by the statesman, Balthasar-Henry de Fourcy, whose ex-libris features on the cover of the manuscript.

implications. In sum, I outlined my engagement in a taxonomical reappraisal that would assess the implications of such recategorisation for understanding the development of a French identity. Turning to examine noble French travel in the seventeenth century and its role in shoring up a French social identity in this chapter, it seems appropriate here to evaluate perhaps the most distorting framework imposed in studies of French travel writing: that is the propensity to consider all instances of noble French travel a species of the English 'Grand Tour', as indeed Rohan's *Voyage* has repeatedly been categorised.[17] Scrutiny of the presumptions brought to bear on French noble travel by this label is, I contend, required if the current scholarly narrative is to be revised. Hence, in this chapter I seek not only to examine the intricacies of a neglected record of travel, but through its analysis of a rare early record of elite travel, I also look to provide a foundation for the revised theoretical framework of Gallocentric noble I have hitherto put forward. I therefore first turn to advocate this more individualised conceptualisation of early modern elite travel, in light of the distortions I identify in the misuse of the term the 'Grand Tour'.

From the 'Grand Tour' to Gallocentric noble travel

The term 'Grand Tour' was first coined by Richard Lassels in 1670 to refer to travel to France and Italy undertaken by young English nobles as the final stage of their education.[18] It is now commonly employed by scholars to denote instructive travel undertaken by the young European nobility in general. Although the label goes some way in accounting for the rise of intra-European noble travel, methodological issues arise, however, in its application in studies of the increasingly itinerant French nobility. The effect

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[17] Ernest Bates, *Touring in 1600: A Study in the Development of Travels as a Means of Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 31; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician: The Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne, 1573-1655* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 44; Jonathan Dewald, *Status, Power, and Identity in Early Modern France: The Rohan Family, 1550–1715* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), 52.

[18] *The Voyage of Italy*, Vol. 1 (Paris: to be sold in London by Starkey, 1670), preface.

is to superimpose a homogenised interpretation of European noble travel practices from the sixteenth century onwards onto conventional understanding of the English custom, thus distorting both analysis of English forms of travel and parallel European trends. Jean Boutier's analysis is typical of two interlinked trends: firstly, the conceptualisation of the Grand Tour as a cross-European rather than an exclusively English and complex practice; secondly, the narration of the development of noble travel as a practice that grew independently of increasing territorial cohesion and the nascent geographically-defined loyalties in germination in early modern Europe.[19] The Grand Tour was, Boutier contends, 'une experience partagée' concerning 'l'ensemble des aristocraties européennes'.[20] In his view, if restrictions are to be placed on the term, these are to be conceived of in typological rather than geographical terms: his use is thus limited to the 'le voyage d'éducation, pratiqué le plus souvent, mais pas exclusivement, par les fils de la noblesse' as opposed to the other types of tour – that of the older wealthy individual or that of the intellectual – as categorised by Robert Shackleton.[21] Moreover, if the practical details of elite travel differed, the ideology that underpinned it – that is to educate an elite not yet initiated into adult society – remained, in Boutier's opinion, consistent.[22] In his study of European elite travel to Italy, Bertrand similarly locates the origins of noble educative travel in England. The Grand Tour was, he explains, a pedagogical tool conceived by the English in the sixteenth century and later developed in the seventeenth century before being adopted by continental elites.[23] As for the terminology of the Grand Tour, elsewhere Bertrand endorses the notion

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[19] For example, Jeremy Black, 'Grand Tour', in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. by Alan Kors, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 151-3. Rubiés similarly presents the Grand Tour as an originally English noble practice that was subsequently rolled out across Europe ('Instructions for Travellers', 174).

[20] Boutier, 'Le Grand Tour: une pratique d'éducation', 8.

[21] 'The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century' in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, ed. by Louis Milic (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1971), 127-42.

[22] Boutier, 'Le Grand Tour: une pratique d'éducation', 12.

[23] *Le Grand Tour revisité*, 2.

as 'un concept à valeur opératoire' and 'un mot valise qui englobe l'histoire des transferts culturels'.[24] Boutier might recognise the need for scholars to nuance current conceptualisations: he concedes, for example, that further research is required to consider divergences as well as convergences from the core model of elite travel, and also notes that travel could in fact sharpen national affiliations and reinforce difference.[25] Notwithstanding Boutier's acknowledgement of the methodological fault-line created by the adoption of a rigid anglocentric framework however, the notion of the Grand Tour underpins his interpretations of elite travel, as well as those of others, not least those interpreting the travel of Rohan.[26]

Here, whilst dispensing with the obfuscating terminology of the Grand Tour, I sketch the French branch of the particularised cultures of elite travel to which Boutier nods. There was no part of a French noble's itinerary, I argue, that could be categorised as a species of the Grand Tour. The term was not employed in early modern French travel writing. Nor does it appear to have been assimilated into French culture, given its absence as a compound lexical unit, even in the later eighteenth-century editions of the Académie's *Dictionnaire*.[27] In a telling indication of the extent to which the term lacked resonance for a contemporary French audience, the 1671 French translation of Lassels' travelogue rendered the now much-cited phrase 'the Grand Tour *of* France' as 'le tour de France'.[28] Meanwhile, the term to which most travellers had recourse was not 'tour' at all, but a word with quite different resonances: 'voyage'.

This leads to a second point that highlights the importance of studying past travel practices through appropriate contemporary terminology, rather

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[24] 'Le Grand Tour: une expression problématique'.

[25] Boutier, 'Le Grand Tour: une pratique d'éducation', 9-10, 20-1.

[26] See n. 17.

[27] In references to a 'Grand Tour' in the entries for 'tour' in the *Dictionnaire*'s first, fourth and fifth editions (1694, 1762 and 1798 respectively) 'grand' is employed as a qualifying adjective rather than a constituent of a compound term or well-defined cultural concept. Entries for 'voyage' also do not reference the term 'Grand Tour'.

[28] *Voyage d'Italie.* Vol. 1, preface.

than through notions borrowed from disjunct cultural contexts. Contrary to current scholarly conceptualisations of the Grand Tour as a practice which sought to transcend the geographical separation of Europe's elite, the French 'voyage', as witnessed in the complementary formulation of travel northwards with travel southwards, served quite a different purpose, one which capitalised upon space and distance in the formation of an unique identity. As recorded by contemporary French dictionaries and apodemical writings, unlike the term 'tour', which designated localised and restricted displacement, the term 'voyage' carried connotations of adventure and was coloured by an emphasis on the experience of distant, far-off locations.[29] The 'voyage' was, therefore, both in terms of the original experience and the account subsequently authored for fellow elite consumption, perceived to designate encounters and the record of encounters with distanced others. On purely this evidence, the 'voyager "entre soi"' and journey of self-exploration was not, therefore, as Boutier explains, a paradox of elite travel.[30] Rather, it was intrinsic to it.

Two further points of contention in response to the use of the English Grand Tour as a benchmark bring discussion back to this chapter's case study of the *Voyage* of the Duc de Rohan: the first issue concerns who undertook such travel; the second, how such travel came to be developed. A royal servant who returned to education, albeit whilst still only eighteen years old, the Duc de Rohan affords an example of an individual who defies the categorisation suggested by Shackleton: as an adult noble with financial means, Rohan nevertheless remained part of the younger elite who self-invested in travel as an instructive tool.[31] This identifies fluidity between

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[29] Nicot's 1606 *Thresor* lists examples of travel to Jerusalem and Germany for war. Antoine Le Brun's French edition of Lispius' much-read Latin apodemical treatise, meanwhile, chose the term 'voyage' to relay the connotations of exotic travel bound up in the Latin 'peregrinatio' (Juste Lipse, *Le Choix des épistres de Lipse* (Lyon: Chez Radisson, 1650), 17-33. Le Brun's translation was first published in 1619. Here, I cite from the more readily available later edition.) For discussion of Lipsius see Chapter 4, n. 10.

[30] Boutier, 'Le grand tour: une pratique d'éducation', 20.

[31] See n. 21.

different cultures of travel that is distorted by the application of typologies. Currently, understanding of the development of French noble travel is caught between two interpretations. On the one hand, there is Bertrand's suggestion that the English model came to be rolled out across Europe.[32] On the other, as I have studied in Chapter 4, cross-European studies of the art of travel or *ars apodemica* such as that by Stagl reinforce Boutier's transnational approach in marking the methodisation of travel cultures as a European phenomenon.[33] The issues posed by such interpretations are further compounded by the suggestion that travel practices were developed singly by treatises. Meanwhile, the travel account is assumed to be simply a record of the implementation of travel rather than a potential contributor to the evolution of the practice.[34] Yet, like earlier accounts of voyages to exotic lands, descriptions of travel to England, which often harnessed the obstacle posed by the English channel to relay travel to a distant land, owe their existence to a desire to inform an eager audience, to whet the appetites of compatriots and to exert an instructive force even if, as Rohan's *Voyage* exemplifies, this audience was limited to the inner elite. They also attest to an early impulse to regulate the practice of travel from within the highest ranks. In other words, Rohan evidences a parallel form of ideological consolidation I witness in the lexicographical record.[35]

Rohan's *Voyage* boasts particular importance in the study of the methodisation of French travel: it plugs a forty-year void that currently exists in the scholarly account of the French *art de voyager*.[36] Multiple devices were employed to achieve such ends. The configuration of the relationship between geography and history in conjunction with the selective reiteration of the language of barbarity examined here stands, I argue, at the core of

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[32] See n. 23.

[33] See Chapter 4, n. 2 and n. 3.

[34] See Stagl, *Apodemiken*.

[35] See Chapter 3, n. 10.

[36] There is a gap in Doiron's study, *L'Art de voyager*, between 1578 (the publication of Lipsius' treatise) and 1619 (Le Brun's French translation of the treatise). (See Chapter 4, n. 10 and *infra* n. 29 respectively.)

Rohan's endeavour to place travel to England at the service of a French elite concerned to form and subsequently maintain its status and identity. Far from being, as Jonathan Dewald contends, 'proudly cosmopolitan as he moved about Europe', Rohan traversed neighbouring states, especially England, with a rigid hierarchy of nations in mind.[37] It is this hierarchy, bolstered through linguistically propped-up marrying of the past with the present landscape, which he set down and promulgated in his *Voyage*.

Rohan's blueprint of noble travel and travel writing

Henri, Duc de Rohan, was born into one of the most illustrious Breton families of the period. In 1595, aged sixteen years old and having been educated by his widowed mother, a revered intellect of her time and Huguenot heiress, Catherine de Parthenay, Rohan left his native region of Brittany to be presented at court. As befitted his status as a member of the *noblesse d'épée,* and given the bitter conflicts that still loomed large for France, he was allocated a post in the French army. When peace ensued three years later however, he became redundant in the service of the king. Bereft of his soldiering function and aware that, despite having seen active military service, at eighteen years old he remained 'plus propre à apprendre qu'à servir pour l'heure à sa patrie', he was impelled, as he observes in the opening of his travelogue, to embark upon a period of travel.[38] In the manuscript account of his travel across southern and northern European states, which he laid out in the style of printed travel works through adding summary margin notes, Rohan gives little detail on the trials, tribulations, pleasures and daily intricacies of his journey. Only by turning to records kept by a member of his entourage, the well-reputed physician Theodore de

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[37] Dewald, *The Rohan Family*, 38.

[38] *Voyage*, 1.

Mayerne, is it possible, for example, to discern the make-up of the travelling party.[39]

Nevertheless, the narrative contained in his account is of greater interest than current critique allows.[40] Setting out from Paris on 8 May 1599, Rohan was one of the first, if not the first, to embark upon a period of instructive travel under the newly brokered peace. Contrary to the narrative that describes noble travel – including that undertaken by Rohan – as the final stage of education, the example of Rohan confirms that travel was also utilised as a vehicle of further education by existing members of the French court.[41] In so doing, he rejected the Protestant movement at the end of the sixteenth century which had dismissed the benefits of travel and had advocated attendance at noble academies in its place.[42] Seemingly the only member of his entourage to produce an account, Rohan meanwhile honoured his obligation to share his experience of travel and facilitate the conditioned sight-knowledge connection accounts of travel were supposed to afford. His hope, he declares at the opening of the *Voyage*, is that his record might act as an aide-mémoire, both for his benefit and the benefit of his noble acquaintances.[43] The restriction of the readership of the *Voyage* was, he underlines, of particular importance: in the address to his mother at the close of his account, he reiterates his desire that only '[ses] plus particuliers amis' and others whom his mother might deem worthy of learning from him might peruse his travelogue.[44] He is, therefore, clear in his intentions to redact more than simply a personal record. His aim is, he evidences, also to

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[39] Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, 45, 52. Mayerne's notes reveal that Rohan was accompanied by his younger brother Benjamin, the later Duc de Soubise, Armand Nompar de Caumont, heir to the highest ranking Protestant family in Guyenne, and several other unnamed Huguenot young nobles.

[40] Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, 45. Trevor-Roper dismisses Rohan's account as having 'the dry character of Baedeker'.

[41] Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat*, 187-92.

[42] Jacquemot's *Quo vadis?* was born out of this movement (see n. 2).

[43] *Voyage*, 2.

[44] Ibid., 255.

be of service to his social equals and, in light of his declared loyalty to the king, assist them in entering the elite court community. His own individual furtherance nevertheless remains central. It is, first and foremost, he affirms in his statement of intentions, for himself – 'pour moi' – that he had compiled the *Voyage*.[45]

The foundations of French intra-European eminence

If there was one form of travel Rohan is adamant that his *Voyage* would not endorse, that was antiquarian travel and its exhaustive chronicling of curiosities. Throughout the *Voyage* Rohan takes great pains to present his account as a selective record. He would, he remarks in his comments on Strasbourg, only describe an object 'digne d'être remarqué' and worth being remembered.[46] He is not, he also affirms elsewhere, interested in giving lengthy histories of towns.[47] Nevertheless, he endows artfully chosen moments from the past with a formative role in his redaction of his experience of northern cities, layering his description of selected English and Scottish cities with highly charged historical references. This stratagem is made central to his bid to envision a France as glorious in its past as in its present and future exploits and sees him more generally advocate the sight of foreign cities as a means of mapping such eminence. In Harris' theorisation, Rohan's *Voyage* thus engages in a form of 'fossilization' according to which palimpsestic modes of writing testify to the continued importance of the past for the present.[48] Though a Protestant travelling with memories of the staunch religious loyalties that had underpinned internal French conflict, a socio-geographical identification as a noble Frenchman seems to have superseded any religious and regional loyalties. If English travel writing of the late seventeenth century, as Tony Claydon espouses,

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[45] Ibid., 2.

[46] Ibid., 9-10, 33.

[47] See his description of Rome (Ibid.*,* 58-9).

[48] See Chapter 2, n. 74.

championed Protestant internationalism, Rohan's *Voyage* testifies to the opposite phenomenon in French travel writing at the turn of the century. As it weaves a narrative of a superlative Christian nation of France in geo-historical terms around which his social equals might rally, his *Voyage* exhibits a wish to formulate a cross-denominational elite French self.[49] To this end, he seizes the opportunity afforded in the account of travel to England and Scotland to employ pointed geographical references and bring historical events to bear on topographical descriptions of cities. Promulgating Bernard's nascent model, Rohan thus uses events in English history to French advantage.

Of particular interest to the current study is that the geo-historical account Rohan gives in the *Voyage* is contextualised within, firstly, an assertion of European cohesion in the face of the Turkish barbarian and secondly, an incremental narrative of French eminence, which he initially articulates in his preceding account of travel to Italy. Together, these two elements make his later crafting of his account of travel to England and Scotland all the more marked in their assertion of intra-European French eminence at the expense of a barbaric English Other. A tie remains to Brittany, a region he labels '[sa] patrie'.[50] Nevertheless, a broader French social identity comes to the fore as his predominant identity.

The opening of the *Voyage* sees Rohan outline the predominant motivation behind his travels: this was, he asserts, to see 'le pays, [les] princes et coustumes des Chrestiens'.[51] He later reaffirms his sense of travelling round a Christian land in his designation of Venice as 'une République la plus riche & la plus redoutable de toute la Chrétienté'.[52]. To reinforce this suggestion of Christian cohesion, on coming to give a truncated history of Vienna, he makes a judicious selection of the antiquity his *Voyage*

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[49] See *Europe and the Making of England, 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 7, 61, 66.

[50] *Voyage*, 180.

[51] Ibid., 1.

[52] Ibid., 31.

will record. In his brief note on the fortifications of the city, he gives a description of 'une petite statue d'un Turc', which was, he notes, erected to commemorate the glorious resistance of the Christians to the enemy from the East in the Siege of Suleiman on 13 September 1529. Rohan is, in turn, sure to relate the symbolic significance of the statue. It is, he relates, 'une des plus belles singularitez de ladite ville'. Its beauty is not, however, due to its craftsmanship. Instead, it is, he explains, 'renommée… pour la valeur dudit Turc' for, though a small town, Vienna had fended off the Turkish menace.[53] Evocation of this Christian victory also affords Rohan the opportunity to articulate a more individual sense of fear of the East and subsequent division. In the opening of his *Voyage* Rohan had declared he had wished to 'aller voir l'empire des Turcs'.[54] Here, he expounds on why he had abandoned such a course of travel. Despite wanting to continue his course towards Hungary, he bemoans, 'le danger du Turc' had prevented him from continuing his course, leaving him to restrict his itinerary to take in only Lavarin, which is, he described in striking terms, 'une des plus fortes places du pays, pour le moins de ce qui reste aux Chrestiens'.[55] Travel to Vienna and reference to a holy battle is thus subordinated to the narration of, in the first instance, a strong sense of loyalty to Christendom and, in the second, some nascent form of individual difference, both of which he articulates through reference to the Turkish *threat*. In light of the strong sense of intra-European differentiation he subsequently puts forward, his expression of Christian loyalty in fact emerges as a macrostructure of identity. Set against a background of extra-European difference, Rohan meanwhile relates his more localised identity. In this, his descriptions of his travels to Milan and Pavia are exemplary, and additionally foreshadow the calculated discourse woven in his account of England and Scotland and its cities.

Having recounted his journey through northern Italian cities, including the rich Christian republic of Venice, Rohan reaches his account of his stay

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[53] Ibid., 126.

[54] Ibid., 1.

[55] Ibid., 127.

in Milan. Here, he relates a curious masking of identity: he posed, he notes, as a traveller from Lorraine when entering Milan's citadel so as to pass unnoticed as a travelling Frenchman. As his ensuing description records however, though he was willing to superficially shed his identity so as to gain unhampered access to the site – 'comme François', he noted, 'il est tres difficile & presque impossible de la voir' – not only did his commitment to being 'François' remain, but his endeavours to positively adumbrate the ramifications of that identity continue to be his focus.[56] He employs his account of a surreptitious visit of the citadel as a vehicle through which he might articulate his steadfast loyalty to France and his concomitant hopes for the future of a great France. This is revealed in the closing commentary to his brief description of the citadel:

> En somme, c'est la plus accomplie forteresse que j'aye jamais veu, n'y manquant rien à mon jugement, si non que *la garnison n'est pas Françoise*. Apres donc l'avoir veuë selon que le peu de temps m'en donna le loisir, je partis de Milan: *non sans regret* de ne la voir possedée de ses legitimes seigneurs, mais en Esperance qu'un jour, nous la *re*conquer*ons* justement, avec plus de gloire que nous ne l'avons perdue par malheur.[57]

Rohan continues by acknowledging the ability of the citadel to hold six thousand men in the event of a battle. Here, however, he reavels his sorrow that the foreign fortress is not held by rightful French overlords. Underlining his disappointment in the litotic construction 'non sans', in the succeeding

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[56] He prefaces his explanation with the note: '…me disant estre Lorrain j'entray dans la Citadelle, que je vis fort à mon aise' (Ibid., 41). Lorraine did not become part of France until 1766.

[57] (My emphasis) Ibid., 42.

future tense verb with its reiterative prefix 're' ('*re*conquerons'), Rohan asserts with vehemence his belief that a superlatively glorious France might soon exert its power over nearby European cities.

This hoped-for future eminence is a fitting preface to his account of Pavia, which immediately succeeds that of Milan. On arriving in Pavia and setting eyes upon 'les murailles', the historical memory of a devastating defeat for the French, which ended with the capture of the French monarch, François I, namely, the Battle of Pavia, which was a conflict fought between the French and Spanish in 1526, takes precedence. Earlier, when in Munich, his visit to the curiosity cabinet of Duke Louis had been focused on two items affording the communication of one sentiment alone: 'la casaque & l'espée', which had stirred up sorrow in his breast and the conviction that this was rare plunder from the French.[58] The sense of regret mixed with hope and even pride is emulated in his account of the battle itself. He describes Pavia as the place 'ou le malheur accompaigna, *& nostre roy & sa nation*, de telle façon que ne pouvant estre deffaicte que par soy mesme'. In this description, he maintains that such is the existing greatness of France that its historical defeat could only have been down to its own failings and certainly not as a result of the superior military capabilities of other nations. This is a belief he repeats in his following comment on the subsequent release of François I from imprisonment through the help of Charles V who, he remarked, 'par l'espreueve qu'il avoit faict contre *nous*, & trop cognu pour luy que la *nation Françoise* ne pouvoit estre vaincuë que par elle mesme'.[59] In a further reiteration of French greatness in aid of an encomium to French ability, Rohan reveals his belief in a definition of France through a strong royal figurehead. As he underlines in his use of the first person plural and, subsequently, in the combination '& nostre roy & sa nation', in which he juxtaposes a further reiteration of the first person plural with the third person singular pronoun, this figurehead ought to form the focus of French loyalties. Through the interlinking of geography and history in his account of two Italian

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[58] Ibid., 22-3.

[59] (My emphasis) Ibid., 43.

cities, against a background of the Turkish Other, Rohan thus lays the foundation for his ensuing narration of French greatness over non-continental Christian states.

A geo-historical account of a barbaric English Other

As distant lands to which a noble could travel, England and Scotland were potentially useful props in Rohan's promulgation of a vision of French eminence, if narrated as inferior to France with his eyewitness authority.[60] In a rare commentary on his personal experience of travel, Rohan separates his opening survey of English and Scottish history and his description of London with a report on the perilous channel crossing from Holland to England. He relays an account of nearly thwarted travel, detailing how the travelling party were kept as 'vagabons' for '4 jours & nuicts par une tempete' before finally reaching port by nothing other than 'par la grace de Dieu'.[61] Conspicuous by their inclusion, such remarks are not only an interesting avatar of the rituals of departure and travel Doiron highlights as a typical narrative device of travellers, but also allow Rohan to recast his travels to the capital city of London as a voyage of courageous exploration and discovery, akin to that undertaken by adventurers to the East and the New World.[62] Moreover, their incorporation into an otherwise seemingly detached account exerts a determined rhetorical effect: to foreshadow his subsequent presentation of England as a barbaric nation in a state of decline, and Scotland, a distant nation which owed its fortuitous position to the steadfastness and might of its ally, France. If the 'remoteness of Britain was – like that of India or Ethiopia or the remotest parts of Germany – simply too useful in classical thought to be surrendered', then it had an equally potent

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[60] Ibid., 180.

[61] Ibid., 191.

[62] Normand Doiron, 'Les rituels du départ de quelques voyageurs renaissants', *Études françaises,* 22 (1986), 5-16.

rhetorical use in early modern France.[63] Together, these descriptions underpin a climactic affirmation of a superior civilised France on the verge of a golden age, a statement itself subjugated to the greater cause of providing the firm base structure of a commendable elite identity.

With reference to the English historian William Camden, Rohan heads the end section of his travel account with a survey of English history and geography, which initially reinforces his characterisation of a mighty England.[64] A nation bestowed with honour by virtue of being descended from the Gauls, an early glimmer of French partiality, England is contrasted with the regions that constitute Scotland and are 'plus sterile[s]'.[65] Rohan emphasises England's natural good fortune by designating it a country 'fort fertile, fort peuplée, & fort riche'.[66] He goes on to reiterate such praise in the opening of his account of London. London is, he proclaims with a generous application of adjectives reinforced with quantifiers, 'comparable avec les plus grandes, les plus riches, & les plus peuplées de la Chrestienté'. The port city boasts a situation without doubt 'extrêmement belle', being located 'en fort bon pays' on the banks of the River Thames, itself described as 'fort grande et belle'.[67] Rohan is equally reverent of the historical military strength of London, as well as of other English cities. No town, Rohan underlines, has ever fallen victim to an invading force. London is an impenetrable capital whose Roman walls have, he declares, saved it from being 'saccagée, bruslée & rasée, & de tant d'autres mutations que souffrent ordinairement celles qui ressent telles afflictions survenantes des sieges'.[68] The final component of his apparent eulogy to London comes in his account of

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[63] Greg Woolf, *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2011), 92. Woolf makes this statement in relation to Tacitus' *Agricola*. He continues to trace the same rhetorical device in Cassius Dio's writings (Ibid., 93-4).

[64] See Chapter 5, n. 35 for discussion of the use of Camden by travellers.

[65] *Voyage*, 184.

[66] Ibid., 190.

[67] Ibid., 194-5.

[68] Ibid., 195-6.

architecture. London is a city, he relates, 'ornée de quantité de beaux édifices'. Having marked out the Royal Exchange as particularly noteworthy, Rohan also commends Saint Paul's, Cheap Street and London Bridge. Together, these observations construct an image of London as wondrous by virtue of its natural and physical landscape.

In terms of its governance and people however, Rohan has a very different story to tell. His depiction of an awesome city accentuates the other half of the starkly dichotomised vision of England he seeks to peddle. This alternative view presents England as a nation whose people inhabit a splendid environment but fall far short of their illustrious ancestry. To bring such a vision into focus, in the first instance Rohan tempers his superficially favourable sketch of London by refusing to overlay the cityscape with complementary historical colouring. Although he admires the historically proven strength of English city defences, particularly in the capital, Rohan denies London any continued significance. To curb his discussion of the city's history after his comments on its walls, he declares that since little of note had recently taken place in London, he is compelled to move on to speak of the city's architecture.[69] His brief and pointed description of the area linked to the monarch – Westminster – similarly presents the city as a locale that had stagnated since its glory days. Whereas his praise of the physical environment, both natural and manmade, had been unbridled, his account of Westminster is abrupt, with remarks on the English court and its head, the queen who had been fawned upon by his travelling Huguenot predecessors, notably absent.[70] Declaring that the only object worthy of remark is the church by virtue of the royal tombs it contains, he draws his report of London to a close whilst again acknowledging the superb location of the city. On the one hand, he evidences some level of respect for monarchs that echoes his

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[69] Ibid., 196.

[70] In contrast, Charlotte Duplessis-Mornay records how her husband, Phillippe, ripped up and hid a poem he had written for the English monarch in case he was intercepted during his 1572 mission to the English court, which he undertook to entreaty Elizabeth I to champion the Protestant cause (Duplessis-Mornay, *Mémoires*, 91).

praise of the French king. On the other, such reiteration further underlines the disjuncture between the nation's geographical prosperity and its insignificant political status: now only the sepulchres of past monarchs were worthy of observation.[71] Meanwhile, the decision to eschew description of the English court is soon highlighted for its rhetorical effect. In the digression that follows his review of London, Rohan declares that he had undertaken his travels to gain 'la veuë de deux cours' of England and Scotland.[72] Yet, whilst English governance and custom feature prominently in his later discussion of different political systems, as I will analyse below, in his travel account proper, Rohan denies England any political prominence through omission of a description. This image of decline, in great part constructed through presenting England as a country of historically insurmountable military prowess, lays the foundation for his exaltation of historical and contemporary French greatness in his subsequent account of Scotland.

Near the end of his account, Rohan starts to reveal his core reason for travelling: to engage in the comparative political and socio-cultural survey of nations that travel allows. The first indication of this impulse, and the accompanying objective to narrate French greatness, comes in an ominous comment he makes in the middle of his introduction to England. Here, he underlines the importance of not only observing the external form of governments, but also penetrating their inner nature so as to witness '[la] dissemblance tres grande du government de chaque Royaume ou Republique de la Chrestienté'.[73] In the extended discussion of nations that succeeds his account proper, Rohan explains such differentiation by juxtaposing French civility with English barbarity. To preface this character survey and endow it with the necessary geo-historical colouring, he first however narrates his travel to Scotland in contrasting terms to those he uses to report on his travel to England. Whilst his remarks on England had not engaged in such scrutiny, in a bid to underline the disparity between the

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[71] *Voyage*, 198.

[72] Ibid., 199.

