The Prince, the Nobleman, and the Scholar: Travel and the Emergence of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism

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Abstract

My dissertation examines conceptions of space and movement in Renaissance France as expressed through literature, and how changes in travel experience and spatial perception affected Renaissance cosmopolitanism. Building on a body of recent scholarship that explores the relationship between geography and fiction, I investigate how increased ease of movement in early modern France influenced the perception of travel and travelers, and how travelers in turn honed a conception of France and their place in the world. My dissertation participates in a larger scholarly dialogue that questions what links people to place, whether worldliness can coexist with patriotic sentiment, whether travel stimulates tolerance, and how movement privileges the acquisition, organization and dissemination of knowledge. In my introductory chapter, I provide examples of the negative portrayal of travel and travelers in French popular literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: namely, collections of short narrative prose. My three subsequent chapters focus on personages who exemplify (or evolved to exemplify) a favorable (or nuanced) attitude towards movement over the course of the sixteenth century. These personages are the prince, the nobleman, and the student. My analysis of these literary figures is based on canonical and non-canonical texts, both fiction and non-fiction. I examine princely movement in the works of Jean Marot, Rabelais and Barthelémy Aneau; noble movement in the works of Nicolas Denisot, Montaigne and Agrippa d'Aubigné; and scholarly movement in the works of Noël du Fail, the Platter brothers, and Bénigne Poissenot. In my fifth and final chapter, I borrow the perspectives and criteria of a branch of social sciences entitled "Mobility Studies" to gauge the cosmopolitanism of the Renaissance figures analyzed in the aforementioned texts. Current discourses on globalization are also applicable to the Renaissance, a period that experienced rapid expansion in opportunities for movement, spatial visualization, and communication. I identify six modern criteria for cosmopolitanism, as identified by contemporary sociologists and mobility theorists, and I revisit my primary sources to identify figures that exemplify these cosmopolitan characteristics in order to conclude that Renaissance concerns with space, movement, and globalization have much in common with contemporary preoccupations.

Introduction

Where are you from? It depends on who is asking, and where. The answer could be a city, state, country, or region, based on the information that you are striving to convey, and what can be assumed about your interlocutors. If I meet someone from California, I say that I'm from Palo Alto. To New Yorkers, I'm from California, and in Europe, I identify myself as an American. Sometimes provenance is a rationalization in and of itself, and the most succinct answer to a variety of probing questions: "You don't like New York?" - "No; I'm from California." A geographical reference is a polyvalent descriptor that carries a host of implications. Regional stereotypes have foundations in actual socio-cultural differences that are the bi-product of history, climate, and environment. We say where we're from as a means of explaining ourselves: our biases, our loyalties, our histories, and our look or accent.

Sometimes the answer is not so simple. I was born in Boston, raised in Palo Alto, went to college in Connecticut and graduate school in Wisconsin. I live in New York but spent the better part of the last year in Switzerland. "Where are you from?" is a question that gives pause – to say "the Upper West Side" omits information about me that I consider significant. And yet, many Upper-West-Siders are in the same situation – born into a world where moving during early childhood and traveling for college or work are ordinary transitions. Native New Yorkers in New York are a rarity. One of the first questions we all ask each other is: "Where are you from?"

Only on several occasions has my sole presence in a place attracted general attention. On a visit to a great aunt in an English hamlet, I went jogging on Sunday morning only to find myself somewhat of a local celebrity by Sunday dinner. Trekking through a village in Peru, my hiking party almost outnumbered local residents, whose children ran alongside us with undisguised curiosity. Villagers invited us into their homes to drink chicha and share their

evening meal. In a miniscule town in Wisconsin, I caused a stir on my morning jog and was offered a ride by concerned members of the local populace who could not fathom why one would run rather than drive. People recognized me later buying coffee at the town's lone convenience store. A common factor in these incidents is the relative size of the community. It is rare to be in a place where all of the local residents are aware of each other, and where local customs are wound so tightly around the activities of a core group of people that strangers and newcomers perturb the quotidian order.

Like many of my contemporaries, I take mobility for granted. It doesn't bother me much to live 3,000 miles away from my parents, nor does that choice seem extraordinary to my peers. Going away to college is an American rite of passage, colored more by the act of leaving home than by the particular opportunities afforded by the institution of choice. Americans who travel for work average roughly a half an hour in transit each way. As a result, the communities where we work are often distinct from the communities where we live. Roughly a third of all Americans own passports, indicating necessity, interest or desire for travel outside the country.[1] While travel is restricted by socio-economic circumstances, it is practiced by such a wide sector of the population that a traveling "type" is inconceivable. Businessmen, migrant workers, college students, refugees, vacationers, missionaries, athletes, long-distance life partners and family members share roads, rails, and skies in a confluence of movers and motives for mobility.

It is hard to conceive of mobility and encounters with travelers without the ubiquitous contours of nation and states that are imprinted on our collective consciousness. We envision foreign lands not only in terms of their distance from us, but also in terms of their relative distance from other places, in addition to their rough size and shape. We are generally aware of the climates that other regions are subject to, their basic proportions of wilderness and water, and

[1] Statistics from www.census.gov and travel.state.gov/passport, retrieved on August 1st, 2012.

their neighboring countries. We are conscious of others' mobility. It is not shocking in New York to meet people from Europe, Asia, and Africa, and increasingly less surprising to encounter ethnic diversity in places far removed from urban centers, like small-town Wisconsin. When someone discloses where they're from, they evoke a concept of place that is founded on real geographical information. Not all places are alike in their evocativeness - I can delineate England or Spain or Texas in my mind's eye easily, but struggle to accurately envision the shape and situation of Bulgaria, Gabon or Myanmar. For locations both familiar and foreign, however, we have tools at our disposal that privilege spatial understanding. Thanks to omnipresent wireless technology, I can achieve significant geographic understanding of almost any place on earth in a matter of seconds.