[73] Ibid., 200.

geographical and political landscape, his account of Scotland triumphs the complementarity between natural and civil prosperity. Though dedicating less space to this final stage of his travels, the concentration of praise of Scotland is marked. He revises his earlier description of Scotland as sterile by designating it 'plus fertile qu'aucune autre nation'.[74] This remark underpins, in turn, his later presentation of Scotland as a kingdom whose elite are worthy of admiration and whose monarch is the paragon of a good and virtuous leader and is thus, in contrast to the English queen, worth observing in the flesh.[75] Nevertheless, notwithstanding his apology of Scottish greatness, Rohan is careful to frame his discussion so as to suggest the northern state is neither a true equal to other European nations nor solely responsible for its current prosperity. In the opening of his commentary, he stops short of placing Scotland in the same rank as – what he terms – 'sa nation', noting that such a comparison would only have been possible if he had been motivated by natural affection.[76] Meanwhile, in contrast to the muted interest he had shown in the suburbs of London, following his concise survey of Edinburgh, he chooses to conclude his account of Scotland by marking out the importance of the neighbouring town of Leith where, with French support, the Scots had withstood the besieging English. In so doing, his aim is not to expand upon Scottish strengths. Rather, it is to superimpose temporal references onto a Scottish cityscape in a bid to narrate French greatness, an impulse Rohan had initiated in his earlier descriptions of Milan and Pavia. Yet, here the opportunity is afforded not to mourn but to celebrate past French exploits and, concurrently, to affirm a continued French eminence in contrast to a languishing English nation. In his account of Leith he thus comments upon 'le memorable siege qu'y soustiendrent l*es François*', an event he characterises, in a further expression of localised solidarity, as 'fort honorable pour *nostre nation*', whilst being highly advantageous for the Scots. It was in Leith that the French 'arresterent non

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[74] Ibid., 206.

[75] Ibid., 207-8, 217, 218.

[76] Ibid., 206.

seulement *la furie des Anglois* devant ceste méchante place (avec autant d'opiniastreté & de courage qu'il se pourvoient faire) mais aussi sauverent tout le Royaume'.[77] With this, Rohan reveals the driving objective of his lengthy panegyric on Scotland: to anticipate a celebration of the Auld Alliance in which he could erect France as the pre-eminent ally of a great nation. If the sight of Pavia had reminded him of French failings, reaching Leith had allowed him to present a historicised description of a Scottish town in which France's strength on foreign soil and asserted over a formidable English enemy could be declared supreme.

Once confirmed in the narrative of his travel to English and Scottish urban centres, the image of a victorious and superlative French nation and his adherence to it is maintained for the remainder of the *Voyage*. In the first instance, he gives a starkly different account of return travel to his native Brittany to that he had relayed in his outwards journey to England. If the narrative device of desired homecoming was commonly used to enhance '[la] cohesion sociale', Rohan's executed return allows him to convey his delight at being back on French soil and reinforce a link with his homeland.[78] Reporting on his travel through towns in the north of France also affords an opportunity to perpetuate the narration of French glory at the detriment of the channel neighbour: his description of Calais and Amiens are, for example, dominated by his account of the French victories over the English.[79] This underpins the final nail in the coffin of English importance, which Rohan delivers in the comparative study of nations appended to the narrative proper and which he couches in the language of Frenchness.

Rohan opens his survey by juxtaposing Germany and Italy and concludes, in a further instance of his adherence to a hierarchical society, that Germany is more fortunate than Italy due to the happy harmony between ruler and subject.[80] To engage in a comparative survey of France, England

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[77] (My emphasis) Ibid., 214-5.

[78] Doiron, *L'Art de voyager*, 160. Ibid., 221-2.

[79] Ibid., 224.

[80] Ibid., 226-32.

is, he remarks, the obvious choice by virtue of 'la conformité & esgalité des puissances'.[81] Such an equation of eminence is, nevertheless, little more than lip-service, especially given Rohan's earlier insistence on the 'la dissemblance' between nations.[82] In terms of geographical situation, the kingdom of France is, he proceeds to relate, 'mieux situé que l'Angleterre' as it is in a more temperate region. Favourable location in turn provides the springboard for Rohan's exaltation of France by dint of its superior customs. In echo of Perlin's claims to historical veracity, Rohan professes to speak 'le plus veritablement qu'il [lui] sera possible' in order to pre-empt charges of partiality as he moves to consider '[les] mœurs'.[83] At this point, he turns to narrate French eminence by drawing on the discourse of non-barbaric Frenchness. The French nation is, he asserts, harking back to his account of French bravery in the face of the English enemy, 'tenuë fort courageuse, fort clemente, fort courtoise en paix & en guere, fort *civile*, fort spirituelle'.[84] By contrast, he continues, momentarily posturing as guide, the reader should see ('voyons'), 'les vertus & les vices qui accompaignent la nation Angloise'. The portrait Rohan gives of Englishness sees him employ the twin discourses of barbarity, as well as bring social qualification to his discussion. In discussing virtues, he appears to speak favourably of the English through reference to the elite alone: evoking the term 'civil', which, as I remark in Chapter 3 was a term in the network of non-barbaric Frenchness aligned with the upper echelons of society, as well as the complementary term 'courtois', he notes that the English can be 'fort *courtois* en temps de paix, *civils*, & assez spirituels'. In turning to consider English vices on the other hand, the language he employs, as read in light of his subsequent focus on the populace in similar terms, confirms an underlying adherence to social differentiation. Here, he evokes the term 'cruel' from the language of barbaric non-Frenchness, consequently ushering forth the semantics of ferocity

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[81] Ibid., 232-3.

[82] See n. 75.

[83] Ibid., 233. (See Chapter 5, n. 23.)

[84] (My emphasis) Ibid., 233-4. (See n. 78.)

associated with it. The English, he continues, 'sonts *cruels*, vindicatifs, superbes, soupçonneux gens qui s'offensent aisement & pardonnent difficilement'.[85] The final link in his presentation of a socially-differentiated English Other is subsequently delivered in his discussion of English cruelty through reference to the populace alone. 'Le peuple d'Angleterre', he qualifies, might be happier than their French counterparts. Nevertheless, he continues, echoing his previous attribution of the adjective 'cruel' with an affirmative noun, he is shocked to relate that 'la cruauté' is often exerted 'contre les grands & non contre les peuples' at times of civil unrest.[86] With this, Rohan not only confirms that, as I argue in Chapter 3, civility was not a central term in distinguishing between peoples, but that separation of upper and lower ranks, especially through the term 'cruel', was fundamental to the comparative formulation of character portraits of European powers by French writers. Meanwhile, the apparent immunity Rohan gives to the English nobility allows him, in turn, to allude back to his earlier discussion of the French nobility and tacitly reaffirm the predominant occupation of the elite he had been looking to support with his account of travel. If the prosperity of a kingdom is evaluated on account of being 'bien servi de sa noblesse' then, he adds, 'le roy de France' is most fortuitous.[87] With this affirmation of court prosperity, he brings this section of his comparative survey to a close, returning once again to restate his narrative of English decline. England, he prophesies, is coming to the end of its golden era. In its place, it is not, as Trevor-Roper interprets, Scotland that Rohan believes will take its place, but rather its old and venerable ally, France.[88] 'Nous, s'il plait à Dieu', he declares triumphantly, 'sommes tantost prests d'entrer en possession d'une meilleure fortune, qui', he qualifies with an assertive future, 'commencera lors que celle d'Angletrre finira'.[89] In such terms, Rohan thus suggests that

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[85] (My emphasis) Ibid., 234.

[86] Ibid., 235-6. This resonates with Perlin's earlier evaluation (see Chapter 5, n. 29).

[87] Ibid., 237.

[88] Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician*, 47-8.

[89] *Voyage*, 238-9.

the armchair travel he has afforded his reader does not only take in physical landmarks. Through him, the reader can also navigate the antithetical customs of Frenchness and Englishness and see for himself intra-European and, more specifically, contra-English French distinction.

Conclusion

In Rohan's *Voyage,* we witness a formative and consolidatory lived experience of travel as the seventeenth century dawned. In general terms, the language of his travelogue testifies to the early articulation of the discourse of Frenchness in advance of its lexicographical documentation and as such, confirms the role of social experience in providing the templates for culture. In more specific terms, the section of his account relating his exploratory travel across the channel testifies to the privileged role of England and the English character in developing this discourse. In this, his use of history meanwhile confirmed two trends: firstly, the import of historical narratives on England such as those pronounced by Beagué into the travel text; secondly, the methodisation of localised Gallocentric travel to England as born out of the extra-European context and spearheaded by Bernard and Perlin. For his part, Rohan reinforced the use of history to allow for expressions of loyalty to the monarch and repeated advocation of the nobility's role in upholding his greatness. He also underlined the rhetorical potency of Anglo-French history in propping up such affirmations. In sum, Rohan engaged in what might be termed innovatory consolidation. Beagué had used his history of Scotland to relate English barbarity. Rohan used his account of travel to Scotland to relate French triumphs over the ferocious English enemy. Perlin had incorporated claims of historiographical veracity into his travelogue to give greater authority to his eyewitness account of the barbaric English populace. Rohan used the narrative device to give foundation to his more abstract discussion of the English and French character. Finally, testimony to the conditioned import of the historical narrative into the travel text, akin to Perlin, Rohan gave immunity to the

English elite, who had been the focus of Beagué's articulation of English ferocity.[90] Apart from responding to existing trends in travel writing, Rohan's geo-historical writing also resonates with other contemporary texts, especially La Popelinière's 1599 treatise on history, which advised the narration of past events so as to create a sense of grandeur and the transfer of historical narratives into geographical surveys.[91] In his marrying of geography and history, Rohan seems to heed La Popelinière's advice. Nevertheless, he also displays originality in using the spectacle of a range of topographical features and antiquities – a statue, ramparts, armoury, jousting attire – as triggers for his narrative of great past exploits and hoped-for future French eminence. In so doing, Rohan evidences a link between noble and antiquarian travel. His use of antiquities to articulate localised loyalties remains, however, entirely other to the focus of the 'savant en voyage' who sought to create cross-border links within the Republic of Letters. In short, in advance of more detailed methodisation of travel to England so as to prop up a French social identity, in extending the meta-cultural discourses that had previously adorned the prefaces of travel writings to the travel account proper, Rohan consolidated an emergent form of travel in, to use Roche's formulation, '[une] transcription codifiée [d'une] circulation réelle', which saw the temporal and semantically-loaded twin discourse of barbarity superimposed onto the imagined space of England.[92]

Dewald maintains that Rohan is 'an important example for understanding what mattered to seventeenth-century aristocrats'.[93] The survival and attested circulation of Rohan's manuscript amongst the elite, as well as the text's later publication, in part substantiates such a view. Dewald's contention is most amply substantiated, however, by the continuing methodisation and practice of geo-historicised Gallocentric travel to England in the articulation of a superior French social identity throughout the

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[90] Beagué had targeted the English officer in his account.

[91] Cited in Doiron, *L'Art de voyager*, 37.

[92] *Humeurs vagabondes*, 12.

[93] Dewald, *The Rohan Family*, 37.

seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century. By the end of the century, so confirmed was travel as a noble practice that in his etiquette guide for the nobility, Trotti de la Chétardie asserted in relation to wanderlust that 'Il n'y a pas de curiosité si nécessaire & si loüable, rien ne forme plus l'esprit', and he added, 'ne donne tant de connoissance'.[94] Meanwhile, parallel Gallocentric tendencies were expressed by those lower down the social scale in writing on more localised travel in Paris.[95] As evidenced in Rohan's *Voyage* and the reverberations of his narrative in later travel writings, it was, however, the voyage to England that was to endow the young French noble aspiring to a life at court with the greatest (self-)knowledge. Scathing charaterisations of the English pepper the private papers of French exiles and diplomatic travellers.[96] Such characterisations, in conjunction with the unfavourable relation of English history, also punctuate the accounts of later noble travellers to England.

Like the Grand Tour, Gallocentric travel was 'une experience partagée'.[97] It was, however, above all in its ideological aspirations, an experience shared only between the French elite. As formulated by Bernard and Perlin and, subsequently, Rohan, a course of travel to England allowed the sharing of a very particular experience amongst the nobility: a temporally-articulated experience of French greatness over and above a previously formidable English enemy and, in turn, intra-European differentiation. As

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[94] *Instructions pour un jeune seigneur ou l'idée d'un galant homme* (Paris: Chez Girard, 1683), 128.

[95] Germaine Brice's 1684 *Description nouvelle de Paris*, 2 Vols. (Paris: Chez la Veuve Audinet) and the revised 1725 edition (*Nouvelle description de la ville de Paris*, 4 Vols. (Paris: Chez Gandouin) demonstrate a sustained attempt to narrate French greatness as witnessed in the commercial successes of the city of Paris. For a preliminary study, see Pauncefort, 'Capitalising on the English Urban Model', 31-4.

[96] See Henri Justel, 'Papers of Henri Justel, a French Protestant and Natural Philosopher', British Library, London, Royal MS.7AXII, f. 116r-119v, and Marc-Antoine Saint Amant's poem, 'L'Albion Caprice heroï-comique' (*Œuvres complètes de Saint Amant*, ed. by Charles-Louis Livet, Vol. 2 (Paris: Chez Jannet, 1855), 438-9). An extract from this poem is given in Appendix II.

[97] See n. 20.

nurtured by Rohan, this experience was part of the quest to build a sense of French cohesion after years of tumult, to build a community, not just within Europe, but within a much smaller elite French grouping, one which defined itself against a barbaric and temporally backward intra-European English Other. This was a bid to make present practices capitalise upon past events to underpin, at least in rhetoric, a belief in the great continental power of France of the future. It was a bid that appealed, not just to the upper elite, but also to members of the lesser nobility. It would, however, also be a bid that would come under fire in pre-Enlightenment thought by a new species of traveller. For the moment however, Gallocentric travel to England and the narratives woven by its exponents would remain central to the formation of a French noble.

Chapter 7

Anti-Gallocentric Travel and its Reception

Introduction: the conditions of anti-Gallocentric travel

Hitherto, I have examined the make-up and function of the protean historical type of the 'barbare' and the twin discourses associated with it in early modern French thought. I have traced the metamorphosis of the discourses of barbarity from the extra- to the intra-European context and evaluated the investment of such discourses in the ideological reformulation of travel to serve the changing requirements of a French nobility. In this, I have highlighted the perceived utility of the type in giving asymmetrical order to social experiences and the travel commentaries arising from them. The paradoxical characteristics of the type – dynamic yet stubbornly persistent – have been discussed. In addition, I have demonstrated the extent to which ideological activism came initially from within the social group rather than as a result of the fast-changing geopolitical landscapes of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. In her survey of France's relationship with English culture before 1734, Josephine Grieder contends that 'the English were simply the enemy' due to a 'lack of genuine acquaintance with the country and its people'.[1] Certainly, there was a well-entrenched hostile vision of the English. However, as Chapters 5 and 6 have demonstrated, this was not due to a 'lack of genuine acquaintance'. In fact, this vision was the desired product of a carefully mediated culture of Gallocentric travel and the reiteration of the type of the 'barbare'.

In this chapter, I consider the next episode in the history of travel to England and the image of the English barbaric Other as a constituent of a sense of French identity. My objective is to facilitate the analysis of the concluding chapters, towards which my examination of Gallocentric travel

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[1] *Anglomania in France 1740-1789: Fact, Fiction and Political Discourse* (Genève: Droz, 1985), 147.

has been geared: the recontextualisation of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*. In this chapter, I evidence an incremental endeavour in the early eighteenth century to challenge the discourse of barbarity, as commonly articulated in relation to the English and as given authority in the travel text. I first consider the tentatively shifting culture of Gallocentric travel attested in André-François Boureau-Deslandes's *Nouveau voyage d'Angleterre*, which was published in 1717 as a supplement to Charles Philippe d'Albert Luyne's *Etat présent d'Espagne*.[2] In contrast to Deslandes's attempts to revise the narrative of travel and character, I examine the *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François* of former French mercenary and Swiss traveller Béat Louis de Muralt. First published nearly thirty years after his visit to England in 1694, Muralt's *Lettres* (1725) present an account of travel to England in twelve letters, six 'sur les Anglois' and six 'sur les François'.[3] My analysis of Muralt's treatise the 'Lettre sur les voiages', which was appended to the *Lettres* from its first publication, underlines the author's contempt, for the Gallocentric mode of travel as practised by the French nobility. The 'Lettre' stands, therefore, as a form of anti-apodemical writing that sought to counteract the

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[2] *État present d'Espagne, L'origine des grands; avec un voyage d'Angleterre* (Villefranche: Chez Le Vray, 1717). The travel text has a separate title-page which gives the title as *Nouveau voyage d'Angleterre Par M. D****. For the sake of concision, I will refer to the author as 'Deslandes'.

[3] Little is known about the original redaction of the letters. Gian Roscioni has identified early versions of three of the letters on the French character and suggests that they were written to family members in May and September 1694 (see Appendix 3 in *Beat Ludwig von Muralt e la ricerca dell'umano* (Rome: Storia e Litteratura, 1961)). Otherwise, the only archival record of Muralt's travels elsewhere is a letter penned by his wife, in which she relates the arduousness of a journey to Solingen (See the appendix in Otto von Greyerz, *Beat Ludwig v. Muralt (1665-1749): Eine literatur- und kulturgeschichtliche Studie* (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1888), 100-110). In their published form, Muralt's letters could be considered a bestseller in travel writing. First published in Cologne in 1725, and quickly followed by a pirate copy, the letters went through further editions and reprints in 1726, 1727 and 1728. All citations here will be taken from Charles Gould's critical edition, which is based upon the 1728 text (Béat Louis de Muralt, *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François et sur les voiages (1728),* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1933)).

long history of ideological consolidation in the field of Gallocentric noble travel. In the *Lettres* themselves, I examine Muralt's complementary attempt to dismantle the rigid social hierarchy of Frenchness and espouse a more balanced view of the English through the re-evaluation of the micro-repertoire of barbarity. In sum, I identify in Muralt's *Lettres* a sustained attempt to produce a de-palimpsestic or de-fossilised travel text, wherein Frenchness is divested of the cultural capital accrued via the twin discourse of barbarity and the record of Gallocentric travel.[4]

Considering the background required for travel writers to effect such a shift, I argue that Deslandes's inability fully to reappraise Gallocentric travel to England mirrors Montaigne's earlier grappling with Gallocentrism. Deslandes was not a member of the upper elite. Nevertheless, his lineage and the context of his travel to England place him, like many early apodemicists, in the ranks of the service elite. Born to a socially ambitious diplomat serving in India, Deslandes travelled to England in 1713 as part of the Duc d'Aumont's embassy, a mission later described in the preface to his *Nouveau voyage* as the most illustrious since that of the Maréchal de Biron.[5] Deslandes's tussling with Gallocentric travel to England was, therefore, a direct result of his intimate connections with elite French culture. As a liminal member of the French elite, Muralt, on the other hand, possessed far less compelling reasons to uphold the rigid cultural hierarchy upon which French noble identities depended. Unlike Deslandes, he benefitted from an element of disjuncture that permitted him to attack what had become the sacralised core of French identity. Indeed, one detractor of the *Lettres* even mocked Muralt for being a Swiss.[6] In other words, Muralt's somewhat ambiguous link to the French nobility meant that he could knowingly evoke the language

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[4] See Chapter 2, n. 75 and n. 76.

[5] For a study of Deslandes's lineage see John Carr, 'The Life and Works of André-François Boureau-Deslandes's (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 1954), viii, 2-8.

[6] The Abbé Desfontaines remarks in his *Apologie*, which was appended to the 1727 Cologne edition (and omitted from the 1728 edition, hence my citation from the original version) of the *Lettres*: 'je fus bien aise de voir un Suisse penser' (*Lettres* (1727), 315).

facilitating elite homogamic communication and then subvert it without affecting his own sense of self. His background allowed him to reimagine the social space of England and guide his reader through a more favourable and precisely adumbrated English 'characterscape'.[7]

My interest here is also to examine the conditions that spawned Muralt's *Lettres*. In a reversal of the circumstances that nurtured the development of a non-barbaric French elite identity (the social dividend of the symbolic profit invested into a germ of noble travel), the factors triggering the publication of Muralt's *Lettres* were extraneous to the French social group. My contention is that the instigation for change and the impulse to challenge Gallocentric travel in a text stemmed from predominantly geopolitical factors. These factors could not fail to nurture a perception, in which, contrary to that claimed by Rohan, the development of the French and English states stood in inverse proportion: just as France's status fell, so did England's rise.

This altered view of European states derived, I contend, from the changed balance of powers and shifting alliances brought about by the Glorious Revolution of 1688 combined with the domestic and foreign misfortunes of the French state. Independently of the hierarchy envisioned in Gallocentric travel writing, the 'Gallomania' of the Restoration Stuart court, with its French chefs, valets and dancing masters, had symbolised a cultural and political fealty to the French overlord. Charles II's successor, James II, had, in turn, made no secret of his allegiance to Louis XIV.[8] With the usurpation of the English throne by William III in 1688 came the end of an era. Between 1672 and 1678, England had been an ally of France in Louis XIV's thwarted campaigns to expand French territory into the Spanish Netherlands. England's Glorious Revolution saw the Dutch Protestant

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[7] Todd Davie and Kenneth Womack employ the term 'characterscape' to refer to the 'uncanny precision and attentiveness' of the novelist John Irving's character portrayals (*Postmodern Humanism in Contemporary Literature and Culture: Reconciling the Void* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 56). I use the term here to encapsulate the more meticulous character depiction put forward by Muralt.

[8] For an early study see Charles Bastide, *The Anglo-French Entente in the XVII Century* (London: Lane, 1914).

William III replace the Catholic French ally James II on the English throne. Subsequently, the Nine Years War between 1688 and 1697 twinned an Anglo-Dutch check on Louis XIV's campaign of expansion into the Holy Roman Empire with a French attempt to reverse the English succession.[9] So often asserted as the turning point in Anglo-French relations, the Glorious Revolution initiated – what has long been dubbed as – the 'Second Hundred Years War'.[10] In turn, the combination of the English and Dutch navies helped English military power to grow faster than ever before, holding its own by 1713 as the War of Spanish Succession drew to a close with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht. Meanwhile, warfare had economically crippled France, compounding existing domestic problems.[11] Even if, as Edmond Dziembowski argues, the true shift of global power was to occur during the Seven Years War with the loss of colonial states and devastation of the French navy, the experience of the War of Spanish Succession confirmed the shift in European geopolitical power, which had been in germination since 1688.[12]

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[9] As Julian Hoppit notes, the conjoining of the Dutch and English thrones 'decisively involved England in European affairs' to the detriment of the French (*A Land of Liberty? England 1689–1727* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3). Hoppit argues that England had 'entered the Nine Years War as a junior partner [amongst the European allies against France] but left the War of Spanish Succession as a great power' (Ibid., 89).

[10] John Seeley coined this term in his 1883 lecture series on English expansion (*The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London: Macmillan, 1883), 24). François Crouzet's recent reappraisal contends that 'it is difficult to think of such a protracted conflict between two other states, except possibly the recurrent wars between France and the Habsburgs, which dragged on from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century' ('The Second Hundred Years War: Some Reflections', *French History,* 10 (1996), 432).

[11] See Guy Rowlands, *The Financial Decline of a Great Power: War, Influence, and Money in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). For a general survey, see Jones, *Great Nation*, 18-55.

[12] *Un nouveau patriotisme français, 1750-1770: la France face à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de Sept Ans* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1998), 1. Here, Dziembowski questions Pierre Muret's conclusion that supremacy had shifted from France to England by 1713.

It is testimony to the imbrication of cultural and political history that these far-reaching geopolitical shifts reshaped French writing on England. In the first instance, the sociocultural impact of 1688 and its effect on the French imagination is widely attested in archival material. Writing to an unknown correspondent in 1699, a Jean Pellerin announced: 'il n'y a point de nation à présent dans l'Europe que les Anglois'.[13] The manuscript record of travel also bears witness to the momentous nature of 1688 in the anonymous redaction of a presentation volume of William's progress into England, complete with maps and a day-to-day narrative, which is entitled, 'Journal du voyage d'Angleterre'.[14] Notwithstanding revisionist history that counters conventional views of France as a state in decline, these texts testify that the social and literary elite in France was increasingly 'conscious of its pallor'.[15] Together, these responses also resonate with Steven Pincus' controversial interpretation of 1688 as 'the first modern revolution... a landmark moment in the emergence of the modern state'.[16] If 1688 was not a veritable revolution, as historians conventionally argue, certainly, contemporary belief recognised the magnitude of events in England.[17]

My interest here is how this changed perception underpinned the marked shift in French travel commentary on England and the English character and, as a result, an understanding of a French social identity through the English Other. I suggest that the *perceived* exponential growth of English power, set against a backdrop of a *perceived* twilight in French glory, in great part accounts for the shift in French narratives on the English, as

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[13] 'Jean Pellerin Letter', Senate House Library, MS.AL97.

[14] [anon], 'Marche de l'armée: account of the invasion of England by the Prince of Orange in 1688', British Library, London, MS.33970. In the absence of a preface or dedication, it is unclear who authored this elaborate oblato quarto volume.

[15] Jean-Denis Lepage argues, for example, that France's military might continued to grow (*Vauban and the French Military Under Louis XIV: An Illustrated History of Fortifications and Strategies* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2009)). John Leigh, *The Search for Enlightenment: An Introduction to Eighteenth-Century French Writing* (London: Duckworth, 1999), 15.

[16] *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 6.

[17] For a summary of conventional historiography, see Pincus, *1688*, 26.

evidenced in Deslandes and Muralt's travel texts. Scholarship has conventionally pointed to the role of Huguenot settlers in effecting a sea change in French opinion of the English. Through the dissemination of translated English literature, scholars argue that marginalised Protestant mediators kindled a revised opinion of English culture.[18] The Huguenots certainly had a role to play. The geographer and Swiss settler in England, Guy Miège, for example, wove a more favourable account of Englishness into his *Nouvelle methode pour apprendre l'anglois* (1685).[19] The Huguenot settler and English soldier Henri Misson likewise testified to the changing narratives of travel writing, whilst countering the lexicographical confirmation of the twin discourse of barbarity in his alphabetically-organised *Mémoires et observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre* (1698).[20] My contention, however, is that the vehemence with which Muralt articulated his revised narrative demonstrates the extent to which entrenched prejudices had been left intact by Huguenot writings, including Misson's *Mémoires* with its multiple devices designed to challenge the narrative of barbaric Englishness.[21]

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[18] For a classic account, see Bonno, 'La Culture et la civilisation britanniques', 14-15.

[19] (Londres: For Bassett). Miège's revised narrative is one of many language texts that, in Elizabeth McKellar's words, gave 'an alternative source of urban imagery'. Unlike McKellar's example however, Miège's *Nouvelle methode* did not seek to give 'familiarity with conversational tropes' but rather to subvert them ('Tales of Two Cities: Architecture, Print and Early Guidebooks to Paris and London', *Humanities* 2 (2013), 335). For my preliminary study of Miège's attack on French prejudice against the English see 'Capitalising on the English Urban Model', 34-6.

[20] (La Haye: Chez van Bulderen). The presentation of the text as a travelogue is marked in comparison with the narratives of escape or genealogical records compiled by other Huguenot refugees. See for example Isaac Minet, 'Narrative of Mr. Isaac Minet's Escape from France', The National Archives, London, MS.FMt.71, and Bernard Cottret's critical edition of Jacques Fontaine's manuscript account (Jacques Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi: Mémoires d'une famille huguenote* (Paris: Les Éditions de Paris-Max Chaleil, 2003). The subscription of the *Mémoires* to travel writing rather than exile narratives is also demonstrated in Misson's awareness of other travel texts on England, such as Sorbière's 1664 *Voyage d'Angleterre* (see *Mémoires*, 292).

[21] Misson gives a damning appraisal of French prejudice in his dedicatory epistle: he remarks, 'La plupart de Voyageurs se méprennent souvent dans ce qu'ils en écrivent, parce

Muralt's *Lettres* were undoubtedly influenced by the more favourable engagement with Englishness that the Huguenots had set in motion. Unlike Huguenot writings however, the *Lettres* were not the result of the experience of exile, but rather of an animus against Gallocentrism from within the French ranks, albeit by those on the margins.

As a core structure of French culture, attacks on the role of the type in the formation of a contra-English non-barbaric French social identity did not go unassailed. In my subsequent analysis of forms of impassioned retaliation, which sought to maintain the relevancy of the type, I underline the extent to which the English barbaric Other had become entrenched in French thought and the difficulty with which its structure was dismantled. To evidence the widespread adherence to the discourse even by lesser members of the nobility, I examine a manuscript account of Gallocentric noble travel, 'Voiage d'Angleterre, d'Hollande et de Flandre fait en l'année 1728', penned by the *noble de robe* Pierre Jacques Fougeroux.[22] Taking into account the implications of manuscript travel writing outlined in Chapter 6, I identify in Fougeroux's travelogue a vigorous attempt to appeal to an elite readership and achieve ideological coherence in the discourse of barbarity. In the apodemical text appended to one copy of the 'Voiage'*,* which is entitled 'Instruction pour le Voyäge d'Angleterre', I consider how Fougeroux complements his reassertion of the language of barbarity as articulated in an

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qu'ils ne connoissent que trés imparfaitement les lieux dont ils parlent'. For favourable accounts of the English character, see Misson's entries for 'Angleterre' and 'Anglois' (Ibid., 1-5). For Misson's favourable survey of recent English history, which contrasts with Rohan's geo-historicised account, see in particular the entry 'Couronnement', which relates William III's coronation (Ibid., 75-91). I have presented preliminary research on the shifting attribution of 'nous' and Misson's metonymical narrative of Englishness in relation to foodstuffs in the following paper: 'Whetting or Suppressing the Appetite for English Customs?: 'Englishness', Food, Drink and Feasting in Misson's 1698 *Mémoires*', in *British Society for Eighteenth Century Studies* (St Hugh's College, Oxford: 2014).