How different must it have been to live when such informed geographical imagining was not feasible. With less spatial information, places seem more foreign, and foreigners more strange. Travelers, mapmakers, travel writers and others disseminators of spatial information have changed the way we conceive of our surroundings, and, as a result, the way we consider others. Information on geographical provenance informs our understanding of people. Our awareness of widespread mobility leaves us unfazed to encounter foreigners in our hometowns, and for many of us, the concept of home itself will change over the course of our lives. We can picture more, see more, and visit more of the globe than ever before. What effect does this have on our attitudes towards people, places, notions of home and abroad, and our attitudes towards movement itself?

In my readings of sixteenth-century literature featuring movement, I was struck by the resonances between our era and the early modern period with regards to mobility. Many of the concerns articulated by present-day writers echo latent or overt preoccupations that are present in

Renaissance literature. What began as an investigation of how Renaissance literature portrays the relationship between mobility and regional belonging broadened into a study of mobility's role in cultivating cosmopolitanism. Inspired by the work of scholars such as Frank Lestringant and Tom Conley, who have explored the intersections between geography and literature, I considered the possibility that an increased possibility for visualizing France leads to increased identification with France, and, conversely, whether improved transportation and enhanced potential for spatial imagining leads to identification with a broader swath of the world's population.[2] The representation of France in literature is pertinent to the question of Renaissance cosmopolitanism, as the capacity for imagining and physically experiencing "home" is crucial in determining what constitutes "elsewhere."

The question of geographical attachment has been considered by philosophers and geographers alike in recent years, and is at the heart of modern discourses on the nature of space and place.[3] Philosophers and human geographers allude in varying capacities to man's fundamental role in the construction of space and place, and to the idea that geography is essentially intertwined with human actions. In *L'Invention du quotidien*, Michel de Certeau designates place ("lieu") as stable and invariable, "une configuration instantanée de positions". Space ("espace") by contrast is always subject to change, as it is "un croisement de mobiles… animé par l'ensemble de mouvments qui s'y deploient." He proffers the analogy that place is like a word, and space is the word in its spoken ensemble of rhetoric: "*l'espace est un lieu pratiqué*".[4] Human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan takes a different approach, while maintaining the inter-reliant

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[2] Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota 1997) and Frank Lestringant, *Ecrire le monde à la Renaissance: quinze etudes sur Rabelais, Postel, Bodin et la literature géographique* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993).

[3] For more on these discourses, see Hubbard, Kitchin, and Valentine; eds., *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (London: Sage, 2004) and John A. Agnew, "Space and Place" in Agnew and Livingston, eds., The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2011).

[4] Michel de Certeau, *L'Invention du quotidien*, Vol. 1, *Arts de Faire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990) 173.

relationship between space and place. For Tuan, "place is security, space is freedom." Space can turn into place once it is known: "space becomes place as we endow it with value."[5] Of course, this lends a subjective quality to space and place: place to one person may be space to another. It is Tuan's distinction that I find most pertinent as I examine the role of movement in constructing a sense of French or world belonging in Renaissance literature. Through the familiarity achieved physically through movement and conceptually through the study of geographical texts, space becomes place. Tuan acknowledges that "place exists at different scales," and that the homeland is a type of place.[6] Renaissance travelers had an increased ability to know France and the world through physical displacement and spatial imagining. It follows that both France and the globe may attain the status of "place" as a result of these travelers' peregrinations, both real and virtual.

Cosmopolitanism is likewise a subject that provokes responses from various scholarly domains. With roots in classical antiquity, discussions on the definition of cosmopolitanism persist today, with contributions from contemporary philosophers such as Martha Nussbaum and Kwame Appiah.[7] While philosophical approaches to cosmopolitanism often focus on questions of empathy or duty, modern social sciences have crafted an approach that measures cosmopolitanism as a function of mobility, evaluating cosmopolitanism as a secondary phenomenon rather than the catalyst for certain kinds of behavior.[8] It is the social scientific definition that I find most useful in my analysis of Renaissance literature as it establishes a metric for gauging cosmopolitanism with respect to mobility.

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[5] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977) 3-6, 73.
[6] *ibid*., 149.
[7] See Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism", *Boston Review* (Fall 1994), 19(5) and Kwame Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006).
[8] See Ulrich Beck, *Der Kosmopolitische Blick oder: Krieg ist Frieden*, translated into French by Aurélie Duthoo: *Qu'est-ce que le cosmopolitisme*? (Paris: Flammarion, 2006) and Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry, "Cultures of Cosmopolitanism" in *The Sociological Review* 50(4), 2002.

My assessment of Renaissance French cosmopolitanism is based on a thematic study of movement in literature. My corpus is selected to represent movement in a traditional sense, focusing on physical displacement that is intentionally enacted by people: namely, travel and travelers. My analysis is enhanced by the modern social scientific concept of "mobilities", which considers the movement of people, things, and ideas, and the implications of their movements in relation to one another.[9] I also consider the modern sociological concept of "motility", a term coined by Vincent Kaufmann to represent the mobility potential of an individual, with respect to sixteenth-century literary travelers.[10] My perspective was shaped by three primordial assumptions: firstly, that sixteenth-century France was at once an emerging nation and a nation in crisis. Alongside a crystallizing sense of French identity and a consolidation of governing influence brewed a controversy that spawned decades of civil discord and violence. Secondly: that the sixteenth century was an era of dramatic changes in the way that people could visualize and conceive of space. The advent of cartographic science and the rediscovery of Ptolemy were harbingers of geography's new and prominent role in governance and in scholarship. Modern scholarship has produced numerous commentaries on mapping in the early modern period, and the evolving role of geography in politics and everyday life.[11] Thirdly: that we are how we move. The way in which a person moves speaks volumes about their situation in life, their attitudes and their ideologies. The adjectives "worldly" and "provincial", for instance, are seldom used to

[9] For more on "mobilities" see the preface to John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007) in which Urry discusses the "mobility turn" in the social sciences. See also Mimi Sheller and John Urry, "The New Mobilities Paradigm," *Environment and Planning*, 38.2 (2006): 207-226.

[10] Vincent Kaufmann, "La mobilité comme capitale" in Vincent Kaufmann and Bertrand Montulet; eds. *Mobilités, fluidités… libertés?* (Brussels: Publications des facultés universitaires Saint-Louis, 2004).

[11] For geography and mapping in the early modern period, see François de Dainville, *La géographie des humanistes* (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1940), Numa Broc, *La géographie de la Renaissance* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1980), David Buisseret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), Denis Cosgrove, ed., *Mappings* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), Jean-Marc Besse, *Les grandeurs de la terre: aspects du savoir géographique à la Renaissance* (Lyon: ENS Editions, 2003) and David Woodward, ed. *A History of Cartography* Vol. 3. *Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

designate globetrotters or province-dwellers, but rather to convey information about the worldview of their referents. Observing how someone moves allows us to make inferences about how that person lives and thinks.

My objective is neither to provide a history of travel, nor to isolate a definition of Renaissance mobility that distinguishes it from our modern understanding of the term. Rather, I aim to identify common attitudes, preoccupations, and beliefs about movement held by sixteenth-century travelers and writers in order to measure the perceived role of mobility in honing a sense of national or world identity. Literature is a privileged source of evidence in that it allows for the idealization or the vilification of movement, removing the practical hindrances that constrain real travelers and the logistical hindrances that restrict storytelling. In literature, a prince's mobile exploits can adopt the veneer of myths; a nobleman's autobiographical ruminations betray the insecurities and vanities that a more objective travelogue would obscure, and a former student is able to reconstruct his youth as a paean to continental itinerancy. Furthermore, a literary analysis of movement allows me to consider all kinds of mobility within a text, aside from just the movement of people, and to reflect on how movement serves as an analogy, like when geographical obstacles represent hindrances to power, or when the way a character moves reveals something about their temperament.

The depiction of movement in literature gives a sense of what Renaissance travel was actually like, but more importantly, it showcases how travel was perceived. My selection of three figures is at once a means of narrowing the scope of my investigation and a deliberate attempt to focus on populations that were not only distinguished by their mobility, but who also had a hand in shaping France, both literally (through land ownership and conquest) and figuratively (by thinking, mapping and writing about France). Furthermore, this selection illustrates what I posit

to be a distinct shift in the perception of travel and travelers between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, when a new, more nuanced traveling "type" appears to counterbalance the stalwartly negative portrayals of travel and travelers in medieval literature.

In order to glean a keener understanding of movement's role in sculpting a conception of France and a sense of French belonging, I restricted my corpus to works representing travel in and around France. Significant critical attention has been paid to transatlantic travel and voyages to the Levant during the early modern period.[12] My focus on continental travel allows me to concentrate on the representation of France as a place. The inclusion of works from a variety of genres is intended to underscore similar tendencies across each eponymous mobile group: for example, the non-fictional prince represented in epic poetry displays some of the same mobility traits as the fictional prince in an *histoire fabuleuse*. My corpus includes literary works of fiction and non-fiction, both canonical and non-canonical, to further emphasize commonalities across different types of narrative. The works are united in their depiction of a real space, France, through the lens of a traveling protagonist or protagonists. Travel is a means of revealing, parsing, or developing the travelers' relationship to France and to the world at large. My corpus is not broad enough to identify a distinct traveling ethos for each particular group; such an undertaking would require an exhaustive literary survey. However, by examining the implicit or explicit intertextual relationships between my selected primary sources and other influential texts of the sixteenth century and earlier, I am able to suggest ways in which princely, noble, and

[12] Contributions to the study of French travel literature to the New World and to the Levant include multiple works by Frank Lestringant, among them *L'atelier du cosmographe ou l'image du monde à la Renaissance* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1991) and *Le Huguenot et le sauvage: l'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de Religion* (Geneva: Droz, 2004), in addition to critical editions of Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil* (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1994), André Thevet's *Les Singularités de la France Antarctique* (Paris: Editions Chandeigne, 2011) and his *Cosmographe du Roy, de deux voyages par luy faits aux Indes Australes et Occidentales* (Geneva: Droz, 2006). For travel to the Levant, see Frédéric Tinguely, *L'écriture du Levant à la Renaissance: enquête sur les voyageurs français dans l'empire de Soliman le Magnifique* (Geneva: Droz, 2000). For pilgrimage to Jerusalem, see Marie-Christine Gomez-Géraud, *Le crépuscule du Grand Voyage: les récits des pèlerins à Jérusalem (1458-1612)* (Paris: Champion, 1999).

scholarly movement were singular, and ways in which the representation of early modern travelers in literature is indicative of cosmopolitan sensibilities during the Renaissance.

A further objective is to emphasize the ways in which early modern representations of movement and discourses on mobility evoke modern reactions to the phenomenon of globalization. To this end, I conclude my analysis of the prince, the nobleman and the scholar in Renaissance literature with a foray into modern inquiries on mobility and cosmopolitanism drawn from the contemporary fields of sociology and human geography. Not only do the social sciences provide a framework for discussing the implications of increased mobility and a metric for gauging cosmopolitanism as a function of mobility, they also demonstrate, by the very applicability of their methods, similarities between the Renaissance and the present in our responses to questions of loyalty and obligation in an increasingly accessible world. Notions borrowed from modern analyses are also useful in crystallizing my understanding of why the figures of the mobile prince, nobleman, and scholar in sixteenth-century literature are so remarkable.

By traveling in and around France, these figures contributed to an understanding of what France was in the sixteenth century, both as a geographical space and as a nation of people. Authors in my corpus illustrate tension between the desire to affirm French superiority and the Christian humanist ideal of shared goals and progress for all mankind. They manifest dissatisfaction with the state of French politics, anxiety with regards to shifting societal structures, and skepticism concerning the future of institutions and ideals that shape their present. Geographical information figures into the works in different ways, whether to augment their realism, to convey erudition, to imply a sense of ownership or control over space, or as pretext for discussing what makes people different. Renaissance literature depicting travel attests to the

nature of Renaissance ruminations concerning questions of belonging and kinship, which are similar in nature to the issues confronting modern movers and thinkers. Does exposure to other peoples, places and cultures make us more tolerant, or conversely does it reinforce identification with our place of origin? Does the ability to envision foreign places facilitate travel and spur the desire for it? Is there a special kind of knowledge that is only achieved by movement, and is an educated traveler a better traveler, or a better person?