[22] There are two extant copies of this manuscript. The manuscript held in The Foundling Museum, London, (MS.HC781) appears to be a clean copy. The copy in the National Art Library, London, appears to be a working version (MS.2374). Unless otherwise stated, all citations are taken from this earlier copy.

elite social practice through offering renewed advice on how best to effect a course of Gallocentric noble travel to England.[23] Fougeroux's example thus demonstrates that the template of culture first provided by Rohan had become an established rite of passage for many ranks of the French elite.

My aim here is also to interrogate sociological explanations for the persistence of social stereotypes despite endeavours to undermine them or, in sociological terms, to effect 'disconfirming', within an historical context. In the response to Deslandes and Muralt's attempts to disconfirm the discourse of intra-European barbarity, I find historical justification for the sociological consensus which identifies the difficulty of disconfirming due to the 'Teflon coating' of negative traits.[24] In Fougeroux's riposte, I examine an example of the convergence of the three sets of circumstances that I outlined in Chapter 1 to explain the perpetuation of the stereotype: 'symbolic coping', 'justification' and 'differentiation'. Fougeroux's response draws on the full rhetorical force with which he considered the language of barbarity still to be imbued in a bid to employ symbolic coping. He injects life into the discourse through offering justificatory material for the vision of English barbarity as articulated in relation to the English populace. In sum, due to that 'anomie' or status anxiety which fuelled earlier attempts at ideological cohesion, Fougeroux looks to preserve the differentiation on which his own sense of self evidently relied. In my analysis of Muralt and Fougeroux, I therefore consider two contrasting avatars of the ideological limitation earlier witnessed in Montaigne's *Essais*: the first went further than Montaigne in seeking to destabilise the very core of Gallocentric travel; the second looked to curb the development of a nascent anti-Gallocentric travel culture through resorting to the same ideological activism employed by apodemicists and travel writers a century earlier.

To contextualise the battle over Gallocentric travel as fought out between Muralt and Fougeroux, I therefore turn first to consider Deslandes's

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[23] This is appended to The Foundling Museum copy.

[24] Schneider, *The Psychology of Stereotyping*, 559.

Nouveau voyage and the Montaignian tussling with existing travel cultures contained within.

Deslandes's attempted anti-Gallocentrism in the 'Nouveau voyage'

The little information relating to his trip to England suggests that Deslandes had multiple interests. A note in the 1733 *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences* that Deslandes passed time conducting experiments, including on 'le charbon de pierre', was typical of the many seventeenth-century French savants who sought to become members of the Royal Society.[25] In an anecdote reported in his *Histoire critique de la philosophie*, Deslandes later records that he spent time visiting some of the great intellectuals of the day – Newton and Halley and 'tout mathématicien du premier ordre' – and that these individuals made a great impression on him.[26] In his *Nouveau voyage*, however, Deslandes does not expound on either of these aspects of his visit apart from affirming his respect for English writers and thinkers in his preface.[27] Nor does he mirror the accounts of emissaries and their entourage to England or, indeed, to Spain, as given by the *Etat d'Espagne* to which his *Nouveau voyage* was appended.[28] Instead, as his aptly-titled travelogue suggests, Deslandes records a new form of exploration in which he encourages an alternative sight-knowledge connection for both readers and potential travellers. As a work in half-prose/half-poetry, the *Nouveau voyage* resonated with the tradition of burlesque travel writing exemplified by Chapelle and Bachaumont's 1656

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[25] See Gavin de Beer, 'The Relations between Fellows of the Royal Society and French Men of Science when France and Britain Were at War', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 9:2 (1952), 244-99.

[26] (Amsterdam: Chez Changuion, 1756), Vol. 2, 264-5.

[27] *Nouveau voyage*, 228.

[28] See Appendix I. For a summary of the writings of diplomatic travellers see Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVII siècle*, Vol. 1, 258-73.

Voyage.[29] Deslandes himself acknowledges his predecessors in his preface, remarking that he surely fails to attain 'cette elegance & cette vivacité qui caracterisent si bien le voyage de Bachaumont & de la Chapelle'.[30] My contention is that this stylistic disjuncture is one key indication of Deslandes's novel undertaking. Deslandes employs the mixed form, I argue, as a vehicle for weakening the structure of the barbaric social stereotype around which a culture of travel and sense of identity had been constructed. As such, his *Nouveau voyage* is a further example of the 'masked' subversive writing that his biographer Jean Macary identifies in his later works.[31]

This masked writing and the concomitant attempt to subvert French templates of culture is set in motion from the preface. Here, Deslandes employs a form of classical praeteritio as he accounts for his eschewal of a diplomatic record. Whilst noting that his current enterprise might be the most fitting place to 'parler de cette ambassade', he explains that he will not speak further of the embassy lest he undermine the work of those producing a proper history of the peace so happily concluded in Utrecht.[32] Having alluded to an event of European geo-historical importance despite dismissing the diplomatic travel record, Deslandes subsequently insinuates the focus of his 'relation de voyage' through attacking the common modes of travel writing on England. His key targets appear to be antiquarians: the 'sçavans du premier ordre, gens infatigables' who will complain he does not speak of 'medailles' or 'manuscrits'. He proceeds to explain that he did not traverse England in the manner of famed antiquarian travellers before asking most questioningly: 'leur maniere de voyage, est-elle la seule estimable?'[33]

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[29] This was a trip around France and was republished throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For a critical edition, see Claude-Emmanuel L'Huillier and François le Coigneux de Bachaumont, *Le Voyage d'Encausse*, ed. by Yves Giraud (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007).

[30] *Nouveau voyage*, 226.

[31] Jean Macary, *Masques et lumières au XVIIIe: André-François Deslandes, citoyen et philosophe (1689-1757)* (La Haye: Nijhoff, 1975), xi.

[32] *Nouveau voyage*, 226.

[33] Ibid., 227.

By scorning the antiquarian traveller, Deslandes implicates a further culture of travel: the Gallocentric noble. As I outlined in Chapter 5, antiquarianism was not only a formative - if selectively absorbed - component of Gallocentric travel, but, as my analysis of Montaigne's ruminations on education evidenced, attacks on such travel had a history of being mediated through criticisms of the 'savant en voyage'. This focus on noble practices and discourses is confirmed through Deslandes's pointed use of language and his discussion of the expectations of Gallocentric travel accounts. Speaking of 'le monde poli, & les gens de bon gout' and the delight such individuals will attain in acquiring knowledge of '[le] caractere particulier d'une Nation, à de vains éclaircissements sur des antiquitez douteuses, ou souvent ridicules', Deslandes implicates the elite French audience and the conventional epistemological decorum of the Gallocentric travel narrative on England.[34] In the first instance, he makes an explicit link to the nobility by employing the terms 'poli' and 'gout' from the primary and secondary networks of Frenchness respectively. In turn, he makes an implicit allusion to the requirement to narrate the English character, rather than enumerate antiquities, as early apodemicists had insisted. This lays the foundation for his refusal to regurgitate the typical character portrayal. Some individuals, he continues, might reproach him for speaking 'trop librement' about the English. The approach that they might criticise is one, he insinuates, that engages in more epideictic rhetoric. His aim is to give an account of both vices and virtues ('les éloges qu'ils [les Anglois] meritent') displayed by the English whilst being guided by a distinctly Montaignian sense of 'la raison'.[35] Reason, Deslandes continues, demands that 'il faut rapporter toutes les actions des hommes'. In this, it offers particular benefits since 'quand on juge suivant les lumières qu'elle présente', he explains, 'on est sur de ne jamais tromper'.[36] His statement at the beginning of the preface that he has 'étudié le genie Anglois avec beaucoup d'attention' consequently takes on greater

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[34] Ibid. See Chapter 6, n. 10 and n. 11.

[35] *Nouveau voyage*, 228.

[36] Ibid., 229.

meaning. The *Nouveau voyage* becomes an attempt to argue for the accessing of truth through a new vision of the 'caractere particulier' of the English.[37] Deslandes's evocation of antiquarianism is, meanwhile, bound up with the antiquarian-inspired course of noble travel.

His dual objectives to reject such travel and give more determined focus to the true character of the Englishman continues to colour the main body of his account. Here, however, Deslandes begins to disclose the difficulty in averting the discourses associated with Gallocentric travel. The first implication comes in his statement that 'les Anglois' are 'gens difficiles à caracteriser'. His initial explanation for the difficulty of producing a characterisation is the inconstancy of the English character. This is succeeded by a further claim 'étudier les hommes et de remarquer leur genie' whilst leaving '[les] Compilateurs le plaisir de charger leurs tablettes de tout ce qui se présente également à la vüe des sots & à celle des gens d'esprits'. He also reasserts his commitment, in true Montaignian fashion, to, éclairer [son] esprit' rather than weigh down a memory with futile facts.[38] Nevertheless, his attempts to put anti-Gallocentric travel into practice falter. The extensive apodemical revision of existing interlinking cultures of travel that Deslandes sets out in his preface in an effort to disconfirm the English barbaric type begins to break down once he enters upon his travel account proper.

Although Deslandes does not address his *Nouveau voyage* to a distinguished statesman, his wish to implicate such an audience and subsequently challenge their expectations remains.[39] Deslandes had already invoked the undesignated Monsieur in one of his refutations of antiquarianism.[40] To reach the heart of Gallocentric travel, however, required

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[37] Ibid., 225.

[38] Ibid., 233.

[39] The model of address in Cartier, Thevet and Nicolay's travelogues (see Chapter 4) was imported into the intra-European sphere. Payen's *Voyage* is a typical example (see Appendix 1).

[40] See n. 37.

invoking the elite imagined community whilst opening discussion on the sight-knowledge connection. Addressing Monsieur again, Deslandes entreats his average elite reader to envisage the scene: 'Vous me voyez, Monsieur, assez bien disposé pour voyager *agréablement.* Je me prête tout entier à cette espèce de plaisir'. The pleasant travel to which Deslandes refers is, he suggests, one which focuses on more than one – or one's own – nation and eschews the Gallocentric filter. As he asserts: 'Ce monde presente à nos yeux / Mille spectacles curieux'.[41] In his view, existing modes of travel do not fulfil their role since travellers are too quick to discover 'le foible des autres' and thus never correct their own faults ('le foible… ne se corrige'), allowing even the greatest defects to continue without remedy.[42] Similarly to Montaigne, Deslandes thus espouses a manner of corrective travel for his readership. To add to this, Deslandes conceives of his form of corrective travel to be best effected through close focus on the long-scorned English character.

The parallel between Montaigne and Deslandes continues in that the latter falls short of fully effecting the less bridled course of travel and engaging in a more balanced view of the English character despite his extensive (re-)methodisation. Despite his pointed claims to reconsider views of the English, Deslandes demonstrates an inability to reject the discourse of barbaric non-Frenchness as articulated in relation to the English populace. Discussing revolution and the executions that inevitably ensue, he condemns the crazed behaviour of the common people and '[la] férocité grave & stupide' determining its actions. Here, in a narrative redolent of that given by Perlin, Deslandes evokes a 'hot' word from the discourse of barbarity and reinforces it with the adjective 'grave'.[43] Glimmers of hesitancy subsequently enter into his account in his discussion of '[le] spectacle' of English gladiator fighting. He declares, for example, that 'cette espece de divertissement perd… tout ce qu'il a de barbare', a statement that begins to destabilise the

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[41] (My emphasis) *Nouveau voyage*, 234.

[42] Ibid.,

[43] Ibid., 241.

core of the language of barbarity.[44] This negative bent continues in his admission of uncertainty as to whether he can firmly designate such pastimes according to the typical language of non-barbaric Frenchness: 'je ne sçai si', he announces, 'ce ne point là une marque certaine que leurs mœurs sont encore impolis et grossieres'.[45] Nevertheless, Deslandes effects a jarring shift back to regurgitation of the typical type when he relates that the English applaud according to 'la *cruelle* bravoure' of the combatants that they watch and adds, slipping into poetry, 'La *barbare* & triste fureur / Passer pour un plaisir flateur'.[46] In the repeatedly hesitant use of multiple terms of barbarity in relation to the English populace, the *Nouveau voyage* testifies to the uncertainty prompted by negotiating a reappraisal of Gallocentric travel.

To some extent, Deslandes shows an awareness of the inevitable conditioning of a traveller's commentary. Walking the reader through the grand spectacle of English promenading in St James's Park – a spectacle of which France, he remarks, has nothing 'plus brillant' – the reader is constantly reminded of the need to shed prejudice.[47] Lack of traditional French fare is not to be derided, explains Deslandes, since nature, conditions 'le goût' to pleasures that we are obliged to experience and to which we are accustomed.[48] He also acknowledges the great weight of prejudice to be overcome. Reaching the end of his account exasperated, Deslandes underlines the significant challenge to be faced by any individual seeking to go against the tide of conventional thinking. As he remarks: 'Les hommes vains, aveugles, paresseux, veulent être trompez et toujours trompez de la même maniere'. Such is the challenge ahead, he laments, that prejudice, seems set to stay: 'Jaloux de nos plaisirs, ne les depouillons pas

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[44] Ibid., 242.

[45] Ibid., 242-3.

[46] Ibid., 243.

[47] Ibid., 246, 248-9.

[48] Ibid., 249, 252.

de leurs préventions'.[49] Implicating himself in the imagined elite community through the subject pronoun 'nos' and the exhortatory imperative 'depouillons', Deslandes tacitly admits that he too has been unable to shed his conditioning.

In the *Nouveau voyage*, Deslandes brings the experience of viewing the English through a non-Gallocentric lens to the forefront of the French travel account to England. As Rohan before him, he implicates the travel text in the methodisation of travel. For his part, however, Deslandes testifies that whilst the travel text could facilitate ideological consolidation of Gallocentric travel, the genre itself was so conditioned by stylistic and discursive parameters that to employ the travel text for ideological dismantling was problematic, especially for those reliant on the structures of thought that it upheld.

Nevertheless, as a text that featured on the French censorship list of 'livres prohibés', Deslandes's account was evidently one that jarred with the narrative expected to be peddled by those literally travelling in the king's service.[50] Other travellers likewise experimented with anti-Gallocentric travel and attempted to reappraise the common English character through the spectacle of common pastimes. In his discussion of animal fighting for example, Georges Louis Lesage stated:

> Je crois que ceux-là font tort aux Anglois qui les accusent
> d'être *cruels*, jaloux, defians, vindicatifs, & Libertins; il est
> vrai qu'ils se plaisent à voir déchirer des Taureaux par des
> Chiens, & à voir combattre des Coqs, & au Carnaval, ils se
> divertissent à tirer avec des bâtons contre des Coqs, mais
> c'est moins un effet de *leur cruauté* que de *leur*
> *grossiéreté*....[51]

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[49] Ibid., 265.

[50] The relevant manuscript is cited in Macary, *Masques et lumières*, 61.

[51] (My emphasis) *Remarques sur l'état présent de l'Angleterre* (Amsterdam: Chez Frisch et Bohm, 1715), 130-1.

Like Deslandes however, Lesage's challenge to the barbaric English type was momentary. A more sustained attempt had to await Muralt's *Lettres,* to which I now turn.

Conflicting travel cultures and the barbaric English Other

Muralt's anti-Gallocentric narrative

Scholarly dismissal of Muralt's *Lettres* has been widely voiced*.* In Shirley Jones' contextualisation of Voltaire's *Lettres* within a falsely homogenised corpus of travel writing encompassing Sorbière's 1664 *Voyage*, the relevant volume of Jordan's 1694 *Voyages historiques* and Muralt's *Lettres*, Muralt's work is labelled 'merely picturesque'.[52] Meanwhile, Christiane Mervaud's appraisal echoes the disregard that typifies recent critical editions and studies.[53] Erroneously placing Sorbière and Muralt's travel writings in the same category, her survey argues that, whilst an important text to which Voltaire evidently responded, the *Lettres* have little didactic content and give a dry, factual, and even superficial account of travel

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[52] 'Voltaire's Use of Contemporary French Writing on England in his *Lettres Philosophiques*', *Revue de littérature comparée,* 56 (1982), 143.

[53] 'Des relations de voyage au mythe anglais des *Lettres philosophiques*', *SVEC* 296 (1992), 1-15. See in particular the following: Béat Louis de Muralt, *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français*, ed. by Perette Chappuis (Lausanne: Bibliothèque Romande, 1972)*,* 200; Voltaire, *Les Lettres philosophiques de Voltaire*, ed. by Albert Lantoine (Paris: SFELT, 1946), 128; Voltaire, *Philosophical Letters or Letters Regarding the English Nation*, ed. John Leigh and trans. by Prudence Steiner (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2007), ix). The unfavourable assessments in these works are reinforced by a number of perfunctory surveys of the text. See, for example: Eugène Ritter, 'Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français (1725)', *Zeitschrift für neufranzösische Sprache und Literatur,* 3 (1881), 187-200; Claude Bruneteau, 'Béat-Louis de Muralt (1665-1742) et l'Angleterre', *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Anglo-Américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles,* 16 (1983), 35-52; Joy Charnley, 'Béat-Louis de Muralt: Some Thoughts on the France of Louis XIV', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 19 (1997), 125-34.

to England. These vilifications have been counterbalanced by some more favourable assessments, which identify value in Muralt's *Lettres* as 'an important predecessor and source' for Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*.[54] Nevertheless, the weight of opinion remains negative.

Given Voltaire's unquestionable status as a famed example of the traveller-turned-writer who redacts their experiences of England and the English people for the benefit of readers back in France, Muralt is indeed 'an important predecessor'. My aim here, however, is to eschew such teleological readings. In terms of the development of anti-Gallocentric travel, I contend that Muralt rather than Voltaire was the central exponent. In this, I argue that Muralt employs multiple devices to cast his *Lettres* as a subversive anti-Gallocentric travel text in the wake of the tentative challenges mounted by Deslandes.

Capitalising upon the opportunity afforded by the epistolary format to assert himself as the 'je', Muralt makes his alternative focus on manners and character clear from the outset, thus dropping Deslandes's preamble. This sees Muralt renegotiate the hierarchy between travel writer and reader and,

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[54] 'The Unexamined Premise: Voltaire, John Lockman and the Myth of the *English Letters*', *SVEC* 10 (2001), 246. Lee perpetuates an assessment that can be traced back to Joseph Texte's study of the origins of literary cosmopolitanism ('De Muralt et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire au XVIIIe siècle', *Revue d'histoire de la Littérature Française,* 1 (1894), 15-16). Texte's appraisal has been echoed by numerous subsequent scholars including: Voltaire's early biographer, Cleveland Chase (*The Young Voltaire* (London: Longman, 1926), 7); Thomas Barling, in his extensive early literary appraisal of the *Lettres philosophiques* and the use of the epistolary format ('The Literary Art of the *Lettres philosophiques*', *SVEC* 41 (1966), 13); Pierre Malandain, in his intertextual survey ('Le travail intertextuel de l'écriture dans les *Lettres philosophiques*' in *Voltaire et ses combats*, ed. by Ulla Kölving and Christiane Mervaud (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1997), 286), and Edmond Dziembowski, in his analysis of Voltaire's developing œuvre and continuation of thought ('La défense du modèle anglais pendant la guerre de Sept Ans', in *Voltaire et ses combats*, 89). A parallel appraisal is given by Robson-Scott, who identifies Muralt's *Lettres* as a watershed (curiously, of German rather than French travel literature), though he designates Voltaire's *Lettres* as being 'of far greater importance' (*German Travellers in England*, 118).

in so doing, flag his early refusal to adhere to the epistemological decorum of the travel text or engage in homogamic communication. As he announces in the 'Lettre premiere', playfully posturing as the typical travel writer and addressing his unnamed reader:

> Pendant que *je* suis en Angleterre*, je veux*, Monsieur, *vous* dire quelque chose des mœurs et du caractère des Anglois, autant par amusement que par un dessein sérieux de faire un portrait de cette nation qui *vous* la *fasse bien* connoître. Je *vous* informerai de tout ce que je verrai. Je n'irai pas bien loin pour voir, & mes remarques regarderont principalement les Habitans de Londres. Je crois en *vous* les *faisant connoitre vous faire connoitre* les Anglois.[55]

In this opening, Muralt is clear of his programmatic intentions: to afford his reader a real-time – as is indicated in the use of the present tense – sight-knowledge connection of the English as observed in the example of the inhabitants of the capital city. Strikingly, Muralt swiftly affirms, via a twin reinforcing syntactical formulation, that this connection will be controlled by himself. Firstly, apart from the initial address to the 'Monsieur', the 'vous' appears in each instance as the object to the punctuating subject pronoun 'je'. Secondly, the evocation of 'connoitre', each time accompanied by the object 'vous', is controlled by the causative verb construction 'faire connoitre'. In other words, although agency is suggested in the use of the verb 'connoitre', Muralt highlights that the rich knowledge to which he will give access in his text, as the reinforcing qualifier 'bien' relays, will be endowed at his behest.

The contained journey that Muralt offers appears at first paradoxical given that criticisms of Gallocentric travel were conventionally filtered through

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[55] (My emphasis) *Lettres*, 103.

concerns of enslavement and impeded independent judgement.[56] Muralt's ensuing qualification underlines, however, that in fact his assumption of control derives precisely from the excessive conditioning of the traveller. Whilst the English might rightly be criticised for '[la] forte Prévention' that they harbour 'pour l'excellence de leur Nation', 'une meme Prévention', he continues, 'fait la folie de la plus-part des Peuples'. Not least given his open juxtaposition of the French and the English in the bipartite structure of the *Lettres*, where one half focuses on the English and the other on the French, the true reference of 'des Peuples' – the French – is clear. Meanwhile, the use of the English in the maintenance of French society, as evidenced in my analysis of Rohan's *Voyage* in Chapter 6, gradually becomes implied. Muralt continues, couching his criticism in general terms. Whilst he acknowledges that peoples need Others for their sense of self, this leads, he argues, to the obscuring of prejudice in order to maintain a social reality: peoples, he remarks, 'ont besoin les uns des autres', and 'ils la [la Prévention] cachent pour entretenir la Societé'.[57] In sum, to adumbrate the reasons behind his declared objective, Muralt here obliquely implicates what he conceives as the disdainful use of the English people as a means to forge a sense of French identity. In light of this statement, his opening declaration also takes on greater force: his trip to England, as re-experienced and retold in the *Lettres*, is devoted to facilitating a revised trip to England by proxy for his reader and, in turn, to (re-)instructing his reader and potential traveller in Englishness.

His departure from accepted conventions becomes a leitmotif of the *Lettres*. This is in part articulated through the same repeated dismissal of antiquarian modes of travel which Deslandes had delivered in his *Nouveau voyage*. In Muralt's *Lettres*, however, the rejection of antiquarianism is more sustained. It is also twinned with a determined rejection of the elite, who had been given immunity from the discourse of barbaric English Otherness, in favour of a revised portrayal of the figure through which the discourse was conventionally meted out: the average Englishman. Thus, expounding further

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[56] See Chapter 5, n. 66.

[57] Ibid., 104.

on his conception first described in the 'Lettre quatrieme sur les Anglois', Muralt laments that although one can indeed observe in England 'des Cérémonies, des Bâtimens, des Masures & des Inscriptions', there is no attempt on the part of 'les Voïageurs' to describe 'les Anglois mêmes'. Even if commentators do make reference to character, he qualifies, descriptions focus on 'des Héros d'une autre [sic] espéce' rather than those with whom he is presently concerned.[58] This affirmation lays the foundation for his most extended espousal of his revised course of travel, which he delivers in the opening of his final letter concerning the English character.

Here, in a rare address to his reader, Muralt openly refuses to indulge 'Monsieur's' expectations. Drawing comparison with proficient musicians forced to contend with the demands of an uninformed audience, Muralt re-evaluates the hierarchy of cultures of travel by marking out antiquarian-inspired travel as inferior. 'Ce que vous me demandez, Monsieur, dans vôtre dernière Lettre', he declares, 'me fait souvenir d'une chose qui arriva ici il n'y a pas long-tems'. A musician, Muralt relates, had set up to perform 'ses plus beaux Airs' when a member of his audience requested 'un Vaudeville'. Outraged at the implicit denigration of his superior art, the musician refused to regale his audience with a further note of music. This leaves Muralt to develop the analogy between his current enterprise and that of the conventional traveller and travel writer. Without wishing to claim his work is of superlative merit, he continues, 'il est certain que la Description de la Ville de Londres que vous me demandez n'est, en comparaison des Mœurs & du Caractere des Hommes qui y habitent, qu'un espèce de Vaudeville'. His submission to conventions of travel writing, or to 'des Vaudevilles', in his ensuing assertion that 'il faut se resoudre' is a false one, as the impersonal construction 'il faut' indicates.[59] Muralt's mocking tone in what, it swiftly becomes apparent, is an anti-travel text at the service of anti-Gallocentrism nevertheless discloses his continued adherence to his objective. Muralt guides his reader through the many landmarks that he had

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[58] Ibid., 141.

[59] Ibid., 154.

purposely neglected to visit. He enumerates the elite residences that he passed by and which failed to fire his interest. Thus, he announces, for example, that he did not visit Somerset House, 'n'étant pas naturellement curieux de Bâtimens'.[60] This rejection of physical contact with the English elite prefaces the climax of his anti-travel account in which he consciously refuses to kowtow to the methods of noble travel and the textual epistemological decorum that informed the templates of French elite culture. Finally, in the same bogusly apologetic tone, he declares that he did not engage in any elite pursuits, such as attending horse races. As he feigns to admit:

> Il faut même vous avouër, que ma négligence va si loin, que je n'ai pas vû la Cérémonie du Jugement d'un Lord… & que je ne suis point allé voir les Courses de Chevaux, qui sont un des grands Spectacles d'Angleterre. Oserai-je vous le dire? J'ai négligé de voir le Roi dans ses Habits Roïaux, & je n'ai point vû les célèbres Universitez d'Oxford & de Chambridge.[61]

This eschewal of elite company, relayed initially with further use of the impersonal 'il faut' and subsequently with a charged rhetorical question, contrasts with his interest in social spaces frequented by the average Englishman, such as the coffee shop.[62] Justifying his site of observation, Muralt explains that in the coffee shop one can gain knowledge of the myriad aspects of the exterior and interior English character, even if one lacks a firm grasp of the English language. As he asserts: 'c'est où les Anglois discourent librement de toutes choses, & où l'on peut les connoitre en peu de tems…

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[60] Ibid., 155-6.

[61] Ibid., 159.

[62] The coffee shop was a central social and business space throughout the eighteenth century (Jerry White, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London: Bodley Head, 2012), 175).

Leur Caractère s'y fait sentir, en partie, aux gens même qui n'entendent pas la Langue'.[63] The confession that Muralt had earlier made for neglecting typical travellers' destinations was thus more of a pronouncement. Bringing the first section of his account – the six letters on the English – to a close, he gives a short account of his brief visit to the country residence of William Temple. He reports that, although he had insisted in his exchanges with Temple that he was 'plus curieux d'hommes que des Bâtimens', his English acquaintance had assumed that he would emulate the conventional concerns of the traveller and had thus advised him to visit the 'Maison de Campagne du Duc de *Somerset*'.[64] Muralt's rejection of Temple's exhortation to undertake a typical course of travel provides a further opportunity for the Frenchman to distinguish his anti-Gallocentric travel method and travel writing art as so amply outlined already. In this, he clarifies that his hope is not just to present an alternative method of travel but rather a superior and more fruitful form. Thus, in a further salvo against the Gallocentric noble course of travel, Muralt declares his hope that he has quashed any desire to 'faire cette chose ordinaire & inutile, qu'on appelle un *Tour en Angleterre*'.[65]

Clearly, then, Muralt is adamant of the need to revise existing cultures of travel in the main body of his *Lettres*. The appended 'Lettre sur les voiages', in turn, complemented this objective. An example of the apodemical writing produced in the wake of early sixteenth-century methodisations studied in Chapter 4, the 'Lettre' did not dismiss travel as a whole, as Mervaud suggests. Rather, it dismissed Gallocentrism and the way in which it dominated noble modes of displacement as Muralt had expounded upon at length in the *Lettres*.[66] His comments in the *Lettres* that appear openly to dissuade travel, such as the advice to his addressee that any friend wishing to 'faire le voyage d'Angleterre' need not hurry as St Paul's was yet to be finished, are tongue-in-cheek, especially given that at

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[63] Ibid., 160.