The analysis that follows examines depictions of movement and the role of geographical information in chosen texts, in order to determine how conceptions of France vary as a function of mobility and geographical sapience. I establish how movement is represented, how France is depicted, and how the traveler's relationship to France is influenced by his movement. In Chapter One, I give examples of the negative portrayal of travel and travelers in medieval and early Renaissance collections of short narrative prose, and identify the three literary figures whose depiction differs with regards to movement. In Chapters Two through Four, I evaluate each title personage in turn, relying on an analysis of selected primary sources. In Chapter Five, I revisit my corpus, applying a modern social scientific perspective to early modern literature in an attempt to discern whether mobility was a catalyst for cosmopolitan thought and behavior in Renaissance France, and to illustrate similarities between the Renaissance and the present.

Our era is, by many accounts, more mobile than any that came before it, stimulating a cacophony of dialogue on the repercussions of increased mobility (both real and virtual) and globalization. The same can be said of Renaissance France, when the world seemed at once to be expanding with the advent of New World discoveries, and shrinking to fit within the pages of an atlas. In the following pages, I demonstrate how movement is perceived by and with respect to three important mobile populations in Renaissance France. I affirm a variety of ways in which

the literary travelers' conception of France as a place is expressed and refined through travel. Finally, I underscore evidence of cosmopolitan thought in French Renaissance literature, without neglecting fundamental obstacles to cosmopolitanism in the attitudes and behaviors of Renaissance writers and travelers. I reinforce similarities between the present and the early modern era, particularly with respect to tensions between qualities of worldliness and forms of intolerance that are fostered and thrown into relief by mobility. My hope is to cultivate a dialogue between the two eras in order to inform an understanding of the way contemporary innovations in spatial imagination and travel impact our sense of who we are, where we are from and what we share. It's a small world, after all.

Chapter One: Movement in Early Modern France; Evolving Representations

Renaissance France is an important period for investigating changing patterns of spatial perception and attitudes towards movement. Throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance, travelers relied primarily on itineraries for continental navigation. These lists of toponyms and distances prescribed trajectories but did not give a vivid picture of where places were in relation to one another.[13] Space was measured in time: *La Guide de Chemins de France* by Charles Estienne, a book of itineraries from 1552, famously reports that France is "22 journées de large et 19 de long".[14] Increasingly over the course of the sixteenth century, an image of the kingdom was represented in print and accessible to an expanding sector of the population. With the rediscovery of classical geographical sources, such as the works of Ptolemy and Strabo, cartography was becoming an important science, crucial to the military endeavors that shaped French territory over the course of the sixteenth century. David Buisseret upholds Renaissance prince Francis I as the first French king to use his kingdom's image to enhance his governance.[15] Francis I likewise encouraged France's burgeoning cartographic efforts by appointing Oronce Finé, maker of the earliest map of France printed in France (*Nova totius Galliae descriptio*, 1525), to be a *lecteur royal* at the *Collège royal* in 1530.

As possibilities for spatial perception and imagination evolved, so too did travel and the perception of travelers across the continent. Travel was a hazardous endeavor for the many in motion during the Middle Ages into the Renaissance, and displacement was arduous, even for

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[13] See Marc H. Smith, "Ecritures et lectures italiennes de l'espace français au XVI^{e} siècle" in *La culture du voyage: pratiques et discours de la Renaissance à l'aube du XX^{e} siècle*, Gilles Bertrand, ed. (Paris: Harmattan, 2004).
[14] Charles Estienne, *La Guide de chemins de France de 1553*, ed. Jean Bonnerot (Geneva: Slatkine, 1978).
[15] David Buisseret, "Monarchs, Ministers and Maps in France before the Accession of Louis XIV" in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992) 102.

the elite. Most people traveled by horse, many by foot, with the ability to cover roughly 10-20 miles a day.[16] Towards the end of the century, the use of chariots and coaches was becoming more widespread, but was not yet common. Roads were dangerous, subject to the ravages of inclement weather and vicious predators, both human and animal. Travel took time, and despite the establishment of a postal service at the end of the fifteenth century, communication between the center and the periphery of France was slow and disjointed. "Le village vit replié sur lui-même", Georges Duby and Robert Mondrou assert.[17] Fernand Braudel characterizes medieval France as a constellation of provinces that lacked an efficient means of interacting with one another.[18] It is understandable that the predominant spatial understanding of France during this period was a disjointed one.

At the end of the Middle Ages, cities were increasingly important centers of commerce and exchange, and movement between cities was necessary for commercial prosperity. Newcomers would settle in the part of town inhabited by others from their native region, creating microcosmic representations of France's regional diversity. Notions of "inside" and "outside" were evolving to reflect France's relationship with the exterior. The defensive "enceintes" that had been fortified as a result of the Hundred Years War were no longer as crucial as the entire kingdom's peripheral defense during the campaigns in Italy and ensuing conflicts with the Holy Roman Empire. Many French towns that had walls were already outgrowing them by the sixteenth century; a number of fortifications were destroyed at the end of the fifteenth century as a means of unifying the French kingdom under royal control.[19] Nevertheless, the borders of

[16] Arlette Jouanna, *La France du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996) 8-9.
[17] Georges Duby, Robert Mandrou; *Histoire de la civilisation française: Moyen âge-XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1968) 312.
[18] Fernand Braudel, *L'identité de la France*, Volume II (Paris: Arthaud, 1986) 67, 192-3, 204.
[19] Michael Wolfe, *Walled Towns and the Shaping of France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 62-76.

France remained indistinct and fluid during the early days of the French Renaissance.[20] Allegiances and regional identities were complicated as a result.

Changing perceptions of space, evolving notions of "inside" and "outside", and the gradual amelioration of modes of transportation all had an impact on the way people experienced France during the Renaissance. Urban communities were changing to accommodate a burgeoning population and movement towards the cities. Even so, by the mid-sixteenth century, 90 percent of the population was still made up of peasants whose living was tied to the land. The stationary population of Renaissance France watched the world outside their windows change on a daily basis as mobile newcomers altered the composition of fixed communities. Alongside the farmers and laborers whose travails and financial investments had for generations shaped the towns and villages they lived in were newcomers whose mercantile opportunism or non-material transactions must have seemed suspect.

Nouvelles and What They Reveal

A minister, a priest, and a rabbi walk into a bar. We know what happens next – or at least, we're prepared for it. An allusion to these characters, who espouse divergent theological views and insinuate all manner of idiosyncratic behaviors, is the prelude to a joke. In much the same way, an early Renaissance storyteller in France would start a lubricious tale by referring to a priest, a soldier, a merchant or a pilgrim coming to call. In these formulaic tales, a visiting priest will almost inevitably cuckold his host, as will a pilgrim or merchant, under the pretext of providing service. Another equally predictable formula implicates travelers and the lies they tell: seemingly devoted wives whose pilgrimages constitute the pretext for extramarital romps, or travelers and their stupidity: husbands who leave home, exposing their wives and worldly goods to ne'er-do-wells who inevitably reap the benefits of unhappy husbands' naïveté. Collections of

[20] Jouanna, *ibid*. 6.

short narrative prose from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are replete with stories of injurious travelers, borrowed and retold in dozens of iterations.

Jokes, while perhaps not the most reliable ethnographical sources, are telling in their reflection of commonly held prejudices and preoccupations. French *nouvelles*, formulaic though they may be, testify to a real wariness of travelers and travel that persisted from the Middle Ages into the Renaissance – a circumspection that was not unfounded. French *nouvelles* find their source material in medieval *lais*, *fabliaux* and *exempla*, and in their Italian counterparts, such as the *novelle* made famous by Boccaccio and Masuccio Salernitano. They feature a considerable amount of recycled material, and are resolutely two-dimensional. Like the point-to-point itineraries that enabled early travel, the plots of *nouvelles* feature one succinct story line and little or no deviation from it. David Laguardia classifies the archetypical characters in the *nouvelles* as icons. Despite recent critical responses that aim to categorize *nouvelles* as realistic, Laguardia contends that they are not, but rather "that they represent the collective imaginary of an entire people, as opposed to character types generated by a single 'genius'."[21] The repetition of *topoi* in the *nouvelles* reveals the preoccupations and beliefs of everyday people during the late Middle Ages into the Renaissance, and the recurring figure of the nefarious traveler or the wayward fool is just such a revelatory reiteration.

In collections of *nouvelles* that span the late Middle Ages through the mid-sixteenth century, several traveling personages stand out as particularly recurrent and devious. Among them are the figures of the mendicant, the merchant, the mercenary, and the pilgrim. Their overwhelmingly negative portrayal is indicative of suspicion borne towards travelers, as much of their devious behavior is enabled or facilitated by the act of perpetually moving. A traveling

[21] David Laguardia, *The Iconography of Power: The French Nouvelle at the End of the Middle Ages* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999) 12.

outsider can easily disguise his true identity or intentions, and has easy recourse to the anonymity of the open road, should he overstay his welcome in a given community. These characters threaten social order by rendering the distinction between insider and outsider equivocal, and often by capitalizing on their relatively fluid status to make material gains in exchange for immaterial (and usually worthless) contributions. More often than not, the traveler who enters a town unbidden is liable to penetrate personal space and violate the order of the home, in addition to the community.

Predatory Priests: Suspicion of Mendicant Orders

The clergy was a popular comedic target in French ribald tales long before the Renaissance, notably in medieval fabliaux, where priests and their ilk are represented almost without exception as sly and lubricious gluttons. Tales such as these, drawn from the oral tradition, rely on role reversal for their shock value and humor, employing language from the courtly tradition to similarly lampoon knights and other figures drawn from the summit of the social hierarchy. Arlette Jouanna acknowledges the facetious representation of religious figures with a caution: "Il ne faut pas oublier que c'est là un thème littéraire particulièrement efficace pour provoquer le rire, et donc utilisé avec prédilection; il puise certes ses aliments dans la réalité, mais il l'enjolive allégrement".[22] While it would be imprudent (and ungenerous) to attribute to clergymen all of the ungracious behaviors that characterize them in medieval and Renaissance popular fiction, there are elements of these behaviors, particularly in fictional representations of mendicant orders, that betray a palpable suspicion towards travelers who enter people's homes on religious pretenses.

Men of the cloth are not treated kindly in the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* attributed to Antoine de la Salle. Priests are made out to be lascivious predators, and nuns sex-starved vixens.

[22] Jouanna, *op. cit*. 48.

The just desserts served up to the more unfortunate of the clergymen within this collection of *nouvelles* include draconian punishments such as immolation and castration, recounted, one must imagine based on their frequency, to the appreciation and hilarity of readers and listeners. Some tales, such as Nouvelle 83, refer specifically to wandering priests:

> Comme il est de coutumes par tous païs que par les villes et villages souvent s'espartent les religieux mendians tant de l'ordre des Jacobins, Cordeliers, Carmes, et Augustins, pour prescher les vices, les vertuz exaulser et loer…[23]

The primary mendicant orders were founded in the thirteenth century, in the wake of the Albigensian Crusades. As a reaction to the perceived heresy of the Albigensians, mendicant orders were established with the goal of expressing devotion through asceticism, committing to evangelizing missions and soliciting food and shelter where they traveled.[24] Many tales, such as *CNN* 83, hinge on the exchange of immaterial goods for material ones, portraying the mendicant friar as a parasite, and a potentially menacing one, who penetrates personal space in order to sate himself at the proprietor's expense.