[64] Ibid., 162-3.

[65] Ibid., 163. See Chapter 6, n. 27 and n. 28.

[66] Mervaud, 'Des relations de voyage', 9.

the time of writing St Paul's had long been completed.[67] Meanwhile, the 'Lettre', I argue, should be read for the same rhetorical fervour as the *Lettres* themselves.

The anti-Gallocentrism that colours the 'Lettre' is sustained through Muralt's repeated condemnation of the control of 'la Coûtume' and the templates of French culture in travel. The eulogy on the restful retreat following travel, which opens the 'Lettre', frames this refutation of a social practice as executed by French nobles.[68] After much thought, Muralt concludes that 'Tout Voiage entrepris par Coûtume… paroit mal entrepris'. In addition, his view is that 'le tems qu'on y emploie' is, he qualifies, 'perdu'.[69] Against a background of continuing contempt for the typical course of instruction undertaken by the young French nobility, Muralt proceeds to pick through the arguments proffered by the advocates of travel that such excursions will have a good effect on the young, that youth will gain 'la Science du Monde', and will make the acquaintance of men of merit.[70] His response to such arguments is that only a superficial sense of self, understood through the language of Frenchness is gained. In an oblique evocation of the secondary network of the enactment of Frenchness, Muralt declares that the core of his criticism derives from the restricted acquisition of knowledge, limited to 'des *Bienseances* qui n'interessent pas le Caractere des Hommes'.[71] In sum, Muralt is critical of the attachment to exteriors, a veiled reference implicating both the tendency to make prejudiced assumptions concerning other characters and the propensity to don the veneer of Frenchness. In language reminiscent of Montaigne, Muralt continues to attack the superficial nature of Gallocentric noble travel.[72]

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[67] *Lettres*, 157.

[68] Ibid., 283.

[69] Ibid., 285.

[70] See especially Ibid., 284, 291.

[71] (My emphasis) Ibid., 291.

[72] 'Ils [les voyageurs] ne lisent point le grand Livre du Monde pour s'en appliquer ce qui l'Europe convient; Ils leurs feuilletent pour en voir Les Estampes, & vont de l'une à l'autre. Ils voient les Bâtimens des Villes où Ils passent… Ils vont à la Cour, & voient dîner le Prince;

Nevertheless, at no point in the 'Lettre' does he bring his argument full circle to deny travel any role in noble instruction. Meanwhile, whilst testifying to the influence of geopolitics on the travel narrative, Muralt demonstrates that travel to England and identification of a sociocultural explanation for perceived English prosperity could be very fruitful indeed.

If Muralt is dismissive of a conventional topographical survey of London landmarks, he is assiduous in providing his revised cartography of the English character. In other words, his characterscape sees him scrutinise the English character so as to subvert the entrenched type of the barbaric English Other. As he remarks in the opening letter on the English in regard to the economic stimulus to his revision:

> 'Les *endroits* par où les Anglois sont principalement connus dans le Monde, sont ceux mêmes qui se font remarquer quand on arrive chez eux; de la Prosperité, de la Magnificence chez les Grands, & de l'Abondance chez les Petits'.[73]

Instead of political explanations, however, he turns to cultural reasons. English freedom, he explains, is productive of 'tant de Caractères extraordinaires, tant de Héros en mal comme en bien, qu'on voit parmi les Anglois'.[74] Amongst those traits that might be considered 'out of the ordinary', Muralt seeks to understand and extol the characteristics labelled as barbaric. Amongst the many aspects of the Englishman that he surveys in his cartography of the English character – including pride, laziness and debauchery – Muralt tackles the much-employed 'hot' term 'feroce' from the discourse of non-French barbarity. Whilst Deslandes had struggled to

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Ils se placent sur son passage lors qu'il va à sa Chapelle. & l'usage qu'ils prétendent faire de tout cela, c'est d'en Parler, c'est de pouvoir dire souvent: *Nous l'avons vû, nous y avions été*' (Ibid., 301). See Chapter 5, n. 55.

[73] (My emphasis) Ibid., 103.

[74] Ibid., 103-4.

dissociate such language from his efforts to produce a more penetrating character survey, Muralt demonstrates willingness and ability to destabilise it.[75]

The 'Lettre troisème' sees Muralt engage in a more comprehensive survey of the different pastimes of the lower ranks of English society. It is not until the middle of the *Lettre* that he discloses his main interest: to consider those English activities 'qui leur attirent le reproche de n'avoir pas perdu entierement leur ancienne *férocité*'.[76] Fittingly, given the triggers for Deslandes's articulation of barbarity, this leads him to survey animal fighting, boxing and the spectacle of execution.[77] Contrary to Deslandes, Muralt concludes that, notwithstanding the bloody nature of such pastimes, any vestiges of ferocity evidenced in these pleasures are, in fact, one of the virtues of the English nation which ought to be esteemed. In the same breath, he also strikingly reasserts Montaigne's core grievance of the servility inherent to Gallocentrism. As he explains at length:

> Mais voilà bien du Meurtre dans une Lettre où il s'agit de Plaisirs: c'est à quoi nous a mené un petit reste de *Férocité* qui se trouve chez cette Nation. Que ce mot ne vous scandalise pas; il designe une chose odieuse par rapport aux Etrangers, mais qui produit de très-bons effets chez les Anglois. *C'est à cette Férocité*, qui ne souffre rien, & qui prend ombrage de tout, qu'ils doivent des plus grands biens, qui est la Liberté. C'est par là que ce Peuple désuni & plongé dans la Prosperité & dans l'Oisiveté, retrouve dans le moment, toute sa Vigueur, & oublie tous ses démêlez, pour s'opposer unanimément à ce qui tend à le soumettre. Ailleurs, ce sont les gens qui n'ont rien à perdre qui s'engagent

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[75] See n. 43, n. 44, n. 45.

[76] (My emphasis) Ibid., 131.

[77] Ibid, 131-5.

dans des Entreprises hasardeuses. […] Oseroit-on dire, *qu'il faut quelque Ferocité à une Nation pour se garantir de l'Esclavage* […] leur liberté, ou leur Courage, à cet égard, est une des choses qui leur fait honneur & qui mériteroit *qu'on les imitât*; ou puisque peu de gens auraient bonne grace à les imiter, il seroit du moins à souhaiter, qu'il y eut de ces Anglois répandus dans le Monde, pour dire aux hommes les Véritez que personne n'ose leur dire […] Ils contentent leurs Envies & se plaisent à en former d'extraordinaires. Ils osent braver l'Opinion & la Foule & passer pour fous s'il le faut […] tandis que chez des Peuples *moins féroces, & plus uniformes*, on voit d'énormes sottises devenir generales & héreditaires, par les soins que les gens y prennent de se ressembler les uns aux autres, & par la grande frayeur qu'ils ont de tout ce qui s'éloigne tant soit peu de cette uniformité.[78]

Morphing perceived vice into tangible virtue, Muralt thus delivers his paradiastolic portrait of the English character centred upon the rehabilitation of the supposed trait of English ferocity. He identifies the attribute as one at which the French have traditionally baulked. He then repeatedly advocates imitation of this attribute, should the French desire to enjoy the same prosperity. To speak 'les Véritez' that, no-one – as affirmed through the punctuating verb 'oser' – dares to relay: all states including France, would benefit not only from more travel to England, but also from more of 'ces Anglois', that is the English-inspired, independent character, as opposed to misguided and enslaving uniformity modelled on a shackled vision of behaviours. Within Muralt's characterscape, barbarity thus becomes the privileged landmark to which travellers are advised to flock.

Muralt's favourable portrait of the English character in London is

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[78] (My emphasis) *Ibid.*, 135-6.

placed in further relief by his antithetical account of the French character as moulded by the French capital. Paris, that cherished city in which social aspirations are supposedly achieved and exemplary French manners refined, is given a damning review. Now turning to denigrate 'la Coûtume', Muralt digresses at length on the French enslavement to custom in the opening letter of the section entitled 'Lettres sur les François'. Here, he delivers a biting commentary on the grovelling and submissive French courtier. Such is the unquestioning worship of French custom, he claims, that the supposed freedoms granted by the monarch are 'sacrifi[ées] à la Coutume, dont ils [les Français] sont esclaves'. Evoking a well-worn term of the language of non-barbaric Frenchness, Muralt offers up 'se dispenser de certaines Loix de leur *Politesse*' as but one example of this nonsensical French version of liberty. Others, such as 'oser se pancher dans son Fauteuil quand on est las de s'y tenir droit' or to perform a number of shameful social indelicacies, swiftly follow. This leads him to the acerbic conclusion that 'S'il y a dequoi rire que ce soit là la Liberté d'une Nation, il y a sans doute dequoi rire davantage de voir des Nations où cette Liberté ne se trouve pas'.[79]

This stinging comparison, which ultimately sees a complete reversal of the twin discourse of barbarity, is replicated elsewhere in the *Lettres*. In the fifth letter on the English, Muralt interrogates a further constituent in the language of barbaric non-Frenchness. Considering the charge of cruelty in its multiple avatars – noun and adjective – he echoes his earlier repudiation of ferocity by suggesting that barely a modicum of such a negative trait can be witnessed:

> Voilà la grande *Cruauté* des Anglois', he asserts, 'qui
> consiste à permettre le Mal, plutôt qu'à le faire. Il est
> certain qu'ils abhorrent les Actions *cruelles*: les Duels,

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[79] Ibid., 170. Elsewhere, I have used my analysis of Muralt's dichotomy of cultural individualism versus cultural enslavement as a springboard to account for the commercial prosperity of England in contrast to a regressive France, as witnessed in the slavish existence of French craftsmen in Paris ('Capitalising on the English Urban Model', 36-8).

> les Assassinats, & generalement toute sorte de Violences sont rares ici.[80]

In the same letter, he returns to the charge of English ferocity in the conventional bid to uphold French politeness. In this instance, through discussion of England's abolition of torture, Muralt deploys a flourish redolent of Montaigne's engagement with the language of non-Frenchness by reattributing the designation to the French themselves. 'Nous voïons d'autres Nations', he declares:

> qui accusent celle-ci de Ferocité, & se piquent d'une *Politesse* extraordinaire, retenir cette Coûtume *barbare* & véritablement *féroce*, & la pousser à un tel excès, que les Tortures les plus effroïables deviennent une des formalitez d'un Procès criminel.[81]

Now labelling that entity 'Coûtume', which had been the focus of his attack throughout, not only as 'barbare', but also as 'véritablement *féroce*', Muralt recycles the elements that he had dismantled from the structure of the barbaric English type to erect a new construction: the barbaric French Other.

Muralt engages in multiple examples of such reversals and reconstructions in the second half of the *Lettres*. In the third letter on the French, he again daringly asserts, 'osons estre *grossiers*'.[82] Together with his other examples of reversal, Muralt repudiates prejudiced antithetical juxtapositions of a barbaric English character with a diametrically-opposed non-barbaric French character, as commonly mediated and reinforced in the culture of Gallocentric travel and the texts that such travel spawned. He sustains a full-scale destabilisation of the language of Frenchness, as

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[80] (My emphasis) Ibid., 150.

[81] (My emphasis) Ibid., 151. See Chapter 2 and my study of Montaigne's tentativeness in attributing the label of 'barbare'.

[82] (My emphasis) Ibid., 197.

opposed to the momentary destabilisation earlier toyed with in Montaigne's *Essais*, and, later, in Deslandes's *Nouveau voyage*. The *Lettres* see Muralt launch an audacious sally on entrenched social practices and structures of identity, whilst showing complete disregard for the discourse that readers had come to expect and accept in the travel text.

The daring suggestion, however, that the barbaric English Other was a model to be aped and Muralt's anti-Gallocentric travel a practice to be emulated received a sustained riposte from many quarters, including Pierre Jacques Fougeroux's 'Voïage d'Angleterre' (1728).

Fougeroux's reassertion of English barbarity

In his 'Notes sur L'Angleterre', which he compiled during his visit to England in 1726, Montesquieu remarked that there remained '[une] affreuse jalousie' between the English and the French.[83] On the French side, the distrust remained steadfast despite the increased contact with English culture and character afforded in great part through the written text. Muralt's *Lettres* evidently piqued the curiosity of many, including those lower down the social scale.[84] Meanwhile, the predominant paradoxical outcome of such increased contact was the heightening of such distrust amongst the social and intellectual elite for whom the figure of the barbaric English Other, propped up by scanty knowledge of their Channel neighbour, had become the central template of French culture.

The myriad responses to the first edition of the *Lettres* testifies to the unwanted proximity that Muralt had effected between Englishness and Frenchness. On the stage, Louis de Boissy's comedy *Le François à Londres* (1727) contrasted the caricatured vulgar English merchant, Jacques Rosbif,

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[83] *Œuvres completes de Montesquieu,* ed. by Jean Ehrard (Paris: Garnier, 2012), Vol. 10, 502.

[84] The 1731 review in the *Journal littéraire de la Haye* noted the favourable public reception of the *Lettres* (*Lettres,* 71). A copy of the 1725 edition of the *Lettres* bears the bookstamp of the Lyon merchant Pierre Adamoli (Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, 808505).

with the aptly--named protagonists le marquis de Polinville and le Baron de Polinville and their French servant Finette.[85] Desfontaines meanwhile penned his *Apologie*, which, through ventriloquising the enraged Englishman, delivered a staunch rebuff to Muralt.[86] Desfontaines might have also been responsible for the review in the *Journal des sçavants* of January 1726, which subtly reformulates Muralt's comment on the English and execution to reassert the barbaric type in its announcement: 'Notre Auteur croit qu'on peut mettre l'exécution des Criminels parmi les plaisirs *feroces* de ce Peuple'.[87] In a further indication of the centrality of lexicography to the crafting of the discourse of barbaric Frenchness, other vituperative responses were embedded within the revised 1727 version of Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel*. Here, the inclusion of a definition for 'Anglois' is conspicuous by its inclusion, as is the brief definition of the Englishman as '[un] Creancier fâcheux'. Meanwhile, such was the lexicographical industry in maintaining the language of barbaric non-Frenchness as articulated in relation to the English Other that the formative notion of 'cruauté' also underwent significant revision. Following a lengthy extension of the description of the inhumanity, barbarity and ferocity bound up in the term, the example given in the 1727 *Dictionnaire* was no longer a people of the New World, but rather the English in the context of their bloody spectacles. This flagrant colouring of language was, moreover, counterbalanced by the favourable extension of the entry for 'François'.[88] However, the most impassioned response was relayed in the unpublished manuscript of Pierre Jacques Fougeroux. Hitherto only studied for its record of country house gardens and its documenting of a performance of a Handel opera, Fougeroux's manuscript affords a rare insight into the response of an elite French reader and the linguistic arsenal employed to refute the espousal of

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[85] (Paris: Chez Barbou, 1727).

[86] See n. 6.

[87] (My emphasis) *Journal des sçavans* (Paris: Chez Lottin et Chaubert, 1726), 11.

[88] For example, the opening of one sub-entry lists a number of attributes which 'françois' could qualify.

the anti-Gallocentric discourse.[89]

Fougeroux was from a minor noble family with a history of service to the monarchy.[90] His course of travel was, affirmably, a Gallocentric one: he travelled with 'lettres de recommendation' to facilitate his entry into aristocratic and royal circles. The redaction of his 'Voiage' in the form of letters addressed to an unidentified correspondent likewise attests to his intentions to restrict the work's readership to the French elite and potential Gallocentric traveller. Contrary to Muralt's subversive flouting of the conventions of travel writing, Fougeroux submits to his imagined and revered elite reader: 'Vous me demandez Monsieur', he opens, 'une relation de mon voyage d'Angleterre et de Hollande'. In a preface in which he nods to Muralt's attempted new vision of Englishness whilst reinforcing his link with the French community in the evocation of 'nous', Fougeroux voices his concern as to whether he will be able to relate anything 'de nouveau au sujet d'un pais qui nous est si connu et si voisin'. This fittingly prefaces his twin objectives: to refute the anti-Gallocentric mode and reaffirm a formative social practice. Continuing to address his reader, he outlines his text's two principal points of interest. The first – to detail 'des Cabinets curieux et des belles maisons de plaisance que la plus grande partie des voyageurs ont passé legerement' – nevertheless underpins the second – to be 'de quelque utilité en vous detrompant des *Lettres sur les Anglois* ou l'envie de philosopher prévaut beaucoup sur l'obligatoire que contracte un honneste homme qui ecrit de la verité'.[91] As befitting a Gallocentric traveller, Fougeroux professes to report on his contact with his noble, if inferior, English counterparts whilst reporting on their collections of cross-European historical interest. This typical course of travel shores up the predominant

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[89] Dean Winton, 'A French Traveller's View of Handel's Operas', *Music and Letters,* 55 (1974), 172-78; David Jacques and Tim Rock, 'Pierre-Jacques Fougeroux: A Frenchman's Commentary on English Gardens of the 1720s', in *Experiencing the Garden in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Martin Calder (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 213-35.]

[90] See Gustave Chaix d'Est-Ange, *Dictionnaire des familles françaises* anciennes ou notables à la fin du XIXe siècle (Évreux: Hérissey, 1917), Vol. 15, 1-2.

[91] 'Voiage', f. 1.

objective to which he devotes a significant proportion of his account: not just to counter the recent claims of Muralt's *Lettres*, which he had perused before and after travelling to England, but to enumerate the obligations to which an upstanding Frenchman was beholden.[92] These obligations were to transmit that 'verité' which confirmed the superiority of the French character.

From the outset of his account, Fougeroux seeks at every turn to reinstate the gulf between the French and English character. On landing in Dover, he thus pointedly remarks, in a statement strikingly redolent of Rohan, 'Il est etonnant et peu croiable Monsieur, qu'un trajet de sept liëues et de quatre heures seulement vous transporte dans un pais si different du nostre'.[93] He begins his reconstruction of the 'truth' of the hierarchy of peoples to which he, and he hoped others, subscribed, through asserting the geographical eminence of Paris over London.[94] This refutation of English eminence in geographical terms in turn provides a 'factual' basis for his dismantling of Muralt's characterscape and subsequent reinstatement of the language of barbaric non-Frenchness in relation to the English populace.

Fougeroux devotes his 'cinquieme lettre' to furnishing the reader with, 'matiere [sic] à critiquer les *Lettres sur les Anglois*'. He expresses his outrage at Muralt's positioning of 'les pauvres François' below the English. He reserves his greatest indignation, however, for what he perceives as the scandalous metamorphosis of vice into virtue throughout the *Lettres*. As he exclaims: 'Les deffauts des Anglois dans son livre deviennent des perfections; la fureur de se tuer eux memes passe pour grandeur d'ames;

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[92] 'Je les ay lueus avant que de partir, et à mon retour les ayant parcourues de Nouveau' (Ibid., f. 153).

[93] Ibid., f. 14. See Chapter 6, n. 61.

[94] He is particularly damning of London. He complains of the stifling smog of the city, perhaps as a means of belittling the industrial progress that he witnessed (Ibid., f. 22-3). Taking Guillaume De Lisle's 1725 paper entitled 'Examen et comparaison de la grandeur de Paris, de Londres' as a factual basis, he proudly notes that if Parisian gardens were to be taken into account, Paris had been measured as 'd'un sixième plus grand que Londres' (Ibid., f. 26-7). (De Lisle's paper was published in *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences. Année MDCCXXV* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1727), 48-57).

leur *brutalité*, *leur ferocité*, leur humeur sombre, c'est du bon sens'. In Fougeroux's eyes, Muralt's vision is a masked truth. As he declares, 'tout est vestu'.[95] Proceeding to offer his alternative survey of English pastimes, which in accordance with the social differentiation demanded by Gallocentrism insists on the division between 'les grands' and 'le peuple', Fougeroux gives supporting evidence of the 'peu de *civilité*' of the English and their contemptuous ferocious character. This leads him to portray the common people, like Perlin before him, as 'une hydre a Cent testes, un composé de toutes les imperfections dont on ne doit jamais tirer de Consequence'.[96] He is also contemptuous of the apparent requirement 'dans tout leur divertissement' for '[le] sang repandu'.[97] Part of the fifth letter sees Fougeroux take solace in recounting the noble company he kept during his visit to London through attending the horse races and the English court; a vigorous condemnation of Muralt's failure to endorse such pastimes. He meanwhile proffers further evidence of the brutal English character as most obviously displayed in the practice of gladiator fighting which, he later designates as, 'un pauvre plaisir et tres denaturé'.[98] As he announces in the middle of his diatribe, he is sure that his reader would wish to 'savoir… le dessous des Cartes', that is the sighted truth of English barbarity.[99]

Fougeroux leaves this reinstated image of England and London with the reader as he embarks upon the final letter of his account, in which he narrates his return to Paris. 'Enfin, Monsieur, nous voilà partis de Londres', he declares, before listing the useful souvenirs that he and his travelling party, including the reader-as-armchair traveller, have accumulated. In Fougeroux's words: the party are 'bien munis de remarques et remplis des belles choses que vous avez parcourus dans mes lettres precedentes'. Meanwhile, he relates the return journey with a delight which contrasts with

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[95] Ibid., 153.

[96] Ibid., 156. (See Chapter 5, n. 30).

[97] Ibid., 158.

[98] Ibid., 205, 230.

[99] Ibid., 191.

his account of the outgoing Channel crossing and echoes Rohan's pride on being back in France.[100] Fougeroux is gladdened by the sight of a French inn and the opportunity afforded to evoke a shared French image. Utilising the pronoun 'nos', with its implication of an imagined community, he exclaims: 'quel plaisir de retrouver nos auberges françoises'.[101] Finally, on reaching Senlis on the outskirts of Paris, he brings his narrative to a close and proclaims, 'Cela s'appelle estre bien pres de Paris et du Plaisir', only to have recourse to words reminiscent of Ovid's lamentation of an exile, the *Tristia*, 'Dulcis amor patriae, Dulce videre suos'.[102]

Against the backdrop of a record of Gallocentric travel to England, Fougeroux sought therefore to convince his reader of the benefits of the social practice to underpin a French social identity and to spurn the nascent anti-Gallocentric travel discourse put forward by Muralt. Although his *'Voiage'* afforded a course of Gallocentric travel by proxy, Fougeroux evidently hoped that his noble readers might embark upon their own travel to England. If there was uncertainty as to how to effect this, in a further rejection of Muralt's apodemical views, the contrasting 'Instruction pour le Voyäge d'Angleterre', appended to the 'Voiage', provided ample guidance on how to best travel to England. Fougeroux's appendix also provided instruction on how to engage with the elite of English society and, in contrast to Montaigne's personal travelling practices, intermingle only with the civilised French society to be found in London.[103]

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[100] See Chapter 6, n. 78, n. 79.

[101] Ibid., 246.

[102] Fougeroux erroneously attributes this citation to Ovid. Ibid., f. 258.

[103] This treatise is appended to the copy held at The Foundling Museum (MS.HC78). The opening advises: 'Pour voyagér agréablement an Angléterre, il faut avoir le plus qu'il est possible de lettres de Recommendation, et surtout pour quelques membres du Parlement… Il faut aussi en avoir pour l'ambassadeur de France (f. 1). Later in the treatise, Fougeroux relates that he stayed in Suffolk Street with a 'M[onsieu]r Copenol', a residence used by many French travellers (f. 4). See Chapter 5, n. 74.

Conclusion: theoretical parallels

In the wake of the import of sociological models in the study of historical types, Steven Shapin has recently considered the scenario of the scholar and the gentleman in the seventeenth century. He examines the concerted seventeenth-century endeavour to disconfirm the negative connotations attached to scholarly practices so as to make science an acceptable pastime of the gentleman. This leads him to conclude that, ' no revolution occurred' in attitudes since 'the relationship between the gentleman and the scholar in particular changed with glacial slowness'.[104] The new practice was rejected, he outlines, by mobilising 'repertoires contrasting the gentleman and the scholar which had been current since at least the sixteenth and early seventeenth century'.[105] Similarly, as my study of Deslandes, Muralt and Fougeroux has evidenced, the attempt to disconfirm the type of the English barbaric Other was initiated over decades and was impeded by the mustering of the same long-held French structures that Muralt in particular had sought to dismantle.

Throughout this project I have considered the utility of sociological theory in elucidating the historical trends under interrogation. At the beginning of this chapter, I argued for historical justification of sociological theory in the case of disconfirming.[106] In light of the foregoing analysis of Muralt's failed attempt to de-fossilise French travel writing, it seems fitting here to evoke Tajfel's classic account of the process involved in the stubborn persistence of formative social stereotypes.

> If and when a social categorization into groups is
> endowed with a strong value differential… in such
> cases, encounters with negative or disconfirming

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[104] '"A Scholar and a Gentleman": The Problematic Identity of the Scientific Practitioner in Early Modern England', *History of Science* 29 (1991), 300-1.

[105] Ibid., 305.

[106] See n. 23.

instances would not just require a change in the interpretation of the attributes assumed to be characteristic of a social category. Much more importantly, the acceptance of such disconfirming instances threatens or endangers the value system on which is based the differentiation between the groups.

The response to the perceived threat to another actor's attempt to disconfirm a constituent value system, the stereotyping process, Tajfel continues to highlight, 'fulfils its function of protecting the value system which underlies the divisions of the surrounding social world'.[107]

Fougeroux's vituperative response, as delivered in the travel account proper and in an apodemical appendage, testifies to the full employment of the value system that comprised non-French barbarity. Fougeroux's 'Voiage' records the 'semantic struggle' launched by an individual for whom the discourse of barbaric Frenchness, as articulated in relation to the English Other, had become central for his sense of self. In sum, Muralt's attempted divestment of the language of barbarity and Gallocentric travel, which was built upon his perceived vision of the prosperous and free Englishman, did little to dissuade members of all ranks of the French elite of the symbolic profit offered by the type. Clifford remarks that the 'imagined communities called "nations" require constant, often violent, maintenance'.[108] The survival of Fougeroux's manuscript, in which the type of the barbaric English Other is championed in order to protect the French value system, is testimony that the imagined community of the French social elite required vigorous maintenance, both in the redaction of a manuscript account and its subsequent circulation.

Nevertheless, the destabilisation that Muralt had set in motion would be championed by the Abbé Prévost and grappled with by Voltaire, as I study in the following and final chapter.

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[107] 'Social Stereotypes and Social Groups', 152.

[108] *Routes*, 9.

Chapter 8

'Au contraire?':

(Anti-)Gallocentrism in Prévost and Voltaire's travelogues[1]

Introduction: a new (anti-)Gallocentric context for the 'Lettres philosophiques'

This chapter offers fresh analysis of a work that has benefitted from extensive critical attention: Voltaire's 1734 *Lettres philosophiques*.[2] I do not seek to offer a complete re-reading of Voltaire's *Lettres*, as has been the focus of twentieth-century editions, of which Rousseau's updated version of Lanson's seminal edition is currently the most important.[3] In advance of the

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[1] This chapter employs common abbreviations in relation to Voltaire's work: OCV refers to the *Œuvres complètes de Voltaires*; 'D' refers to the *letters* catalogued by Theodore Besterman in *Correspondence and related documents*; BV refers to the *Bibliothèque de Voltaire*: *catalogue des livres*.

[2] The *Lettres* were first published in 1733 as the *Letters concerning the English Nation.* A French version appeared in two editions: one entitled *Lettres écrites de Londres sur les Anglois et autres sujets* with the fictitious imprint 'Basle'; the other, which included an additional twenty-fifth letter on Pascal, entitled *Lettres philosophiques par M. de V**** and published by the printer Jore in Rouen. The latter is the base text for most critical editions, including Rousseau's 1964 edition (see n. 3). It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the publication history and authorship of editions of the *Lettres*. For Harcourt Brown's controversial account of the text's evolution from an English to French edition see 'The Composition of the *Letters Concerning the English Nation*', in *The Age of Enlightenment: Studies Presented to Theodore Besterman*, ed. by William Barber et al. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1967), 15-34. For recent re-evaluations of this thesis see Nicholas Cronk, 'The *Letters Concerning the English Nation* as an English Work: Reconsidering the Harcourt Brown Thesis', *SVEC* 10 (2001), 226-39, and Lee, 'The Unexamined Premise', 240-70.