Nouvelle 83 takes place in Lillers, France and features a learned Carmelite, "bon clerc et tresbeau langagier" (485) who hopes to earn "deux patars ou trois gros" by preaching and singing mass for devoted parishioners. His offer of words for coins does not attract many of the faithful, but a benevolent widow takes pity on the Carmelite and offers him money and lunch after mass. The friar eagerly accepts the offer and rushes to her house, where he proceeds to polish off, under the sneering eyes of her servant and chambermaid, a leek soup ("avecques beau lard"), a large piece of bacon, a hefty pile of tripe, and a large tongue of beef ("rostie Dieu scet comment"). Observing his prodigious appetite, the widow summons more food, and the friar proceeds to devour an excellent slab of salted beef, a choice cut of lamb, an enormous ham, a

[23] *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, Franklin P. Sweetser, ed. (Geneva: Droz, 1966) 485. Further citations refer to this edition.
[24] Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York: Scribner, 1985) 300-318.

lovely plate of cheeses, pies and apples, garnished with a generous pat of fresh butter, and washes them down with copious amounts of drink. He consumes these victuals without proffering a word: “il avoit si grand haste de fournir son pourpoint qu’il ne disoit mot, si pou non” (487), and finally says grace as engorged as a blood-sucking parasite: “enflé comme un tiquet” (488).

The *nouvelle* ends on a merry note, as the friar commends the widow’s generosity with a reference to the parable of the loaves and the fishes (John 6:1-15) in which Jesus feeds a multitude with a pittance. The female servant hazards a saucy remark (“Je croy que, si vous eussez esté l’un de ceulx qui la furent repeuz, qu’on n’en eust point rapporté de relief, car vous eussez bien tout mengé, et moy aussi se je y eusse esté!” 488), to which the friar retorts with a ribald reference to grilling her on a spit (“je vous eusse bien embrochée et mise en rost, ainsi que vous pensez qu’on fait”). However, the description of the friar’s no-holds-barred binge contains numerous violent allusions, as if he is sacking and pillaging rather than chewing and swallowing. To confront the soup course, he incongruously unsheathes “ung beau, long et large cousteau, bien trenchant” (486) that he proceeds to apply to the beef tongue, of which “en deffist tant de pieces qu’il n’en demoura oncques lopin.” He tucks into the tripe with relish bordering on malice, like a wolf onto a herd of unsuspecting sheep: “fiert dedans comme ung loup dedans les brebis.” Like a famished dog (“qui n’avoit appétit nesqu’un chien”), he assaults the morsel of beef (“s’ahiert a la pierce de beuf”), and takes no prisoners: “s’il avoit eu peu de pitié des trippes et de la langue de beuf, encores eut il mains de mercy de ce beau beuf entrelardé”. The friar proved brutal towards food, and no less merciful towards drink: “point n’espargnoit le boire”. As for the ham, “bon moyne, sans demander qui vive, frappe sus et le vanra et affola; car de prinsault il luy trancha le jaret, et ensuyvant le terminé propos, de tous poins le demembra, et n’y

laissa que les os" (487). The servants stand by, laughing nervously in partial fear that the friar will devour them, as well. At the end of the repast, the friar says thanks, and moves on in search of his next meal: "s'en alla en quelque aultre village gaigner son soupper" (488).

This *nouvelle* emphasizes several characteristics of travelers in general, and specifically of mendicant friars, that made them suspect. Although cloaked in joviality, this tale is a thinly disguised allusion to violent penetration, like the hostile incursions that villages in the Burgundian Netherlands were subject to during the Hundred Years War. During that period, outsiders were harbingers of destruction and ruin, represented in this tale by the relatively benign carnage wrought by the gluttonous priest. Because of the friar's itinerancy, he is able to repeat the same trick in town after town, as suggested by the *nouvelle*'s final lines – because he is an unknown vagrant, he will not accrue a reputation for cleaning out the pantries of the good parishioners he dines with. Rather than frugality and humble piety, the friar frocks himself in voracity and ribaldry. This *nouvelle* places a particular emphasis on the incommensurability of the exchange between the friar and his hostess. For an unquantifiable spiritual benefit (the saying of a mass), the friar appropriates a vast quantity of worldly provisions. He is qualified as "un érudit" and "un remarquable orateur" – neither of these are trades that produce food or goods, except by association. Piety is one of many ways to cloak devious intentions, and unveiling the harmful intent of travelers proves more difficult than disguising it.

The question of dissimulation is essential to Nouvelle 23 of Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*, another *nouvelle* that features a mendicant friar, although this time a Franciscan, and a much more nefarious one. This particular tale opens with an emphasis on "seeming":

> Au pays de Perigort, il y avoit ung gentil homme qui avoit telle devotion à sainct François, qu'il luy *sembloit* que tous ceulx qui portoient son habit devoient estre *semblables* au bon sainct (emphasis mine)[25]

This introduction hints at the fatal error made by both the gentleman and his wife of trusting appearances: the habit doesn't make the monk. The gentleman designates a room in his home to house Franciscans in order to benefit from their councel on a regular basis. At the birth of his son, he invites his brother-in-law to celebrate. At dinnertime, a Cordelier joins them, whose name remains hidden: "duquel je celeray le nom pour l'honneur de la religion" (343), and from whom the gentleman hides no secrets: "devant lequel il ne cachoit nul secret." Later, the Cordelier shares with the gentleman "ung secret de nostre saincte theologie" (344) whose sweetness he purportedly does not want to hide ("n'en doibz celler la doulceur"). The gentleman requests the Cordelier's advice on whether or not he may have sexual relations with his wife so soon after she gave birth; the Cordelier advises him to call upon her late at night, and secretly: "n'en parlerez à nulluy, mais y viendrez secretement" (345).

The emphasis on secrecy in religious matters is accompanied by an affirmation of the Cordelier's falsehood: "qui avoit la contenance et la parolle toute contraire à son cueur" (343), thrown into relief by the contrast of a real brother (the in-law) with a false brother ("le *frater*", 344). Nicole Cazauran discusses how at the crux of the unfavorable portrait of mendicant friars in Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* is tendency to mask worldliness in false devotion:

> Ce qu'elle réprouve, c'est la concupiscence dont ils sont pleins et, plus encore, l'hypocrisie dont ils la couvrent… ils sont surtout dangereux par le masque qu'ils portent, et les contes 'de cordeliers', qu'ils soient comiques ou tragiques, visent semblablement à les démasquer[26]

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[25] Marguerite de Navarre, *L'Heptaméron*. Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani, ed. (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1999) 342. Further citations refer to this edition.