[3] Voltaire, *Lettres philosophiques*, ed. by Gustave Lanson and André Rousseau, 2 Vols. (Paris: Didier, 1964). All citations will be taken from this edition. Other editions, listed here by editor and year for concision, include: Arthur Wilson-Green (1931); Raymond Naves (1939); Frank Taylor (1948); René Pomeau (1964); Frédéric Deloffre (1986); Gerhardt Stenger (2006); Anthony McKenna and Oliver Ferret (2010).

forthcoming critical edition from the Voltaire Foundation, my aim here is to shed light on one important dimension: the relationship between the *Lettres philosophiques* and early modern cultures of French travel writing and its associated discourses.[4] I argue for a (re-)reading of the *Lettres* as a travelogue which responded to shifting cultures of travel writing: the Gallocentric and anti-Gallocentric. Voltaire's thematic engagement with travel has been widely acknowledged.[5] Continuing to refute the false homogenisation of travel writing cultures I note in Chapter 7, my aim here is, meanwhile, to assert the status of the *Lettres* as a travelogue, whilst reappraising its categorisation as a new form of travel writing.[6] In so doing, I counter the propensity to see the *Lettres* as born out of rather than contingent on Voltaire's travel to England. In René Pomeau's formulation, the *Lettres* are utlimately 'une forme dépouillée' of the original travelogue.[7] Most recently, Guillaume Métayer has denied the typical literary craft and rhetorical flair of the travelogue in which Voltaire evidently engages by tagging the *Lettres* 'un vrai faux récit de voyage dans une vraie fausse forme épistolaire'. In this description, Métayer has also implicated a dichotomy of 'truth' and 'falsity' in the study of travel writings and, in turn, Voltaire's *Lettres*.[8] My objective is not to exalt travel writing as the sole influence on the text; scholars have attested to the rich intertextuality of the *Lettres* and the many genres it encompasses, including fictionalised forms of travel writing,

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[4] This is due to be published in 2017.

[5] For general studies of Voltaire and travel, see Silvia Mattel, *Voltaire et les voyages de la raison* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010). For the most recent survey of Voltaire and travel, see the contributions to the *Revue Voltaire* (2015).

[6] See Chapter 7, n. 52, n. 53, n. 54. For additional evaluations of the *Lettres* as an original travel text see: Barling, 'The Literary Art of the *Lettres philosophiques*', 13; Julia Epstein, 'Eighteenth-Century Travel Letters: The Case of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*', *Genre*, 16 (1983), 116, and, in general, Christiane Mervaud, 'Des relations de voyage', 1-15.

[7] 'Les *Lettres philosophiques*, œuvre épistolaire?', in *Beiträge Zur Französischen Aufklärung: Festgabe Für Werner Krauss*, ed. by Werner Bahnet (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971), 277. This view is reiterated elsewhere in Pomeau's work. See, for example, 'Les *Lettres philosophiques*: Le projet de Voltaire', *SVEC* 179 (1979)*,* 11-24.

[8] 'Voltaire et la philosophie', *Revue Voltaire* 15 (2015), 49-50.

such as Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*.[9] Instead, I argue that the *Lettres* are typical of the travel work – fluid in its generic categorisation and rich in the literary and cultural sources on which they draw – and were shaped by specifically French trends of travel writing.

As I discuss in the introduction and Chapter 6, my theorisation of Gallocentrism within early modern French thought and travel practices has sought to replace conventional labels which distort historical interpretation. As labels commonly applied in studies of Voltaire and which impact identification of the authorial voice(s) of the *Lettres*, the notions 'anglophobia' and 'anglophilia' demand further discussion here.

In the introduction to the 2013 edition of the *Revue Voltaire*, Macé labels Voltaire's anglophilia as 'bien connue' and the *Lettres* 'emblématiques' of this sentiment.[10] Meanwhile, she remarks that Voltaire's anglophobia has attracted less scholarly attention and seems 'plus problématique'.[11] A perceived oscillation between acceptance and rejection of Englishness in the *Lettres* has meanwhile seen critics struggle to reconcile apparently shifting viewpoints, especially in the seemingly enigmatic eighteenth letter on English theatre.[12] My contention is that these critical issues derive from analysis of

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[9] Pomeau, 'Les *Lettres philosophiques*, œuvre épistolaire?', 277. For studies of both English and French models used by Voltaire see: Nicholas Cronk, 'Translation and Imitation in the *Lettres anglaises*', in *Voltaire et ses combats*, ed. by Ulla Kölving and Christiane Mervaud (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1997), 99-124; Pierre Malandain, 'Le travail intertextuel de l'écriture dans les *Lettres philosophiques*', in *Voltaire et ses combats*, 285-301); Nicholas Cronk, 'Voltaire, Lucian, and the Philosophical Traveller', in *L'Invitation au voyage*, 75-84; Nicholas Cronk, 'Voltaire rencontre Monsieur le Spectateur: Addison et la genèse des Lettres anglaises', in *Voltaire en Europe: Hommage à Christiane Mervaud*, ed. by Michel Delon and Catriona Seth (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), 13-21.

[10] Laurence Macé, 'Voltaire et le modèle anglais: un rapport complexe', *Revue Voltaire* 13 (2013), 118.

[11] Ibid., 119.

[12] Epstein and Pomeau's solution is to identify multiple voices ('Eighteenth-Century Travel Letters', 117-8, 120; 'Les *Lettres philosophiques*, œuvre épistolaire?', 272-3). John Pappas explains the apparent incongruity of Voltaire's position in relation to Shakespeare by suggesting that there are two avatars of Voltaire: the philosopher on the one hand, and the

Voltaire and his writings being initiated from the wrong end of the problematic, namely, starting with the notion of Englishness, and then charting a love ('philia') or hate ('phobia') of it. Rather, criticism of the *Lettres* ought to begin with analysis of Voltaire's Frenchness or Gallocentrism and how this conditioned, for example, his engagement with existing French visions of Englishness, which had long been filtered through the Gallocentric lens. Taking up the mantle from those critics who have identified Voltaire's 'French' motivation in the *Lettres* in his endeavour to inject English dynamism into an apparently static French society, I consider how Voltaire's adherence to Gallocentrism impacted his mediation of English culture, despite his evident admiration for strains of English thought and science, as well as non-elite figures such as the Quaker, Andrew Pitt, who evidently inspired the opening letter.[13] In my analysis of Montaigne in Chapter 5, I argued that the *Essais* record a single narrator tussling with the language of Gallocentrism; inconsistencies were, I espoused, symptomatic of this ideological struggle. Similarly, I argue here that Gallocentrism, rather than an oscillation between anglophilia and anglophobia, accounts for the overall stance put forward in the *Lettres* and, especially, that documented in the letter on English tragedy. This is not to suggest that Voltaire does not counter existing cultural templates that he saw as burdening the noble traveller. I argue that Voltaire mirrors the ideological journey navigated by Montaigne, if, in his case, the starting point is the English rather than Amerindian Other. This journey witnesses, I argue, Voltaire balance a commitment to Gallocentrism with his tacit exhortation to the reader to engage in independent thought.

In response to Barling, Sareil and, latterly, Rousseau's call to excavate the language of the *Lettres*, scholars have scrutinised Voltaire's

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practical commentator, on the other ('La campagne de Voltaire contre Shakespeare', in *Voltaire et ses combats*, 67).

[13] Alain Niderst, 'Les "Lettres anglaises" de Voltaire, une vulgarisation méthodique et imprudente', *Revue d'histoire des sciences,* 44 (1991), 313.

subversive literary techniques.[14] Cronk, for example, has argued that Voltaire's inclusion of translated passages in the letters 'destabilises language and relativises judgement'.[15] My aim here is to examine Voltaire's engagement with the language of barbarity as articulated through the English Other; to consider how such language is destablised in Voltaire's literary endeavour to upset the hierarchical relationship between Frenchness and Englishness, and yet, to highlight the extent to which the *Lettres* expect the reader to draw his own conclusions, whilst Voltaire's own adherence to Frenchness is left in the balance. Voltaire would later pronounce that 'les livres les plus utiles sont ceux dont les lecteurs font eux-mêmes la moitié'.[16] The *Lettres* are an early attestation, I argue, of the extensive legwork required of the Voltairean reader. They demand, as the nod to the epistolary genre suggests, the involvement of two parties. As my analysis of Voltaire's re-evaluation of the typical relationship between the reader and travel writer indicates, moreover, both parties are engaged in a journey that does not seek to reinforce the typical templates of culture, but to challenge them. In light of his later articulation of the barbaric English Other, in Voltaire's case, he only accompanies the reader for half of his vicarious journey through Englishness. Justification of Duchet's conclusion that barbarism is 'un thème majeur' in Voltairean thought, the trope would later be reiterated and indiscriminately applied to all social ranks in Voltaire's *contes* and in his increasingly impassioned defences of French theatre in the face of – what he saw as – a barbaric English infiltration of a polite French art.[17] My contention

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[14] Barling, 'Literary Art', 7-69; André Rousseau, 'Introduction à une lecture des *Lettres philosophiques*', *L'Information littéraire* (1967), 10-16. Sareil focuses on the role of language in the satirical encounter between the Quaker and the foreign visitor in the opening letter ('Les quatre premières *lettres philosophiques* ou les complications du jeu satirique', *L'Information littéraire,* 76 (1985), 277-86).

[15] Cronk, 'Translation and Imitation', 122.

[16] OCV 35, 284. All references to Voltaire's work are taken from critical editions published by The Voltaire Foundation. For full references, see the bibliography.

[17] *Anthropologie*, 317. In *Candide* the narrator remarks that, on witnessing the infamous court martial of Admiral Byng, the protagonist *Candide* 'ne voulut pas seulement mettre pied

here is that these later fervid pronouncements of the barbaric type is proof of the personal Gallocentrism that Voltaire left partially intact in the *Lettres*. In sum, I argue that the *Lettres* see Voltaire mirror the ideological battle of Montaigne before him with the outcome being a similarly inconclusive destabilisation of the language of barbarity. In Voltaire's case, the ideological battle is, moreover, one which Voltaire suggests his reader might reconcile but one in which he, as writer, remains engaged.

The ambivalence of Voltaire's position and the state of flux in which he leaves the language of Frenchness is underlined by comparisons with those conventionally identified as Voltaire's predecessors, such as Muralt. Voltaire's ambivalence and the extent to which he only partially completes the ideological journey of anti-Gallocentrism is thrown into the greatest relief, however, I suggest, by juxtaposing his *Lettres* with a near contemporary and alternatively consolidatory response to Muralt: the fifth volume of Antoine François Prévost's *Mémoires et avantures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde*, which was first published in 1731 with a sixth volume as the *Suite des Mémoires*, and relates a fictionalised account of travel to England

à terre', so shocked was the traveller at the killing of a fellow soldier 'pour encourager les autres' (OCV 48, 224). Voltaire's *L'Ingénu* is also punctuated by a striking remark, which sees the label 'barbare' implicitly shifted from the Amerindians to the English. Imprisoned as a result of his involvement in a battle with his former ally, the protagonist, the Huron, reflects on his life, commenting, 'J'ai vécu Huron vingt ans', before continuing in relation to the English, 'on dit que ce sont des *barbares*, parce qu'ils se vengent de leur ennemis; mais ils n'ont jamais [sic] opprimé leurs amis' (OCV 63c, 284). The 'Dissertation sur la tragédie', which prefaces the play *Sémiramis*, meanwhile designates Shakespeare's *Hamlet* 'une pièce grossière et barbare, qui ne serait pas supportée par la plus vile populace de la France et de l'Italie…' (OCV 30a, 160). Although in the *Lettres philosophiques* Voltaire had criticised *Hamlet* for its scene of 'des fossoieurs' who 'creusent une fosse en bûvant, en chantant et en faisant sur les têtes des morts qu'ils rencontrent des plaisanteries convenables à gens de leur métier', he had nevertheless offered a translation of Hamlet's famous monologue (*Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 2, 80). These re-articulations mirrored those in state-sponsored literature (see Chapter 1, n. 43).

inspired by Prévost's own two visits between 1727 and 1734.[18] Although Prévost's *Mémoires* have conventionally been included in the corpus of travel writing on England, similarly to Voltaire's *Lettres*, they have been marginalised in the study of developing cultures of travel, whilst the seventh volume, the highly successful *Histoire du chevalier des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut*, has dominated literary criticism of the *Mémoires*.[19] Prévost's decision not to produce a conventional account, despite it being commercially interesting, testifies, I argue, to a desire to incorporate the anti-Gallocentric travel narrative into the burgeoning novelistic genre and with it, reach a broader readership, including women.[20] Setting to work on the *Suite des Mémoires* in between his two visits, the frame of the novel afforded Prévost the opportunity to entirely re-imagine Gallocentric travel and, in turn, offer a more engrossing programme of armchair travel than Muralt for French readers. Similarly to Voltaire's *Lettres*, Prévost's account is the result of an elaborate example of the conventional craft involved in the redaction of the travel account.[21] However, if, as Saïd argues, the British novel assisted in the

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[18] There are multiple critical editions of the *Mémoires*. The latest constitutes the first volume of the *Œuvres de Prévost*, which is edited by Jean Sgard and Pierre Berthiaume (8 Vols. (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1978)). An updated edition of the first two volumes of the *Mémoires* is also available (*Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité (1728)*, ed. by Jean Sgard (Paris: Desjonquères, 1995)). For consistency, all citations will be taken from Sgard and Berthiaume's earlier volume, which I will cite as *Mémoires*. Where relevant, I will also refer to Mysie Robertson's 1927 critical edition as *Mémoires (Robertson)*.

[19] Prévost is listed by Cox, for example (*Reference Guide*, Vol. 3, 120). For evidence of the focus on *Manon Lescaut*, see Alan Holland's study *Manon Lescaut de l'Abbé Prévost 1731-1759: Étude bibliographique et textuelle* (Genève: Éditions Skalatine, 1998).

[20] Karen Newman remarks on 'women's exclusion from certain kinds of spatial movement, from the travel so important to education, knowledge and power in the seventeenth century' and the rise in the 'vogue for romance novels among metropolitan writers and readers' (*Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 109). For evidence of women's exclusion from travel to England see François Brunet, 'Voyage d'Angleterre, 1676', British Library, London, MS.35177, f. 3r -5r.

[21] The novel has an uneasy status in attempted categorisations and definitions of travel writing. It is beyond the scope of the current study to engage in such debates, save to endorse the symbiotic relationship that Adams identifies between the novel and travel writing

creation of a 'consolidated' vision of the British empire, and, as Anderson argues, the novel was central in germinating imagined national communities, then, unlike Voltaire's *Lettres*, Prévost's *Mémoires* put at the forefront of the travel work a revised sense of identity which, in not relying on French elitism, took in a broader range of social ranks and thus offered an identity which could be imagined by a broader audience.[22]

To compare the contrasting approach of the two works here implicated, I focus on the parallel use of pastimes as a vehicle through which to scrutinise the language of Frenchness and the concomitant English barbaric type. Prévost's choice of a common English pastime – street fighting – against Voltaire's selection of an elite pastime – French theatre – is indicative, I argue, of the varying modes of anti-Gallocentrism in which each writer engages. In Prévost's case, a non-noble spectacle witnessed by noble observers invokes the foundations of the barbaric type and, in light of the subsequent favourable conclusions, sees noble actors renegotiate a social identity for themselves. In Voltaire's case, the abstract discussion of an elite art form by the narrator, which sees some destabilisation of the language of Frenchness and yet does not reach any further conclusion, curbs the biting satire of the French noble initiated in the opening letter and, in turn, suggests an unwillingness to complete the reversal of types. In light of Prévost's challenge to Gallocentric travel therefore, the restricted ideological activism of Voltaire's *Lettres* becomes all the more pronounced. Contrary to Bonno's conventional evaluation, Prévost's *Mémoires*, I argue, less affected the form and tone of the *Lettres* than acted as a successful model which Voltaire

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(See Introduction, n. 8). This endorsement rejects, in turn, the division between the novel and travel writing in Prévost's œuvre as suggested by Sylviane Albertan-Coppola ('L'abbé Prévost romancier et éditeur de voyages', in *Roman et récit de voyage*, ed. by Philippe Antoine and Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud (Paris: Presse Paris Sorbonne, 1987), 120) and Jean Sgard's argument that the fifth volume cannot be considered a form of travel writing derived from Prévost's travel to England (*Vie de Prévost (1697-1763)* (Laval: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006), 10, 89).

[22] *Culture and Imperialism*, 73-229; *Imagined communities*, 28-9.

tempered.[23]

My analysis therefore draws on Jean Sgard's suggestion that Voltaire's interaction with Prévost was defined by both cooperation and disagreement.[24] Here, I consider the co-existence of both elements in relation to travel cultures. On the one hand, both writers are twin propagators of a new form of travel, which spurned adherence to elite social behaviours. On the other, their response to the emergent travel culture of anti-Gallocentrism demonstrates a divergence as to how far each writer was willing to complete the process of disconfirming. Both Prévost and Voltaire had an uneasy relationship with the French establishment, both travelling to England following a breakdown in this relationship, even if such breakdowns were impetuses rather than core reasons for their travel.[25] However, whilst Prévost became ideologically distanced from French culture in his *Mémoires*, Voltaire's *Lettres* testify to a sustained adherence to some of its templates. I therefore counter Christiane Mervaud's presentation of Voltaire as a 'merchant of a nobler kind' in terms of his mediation of English culture.[26] My

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[23] 'La Culture et la civilisation britanniques', 28.

[24] 'Prévost et Voltaire', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France,* 64 (1964), 545-64.

[25] The son of a French lawyer, Prévost was a Jesuit apprentice before serving in the French army in the War of Spanish Succession. He subsequently entered the Benedictine order but soon absconded and fled to England. After a romantic intrigue with a young noble lady, he returned to Holland in 1730. For biographical studies of Prévost's time in England see Sgard, *Vie de Prévost*, 87-97 and Frédéric Deloffre, 'Les "Fiançailles" anglaises de L'abbé Prévost', in *L'Abbé Prévost: Actes du Colloque d'Aix-en-Provence*, ed. by Frédéric Deloffre (Aix-en-Provence: Publications des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres Aix-en-Provence, 1963), 1-9. The reasons for Voltaire's travel have been clouded in legend. The conventional narrative for Voltaire's visit to England recounts that Voltaire had an altercation with the chevalier de Rohan at the theatre and ignored social etiquette in challenging the nobleman to a duel. Although it continues to be of currency in some studies, this story has more recently been denounced as mythical by Cronk, amongst others. Cronk remarks that whilst the event delayed Voltaire's departure, the real instigation for Voltaire trip to England was professional: to publish his epic poem, *La Henriade* (Voltaire, *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, ed. by Nicholas Cronk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), x).

[26] Voltaire uses this phrase in the 'Advertisement' in the 1727 *Essay*. It is taken up by Mervaud in her interpretation of Voltaire as a luminary in the import of Englishness ('Voltaire

analysis suggests that Voltaire was in fact highly measured in his trading of aspects of Englishness.

To facilitate my reappraisal of Voltaire's *Lettres*, I therefore turn first to the novel re-imagining of Englishness delivered in Prévost's anti-Gallocentric travelogue, which I set within a reconsidered interpretative framework.

'Au contraire': Prévost's apology of Englishness

Prévost's re-historicised intertextual travel narrative

My study of the fifth volume is shaped by interlinked interpretative parameters, which inform my analysis of the travel narrative proper. These are: the centrality of travel to the series as a whole; the historical underpinning of travel to England in the *Mémoires*, and the reinforcing intertextuality Prévost establishes between the *Mémoires* and his near contemporaneous periodical, *Le Pour et contre*. Together, these considerations contribute to my presentation of the fifth volume as a re-historicised intertextual travel narrative and, in turn, prop up my analysis of Prévost's reformulation of the barbaric English type in his anti-Gallocentric travel account.

In the first instance, the importance of travel to the overall narrative of the *Mémoires* is evidenced in its printing history and reception. It is true that *Manon Lescaut* was a great printing success. What is often overlooked, however, is that this success relied upon contemporary interest in the multiple narratives of travel put forward in the *Mémoires*: the first four volumes of the *Mémoires* followed the *homme de qualité*, the Marquis de Renoncour, through great swathes of Europe, including Holland, Italy, Spain and Portugal, and parts of the Orient; as I will study in detail, the fifth volume relayed a fictional account of a course of revised noble travel to England under the direction of Renoncour, who, by virtue of his suitable noble lineage,

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négociant en idées ou "merchant of a nobler kind" dans les *Lettres philosophiques*', *L'Information littéraire,* 40 (1988), 29-35).

finds himself tutor and travel guide to the Marquis de Rosemont.[27] The original printers of the *Mémoires*, the Compagnie d'Amsterdam, document awareness of this interest: the Compagnie only agreed to publish *Manon Lescaut* on the condition that it was presented as a further volume of the acclaimed *Mémoires*, a strategy which was successful.[28]

If travel is given general prominence in the *Mémoires*, the historical dimension Prévost gives to the two instances of travel to England imbues this direction of travel with symbolic importance. In other words, Prévost determines on a geo-historical approach to the travel text to counter that documented in Rohan's *Voyage* (see Chapter 6). Unlike Rohan, this approach is mediated, not through the nostalgic summoning of past French triumphs, but through eyewitness experiences of current momentous events to go down in English history. As I argued in Chapter 7, the anti-Gallocentric current was engendered by a shift in the balance of powers in Europe after England's rise in prominence in 1688 and the confirmation of English power after the War of Spanish Succession (in which Prévost had himself fought).[29] In aligning the timing of the two courses of travel embarked upon by his protagonist with these points, Prévost historically invests the courses of travel he relates in the *Mémoires*. The first volume traces Renoncour's employment as a mercenary in the invading forces of William III. The vignette which sees a deposed James II engage Renoncour in conversation and enquire, with disbelief, as to his decision as a Frenchman to take up arms against him meanwhile relays the extent to which French attitudes towards the English shifted early.[30] The development of this cultural sea-change is, in

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[27] In the first volume of the *Mémoires*, Renoncour gives an account of his family's rise in the service of Louis XIV (*Mémoires*, 13-17). In the third volume, the reader is told that Renoncour's tutee is given a fictional name for his travels (Ibid., 117).

[28] See Sgard's critical edition *Histoire du chevalier des Grieux et de Manon Lescaut* (Paris: GF-Flammarion, 1995), 6–7. Sgard notes the fever with which the reading public consumed each volume of the *Mémoires*. The success of the printing strategy is attested by the many editions of the *Mémoires*. For a survey see *Mémoires (Robertson)*, 37-41.

[29] See n. 25.

[30] *Mémoires,* 52-5.

turn, documented at the beginning of volume five, which opens in 1716, a couple of years after the end of the war. The cultural impact of England's changed political status is suggested in anachronistic references to the acting brilliance of Anne Oldfield and the engineering mastery of 'l'ingénieuse machine' used to pump water from the River Thames.[31] The most far-reaching consequence is, however, as I will study below, relayed in the encouraged revision of the English character by a noble traveller, rather than simply a detached Muraldian narrator. Following the laying of its foundations from the outset of the *Mémoires*, therefore, the fifth volume emerges as the centrepiece of an extensively modified geohistoricised approach to travel.

Further elucidation of Prévost's endeavour to revise cultures of travel to England in the fifth volume is meanwhile attained through an intertextual reading with Prévost's *Le Pour et contre*, a periodical which Prévost published at the same time as working on his *Suite des mémoires*. In one article, Prévost notes his sustained endeavour to ground all his works in history, thus giving further evidence of the intentional historical colouring of the *Mémoires*, as well as his subscription to the conventional concerns of the travel writer.[32] His contempt of prejudiced observation as implicitly informed by extensive knowledge of French travel writing on England informs, meanwhile, the centrepiece of the fifth volume. The different issues of *Le Pour et contre* attest to Prévost's reading of prominent seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel works, including Deslandes's *Nouveau voyage*.[33]

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[31] *Mémoires*, 240, 249. Oldfield did not appear on the English stage until the 1720s. Criticisms of anachronism are made by Robertson and reiterated by Sgard (*Mémoires (Robertson),* 30-1; *Vie de Prévost*, 89, 92).

[32] Prévost declares that all of his works boast 'pour fondement un assez grand nombre de véritez' (Vol. VI, No. 90, 353-354). As I have evidenced in my analysis of Perlin and Fougeroux's writings (see Chapter 5 and 7 respectively), it was a common conceit to claim historical veracity.

[33] Prévost was clearly familiar with Muralt's *Lettres* and Sorbière's *Voyage* (as well as De Boissy's 1727 play). See Jean Sgard's critical apparatus for the periodical (*Le 'Pour et contre' de Prévost: Introduction, tables et index*, ed. by Jean Sgard (Paris: Nizet, 1969), 134, 192, 214). Sgard labels the *Mémoires* 'une première ébauche du *Pour et contre*' (Ibid., 10).

Scholarly criticism continues to present Prévost's use of this literature as flagrant plagiarism.[34] I argue that Prévost capitalises upon his reading to insert himself into the new culture of anti-Gallocentric travel writing at the heart of which lay the rejection of the conditioned sight-knowledge connection conventionally adhered to by fellow French travellers. In *Le Pour et contre* Prévost is critical of the traveller's over-reliance on Camden's *Britannia* to guide him through the material curiosities of England and encourages in its place unprejudiced observation of character.[35] Writing in the fourth volume of the journal in 1734, Prévost reflects with bemusement on the prejudice shaping English and French views of one another despite the geographical proximity of the two countries. Implicating himself in French views, he notes with ironic understatement: 'Anglois aussi bien que François, *nous* sommes un peu difficiles, & *nos* idées ne s'accordent pas toujours avec celles de *nos* voisins'.[36] The symbiotic relationship between *Le Pour et contre* and the *Mémoires* is early documented in the complementary commentary in the third volume of the *Mémoires* on the production of the travelogue. Here, the protagonist Renoncour asserts that he has decided to leave 'la description des Païs… aux Géographes'.[37] Within the context of a coeval geohistorical travel narrative, the intended intertextual reading

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[34] Adams asserts that as a 'connoisseur of travel literature', Prévost 'exploited, plagiarized, and imitated it in the *Mémoires*' (*Travel Literature*, 134). Sgard contends that Prévost copied much of La Mottraye's travel account (*Vie de Prévost*, 91-2). Most recently, Gelleri has said of the fifth volume of the *Mémoires*: 'il s'agit… essentiellement d'une compilation' ('Le voyage d'Angleterre', 253).

[35] *Le Pour et contre, ouvrage periodique d'un gout nouveau* (Paris: Chez Didot, 1735), Vol. 6, 242. See Chapter 5, n. 35, for discussion of travellers' use of Camden. In a comment redolent of Deslandes, Prévost later remarks: 'l'agrément du grand spectacle du monde' (Ibid., 309). For further affirmation of his belief in the worth of character observations see Ibid., 241-255.

[36] (My emphasis). He continues 'il n'est pas question de celles qui habitent l'autre côté de la Mediterannée & le fond de la Mer Baltique…' (*Le Pour et contre,* (Paris: Chez Didot, 1734), Vol. 4, 210).

[37] *Mémoires*, 119.

supports above all, I suggest, the sustained attack on French prejudice as delivered through the spokesperson of Renoncour's noble tutee.

A new sight-knowledge connection

Prévost follows multiple narrative threads in the fifth volume.[38] I would argue, however, that these are subsidiary to the narrative of the revised course of travel he samples through a young noble on his instructive visit to England. This new noble mode of travel begins with a reinvention of the arrival scene in London, which reinstates a feature dropped by Muralt, and continues with a Murauldian rejection of antiquarian-inspired travel. In Chapter 6, I argued that Rohan employs his account of the channel crossing to frame a narrative of a culturally distanced land occupied by a temporally disjunct people, as observed in the lower ranks. In Chapter 7, I pointed to Fougeroux's use of geographical distancing to preface his reiteration of the barbaric English type. In the fifth volume, Prévost employs the commentary on the arrival in England to affirm Muralt's trope of English prosperity with an eyewitness view. Following an easy journey across the channel, Renoncour and Rosemont's approach to London is marked by a narrative of prosperity and abundance triggered by the wondrous spectacle of the capital's waterway.[39] As Renoncour concludes: 'l'on ne peut ouvrir les yeux, dans cette heureuse île, sans prendre une idée de l'abondance qui y règne, & du bonheur de ses habitants'.[40] The first few days of Renoncour and Rosemont's visit to London subsequently sees them apparently undertake a typical noble itinerary: they observe churches, including St Paul's, and frequent the English court. This itinerary is, however, coloured by ominous Murauldian language in Renoncour's remark that the objective of his account

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[38] One thread tracks a love affair between the marquis and Renoncour's niece back in France; another relates Renoncour's assistance of a disgraced English Lady (Milady R…).

[39] Contrary to Rohan's troubled crossing, Renoncour relates that '[un] vent fort heureux' whisked them across the seaway (*Mémoires*, 230).

[40] Ibid.

'n'est pas de tracer le plan d'une église, ou d'un bâtiment particulier'.[41] Contrary to appearances, the settling of the travellers in Suffolk Street, an area brimming with French visitors, is not, therefore, a bid to engage in a typical Gallocentric narrative. Rather, as the opening narrative of London signals, through his noble protagonists Prévost looks to embark upon an attack on Gallocentrism as a fifth columnist, namely from within.[42]

Having followed the travellers through the streets of London and the chambers of court, the narrative pauses to allow Renoncour and Rosemont to take stock of their recent experience over dinner.[43] Unlike in Rohan's *Voyage* however, this does not see them convert their eyewitness view to authoritative proof of English barbarity.[44] Instead, the travellers launch a sally against a central instigator of unfounded French prejudice towards the English: the widely-read writer, Guy Patin.[45] If Prévost is critical of antiquarian-inspired travel, through Renoncour and Rosemont, he is wholly contemptuous of the formative influence on practitioners of Gallocentric travel wielded by views of the barbaric English, which, as in Patin's case, had been falsely based on reading alone. In the 1692 Paris edition of his *Lettres*, Patin had designated the English in conventional barbaric language 'crudeles & feroces'. To give his portrayal of English ferocity greater authority, he had also drawn on the evaluation of the German humanist and scholar Theodore Marcillus who, he had remarked, evinced that the English were of lupine stock.[46] Meanwhile, he had made an exception for the English nobility, which was, he had noted, 'civile' and did not bear 'des mauvaises qualitez du

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[41] Ibid., 231.

[42] See Fougeroux's advice to the traveller (Chapter 7, n. 103).

[43] *Mémoires*, 234-5.

[44] See Chapter 6.

[45] The *Lettres choisies de feu Monsieur Guy Patin* were first published in one volume in (La Haye: Chez Moetiens, 1683). Multiple editions followed, with the first considerable augmentation coming in 1691 with the three-volume Cologne edition.

[46] 'Theodore Marcille disoit qu'ils étoient une espece d'hommes, *de Genere lupino*…' (*Lettres choisies de feu Mr. Guy Patin*, Vol. 1, 329).

vulgaire'.[47] Testimony to the continuing currency of his image of the barbaric English Other, Patin had subsequently reiterated this portrayal throughout his œuvre.[48] To evoke and contend his writings was, therefore, a means of undermining a pertinent example of the unconsidered regurgitation of a groundless socially-defined character portrait which had evidently been absorbed into other genres of writing, including the travel account.

As if effecting the process of independent instruction Montaigne had much earlier advocated, the exchange between the two protagonists is controlled by the young Rosemont, albeit with the silent encouragement of the tutor Renoncour. The conversation witnesses, in turn, the beginning of a self-initiated dissociation from adherence to the barbaric English stereotype.[49] The narrator Renoncour relates that he and Rosemont sat eating 'en nous entretenant des coutumes du Pais dont', he continues, 'le Marquis étoit charmé'. The majority of the conversation is not recorded. This makes Rosemont's outcry against Patin's prejudiced evaluation, which succeeds this comment, all the more pointed. In his words, Rosemont proclaims an inability to forgive ('pardonner') Patin for 'le caractère odieux qu'il fait des Anglois', which, he continues, relies on the presentation of a ferocious people. In response, he declares: 'se peut-il rien de plus faux & de plus injuste!' The foundation for his rejection of Patin is his personal experience: 'Je n'ai rien *vu*, au contraire', he contends, 'de plus *humain* & de plus *poli*, que les Seigneurs avec lesquels nous sommes en liaison'. Rosemont then proceeds to eulogise on the great lineage of the English nobility before seeming to concede Patin's view might contain some truth. If, he announces, ushering forth the expected language of non-barbaric Frenchness, Patin was speaking of 'la populace', then there might be some

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[47] Ibid., 371.

[48] One example is the *Naudaeana et Patiniana* wherein Patin asserts that English 'sont les plus méchants, les plus *cruels*, & les plus perfides' before reasserting the link between the English and terrible beasts ((Paris: Chez Florentin and Delaulne, 1701), 103-5).

[49] See Chapter 5.

foundation to his portrait since the people are, he declares, trop *grossiere* & trop *féroce*'.[50]

With this, Rosemont appears to reassert the barbaric English Other as typically articulated in relation to the common people. Yet, this pronouncement is made without the evidence ordinarily put forward; namely, an account of barbaric English pastimes. My contention is, therefore, that this declaration is used to bring the typical image of the socially-differentiated English Other to the forefront of the narrative. At the same time, multiple linguistic elements in this description foreshadow a wholesale rejection of the barbaric English type it seems to reiterate. Firstly, Rosemont's application of the core term from the language of non-barbaric Frenchness – 'poli' – to the English elite discloses a willingness to transfer a highly circumscribed language of Frenchness to an English context. Secondly, the term 'humain' suggests a rebuttal of a view of English ferocity. Finally, the punctuating quantifiers 'trop' have a satirical quality to them in conveying overblown rhetoric. Meanwhile, Rosemont's damning portrayal of a superficial French character as juxtaposed with his belief in the potential benefits to be reaped from closer inspection of the English character, underlines that the discussion of Patin is but the beginning of a sustained process of disconfirming.[51] Taking the metaphor of the rough bark of a tree, Rosemont advocates engaging '[les] yeux attentifs' to look beyond the surface to discern what useful materials the inner core might harbour. In his opinion, a concerted effort reveals 'tous les effets qu'on a admirez' which are pleasing 'à la vûe & pour l'usage'. The suggestion that Rosemont had embarked upon a self-initiated course of Gallocentric disconfirming is, moreover, validated within the narrative itself. Reflecting on the conversation, Renoncour remarks that the marquis had already rid himself of 'certains préjugés puerils' common to men, 'mais surtout aux Français'. Eliminating prejudice or 'cette folle disposition d'esprit', as Renoncour further labels it, might also remove

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[50] (My emphasis) *Mémoires,* 234.

[51] He concludes his character survey as follows: 'en un mot *tant* de vices réels avec un si petit nombre de bonnes qualitez superficielles' (Ibid., 234-5).

'un obstacle à l'utilité qu'un jeune peut tirer de ses voyages'. The benefits to be reaped are, he clarifies, the opportunity to 'apercevoir les vertus des étrangers' and concurrently identity 'tous les défauts qu'il apporte du pays où il est né'.[52]

With the process initiated, the confirmatory experience of Englishness might in turn be effected through a renewed account of the spectacle of English street fighting.

Fighting for Englishness

In the narrative that follows and in a further injection of historical colouring, Renoncour relates that the travellers attended the execution of noble rebels. Unlike in Perlin's *Description*, however, there is no empathising with the nobility, nor an attempt to chastise a barbaric English populace.[53] Instead, Renoncour gives only a brief summary of the event.[54] The spectacle of gladiator fighting is, on the other hand, recounted in marked detail and mirrors the travellers' documented interest in learning about the English character through the non-nobility.[55] This is unsurprising given the rhetorical importance of this pastime. As I noted in Chapter 7, notwithstanding his programmatic statements, Deslandes had hesitated over his dismissal of the barbaric type and had instead reinforced it with the evocation of 'hot' words in his account of street fighting. In Prévost's narrative, the street fight consolidates, I argue, the disconfirming of the Gallocentric view the conversation had initiated. In parallel to the arrival narrative, it also affords an opportunity to give further concrete basis to another of Muralt's anti-Gallocentric strands: the subversion of English ferocity and its presentation

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[52] Ibid., 235.

[53] See Chapter 5, n. 28, n. 29.

[54] *Mémoires*, 232. This took place on 24 February 1716.

[55] When attending a masquerade in Tunbridge Wells, for example, Renoncour and Rosemont engage with a Miss Perry, the daughter of a Bristol businessman (Ibid., 255-9). The recounting of this episode is prefaced by Renoncour's lament that 'On voyage rarement chex eux [les Anglais]' and 'on nes les connaît point assez' (254-5).

as an imitable attribute.[56] If Rosemont's initial experience of the English had jarred with a general view of English barbarity, the impressions of his ensuing experience of non-noble pastimes completed the dismantling of the socially-differentiated English Other. In other words, the spectacle provides concrete evidence to fully undermine the English barbaric type and as such, welds together the new sight-knowledge connection Rosemont had begun to articulate to his tutor.

Like the many travellers before them, Renoncour and the Marquis look to further satisfy their 'curiosité' in attending what Renoncour refers to as 'un spectacle fort extraordinaire' which, he adds, 'n'est connu nulle part hors de l'Angleterre'. The succeeding commentary nevertheless underlines the irony of this remark: not only is street fighting well-known outside of England, but it is, in fact, the narrative suggests, notoriously misrepresented. The initial account of a fight between the great exponent James Figg over an Irish opponent is thus related by Renoncour and sees the tutor dissociate any notion of brutality from the pastime.[57] He labels the practice 'un usage romain' which has been 'conservé dans cette île depuis près de deux mille ans'. In conjunction with his painstaking report of the strict regulation and etiquette involved, as well as the skill and courage displayed by the fighters, Renoncour thus suggests in a Murauldian turn that the English are to be praised for preserving an ancient custom in its entirety.[58] As with the initial experience of England however, the focus of the account falls on the searching questions of the noble tutee and his subsequent questioning of the structures of thought with which he had travelled to England.

Remarking with a further emphatic litotic construction that 'ce spectacle ne manqua pas de… faire beaucoup de réfléxions' in both him and the Marquis, Renoncour ensures to give a report of his and the marquis's

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[56] See Chapter 7, n. 78.

[57] Figg was a prize-fighter of great renown. It is believed that he only lost one of the 270 fights in which he was involved (David Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 118).

[58] *Mémoires*, 251.

impressions. In this instance, instead of relating the conversation itself, Renoncour continues with reported speech. Thus suggesting full endorsement of the young tutee's conclusions, as well as reasserting his own conviction of the benefits of the unconditioned view, Renoncour relates how he and the marquis had concluded that prize fighting had 'son utilité' in helping to fashion an intrepid English youth. They consider it to be 'une espèce d'école où la Jeunesse va se former à l'intrepidité & au mépris de la mort & des blessures'. Evoking elements of the usual description of fighting, Renoncour records that he and the marquis conceded that the practice was characterised by 'quelque chose de feroce et de barbare'. Nevertheless, this admission is tempered by a commentary on the misjudged horror gladiator fighting normally encourages and which, Renoncour notes, derives from a fundamental misunderstanding of its societal function and – as is the strong implication – the reason for England's increasing global eminence. It might seem ('semble') that the effusion of human blood should be considered an evil, he notes. However ('cependant'), given that 'cette coûtume est autorisée en Angleterre', it is surely not 'sans de fortes raisons' especially since 'un gouvernement si sage' rules and England is a country where 'tout se rapporte au bien public'.[59] With this, the link between, in Muralt's words, 'un petit reste de ferocité' and the fortuity of a nation is reasserted.[60] Importantly, however, in Prévost's account, the link is made not by a single traveller but by a young tutee in cahoots with a noble tutor who had seemingly been engaged to direct his course of confirmatory course of Gallocentric travel to England. It is also made following a rejection of misplaced bookish instruction and, above all, multiple eyewitness accounts injected with historical relevance.

Prévost never refers to the fifth volume as his travelogue. Yet, it is clear that he intended it to offer a similar utility to that ordinarily required of the travel account: to, as Chapelain advised Du Loir, note down everything of

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[59] Ibid., 252.

[60] See Chapter 7, n. 78.

interest to a broader reading public.[61] In the fictitious editorial note heading the *Suite*, the editor claims that the reproduction of Renoncour's narrative was for the public good.[62] The link with the travel account is meanwhile given in the third volume which sees Rosemont agree to Renoncour's suggestion that a report be made of their trip for the benefit of readers.[63] In controlling the redaction of this report, however, Prévost engages his noble travellers in a subversion rather than an endorsement of the epistemological decorum which ordinarily saw the travelogue exalt superior Frenchness. By transferring the anti-Gallocentric narrative from the abstract methodisations of those writing on the margins of French elite society to the – fictionalised – record of travel of typical practitioners of Gallocentric travel, Prévost infiltrates a central template of culture. Testimony to the success of this infiltration, the manuscript of an anonymous noble travelling through England in 1740 punctuates his ostensibly Gallocentric travel with favourable references to the 'auteur moderne' who had rightly condemned the prejudiced French view of English character.[64] Testimony, however, to the remaining attachment to Gallocentric travel and the difficulty with which even the most 'enlightened' thinkers embarked upon the disconfirming of the English barbaric type, Prévost's far-reaching imagining of noble travel was not itself furthered but restricted in Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*. Voltaire's correspondence indicates that he took an interest in Prévost's writings, particularly the *Mémoires* and the journal *Le Pour et contre*.[65] The content and language of his record of travel nevertheless document a less pronounced endorsement of the anti-Gallocentric mode.

In turning now to consider Voltaire's tempering of anti-Gallocentrism in the *Lettres philosophiques*, I engage in a similar interpretative process to that

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[61] See Chapter 5, n. 10.

[62] *Mémoires*, 227.

[63] Ibid., 120.

[64] See [anon], 'Journal de Voiage', Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, MS.M.b.48-49, f. 1105, f. 1244.

[65] See letters D635 and D654.

employed for Prévost: that is, to survey pertinent writings of Voltaire which are contemporaneous with the *Lettres* so as to facilitate linguistic excavation of his crafted travelogue. To contextualise this intertextual endeavour, I consider the testimony of his engagement with travel and the language of Frenchness, two central aspects of my study, as documented in his library and notebooks.

Au contraire?: Voltaire's ambivalent travelogue

Voltaire as a linguistically-interested travel writer and reader

Voltaire is supposed to have travelled to England with a copy of Muralt's own *Lettres*.[66] Certainly, he was aware of Muralt's writings before publishing his *Lettres philosophiques*, if he had not already read Muralt's travel account, which he later reviews favourably for its character portrait and which featured later in his library.[67] As 'un grand voyageur en chambre', Voltaire read and acquired travel writings on Europe and the New World alike.[68] To complement this interest in travel writing, he also had a sustained interest in the record of French language. A pertinent feature of his library as catalogued at his death is, for example, the number of dictionaries that adorned his shelves, both copies of the dictionary of the Académie Française (the 1762 edition) and specialist dictionaries.[69]

If Voltaire's library is indicative of his general interests, his notebooks afford a window onto his engagement with some of his reading. From

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[66] Joseph Texte, 'De Muralt et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire au xviiie siècle', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France,* 1 (1894), 16.

[67] In the *Lettres*, he designates Muralt 'sage & ingenieux' (*Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 2, 103). He later comments that Muralt 'peint si bien les Anglois chez lesquels il a voyagé' (cited in Muralt, *Lettres*, 66). Muralt's *Lettres* are catalogued as BV2534.

[68] Sylvain Menant, 'Voyage et création littéraire chez Voltaire', *Revue Voltaire* 15 (2015), 14. It is beyond the scope of the current study to survey his full library, but the catalogue of his library and the *Corpus des notes marginales* attest to wide reading of such literature.

[69] See BV1006ff.

lexicography comes his interest in the rhetorical force of language: he remarks, for example, upon the futility of employing empty adverbs.[70] Meanwhile the history of language provides a starting point for the terms by which to contrast those societies in a crude state and those in a progressed state of elegance as articulated initially through reference to the French vernacular. Throughout the Piccini-Clarke notebook, Voltaire repeatedly returns to the development of the French language. In a mark of his engagement with what I have here traced as the language of Frenchness, to distinguish between the two states of language, Voltaire employs two key adjectives: he evokes the trigger 'hot' word from the language of non-French barbarism in the first instance – 'barbare' – and in the second, a core term from the language of non-barbaric Frenchness – 'poli'.[71] Voltaire in turn uses the terms in his ruminations on the French cultural system. If language has attained a state of politeness, other parts of French culture remain, he suggests, in a raw state. In Voltaire's words, in an assertion of solidarity with the French grouping the language defined: 'malgré toute *notre politesse, nous ne pouvons parvenir à cacher les restes de l'ancienne barbarie'.*[72] Against a backdrop of Voltaire's later library holdings, the notebooks reveal, therefore, Voltaire's later identification of politeness as at the core of Frenchness and barbarism, a trait which the French aim to eschew. In examining the use of defining adjectives in particular in the *Lettres philosophiques*, my aim is to investigate how Voltaire negotiates this dichotomy in his contrasting depictions of Englishness and Frenchness.

To assess this requires, I argue, consideration of Voltaire's engagement with shifting cultures of travel which, as I have espoused throughout this study, were defined through the language in which the accounts of different modes of travel were couched. An outcome of Prévost's highly crafted travelogue was, I suggested above, that to elucidate Prévost's engagement with travel cultures required intertextual analysis with his near

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[70] OCV 81, 419.

[71] OCV 81, 572. See also his later use of 'barbare' (Ibid., 576).

[72] (My emphasis) OCV 81, 429.

contemporaneous journal *Le Pour et contre*. Here, my intertextual reading implicates a text conventionally seen as a draft of the *Lettres*: the manuscript 'Lettre à M***', dated variously 1727 or 1728 by different critics.[73] This letter, as read alongside Voltaire's complementary discussion in the 'Advertisement to the Reader' in his 1727 English publication, *An Essay upon the Civil Wars of France*, discloses, I argue, Voltaire's programmatic intentions in the *Lettres*. In the 'Advertisement' moreover, I identify a displaced paratext for the *Lettres* themselves.

Even if the Leningrad notebook documents an interest in London monuments, the 'Advertisement' in the *Essay* manifests Voltaire's rejection of antiquarian-inspired courses of travel, as well as his refusal to respond to the epistemological expectations of the typical travel reader.[74] Writing whilst travelling, he relates:

> I am ordered to give an Account of my Journey into England…
> I have not a Mind to imitate the late Mr. Sorbieres, who having
> staid three Months in this Country without knowing any Thing,
> either of its Manners or of its Language, thought fit to print a
> Relation which proved but a dull scurrilous Satyr upon a
> Nation he knew nothing of.[75]

Filtering this initial rejection of antiquarianism through a damning appraisal of Sorbière's well-known travelogue, Voltaire proceeds to elaborate on his preferred human focus. Speaking in terms redolent of similar declarations made by Muralt and Prévost before him, he continues:

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[73] The *Lettre à M**** is given as an appendix in *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 2, 256-77. For the 'Advertisement', see OCV 3b, 5-7. René Pomeau, 'Les *Lettres philosophiques*: le projet de Voltaire', 16. In his edition of the *Lettres*, Deloffre designates the *Lettre à M**** as 'le premier état des *Lettres philosophiques*' (*Lettres philosophiques*, 198).

[74] Voltaire expresses disappointment, for example, at there being no monument to Cromwell in London (OCV 81, 51).

[75] OCV 3b, 5.

I will leave to others the Care of describing with Accuracy, Paul's Church, the Monument, Westminster, Stonehenge, &c. I consider England in another View; it strikes my Eyes as it is the Land which hath produced a Newton, a Lock, a Tillotson, a Milton, a Boyle, and many great Men either dead or alive, whose Glory in War, in State-Affairs, or in Letters, will not be confined to the Bounds of this Island.[76]

As I argued in relation to Rohan (see Chapter 6), noble courses of travel incorporated restricted engagement with antiquarianism, but not a wholesale rejection of material objects. Voltaire's focus on great men of letters meanwhile seems to suggest an alternative engagement with antiquarianism, since it was customary for men of letters to visit their erudite counterparts. My contention is, however, that in rejecting the same component of antiquarianism as Muralt and Prévost had done before him, and in combining this with contempt of the prejudice of travellers in neighbouring countries, Voltaire's subscribes himself to the new anti-Gallocentric current.[77] This insertion into the reshaped mode of travel as forged by Muralt and Prévost is confirmed in the 'Lettre à M***'. Here, in echo of Prévost's fifth volume, Voltaire gives a detailed account of his first sight of London, which he concludes by remarking: 'il n'y avait pas un de ces mariniers qui n'avertit par sa physionomie, par son habillement, & par son embonpoint, qu'il était libre, & qu'il vivait dans l'abondance'.[78] The focus he brings here onto the average Englishman is, in turn, perpetuated in the remainder of the letter, which sees him seek out lower classes of society in coffee shops to observe their manners.[79] In a further Murauldian reference, the narrator is also dismissive of the English court, choosing in his turn to denigrate it by virtue of its French characteristics.[80]

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[76] Ibid., 6-7.

[77] He states that it is 'too natural to revile those who stand in Competition with us' (Ibid., 6).

[78] *Lettres philosophiques,* Vol. 2, 258-9.

[79] Ibid., 261.

[80] He labels the court as 'plein de ce beau préjugé français' (Ibid., 262).

Together, the preface to the 1727 *Essay* and the 'Lettre à M***' thus suggest programmatic intentions that align Voltaire with the nascent culture of anti-Gallocentrism. As I now turn to study Voltaire's practice of travel writing in the *Lettres philosophiques*, my contention is that the *Lettres* set out with the implementation of the programmatic statement he articulates elsewhere and which aligns with that endorsed by Prévost. This is evidenced in the scathing satire of the French noble traveller in the opening letter and the invocation of a new form of reader throughout the work. However, I further contend that glimmers of a muted approach to anti-Gallocentrism, even if they are not as pronounced as those witnessed in Deslandes's *Nouveau voyage*, nevertheless emerge in the eighteenth letter on tragedy. Unlike Prévost's fifth volume which documents a gradual progression in a reformed eyewitness view, the *Lettres* do not consolidate the overt criticism of the French traveller and covert praise of his Quaker interlocutor of the opening letter. Instead, although the eighteenth letter sees the language of barbarity called into question, the process of anti-Gallocentrism appears to be halted, left to be furthered at the whim of the reader. My ensuing analysis focuses, therefore, on the new reader Voltaire implicates in the *Lettres* and the subsequent fluid detached engagement with the language of barbarity in his metonymical discussion of theatre.

Voltaire and his travel reader

The *Lettres* witness a supple subversion of the typical reader/author hierarchy of the travel text. As had become conventional in travel writing, Voltaire addresses an undesignated reader in his account, thus implicating an imagined community. Like Muralt in his bid to challenge Gallocentric expectations and control the travel narrative, Voltaire does not, however, head his *Lettres* with a grand dedication.[81] Instead, the *Lettres* open with: 'J'ay cru'.[82] Nevertheless, in placing the narrator at the forefront of the text,

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[81] See Chapter 7, n. 55.

[82] *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 1, 1.

the *Lettres* do not look to place the reader in a subjugated position, as Muralt's syntactic crafting had insinuated.[83] Instead, having rejected the reader's expectations, Voltaire looks to engage his reader in his journey to challenge pre-existing frames of knowledge, as he intimates in the choice of the past participle of 'croire'.

This reappraised engagement begins from the first letter. Though not evoked with a direct address, the reader with his conventional cultural measures is implicated pointedly in the discussion of contrasting manners. In the infamous relation of an encounter between the narrator and a Quaker, the punctuating first person plural pronoun 'nous' appears in the description of the Quaker's hat, which is likened to that worn by '*nos* Ecclésisatiques', whilst the narrator's sweeping bow is conducted, the narrator announces, 'selon *notre* coutume'.[84] The result is that the reader is indirectly implicated in the satire of the enslaved French noble that the description of greetings triggers. In the opening letter, this satire sees the traveller-turned-narrator (self-)mocked in both language and depiction.[85] Later, in the tenth letter on commerce, the satire is filtered through an interrogation as to which individual is of greater use to the state: the well-powdered periwigged French noble who plays 'le rôle d'esclave dans l'antichambre d'un Ministre' or the trader 'qui enrichit son Païs' and, ultimately, 'contribue au bonheur du monde'.[86] On this revisiting of the satirical portrait, the reader is not invoked. This is not, however, to suggest an end to the vicarious programme of travel. The 'vous' goes on to punctuate many of the twenty-five letters and, in multiple instances, appears in the form of a plural imperative in typical Gallocentric tags that afford an expected mode of armchair travel. In the twenty-third letter, for example, the narrator draws the reader into one of

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[83] Chapter 7, n. 55.

[84] (My emphasis) *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 1, 2.

[85] As Sareil remarks, periphrasis of the French traveller's speech on meeting the Quaker in the opening letter is to ridicule the average Frenchman ('Les quatre premières *lettres philosophiques*', 281).

[86] *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 1, 122.

London's great churches with the command, 'Entrez à Westminster'.[87] His hope, nevertheless, to effect a new form of vicarious travel is documented in his rare use of the common mark of desired epistemological decorum in the formulation 'vous savez' and his subversion of it in its rare appearances. Voltaire's manipulation of this tag contextualises, I suggest, his later dropping of a reference to the reader in the further attack on the French noble in the tenth letter.

As a point of comparison, Fougeroux makes ample use of the conceit from the outset of his reaffirmation of Gallocentric travel.[88] On his trip round London, he links the sight of the Monument and an inscription dating to William III to the tendency of the English to rebel, as 'vous scavez', he remarks to Monsieur.[89] With this formulation, Fougeroux continually appeals to his reader's conditioned and pre-formed Gallocentric knowledge of Englishness, which was to be reinforced through both physical and vicarious travel. To hark back to his opening declaration that bemoans the seeming impossibility of relating anything new about a country 'si connu et si voisin', the punctuating 'vous scavez' is thus used to forge the link between the traveller and his imagined community of readers. It brings both parties within the safe common parameters of knowledge of England. Within these parameters were placed those things 'si connu[es]' that came together to constitute essential shared knowledge of the English Other as underpinned by a sense of French superiority.[90]

By contrast, in the *Lettres philosophiques*, the regular appeal to the readers' knowledge is conspicuous in its absence. The first instance does not come until the twelfth letter and only reappears three further times, an incidence half of that witnessed in Fougeroux's *Voiage*.[91] In its place, a

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[87] Ibid., Vol. 2, 159. For a further example, see the sixth letter on Presbyterians and the further use of 'Entrez' (Ibid., Vol. 1, 74).

[88] For early examples, see 'Voiage', f. 2, f. 16, f. 25, f. 52.

[89] 'Voiage', f. 63.

[90] See Chapter 7, n. 91.

[91] *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 1, 153, 154, Vol. 2, 57, 122.

number of devices are employed to place the reader's preconceived knowledge into doubt. The eschewal of the conventionally deferential tone is evidenced, for example, in the simultaneous employment of the conditional and negative in a statement challenging the reader's scientific knowledge. 'En effet', the narrator declares, '*ne croiriez-vous pas* qu'on veut se moquer de *vous*, quand on *vous* dit qu'il y a des lignes infiniment grandes qui forment un angle infiniment petit?'.[92] The most flagrant disregard for epistemological decorum as had come to colour Gallocentric travel accounts is, however, in an evocation highly Murauldian in tone. Voltaire goes on both to subvert the normal focus on people other than the social elite and their collection of objects and refuse to submit to the demands of the imagined reader. 'Puis donc que *vous* exigez que je *vous* parle des hommes célébres qu'a porté l'Angleterre', the narrator remarks in the twelfth letter on Bacon, 'je commencerai par les Bacon, les Locke, les Newton, &c. Les Généraux et les Ministres viendront à leur tour'.[93] Here, the tmetic cleavage in the causal adverb 'puisque' that introduces the clause, and the fragile acceptance of obligation it insinuates, underpin the insidious refusal to kowtow to such demands. The narrator does indeed go on to discuss men of scientific and intellectual import. However, the apparent promise made to consider politicians later is never fulfilled. Certainly, 'cette absence de commentaire' on political life is a reminder that, to cite Cronk, 'Voltaire ne se pose pas en tant que voyageur conventionnel'.[94] Not to posture as a conventional *Gallocentric* traveller meant, I suggest, to de-emphasise elite figures (such as generals and ministers), and, in turn, eschew the conventional epistemological demands of the text, which were to pander to the reader's interest in such figures. To return to the missing reference to the reader in the tenth letter, my additional contention is that the refusal to become the typical

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[92] (My emphasis), Ibid., Vol. 2, 54.

[93] Ibid., Vol. 1, 152-3.

[94] Nicholas Cronk, 'Voltaire, Lord Hervey et le paradoxe du modèle anglais', *La Revue Française*, numéro spécial/numéro électronique (2006) <http://revuefrancaise.free.fr/Cronk.htm> [accessed 5 March 2016], §7.

travel writer explains why the reader is not invoked. If to spurn typical travel trends is to omit discussion of 'les ministres', normally included for the benefit of the Gallocentric reader, then the accompanying reader need not be implicated in the earlier satirical depiction of a courtier fawning over 'un ministre', a depiction which, Voltaire evidently hopes, the reader has begun to endorse.

In her close reading of the end of Voltaire's fifth letter on Anglicanism, Anne-Marie Perrin-Naffakh points to the use of the impersonal third person pronoun 'on' to bring together the viewpoint of the author and reader.[95] This, she contends, is part of Voltaire's objective to become complicit with the reader so that together they may be better placed to decipher the English character in a joint venture.[96] My above analysis of Voltaire's flouting of the establishment of a typical reader/author relationship supports this suggestion of a joint venture, especially in the intratextual reading of the tenth and twelfth letters. This venture was, however, one which required the reader to re-evaluate French structures of knowledge. As my ensuing analysis of Voltaire's engagement with the language of barbarity additionally suggests, this was a venture which was jointly effected for only part of the *Lettres*.