[26] Nicole Cazauran, *L'*Heptaméron *de Marguerite de Navarre* (Paris: Société d'Edition d'Enseignement Supérieur, 1976) 263.

The Cordeliers are guilty of causing people to believe in the virtue of good works, as opposed to faith alone in the Creator. Wandering, begging, and conspicuously embracing austerity were for Marguerite the evidence of an insufficient commitment to personal, interior spirituality. The mendicant's mobile lifestyle facilitated his ability to rely on appearances – and appearances were irrelevant to Marguerite's theology. Honest devotion seldom requires a mask of secrecy.

The plot of Nouvelle 23 borrows trappings of the facetious (the theme of the "gallant qui se substitue à un autre") to embrace the macabre. In a common plot twist borrowed from bawdy fabliaux and formulaic novellas, the visiting Cordelier sleeps with the gentleman's wife in her husband's stead. The friar flees the house, insisting to the porter that he must run a secret errand for his master ("l'affaire est necessaire et secret", 346), upon which the porter discretely lets him leave ("luy ouvrit secretement la porte"). When the wife realizes what took place she is so distraught that she commits suicide by strangling herself, inadvertently kicking her newborn child in the face and killing it. Her brother, encountering this sad scene, assumes that his wife's husband is to blame and rushes to avenge her, only to learn the dismal truth once fatal blows have already been dealt. Catharine Randall draws notice to the emblematic wordplay that underscores the friar's culpability: the wife strangled herself with a "une *corde* de son *lict*", reminiscent of the word "Cordelier".[27]

At the tale's conclusion, the discussants are quick to condemn the Cordelier's nefarious actions in a manner that recommends caution of predatory wanderers. The storyteller Oisille admonishes the ladies in the audience to spurn such visitors:

> Mes dames, je croys que, après avoir entendu ceste histoire très veritable, il n'y a aucunes de vous qui ne pense deux fois à loger telz pelerins en sa maison, et sçavez qu'il n'y a plus dangereux venyn que celluy qui est dissimullé. (351)

[27] Catharine Randall, *Earthly Treasures: Material Culture and Metaphysics in the* Heptaméron *and Evangelical Narrative* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2007) 66.

The discussant Geburon affirms the devious nature of mendicant friars by likening them to wayfaring adventurers: "maintenant ilz sont tant congneuz, qu'on les crainct plus que advanturiers." Oisille suggests burning them all alive, foreshadowing the grisly punishment that will actually take place in Nouvelle 31 of the *Heptaméron* and harkening back to tales of immolated priests in the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* (32, 56 and 85). Patricia Cholakian observes that clerical rape in the *Heptaméron* is condemned unanimously by the discussants, whereas secular rape is upheld by some.[28] Her survey of anticlerical *nouvelles* in the *Heptaméron* reveals that a significant number of them include scenarios of rape or seduction, which associates the incursion of mendicant friars into people's homes and property with violent penetration.

Meddling Merchants: The Traveling Salesmen of the Early Modern Period

The demands of commerce were a great impetus for the improvement of transportation and the amplification of movement in medieval France. Fernand Braudel situates the development of the mercantile class in the eleventh century, and underscores its importance in creating a link between village life and the outside world.[29] Currency was introduced in the ninth century and was thriving by the twelfth century, as pilgrims, students, and merchants made use of it in their peregrinations, paying tolls and thereby contributing to the enhancement of inadequate medieval road systems. In addition to traveling by horse and on foot, merchants traveled in boats and caravans: merchandise from the Levant was brought to Marseille, where it was transported up the Rhône to various destinations.[30] Mercantile fairs thrived and became loci of social and commercial exchange. Commerce was facilitated by newly established systems of credit, the *lettres de change* that took the place of currency in fiscal transactions between

[28] Patricia Cholakian, *Rape and Writing in the* Heptaméron *of Marguerite de Navarre* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991) 159.
[29] Braudel, *op. cit*. 16-17.
[30] *ibid*., 322-3.

merchants, or the less formal *obligations* that served the same purpose between merchants who did not have easy access to banks.[31] Naturally, the redistribution of wealth was enough to provoke uneasiness as rich merchants climbed to the highest rung of the social ladder, some even going so far as to acquire the *droit de bourgeoisie* upon retirement.[32] By the end of the sixteenth century, markets, fairs, currency and the post had been synthesized to transform France into a consolidated amalgam of separately functioning economies.[33] During the Renaissance, this evolution was still in progress, and evidence of suspicion towards traveling merchants abounds in popular fiction.

While merchants may make tangible contributions to the communities they visit, their status as travelers often means that they take their profits with them, rather than reinvesting in the community as a local might do. Furthermore, they traffic in intangibles: the concept of credit is based on an ethereal sense of obligation predicated on good faith, which, as sixteenth century fiction demonstrates, is not the most reliable means of safeguarding a transaction, particularly with mobile strangers. The recurring theme of the "don récupéré" in medieval and Renaissance novellas reveals how the figure of the wandering merchant was conflated with the untenable nature of verbal agreements (or credit), and how the economic exchange promoted by this figure subtly undermined the sacrosanct but equally intangible pacts upon which households are founded.

Many French avatars of the "don récupéré" are linked to the first tale of the eighth day of the *Decameron*. In Boccaccio's version, a German mercenary in Milan falls in love with the wife of a merchant. The wife agrees to sleep with him while her husband is away on condition that he pay her two hundred gold florins. The mercenary, appalled at this unladylike suggestion, borrows

[31] Jouanna, *op. cit.* 110-113.
[32] *ibid*., 115.
[33] Braudel, *op. cit*., 246-7.

the sum from the merchant and then uses it to pay the merchant's wife for her amorous services. Upon her husband's return, the mercenary explains to the merchant that he returned the money to his wife, and the wife, caught in her own lies, is forced to surrender her ill-gotten recompense. The moral of the story, stated clearly by its teller Neifile, is that a woman's chastity is her supreme virtue, and that while occasional lapses might be unavoidable, seeking money for sex is a crime worthy of death:

> per ciò che, con ciò sia cosa (la donna) debbe essere onestissima e la sua castità come la sua vita guardare né per alcuna cagione a contaminarla conducersi (e questo non possendosi, cosí appieno tuttavia come si converrebbe, per la fragilità nostra), affermo colei esser degna del fuoco, la quale a ciò per prezzo si conduce[34]

The tale thus serves to condemn not adultery, but prostitution. Boccaccio embraces the stereotype of the suspicious foreigner, although the German mercenary, sly as he may have been, meted out an appropriate comeuppance that the discussants in the *Decameron* approve. In Boccaccio's rendition of the "don récupéré", it is the merchant who is cuckolded and the mercenary who proves to be a subtle businessman. As in many *novelle* and *nouvelles*, the husband who leaves home is the instrument of his own misfortune, although in this case unbeknownst to him – however, in the following examples, it is the wandering merchant who becomes the agent of mischief.