Engagement with the language of barbarity

Critics have widely remarked upon the linguistic crafting of the *Lettres philosophiques*. Barling, for example, refers to Voltaire's 'remarkable economy of language' and the lack of any 'unnecessary embellishment'.[97] In particular, in his study of Voltaire's eleventh letter on inoculation and Voltaire's attack on the French prejudice he considered to be hampering scientific progress, Barling observes that 'adjectives are used with a rare

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[95] 'Étude de style: cinquième *lettre philosophique* de Voltaire', *L'Information Grammaticale,* 39 (1988), 27.

[96] Ibid., 30.

[97] Barling, 'The Literary Art', 20.

sense of their effectiveness'.[98] If there is any employment of adjectives where this rhetorical pungency is most evident, it is in Voltaire's engagement with the twin discourse of barbarity. The semantic force of such parts of speech particularly comes to the fore, I suggest, in Voltaire's resistance to executing a full reversal in the discourse as attempted by Muralt and reinforced by Prévost.

In the first instance, Voltaire's ridicule of the conditioned traveller does not engage in the same level of linguistic criticism as that effected earlier by Muralt. In echo of Montaigne's concern about the threat to 'franchise', Muralt had attacked the enslavement of French manners through evocation of the linguistic prop to such behaviours: namely, the language of non-barbaric Frenchness.[99] In his attack, Voltaire does not implicate the discourse of barbarity. Nevertheless, my contention again is that, in addition to the commentary on a new form of travel woven into the tenth and twelfth letters, the link is left to be made; that his reference to the enslavement of manners is at once an intertextual reference to Muralt's *Lettres* and an intratextual reference framing his evocation of the language of barbarity elsewhere in the text.

Out of the nine occurrences of the term 'barbare' and its cognates, there is a spectrum of uses. In the 'neuvième lettre sur le gouvernement', Voltaire speaks of the invasion of the Goths and Vandals, whom he labels 'Les Barbares'.[100] This evocation of the 'barbare' as an historical designation reappears in Voltaire's commentary on Pascal's *Pensées*, this time in reference to a hatred of the Jews resulting from a perceived barbarism in light of their assassination of conquered enemies.[101] In terms of its reference to a former time period, this is articulated to deliver a barely oblique criticism

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[98] Ibid., 24-5.

[99] Chapter 7, n. 78, n. 79.

[100] *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 1, 101.

[101] *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 2, 210.

of the colonial enterprise.[102] These historical uses are meanwhile counterbalanced by contemporary attributions, such as that attested in Voltaire's notebooks.[103] A striking example is documented in the twenty-third letter. Here, the designation of the 'barbare' is not only audaciously attributed to the French, but, the insinuation is, a label transferred from the English. Speaking of French criticism of the English for bestowing too great honours on those of seemingly rudimentary merit, Voltaire provides a possible explanation. 'Quelques-uns ont prétendu', he announces with reference to the honours given to the renowned actress, Anne Oldfield, 'qu'ils [les Anglais] avaient affecté d'honorer à ce point la mémoire de cette actrice, afin de nous faire sentir davantage la *barbare* et lâche injustice qu'ils nous reprochent, d'avoir jeté', he continues, turning to evoke the contrasting situation of a recently deceased French actress, 'à la voirie le corps de Mlle Lecouvreur'.[104] The attribution of the label does not mirror the paradiastolic portrait offered by Muralt. Nevertheless, the label of 'barbare' is dissociated from the English and meanwhile implicated in a damning evaluation of French attitudes towards actresses.

This discussion of theatre and the implication of the language of barbarity is elucidated, I suggest through a further intratextual reading: namely, with the enigmatic eighteenth letter on English tragedy. This letter sees Voltaire parallel Prévost's use of street fighting to explore the difference between English and French customs through the twin discourse of barbarity. Read intratextually with the description of the Quaker of the opening letter, his discussion also documents a Muraldian process which was the lauding of the negative.[105] Nevertheless, unlike Prévost, Voltaire's discussion of French theatrical art sees him engage in abstract ruminations which, contrary to the

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[102] Speaking of the role of chance in discoveries, Voltaire alights on the example of Christopher Columbus and the discovery of the New World, before concluding: 'C'est dans le temps de la plus stupide *barbarie* qui ces grands changements ont été faits sur la terre' ((My emphasis), Ibid., Vol. 1, 155).

[103] See n. 72.

[104] *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 2, 159.

[105] See Chapter 7, n. 78.

pungency of the opening satire, affords no spectacle for the highly implicated reader to judge. Meanwhile, the distancing of the language of barbarity from the English in the twenty-third letter falters in its earlier evocation, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the barbarity or otherwise of English theatre and, in turn, Englishness as a whole. My contention is, therefore, that Voltaire's ruminations on tragedy silently document his continued adherence to an elite form of entertainment and the elite social structures it helped to uphold which is attested, for example, in his near contemporaneous *Le Temple du goût*, as well as his later pronouncements.[106]

English theatre and the tentative destabilisation of barbarity

In speaking of the French theatre, Voltaire brings into focus not only contrasting forms of theatrical art, as many critics remark, but additionally the secondary network of Frenchness with a particular emphasis on 'goût', and the secondary network of Frenchess as articulated in the terms 'bienséance' and 'vraisemblance'. As I argued in Chapter 3, the articulation of a French identity drew on theatrical concepts to shore up the focus on appearance. Comparative analysis of English and French theatre thus opened up a pertinent ideological exploration of a French social identity as formulated through the twin discourse of barbarity. Moreover, if the rule of thirds in visual art were to be brought to bear on the literary text, located nearly two thirds of the way in to the work, in its direct engagement with Gallocentric language, the letter on tragedy acts as the displaced centrepiece of the *Lettres philosophiques*. This centrepiece draws its potency, I argue, from the link made with the opening letter.

In his satirical juxtaposition of the Quaker and the overly ceremonious Gallocentric French traveller, Voltaire had given a rhetorical description of the dress of the Quaker as follows:

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[106] See particularly OCV 9.

> Il était vêtu, comme tous ceux de sa religion, d'un habit *sans*
> plis dans les côtés et *sans* boutons sur les poches *ni* sur les
> manches, et portait un grand chapeau à bords rabattus,
> comme nos ecclésiastiques. Il me reçut avec son chapeau
> sur la tête et s'avança vers moi *sans* faire la moindre
> inclination de corps.[107]

In this depiction, Voltaire makes ample use of the negative, suggesting surprise, for example, at being greeted by an individual who does not doff his hat. In her reading, Epstein suggests that Voltaire's description is an example of 'anthropological data'; a means of detailing rites and rituals of the Other.[108] Sareil, on the other hand, identifies the negative as part of the comical aspect of Voltaire's satire.[109] Here, I argue for a similarly symbolic interpretation of this vignette, which sees Voltaire invest a common observation by travellers into his revised narrative on English character.[110] For my part, however, I contend that the manner of anti-description Voltaire puts forward implicates a metaphorical discourse according to which absence is lauded and the negative qualified as an attribute in a process similar to that followed by Muralt. This lays the foundation for its later re-emergence in the letter on tragedy and is a further indication of links he expected his reader to make.

In the opening of the 'dix-huitième lettre sur la tragédie', Voltaire memorably asserts the English were disposed of a theatre whilst the French only had their scaffold. This prefaces his discussion of Shakespeare in which he delivers the first example of, what would become, his signature oxymoronic description of the Bard's theatrical art. As he remarks, Shakespeare 'créa le théâtre'. However, he continues, 'Il avait un génie *plein*

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[107] *Lettres philosophiques,* Vol. 1, 2.

[108] Epstein, 'Eighteenth-Century Travel Letters', 228-9.

[109] Jean Sareil, 'Les quatre premières *lettres philosophiques* ou les complications du jeu satirique', *L'Information littéraire,* 76 (1985), 280-1.

[110] See, for example, Misson, *Mémoires*, 4.

de force & de fécondité, de naturel et de sublime *sans* la moindre étincelle de bon *goût* et *sans* la moindre connaissance des régles'.[111] As many critics have concluded, in this statement Voltaire seems to suggest that he can concede Shakespeare has some pleasing qualities, whilst maintaining his adherence to the sacred rules of French classical theatre, as dictated by the three unities and the rules of 'bienséance' and 'vraisemblance', as well as the centrality of taste.[112] In light of the evident intratextual reference with the first letter however, I argue for an alternative interpretation of these lines. Rather, as had already been insinuated in Voltaire's opening portrayal of the Quaker, absence, in this case, disregard of theatrical rules, could be lauded. In this example, absence can also be complemented by reinforcing quantitative expressions such as 'plein de'.

The lauding of the negative in the opening of his discussion of tragedy looks forward to his near reversal of the networks of Frenchness later on in the letter in the company of the reader. The letter contains a particularly high incidence of the 'vous' throughout, which is suggestive of a hope that the reader will follow the narrator in his exploration of a new theatrical art. In one instance, Voltaire also appears to appeal to the English knowledge of his reader by employing a rare use of the formulation 'Vous sçavez que' to introduce his synopsis of the *Moor of Venice*.[113] Meanwhile, Voltaire enumerates apparent criticisms of other Shakespeare plays – the laughing gravediggers in Hamlet and the staging of lowly characters in *Julius Caesar*. Having offered a translation of Hamlet's famous monologue, as well as extracts of Dryden's work, he then turns to pronounce in general terms on English theatrical art, again in apparently mixed language: 'C'est dans ces morceaux détachés', he affirms, 'que les tragiques Anglais ont jusqu'ici excellé; leurs pieces', he continues, 'presque toutes *barbares*, dépourvues de *bienséance*, d'ordre, de *vraisemblance*, ont des lueurs étonnantes au

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[111] (My emphasis), *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 2, 79.

[112] See, for example, Dennis Fletcher, *Voltaire: Lettres philosophiques* (London: Grant & Cutler, 1986), 41-2, 45.

[113] *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 2, 80.

milieu de cette nuit'.[114] Similarly to the twenty-third letter, this evaluation sees Voltaire destabilise the negative connotations of the term 'barbare': contrary to the reinforcing displacement of the term 'barbare' I detected in Nicolay's much earlier formulation (Chapter 4), the adjective is here kept after the noun. In addition, absence is again proposed as a quality: although maintained in opposition to 'barbare', in light of the ensuing comment of the sparks of brilliance of parts of Shakespearean art, to be 'dépourvues de bienséance…. de vraisemblance' is presented as beneficial. In other words, Voltaire downgrades elements of the secondary network of Frenchness through context. Meanwhile, he also initiates a semantic revision of the core 'hot' word 'politesse', whose application is again elucidated through juxtaposition with the opening letter. In Voltaire's description of the Quaker's greeting, or lack thereof, he had obliquely criticised French ceremony in remarking that there was, nevertheless, 'plus de *politesse* dans l'air ouvert et humain de son visage qu'il n'y en a dans l'usage de tirer une jambe derrière l'autre & de porter à la main ce qui est fait pour couvrir la tête'.[115] In complement with this, the letter on tragedy sees 'la politesse' instead attributed to an English historical period – the reign of Charles II.[116]

Nevertheless, this categorisation as with other instances of Voltaire's evocation of the language of barbarity leaves language in flux. In this case, the designation of the period of Charles II as 'la politesse & l'âge d'or des beaux arts' comes at the expense of Voltaire's commentary on Shakespearean art: the reattribution is made in order to express disbelief that scenes such as laughing gravediggers might have been nurtured by such an advanced period. Meanwhile, elsewhere in the work as a whole, Voltaire again leaves language in the balance. Similarly, in the eighth letter, the language of cruelty is briefly evoked, not in relation to the English but, in fact, in oblique opposition: 'les guerres civiles de France' were, Voltaire remarks, 'plus longues, plus *cruelles*, plus fécondes en crimes que celles

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[114] (My emphasis), *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 2, 83-4.

[115] *Lettres philosophiques*, Vol. 1, 2.

[116] Ibid., Vol. 2, 80.

d'Angleterre'.[117] Rejecting the conventional use of English history, including the Civil War as proof of barbarity, Voltaire thus here suggests an historical reattribution of the term 'cruel' from the language of barbaric non-Frenchness. However, this example again sees him dissociate historicised barbarity from the English only to reapply it but obliquely to the French: here, through reference to the parallel violent conflict in France.

As I argued in Chapter 7, Muralt had been blunt in his appraisal and had prescribed a healthy dose of English ferocity to cure the contagion of French customs. I show above that Prévost, in turn, ushers forth the contemptible figure of Patin and charts the journey from prejudiced to more unbiased thought in the figure of the Marquis de Rosemont, aided amply by his accompanying tutor, Renoncour. My contrasting analysis of the *Lettres* has meanwhile witnessed Voltaire destabilise the core language of Gallocentrism in league with his reader. It has also, however, identified Voltaire's inconclusive treatment of barbarity; its tangential reapplication to France coupled with traces of continued support of a dichotomised view of Frenchness and Englishness.

Conclusion

The response to Voltaire's *Lettres* is well known. The book was censored and ordered by an 'arrêt de la Cour du Parlement' to be 'lacéré et brûlé par l'exécuteur de la haute justice' out of concern, amongst others, for the threat the book was soon to pose again 'l'ordre de la société civile'. Literary responses were many; they punctuated journals, treatises and even travel writings to England.[118] Some were favourable. Others were more biting. Jordan's 1735 *Histoire d'un voyage littéraire* levelled the same accusation Voltaire had earlier launched against Sorbière: that he wrote about a country 'qui lui étoit inconnu'. This lukewarm endorsement was thrown into all the greater relief in comparison with Claude-Estienne Jordan's

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[117] Ibid., Vol. 1, 91.

[118] For a comprehensive list of responses to the *Lettres*, see Ibid., Vol. 1, xl-xlv.

exuberant praise for Prévost, whom he had met in London, and his encomium to Muralt whom, he insisted from the outset of his account, was in his opinion, 'un Voyageur à imiter' by virtue of 'le Caractere des Hommes' he had happily developed.[119] Meanwhile, testimony to the at least partial destabilisation of the language of barbarity Voltaire had effected, extended critiques of the *Lettres* seized upon historical events such as the execution of Charles I as proof of English barbarity.[120] Pierre François Le Coq de Villeray's *Réponse ou critique des Lettres philosophiques de Monsieur de V**** similarly reasserted English barbarity, notably in relation to the theatre, and also extolled the politeness of the French nobility.[121] In so doing, Le Coq demonstrated the extent to which a sense of Frenchness had become predicated, not simply on the type of the 'barbarian', but on an understanding of English barbarism, with language, as Du Bellay had earlier instilled, placed at the centre of this type.

In light of Fougeroux's vituperative response to Muralt, I concluded in Chapter 7 that a parallel could be made with Shapin's study of the 'glacial slowness' with which elite attitudes towards scholarly enterprise was disconfirmed in seventeenth-century England.[122] In this chapter's comparative analysis of Prévost and Voltaire's response to Muralt's anti-Gallocentric narrative, I have evidenced a subsequent bifurcation in anti-Gallocentrically coloured French travel writing on England of which one strand equally responds to this notion of slow processes of cultural change. On the one hand, I have identified ideological activism in the wake of Muralt's *Lettres*. In Prévost's fifth volume, I have charted an audacious imagined course of noble travel which envisioned elite engagement with the English

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[119] *Histoire d'un voyage littéraire, fait en M. DCC. XXXIII en France, en Angleterre, et en Hollande* (La Haye: Chez Moetjens, 1735), 3, 148.

[120] See, for example, Jean-Baptiste Molinier, *Lettres servant de réponse aux Lettres philosophiques de M. de V**** ([s.l.]: [s.n.], 1735), 17-19.

[121] (Basle: Chez Revis, 1735). See in particular 40, 42, 80, 83, 107. For a general study of Le Coq's response to Voltaire, see Sylviane Albertan-Coppola, 'Un Normand contre Voltaire: Le Coq de Villeray, apologiste et historien rouennais', *Etudes normandes,* 46 (1997), 31-43.

[122] See Chapter 7, n. 104.

lower orders at a young noble's own instigation. On the other, I have evidenced a strand of ideological limitation in a canonical text which bears the hallmarks of travel writing, vies with them and yet does not complete the same far-reaching implementation of anti-Gallocentrism as Prévost's *Mémoires*. In other words, to reformulate the title of Braun's study, I have underlined Voltaire's sustained 'French Connection' and a displaced 'manifeste des Lumières' that other critics have identified in the *Lettres*.[123] I have also suggested that the *Lettres* do not offer a finalised course of enlightened travel and the sense of identity that might come out of it. Given greater latitude, the French reader is offered the opportunity to embark up a course of travel, both physical and ideological, without many guiding parameters.

To return to the sociological models that have informed the entirety of this study, Voltaire's negotiation of modes of travel writing and the testimony he provides of the fossilisation of Gallocentric discourses attest to the hermeticism of French travel writing on England to external influences. In Chapter 7, I argued for the imbrication of cultural and political history in identifying perceptions of changing European geopolitics as the impulse for revised forms of travel and travel writing. Notwithstanding England's continued rise in prominence in the decades after the War of Spanish Succession, Voltaire testifies, to cite Wagner, to the continued 'salience' of the barbaric English type.[124] If the *Lettres* confirm one branch of sociological theorisation, they simultaneously challenge models put forward elsewhere. In this case, my evidence suggests that the 'changes in the external conditions of the environment' that Claude Flament identifies as necessary to effect the 'brutal transformation' of a social stereotype in Abric's model do not

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[123] Theodore Braun, 'Voltaire: The English Connection', *SVEC* 10 (2001), 219; René Pomeau, 'Voyages et Lumières dans la littérature française du XVIIIe siècle', *SVEC* 58 (1967), 1276.

[124] Wagner led a study into the discourse surrounding peace in Nicaragua that contrasted with typical depictions of war. The study identified that due to the 'salience' to the discourse, the social representation of peace had a stable core and was thus unaffected by changing circumstances (Wagner et al. 'Relevance, Discourse', 336).

necessarily bring about such deconstruction.[125] This, in turn, brings my study full circle to the hypothesis I outlined in Chapter 1: namely, the paradox of culture deriving from its structure relying on dynamic yet persistent components such as the barbaric type. It also provides evidence for my associated contention that to speak of Voltaire as an 'enlightened' figure falters given his perpetuation of pre-existing structures of thought.[126] 'Au contraire', the journey to enlightenment was only just beginning.

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[125] 'Structure, dynamique et transformation des representations sociales' in *Pratiques sociales*, 49; Abric, 'Central System, Peripheral System', 78.

[126] See Chapter 1, n. 23.

Conclusion

Writing in his now renowned *Discours sur l'inégalité des hommes*, Rousseau pronounces the following:

> Depuis trois ou quatre cents ans que les habitants de l'Europe inondent les autres parties du monde de nouveaux recueils de voyages et de relations, je suis persuadé que nous ne connaissons d'hommes que les seuls Européens.[1]

Here, Rousseau demonstrates astute awareness of the introspective bent of European travel and its resultant writings. This self-interested aspect of travel provided the starting point for the present study: the redaction of the lived experience of travel and extra-European Others to facilitate understanding of the lived experience back in a traveller's native land. Yet, my aim has been to go beyond the broad sense of identity Rousseau underlines and which has been amply echoed by scholars as underpinning early modern practices of travel within Europe. Drawing on sociological conceptualisations of the social group and the social stereotype, my objective has been to examine the birth of a more particularised sense of French social identity through travel to England and the construction of the localised Other; to delve beneath apparent espousals of European unity and consider the fractures that existed. I have looked to excavate the linguistic redaction of the lived experience of Gallocentric travel to England employed by French nobles to make sense of their shifting social reality in France at the end of the sixteenth century, both for their benefit and for their imagined community of elite readers.

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[1] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes l'inégalité des hommes*, ed. by Blaïse Bachofen and Bruno Bernardi (Paris: GF-Flammarion, 2008), 178.

The basis of my diachronic study of travel and the formation of identity is the lexicographical record of the evolution of the discourse of the social stereotype of the 'barbare'. The type of the 'barbare' brought into being, I argued, two complementary primary networks: the first, the network of barbaric non-Frenchness, and derived from this, the second, the discourse of non-barbaric Frenchness and its complementary secondary network which was the enactment of non-barbaric Frenchness. Subsequently, I considered the intersection of this language with the methodisation of Gallocentric travel, a culture of instructive travel which was to be practiced by the young French elite, but which maintained links with complementary modes of travel such as antiquarian and diplomatic travel. In my analysis of Cartier (1545), Thevet (1554) and Nicolay's (1568) ruminations on the role of far-flung exploration, I pinpointed the nascency of intra-European travel and its associated discourses in the extra-European context. In my analysis of two of Montaigne's *Essais* that straddles two chapters of this study, I meanwhile identified the tension that early accompanied the injection of a linguistically-formulated type into the formation of a sense of Frenchness and an emerging noble social practice.

This foundational analysis formed the crux of my central case study: discourses of barbarity and travel to England in the formation of an elite French social identity. Juxtaposed with Montaigne's tussling with the early import of Gallocentric tendencies into travel within Europe, I considered early examples of French travel writing on England. In their complementary record of travel and apodemical writing respectively, Perlin (1558) and Bernard (1579), I argued in Chapter 5, drew on contemporary French histories of England, and additionally in the case of Perlin, the authority of the eyewitness, in order to relay an authoritative image of a common barbaric English Other to their elite readers. These early writings and their temporally-informed imaginings of England were ideologically consolidated, I contended in Chapter 6, by the Duc de Rohan in his *Voyage* (1600), whose travelogue I took as exemplary of the record of noble travel to England that developed throughout the seventeenth century.

Chapters 5 and 6 enabled, in turn, my study in Chapter 7 of the counterculture of anti-Gallocentric travel that was born out of the quickly changing geopolitics following the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and England's perceived rise in eminence. In Muralt's *Lettres* (1725) I identified an audacious attempt to upturn the language of Frenchness in a bid to offer up English barbarity as an imitable type. At the same time, I identified multiple obstacles to the disconfirming of Gallocentrism and its use in travel practices: on the one hand, the difficulty with which travellers, as exemplified in Deslandes (1717), put their anti-Gallocentric theory into counter-cultural practice; on the other, the steadfast adherence to the language of Gallocentrism and its use in travel which saw vituperative responses, notably in the reasserted form of Gallocentric travel, as exemplified in Fougeroux's 'Voiage' (1728). Together with the earlier chapters, this survey led me to my fresh analysis of Voltaire's travelogue, the *Lettres philosophiques* (1734) as set against Prévost's fight to consolidate barbaric Englishness in the fifth volume of his *Mémoires* (1731). Voltaire's *Lettres*, I argued, document an alternative response to Muralt's anti-Gallocentric narrative in their renegotiation of the typical reader/travel writer relationship. Yet, in addition, I identified the disjuncture between the satirical portrait of the French noble and Voltaire's engagement with the language of barbarity. In other words, in Voltaire's travelogue I identified the continual grappling with Gallocentrism as a language and its colouring of travel cultures.

The entirety of this study has been engaged in the reappraisal of canonical texts, not least Voltaire's *Lettres,* as well as a hitherto little-studied corpus of travel writings. Yet, my focus on the historical case study which is French travel to England and its colouring by the type of the barbare has also had a more general objective: to interrogate the sociological corpus and complementary theoretical frameworks in their account of the way in which social groups define themselves against one another and how culture is formed. In terms of the entities involved, I have identified a further avatar of Koselleck's concept/counterconceptual pair in the 'barbare' and the French 'non-barbare'. In terms of both the individual and extra-individual

circumstances required, in my analysis of La Noue, Canaye, Cartier, Thevet and Nicolay's apodemical ruminations, I have also identified historico-linguistic evidence of the proactive strategies of action engendered by periods of uncertainty. Finally, in my study of the problematic development of anti-Gallocentric travel, I have attested to the difficulty with which social types are disconfirmed, especially when long invested in such confirmatory social practices.

Yet, whilst my historical case study has undoubtedly been elucidated by such frameworks, it has also offered alternative interpretations. In the first instance, contrary to the normal function outlined for the social stereotype, I have identified the malleability and transferability of the barbaric type. The early modern French 'barbare' was, I have shown, underpinned with potent semantic resonances intrinsic to the experience of elite social behaviours at court and drew such potency from its transfer from the extra- to intra-European context. In addition, contrary to existing models, I have argued for the centrality of social differentiation involved in the choice of an appropriate entity against which a social group might define itself. Meanwhile, in my study of Montaigne and Voltaire in relation to contrasting cultures of travel, I have also identified two avatars of the ideological limitation which accompanied ideological activism.

This study does not, however, profess to offer a definitive revision of French cultures of early modern travel and identity. My aim has, however, been to contribute to existing currents of scholarship; to offer a revised terminology of travel and its components that mirrors the particular socio-historical context it describes; to explore further the import of sociological models into historical studies, and to complement the latest revisions to studies in Anglo-French studies and its associated body of writings.

In this venture, there has inevitably been a requirement to limit the field of study. It is, however, my final aim to outline some further lines of enquiry. In the first instance, whilst I have focused on the early development of travel, further research is required to study the development of anti-Gallocentrism and the way in which it informed continually evolving cultures

of travel, including the development of the picturesque. This would complement Golléri's latest study of travel, which takes in the entire eighteenth century.[2] Comparative analysis could meanwhile be afforded through study of Gallocentric travel and the language that underpinned it to other points of the compass. Did travel to other northern states support, for example, the discourse of French superiority filtered through the English Other? Or was the course of travel I have identified and its associated discourses intrinsic to the imagining of the geographically distanced channel neighbour?

To complement the examples of reader responses I identify in Fougeroux's 'Voiage' and, indeed, each travel text I study subsequent to Rohan's *Voyage*, further research is required to adumbrate the reception of French travel writings. With regard to French responses, the ownership of a number of the texts I have implicated in this study by the Lyon merchant, Pierre Adamoli, suggests an interest in travel writings outside of elite circles.[3] As for English responses – that is the response of, what Mary Louise Pratt has memorably termed, the 'travelee' – there are multiple potential avenues of research.[4] One such avenue is the publication of English translations of French travel writings. Preliminary research I have conducted in this area suggests a manner of displaced fashioning of a sense of Englishness through a French mediator.[5] This line of research is particularly timely given the rising interest in travel narratives in translation, as exemplified in Alison Martin and Susan Pickford's recent volume.[6] In addition to John Ozell's 1719

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[2] *Philosophies du voyage*.

[3] 'Catalogue manuscrit de la bilbliothèque de Pierre Adamoli, 1740', Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, France, MS.PA295.

[4] *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 8.

[5] 'Fashioning Englishness through the French Other: The 1719 English Translation of Misson's 1698 *Mémoires et Observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre*', in *Voyages Réels, voyages imaginaires, XVIe-XVIIIe Siècles/Real and Imaginary Travels 16th-18th Centuries*, ed. by Anne Bandry-Scubbi and Rémi Vuillemin (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2015), 39-56.

[6] Alison Martin, and Susan Pickford, eds., *Travel Narratives in Translation 1750-1830:*

translation of Misson's *Mémoires*, which I have studied, translations were, for example, published of Sorbière's 1664 *Voyage d'Angleterre* and Muralt's 1725 *Lettres*, whilst burlesque accounts purporting to be translations vied for readers on the travel book market.[7]

Finally, perhaps the final word is owed to a consistently silent voice throughout this study: women. In my study of Prévost's *Mémoires*, I suggested that the setting of a travel account in a novel was a means of reaching a broader readership. At the same point, I remarked upon the glimmers of interest of French noble women in travel attested in Brunet's 1676 travel manuscript.[8] Currently, as with other areas of travel writing studies, as I identified in my critical evaluation of the Grand Tour, the current focus is predominantly on Anglophone literature. Jane Robinson's study of over four hundred women travellers has provided a basis for diachronic study of women travellers over the course of sixteen centuries.[9] Preliminary studies in French women's travel writing have been conducted.[10] Nevertheless, more

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Nationalism, Ideology, Gender (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012). For a sample study of research carried out in thie area, see Wendy Bracewell, 'The Travellee's Eye: Reading European Travel Writing, 1750–1850', in *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, ed. by Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 215-27.

[7] Samuel Sorbière, *A Voyage to England Containing Many Things Relating to the State of Learning, Religion and Other Curiosities of That Kingdom.* (London: Woodward, 1709); Henri Misson, *M. Misson's Memoirs and Observations in His Travels over England* (London: Printed for Browne, Bell, Darby, Bettesworth, Pemberton etc, 1719). For a list of translations of Muralt's *Lettres*, see Gould's critical edition, 48-50. Burlesque travel accounts include John Evelyn's *A Journey to England, with Some Account of the Manners and Customs of That Nation Written at the Command of a Nobleman in France; Made English* (London: Baldwin, 1700).

[8] See Chapter 7, n. 20.

[9] *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). For studies resulting from Robinson's survey, see, for example, Elizabeth Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[10] See, for example, Nicolas Bourguinat's edited volume which surveys research in this area over the past few decades (*Le voyage au féminin, Perspectives historiques et littéraires (XVIIIe – XXe siècles)* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2008)).

research is required to identify the extent to which the social identity I have here studied is gendered.

Writing to her English correspondent Robert Liston in 1777, the novelist, Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni, remarked upon the over-conditioning of the traveller and added she personally had little interest in travelling. The same letter nevertheless sees her muse over her earlier self-depiction as 'un voyageur… quelquefois amusé par des voyages lointains' and tails off in reverie with the exclamation, 'O ce voyage…'.[11] Perhaps others similarly dreamed of travel and even acted upon their desires. Before further research is conducted, we are left to tantalising speculation.

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[11] *Mme Riccoboni's letters to David Hume, David Garrick and sir Robert Liston, 1764-1783*, ed. by James Nicholls (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1976), letter dated 21 May 1777.

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Conference and Seminar papers

Preliminary findings of my doctoral research were presented at conferences and seminars, a selection of which is given below.

Emma Pauncefort, 'Un Spectacle Curieux?: Seeing 'Englishness' in the early eighteenth-century French travelogue', paper presented at Society for French Studies Annual Conference, University of Cardiff**,** July 2015.

———, *'Au contraire'*: Prévost's Apology of 'Englishness' in Volume V of the *Mémoires* (1731), paper presented at European Association for Urban History Annual Meeting, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, September 2014*.*

———, Lost in Translation?: The English edition of Misson's 1698 Travelogue on England and Instruction', paper presented at 'Real and Imaginary Travels in Literature and Culture: 16th-18th Centuries', Université de Strasbourg, April 2014.

———, 'Paris or London?: Fougeroux and Muralt on English Civilisation and Progress in the 1720s Travelogue', paper presented at American Comparative Literature Association Annual Meeting, New York University, March 2014,

———, 'Whetting or suppressing the appetite for English customs?: 'Englishness', food, drink and feasting in Misson's 1698 *Mémoires*', paper presented at British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Annual Conference, St Hugh's College, Oxford, January 2014.

―――, 'Debating the English: Muralt, Fougeroux and their Ferocious English Subject', paper presented at 'Cross-Channel Reflections', British Library, London, April 2013.

―――, 'Muralt's 1725 *Lettres sur les Anglois:* a literary progenitor for Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*', paper presented at Oxford French Graduate Seminar, November 2012.

Appendices

Appendix I

French travellers and their writings pre-1734

The purpose of this appendix

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a reference source for writing relating to French travel to England, including those cited in the main body of this dissertation. As I stated in the introduction, my excavation of the discourse of barbarity has precluded extensive study of the many travellers and travel writings that can be broadly linked to French travel to England, even if I looked to use exemplary studies.

Studies in French travel writing on England have, in general terms, been plagued by the scarcity of records, whether because they were never written or because they have not survived the passage of time. This has led to the relative marginalisation of this area of travel literature, at least until very recently, and the disproportionate focus on a few texts. My intention here is to underline the wealth of extant material. I do not claim to be comprehensive. The below table is nevertheless offered as a preliminary listing of travellers, which I hope to later develop.

A note on the material included

Even within the confines of the circumscribed area of French travel writing on England, there are questions of inclusion and exclusion.

Some travellers, such as Nicolay (see Chapter 4), did not produce travel accounts but apodemical texts; some travellers, such as Rohan (see Chapter

6), methodised travel through their accounts; some individuals, such as Bernard (see Chapter 5), produced apodemical texts but did not necessarily travel. Here, all three categories of French 'travel writers' on England are included. Those who wrote generally on travel methods are not included here.

Burlesque or satirical travel writings, of which there are many, are not included.

The literature on and of exiles is voluminous, especially in relation to the influx after the Edict of Nantes in 1685. I therefore only include those Huguenot exiles whom I have referenced in the main body of this dissertation and who have direct pertinence to the study of travel cultures, either by influencing modes of travel or in providing a point of comparison. This necessarily results in some conspicuous omissions: the lexicographer, Abbé Boyer, and, Rapin de Thoyras, whose eight-volume *Histoire d'Angleterre* (1724-7) achieved critical acclaim. I consider this literature to be subsidiary to the current study.

With regards to diplomatic travel, the listing below is very preliminary. Diplomats (as similarly Gallocentric noble travellers) travelled with large entourages. Further research is required to identify those individuals and to discern any further material. As for the record of diplomatic visits, only those texts which give more than a brief mention of travel are included; a full listing of travel to England as it features in memoirs is, therefore, not given here.

The titles of all texts are given in abbreviated form below. For full references, see the bibliography.

In his early survey of Anglo-French relations, Joesph Texte enumerates a

number of intellectuals who crossed the channel.[13] These include: François de La Noue, Jean Bodin and Pierre de Ronsard, amongst others. It has been beyond the scope of the current study to identify the date of travel and to verify whether there are extant accounts. These travellers are, therefore, excluded for the meantime.

With regard to chronological span, my end date of 1734, the French publication of Voltaire's travel work on England, is chosen to reflect the scope and argument of the current project: namely, my contention that Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* ought to be set against a wealth of travel writing and shifting travel cultures.

A note on the sources used

As I noted in the introduction, the starting point for the research undertaken for this dissertation was Ascoli and Bonno's early studies and the third volume of Cox's *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*.[14] As I also noted, my starting point for texts relating to the methodisation of travel was Doiron's *L'Art de voyager* and Stagl's *Apodemiken*. Otherwise, my preliminary research on diplomatic travellers is drawn from the list of ambassadors, ministers and other political agents given in Frédéric Schoell's *Cours d'histoire des états européens depuis le bouleversement de l'empire romain d'occident jusqu'en 1789*, Vol. 35 (Paris: Delaforest & Gide, 1833), 347-61.

My identification of additional travellers and travel records is the result of secondary reading, library catalogue trawling, or pure serendipity.

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[13] *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire: Étude sur les relations littéraires de la France et de l'Angleterre au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1895), 6.

[14] See Introduction, n. 3.

A note on the organisation and layout of the below table

To aid the charting of the development of different forms of travel, a cursory label is attached to each traveller/travel writer, with individuals listed in order of their date of travel, if applicable or known, or, otherwise, according to the date of their work. This is, nevertheless, included with the caveat that, as I have underlined in this dissertation, typologies can often obfuscate rather than elucidate since travellers are rarely categorised so neatly and cultures of travel tend to be imbricated.

Many noble travellers had a number of appellations; just one is given here. Those who travelled to England as part of the same embassy or entourage are grouped together, as indicated by a double-line in the border. This has meant that some travellers feature more than once in the table below. Each traveller is assigned a number; a number in brackets indicates a repeated visit of an individual traveller. Those individuals, such as Bernard who methodised travel but who did not necessarily travel to England, are marked out by an underlined number, hence '50'.

This numbering is to facilitate reference within this table. A further outcome is that it allows a highly conservative estimate of travellers to England in the period 1396-1734.

Abbreviations
BL   British Library, London
BNF   Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
FM   Foundling Museum, London
HS   UCL Huguenot Society Archive, The National Archives, London
NAL   National Art Library, London
RSL   The Royal Society, London

No.	NAME	DATE OF TRAVEL (IF APPLICABLE/ KNOWN)	BIOGRAPHY/ NATURE OF TRAVEL	TRAVEL TEXT IF EXTANT; COPIES/ REPUBLICATIONS
1.	Nicolas Dubosc	1396	Diplomat	
2.	Louis de Bourbon	1445	Diplomat	
3.	Jean Juvénal des Ursins	1445	Diplomat	
4.	Gui, Comte de Laval	1445	Diplomat	
5.	Bertrand de Beauveau	1445	Diplomat	
6.	Guillaume Cousinot	1445	Diplomat	
6.	Étienne Chevalier	1445	Diplomat	
7.	Archevêque de Vienne	1477	Diplomat	
8.	Evêque d'Auch	1479	Diplomat	
9.	De Martigny	1480	Diplomat	
10.	Claude de Seyssel	1480	Diplomat	

11.	Guillaume Gouffier	1519	Diplomat	
12.	Denis Poillot	1520	Diplomat	
13.	Duc de Chevreuse	1525	Diplomat	
14.	Jean de Bellay	1528	Diplomat	
15.	Jean Bailli de Troyes	1531	Diplomat	
16.	Pierre Belon	c.1535	Natural scientist	
17.	Antoine de Castelnau	1536	Diplomat	
18.	Gaspard de Chatillon	1538/1539	Diplomat	
19.	Charles de Martillac	1539	Diplomat	
20.	Cardinal Du Bellay	1544	Diplomat	
21.	Pierre Remont	1544	Diplomat	
22.	Claude de Laubespine	1544	Diplomat	
23.	Briançon de La Saladie	1546	Diplomat	

24.	Claude d'Annebaut	1546	Diplomat	
(21)	Pierre Remont	1546	Diplomat	
25.	Guillaume Bochetel	1546	Diplomat	
26.	Nicolas de Nicolay*	1546-1547	Geographer. Noble traveller	N/A
27.	Admiral de Coligny	1550	Diplomat	
28.	François Montmorency	1550	Diplomat	
29.	André-Guillard Du Mortier	1550	Diplomat	
(25)	Guillaume Bochetel	1550	Diplomat	
30.	Estienne Perlin	?1551-?1552	Antiquarian traveller	*Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse* (1558). *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse* (1775).
31.	Antoine de Noailles	1553	Diplomat	
32.	François de Noailles	1554-5	Diplomat	'Journal des voyages du protonotaire de Noailles', BNF, MS.20147.

33.	Marquis Michel	1557	Diplomat	
34.	Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine	1559	Diplomat	
35.	Anne de Monmorenci	1559	Diplomat	
36.	Jacques d'Albon	1559	Diplomat	
37.	Jean de Morvillliers	1559	Diplomat	
(22)	Claude de Laubespine	1559	Diplomat	
38.	Paul de Foix	1562	Diplomat	
39.	D'Alluye	1563	Diplomat	
40.	Florimond Robertet	1563	Diplomat	
(37)	Jean de Morvilliers	1564	Diplomat	
41.	Jacques Bourdin	1564	Diplomat	
42.	Michel de Castelnau	1571	Diplomat	
43.	Bertrand de Salignac De La Mothe-Fénélon	1571	Diplomat	

44.	de La Rochepot	1571	Diplomat	
(38)	Paul de Foix	1571	Diplomat	
45.	Beauvoir	1572	Diplomat	
46.	de Maurier	1572	Diplomat	
47.	Philippe Duplessis-Mornay	1572	Diplomat	
(29)	François Montmorency	1572	Diplomat	
48.	Sébastien de Laubespine	1572	Diplomat	
49.	René de Birague	1572	Diplomat	
(38)	Paul de Foix	1572	Diplomat	
<u>50.</u>	Jean Bernard	N/A		*Discours des plus memorables faicts… Plus un traicté de la guide des chemins* (1579).
(42)	Michel de Castelnau	1575-1585		
51.	Louis de Grenade	1578		*The Singularities of London, 1578* (2014).

52.	François de Bourbon	1581	Diplomat	
53.	Arthur de Cossé	1581	Diplomat	
54.	Louis de Lusignan	1581	Diplomat	
55.	Taneguy Le Veneur	1581	Diplomat	
(43)	Betrand de Salignac	1581	Diplomat	
(42)	Michel de Castelnau	1581	Diplomat	
56.	Barnabé Brisson	1581	Diplomat	
57.	Claude Pinard	1581	Diplomat	
58.	Pierre Clausse	1581	Diplomat	
57.	Jacques de Vray	1581	Diplomat	
58.	Maximilien de Béthune	1581, 1583	Dipomat	N/A
59.	Pomponne de Bellièvre	1586	Diplomat	
60.	de Morlasse	1589	Diplomat	

(45)	Beauvoir	1592	Diplomat	
61.	Nicolas de Harlay de Sancy	1592	Diplomat	
62.	Jacques Esprinchard	1593	Protestant merchant	
63.	Henri-Auguste de Loménie de Brienne	1595	Diplomat	
64.	Henri de Bouillon	1596	Diplomat	
(61)	Nicolas de Harlay de Sancy	1596	Diplomat	
65.	Guillaume Du Vair	1596	Diplomat	
66.	Ange-Paul de Hurault	1597	Diplomat	
67.	Duc de Biron	1598	Diplomat	
68.	Duc d'Anville	1598	Diplomat	
69.	Henri, Duc de Rohan	1599-1600	Protestant noble	'Voyage d'un gentilhomme français', BNF, MS.17173. *Voyage du Duc de Rohan* (1646).

70.	Benjamin de Rohan	1599-1600	Protestant noble	
71.	Duc de Soubise	1599-1600	Protestant noble	
72.	Armand Nompar de Caumont	1599-1600	Protestant noble	
73.	Théodore de Mayerne	1599-?1601	Physician	
74.	Christophe de Beaumont de Harlay	1602	Diplomat	
75. (cf 47)	Philippe Duplessis-Mornay	1604	Son of Diplomat and Noble	
<u>**76.**</u>	Thomas Pelletier	N/A		*La Nourriture de la Noblesse* (1604).
77.	Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc	1606	Antiquarian	N/A
78.	Duc de Sully	1606	Ambassador	
79.	Antoine-Lefevre de La Boderie	1606	Ambassador	
(78)	Duc de Sully	1606	Ambassador	

80.	Antoine Le Brun	N/A	Translator	*Le Choix des épistres de Lipse* (1619) *Le Choix des épistres de Lipse* (1650)
81.	Henri de La Trémoille	1598-1674 (Visits at intervals)	Noble	
82.	Philippe de Béthune	1613	Diplomat	
83.	De Buiseaux	1614	Diplomat	
85.	Baron de La Tour	1614	Diplomat	
86.	Le Clerc	1615	Diplomat	
87.	Gaspard Dannet	1618	Diplomat	
88.	Honoré d'Albert	1620	Diplomat	
89.	Le Tillières de Bonneau	1624	Diplomat	
90.	Archevêque d'Embrun	1624	Diplomat	
91.	Antoine Coeffier, Maréchal d'Effiat	1624	Diplomat	
92.	Le cardinal de Richelieu	1624	Diplomat	

93.	Le cardinal de La Rochefoucauld	1624	Diplomat	
94.	Marquis d'Aligre	1624	Diplomat	
95.	Comte de Schomberg	1624	Diplomat	
(63)	Henri-Auguste de Lomenie de Brienne	1624	Diplomat	'Relation du voyage', BL, MS.1156.
96.	Desfossés	1625	Diplomat	
97.	Jean Vargnière de Blainville	1625	Diplomat	
98.	Claude de Lorraine	1625	Diplomat	
(63)	Henri-Auguste de Lomenie de Brienne	1625	Diplomat	
99.	De Bassompierre	1627	Dipomat	
100.	Comte de Tilliers	1627	Diplomat	
101.	De Chateauneuf	1629	Diplomat	
102.	François Duval	1629	Diplomat	

103.	Marquis de Poigny	1630	Diplomat	
104.	Marquis de St Chaumont	1632	Diplomat	
105.	Comte de La Ferté Senectère	1635	Diplomat	
106.	Guillaume Bautru	1635	Diplomat	
107.	Comte d'Harcourt	1636	Diplomat	
(59)	Pomponne de Bellièvre	1637	Diplomat	
108.	Marquis de La Ferté-Imbault	1641	Diplomat	
109.	Marquis de Grécy	1642	Diplomat	
(107)	Comte d'Harcourt	1644	Diplomat	
110.	Monsieur de Sabran	1644	Diplomat	
111.	Jean de Montreuil	1645	Diplomat	
112.	Nicolas de Bellièvre	1647	Diplomat	

113.	Marquis de Ruvigny	1647	Diplomat	
114.	Talon	1647	Diplomat	
115.	de La Moyennerie	1647	Diplomat	
116.	Jean de Cardonnel	1649	Merchant	'Journals of the Travels of Jean de Cardonnel, BL, MS.1731.
117.	Jean Thévenot	1652	Natural scientist	
118.	Godefroi, Comte d'Estrades	1652	Diplomat	
119.	Antoine de Bordeaux	1652	Diplomat	
120.	François de Laboullaye Le Gouz	?1653	Noble traveller	*Les Voyages et Observations* (1653). *Les Voyages et Observations* (1657).
121.	Jean-Antoine de Mesmes	1654	Diplomat	
122.	Louis Coulon	N/A	Priest. Writer.	*Le Fidèle conducteur pour les voyages* (1654).
(119)	Antoine de Bordeaux	1655	Diplomat	

123.	Marquis de Créqui	1658	Diplomat	
124.	Montault de Navailles	1660	Diplomat	
125.	Samuel Chappuzeau	1660	Poet, playwright, Minor noble	*L'Europe Vivante* (1666). *L'Europe Vivante* (1667). *L'Europe Vivante* (1667). *L'Europe Vivante* (1669). *L'Europe Vivante* (1671).
126.	Nicolas Payen	?1658-1660	Noble of the robe	*Les Voyages de M. P.* (1663). *Les Voyages de Monsieur Payen* (1666). *Les Voyages de M. P* (1667). *Les Voyages de M. P…* (1668). [*Les Voyages d'un homme de qualité* (1681).
127.	Guy Miège	c.1660	Lexicogrpher, Writer	
128.	Jean-Baptiste-Gaston, Comte de Comminge	1662	Diplomat	

129.	Balthasar de Monconys	1663	Noble of the robe, Physicist	*Iournal des voyages de Monsieur de Monconys* (1665-1666). *Iournal des voyages de Monsieur de Monconys* (1677) *Les Voyages de Mr de Monconys* (1695)
130. (cf 13)	Duc de Chevreuse	1663	Noble	N/A
131.	Jean Chapelain	N/A	Writer, académiste	'Lettres et poésies de Jean Chapelain', BNF, NAF, MS.1887.
132.	Du Loir	1662	Noble	N/A
133.	Duc de Valentinois	1662	Noble	N/A
134.	Samuel Sorbière	1663-1664	Physican, Historiographer	*Lettres et discours de M. de Sorbière sur diverses matieres curieuses* (1660). *Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre* (1664).
135.	Albert Jouvin de Rochefort	?1663-1664		*Le Voyageur d'Europe, où sont les voyages de France, d'Italie, de Malthe, d'Espagne et de Portugal, des Pays-Bas, d'Allemagne et de Pologne, d'Angleterre, de Danemark et de Suède,*. 7 vols (1672). *Le Voyageur d'Europe....* 6 vols (1676).

				Le Voyageur d'Europe.... 6 vols (1682).
(128)	Comte de Comminge	1665	Diplomat	
136.	Courtin	1665	Diplomat	
137.	de Verneuil	1665	Diplomat	
138.	de La Roue	1665	Diplomat	
139. (cf 114)	Marquis de Ruvigny	1667	Diplomat	
140.	Colbert, Marquis de Croissy	1668	Diplomat	
141.	(?Nephew of Du Puy)	1664	Savant	N/A
142.	[anon]	1671		'Voyages d'Italie, Allemagne, Pays-Bas et Angleterre, par un jeune seigneur de la cour de Louis XIV (1669-1671)', BNF, MS.13375.
143.	Charles Patin	1671	Doctor, numismatist	*Relation historique en forme de Lettre* (1670). *Relation historique* (1670). *Quatre relations historiques* (1673). *Relations historiques et*

				curieuses de voyages, en Allemagne, Angleterre, Hollande, Boheme, Suisse, &c (1674). *Relations historiques et curieuses de voyages* (1676). *Relations historiques et curieuses de voyages* (1676). *Relations historiques et curieuses de voyages* (1695).
144.	Ferdinand de Galardi	?1671	Diplomat	*Séjour de Londres ou solitude de Cour, avec des reflexions politiques sur l'Angleterre & l'Espagne, avec leurs interests, demeslez, fautes de quelques princes, maux & remedes de la monarchie.* (Cologne: Chez Jacques Fontaine, 1671).
(139?)	Marquis de Ruvigny	1673	Diplomat	
(136)	Courtin	1676	Diplomat	
145.	François Brunet	1676	Noble of the robe	'Voyage d'Angleterre, 1676', BL MS.35177.
146.	'le Comte d'Argis ou de Chavigny' [Jacques-Léon de Chavigny?]	1676	Noble traveller	N/A
147.	Paul de	1677	Diplomat	

	Barillon			
148.	Henri Justel	1681+	Exile	'Papers of Henri Justel, a French Protestant and Natural Philosopher', BL, Royal MS.7AXII
149.	Tilladet	1683	Diplomat	
150.	Maréchal de Lorges	1685	Diplomat	
151.	Maréchal d'Humières	1685	Diplomat	
152.	Usson de Bonrepos	1685	Diplomat	
153.	Charles César Baudelot de Dairval	N/A	Antiquarian	*De l'utilité des voyages et de l'avantage que la recherche des antiquités procure aux sçavans...* 2 Vols. (1686).
154.	Marquis de Torcy	1687	Diplomat	
155.	Comte d'Avaux (son of Jean Antoine de Mesmes? (122))	1689	Diplomat	
<u>**156.**</u>	François Colsoni		Geographer, Language teacher	*Le Guide de Londres pour les estrangers dedié & offert aux voyageurs allemands & François* (1693). *Le Guide de Londres*

				([?1710]).
157.	De Juvigny	1692	Diplomat	
158.	Bernadin de Gigaut	1692	Diplomat	
159.	Claude Jordan	?1692		*Voyages historiques de l'Europe contenant l'origine, la religion, des mœurs, les coutumes et les forces de tous les peuples qui l'habitent, et une relation exacte de tout ce que chaque pays renferme de plus digne de la curiostié d'un voyageur*, 8 Vols. (1692). *Voyages historiques* (1693-1700). (A number of editions of Jordan's *Voyages* were published. A full bibliographical survey is required to give an account of its publication history.)
160.	Béat-Louis de Muralt	1694	Swiss Protestant, French army officer	*Lettres sur les Anglois et les François et sur les voiages* (1725) (Muralt's text went through a number of editions. For reasons of concision, these are not listed here. See Gould's critical edition, 46-56 for a bibliographical survey.)
161.	Marquis d'Harcourt	1696	Diplomat	

	(Son of 107?)			
162.	Comte de Tallard	1698	Diplomat	
163.	Henri Misson	1698	Huguenot exile/traveller	*Mémoires et observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre* (1698).
164.	Aubruy de La Motraye	1698–1724 (Multiple visits)		*Voyages du sr. A. de La Motraye, en Europe, Asie & Afrique; où l'on trouve une grande varieté de recherches geographiques, historiques & politiques*, 2 Vols. (1727). *Voyages du sr. A. de La Motraye* (1730).
165.	Abbé Dubos	1698-1702	Writer	
166.	Poussin	1701	Diplomat	
167.	Baron de Hooke	1705	Diplomat	
<u>**168.**</u>	James Beeverell	N/A	writer	*Les Délices de La Grand'Bretagne et de l'Irlande*, 8 Vols. (1707). *Les Délices* (1727).
169.	Charles-Auguste de Matignon	1708	Diplomat	
170.	Lord Louvat	1708	Diplomat	
171.	Azurini	1710	Diplomat	

172.	Abbé Gaultier	1711	Diplomat	
173.	Nicolas Ménager	1711	Diplomat	
174.	Duc d'Aumont	1712	Diplomat	
175.	André-François Boureau-Deslandes	1712	Bureaucrat, philosopher	*État present d'Espagne, L'origine des grands; avec un voyage d'Angleterre* (1717).
176.	Maréchal Huxelles	1713	Diplomat	
(173)	Nicolas Ménager	1713	Diplomat	
177.	Anisson	1713	Diplomat	
178.	Fénélon	1713	Diplomat	
179.	D'Iberville	1713	Diplomat	
180.	Georges Louis Lesage	1713-1714	Huguenot exile in Switzerland	*Remarques sur l'état présent de l'Angleterre: faites par un voyageur inconnu dans les années 1713 & 1714* (1715).
181.	Abbé Dubois	1717	Diplomat	
182.	Philippe Néricault Destouches	1717	Playwright	

(176)	Maréchel d'Huxelles	1718	Diplomat	
183.	Comte de Chiverni	1718	Diplomat	
(181)	Abbé Dubois	1718	Diplomat	
(182)	Néricault Destouches	1717-1723	Diplomat	
184.	Comte de Plélo	?1713-1719	Diplomat	
185.	Marquis d'Aligre	1719	Diplomat	
186.	Henri, Comte de Senecterre	1719	Diplomat	
187.	Comte d'Estrés	1719	Diplomat	
(181)	Abbé Dubois	1719	Diplomat	
188.	Comte Le Bègue	1720	Diplomat	
(182)	Néricault Destouches	1720	Diplomat	
189.	Comte de Caylus	1722	Noble, Art collector	'La rélation inédite d'un voyage fait par le comte de Caylus en Belgique, en Hollande et en Angleterre, dans l'année 1722' in

				Charles Blanc, *Le Trésor de la curiosité tiré des catalogues de Vente*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Renouard, 1857), 120-5.
190.	De Chavigny	1723	Diplomat	
191.	Comte de Broglie	1724	Diplomat	
192.	Pierre-Joseph Alary	1725	Académiste	N/A
193.	Nicolas-François Dupré de Saint-Maur	1725	Bureaucrat	N/A
194.	César de Saussure	1725-1729	Swiss (noble)	*Lettres et voyages en Allemagne, en Hollande, et en Angleterre, 1725-1729* (1903).
<u>195.</u>	[anon]			*Le Nouveau Guide de Londres ou Instructions pour les Etrangers* (1726)
196.	Voltaire	1726-8		*Lettre à M**** (?1727/?1728). *Advertisement* in *An Essay upon the Civil Wars of France* (1727). *Lettres philosophiques* (1734).
197.	Montesquieu	1729-1730		'Notes sur L'Angleterre' in *Œuvres completes de Montesquieu* (2010).

198.	Antoine François Prévost	1727-1734 (Intermittent visits)		*Mémoires et avantures d'un homme de qualité*, Vol. 5 (1731). (Prévost's *Mémoires* went through a number of editions. For reasons of concision, these are not listed here. See Robertson's critical edition, 37-40 for a bibliographical survey.)
199.	Pierre Jacques Fougeroux	1728	Minor noble	'Voiage d'Angleterre, d'Hollande et de Flandre fait en l'année 1728', FM, MS. HC781. 'Voiage d'Angleterre, d'Hollande et de Flandre fait en l'année 1728', NAL, MS.2374.
200.	François Morand Sauveur	1729	Surgeon	'Voyage d'Angleterre par M. Morand, l'an MDCCXXIX', (BnF, z-FONTANIEU-271, LXI/1).
<u>**201.**</u>	Joseph Pote	N/A		*Le guide des etrangers: ou le compagnon necessaire & instructif à l'étranger & au naturel du pays, en faisant le tour des villes de Londres & de Westminstre* (1729). *Le guide des etrangers* (1730).
202.	Morel Deschamps	1731	Diplomat	

(190?)	De Chavigny	1731	Diplomat	

Appendix II

Extract from Saint Amant's 'L'Albion Caprice heroï-comique'
Œuvres complètes de Saint Amant, ed. by Charles-Louis Livet,
Vol. 2 (Paris: Chez Jannet, 1855), 438-9.

[…]
Certes, ce peuple insulaire
Est un estrange animal ...
Je le dépeindray si bien
Qu'il ne luy manquera rien
Des piés jusques à la teste,
Et desjà ma main s'appreste
A luy faire un nez de chien.

Non, je serois un vray buffle
Commençant mon œuvre ainsy,
D'honorer ce peuple-cy
Des traits d'un si digne muffle:
Le dogue est pourveu d'appas;
Il est jusques au trespas
Doux et fidelle à son maistre:
Et le barbare, le trasitre
Monstre assez qu'il ne l'est pas.

Donnons luy donc l'air farouche,
En cette rebellion,
Non d'un genereux lion,
Mais d'un cheval fort en bouche;
Qu'il ait un peu du pourceau;
Et, reclamant le rousseau
Qu'en Parnasse l'on adore,
Pour en faire une hydre encore
Esbranlons nostre pinceau

La sottise et l'arroganace
Composant toutes ses mœurs
Ses moins ineptes humeurs
Sont pleines d'extravagance;

Sa fantaisie est sa loy,
Son cœur abhorre la foy
Dont il a chery le culte;
Il se plaist dans le tumulte
Et fait la nique de son roy

La rage qui l'esperonne
Contre l'ordre aux savrez vœus
Non plu en or qu'en cheveux
Ne peut souffrir de couronne
Il voit d'un œil d'attentat
Un auguste potentat
Dans la dignité supreme,
Et, rompant son diademe,
Veu deschirer son estat

Il est vray que la noblesse,
Du moins aucuns de ce ranc,
D'un cœur assez pront et franc
S'oppose au fer qui le blesse;
Il est vray que par miliers
On aveu des escoliers
Pleins de gloire et de courage
Pour soustenir cet orage,
Desmeuble les rateliers;
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