Philippe de Vigneulles, author of another tome of *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* that appeared between 1505 and 1515, was himself acquainted with the mercantile world as a shoemaker and cloth salesman in the city of Metz. He amassed a prodigious fortune through these trades and died one of the richest inhabitants of the city.[35] David Laguardia has remarked on the

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[34] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Decameron* (VIII, 1), ed. Vittore Branca (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1980) 890-1.
[35] Charles H. Livingston in the Introduction to *Les Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* by Philippe de Vigneulles (Geneva: Droz, 1972) 15. Further citations refer to this edition.

prominence of economic transactions in Philippe's collection of *nouvelles*, and on the kind of character who practices them:

> The work gives a superlative value to *expenditure*, which provides access to power to distinct classes of individuals – merchants, millers, farmers, and peasants, as well as rogues, thieves, dishonest hucksters, gluttonous priests. A mischievous and even malicious cleverness motivates the actions of the characters who provoke the hyperbolic economic activity that dominates the world represented in the work.[36]

The merchants in Philippe's *CNN* commit follies as often as they dupe others, such as the young merchant in Nouvelle 28 who buys a great quantity of tripe in Paris and sends it to his father in Metz, not anticipating that it will rot, ("et estoient les charetiers tous esbahis quell deable se pouvoit estre que ainsi puoit et sentoit si mal", 139) or the merchant in Nouvelle 82 whose valet becomes a laughingstock for using his regional dialect of Metz at the fish markets in Paris. So many of the *nouvelles* in Philppe's collection focus on Metz and its surrounding area that the distinction between insiders and outsiders becomes a focal point of its various intrigues. A number of these tales serve as a caution that outsiders entering under the pretext of selling their wares harbor wicked intentions.

In Nouvelle 71, a peddler makes his rounds in the villages near Metz selling shovels, pots and pans. A pretty young newlywed desires to buy a "seriz", a forked metal instrument for carding wool ("pour serizer et habilier la chanve ou le ling: c'est ung instrument où il y a pluseurs dentz de fer", 287), but lacks the money, and so she bargains with the peddler, agreeing to sleep with him in exchange for one of his marvelous instruments. The peddler, "esprins en son amour", is initially content with the exchange: "si serra l'huis et la gecta sur ung lict et monta dessus pour veoir de plus loing" (287). Afterwards, he experiences some regret, "et plandoit merveilleusement son sery qu'il avoit ainsi perdus meschamment sans en avoir aucun proffict."

[36] Laguardia, *op. cit*. 111.

With great cunning, he returns to the woman's house while her husband is home and demands that she pay for the tool, upon which her husband scolds her for not paying, compelling her to return it: "'Ores luy redonnés. Que de sanglante putte estraine soit vostre corps reliez! Debvés vous acheter se vous ne voullés paier?'" (288). The wife, not daring to admit the truth, returns the "seriz", and the peddler moves on to another village, "bien joyeux."

The merchant in Philippe's tale, like the mercenary in Boccaccio's, gets to have his cake and eat it, too. The husband, acutely aware of the insinuation of a broken commercial pact (the money ostensibly promised for the tool) is doltishly unaware of the actual broken pact (the wife's bargain, reneged upon). Preoccupied by the dictates of commercial exchange, he is blinded to the imprudence of condoning a strange man's visit to his home during his absence, in the intimate presence of his young bride, "une moult belle jeune femme… qui estoit belle, jeune, refaicte et en bon point" (287). As in so many *nouvelles* involving visitors, penetrating the space of the home is associated with the act of sexual penetration. Laguardia's contention that "Philippe de Vigneulle's *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* develops a multifarious resistance to the male-dominated homosocial model that was characteristic of its model text"[37] does not hold true for this particular tale: the woman, tied to the home, is unable to effectively barter, while the traveling peddler is able to appeal to her husband's sense of mercantile code in order to emerge from the situation with the spoils of his victory, his own merchandise and the wife's honor, in addition to having cuckolded her unfortunate husband.

The *Grand parangon de nouvelles nouvelles*, published in 1535 by Nicolas de Troyes, contains a similar tale involving a merchant on the road between Paris and Rouen. Nouvelle 144

[37] Laguardia, *op. cit.* 111.

details the adventures of "ung jeune gallent de marchant, beau compaignon et honneste"[38], who stops at an inn that houses "une fort belle hostesse, merveilleusement belle à l'apetit dudit compaignon." The outcome is not difficult to predict – the love-struck merchant woos his hostess with ardor, and she acquiesces to his amorous proposition for the fee of one hundred crowns. Upon experiencing some post-coital regret at the loss of his hard-earned money, he elects to stay in the inn for three or four more nights in order to make the most of it, then continues on his way. En route to Paris, the merchant meets "ung honneste homme" (227) and recounts his exploits, including the loss of the hundred crowns, and the "honneste homme" has a sinking premonition that the hostess in question is none other than his own wife. He asks the merchant to revisit the inn with him, summons his wife, and, grabbing her by the throat, makes her admit her avaricious misdeeds. Not only does the cuckolded husband force his wife to return the hundred crowns to the merchant, he sends her packing in disgrace. The merchant, however, is celebrated by the fortuitously encountered husband, who "demora en sa maison avec le compaignon auquel il fist bonne chere jusques au lendemain matin, qu'il l'en envoya sans riens payer" (228).

In Nicholas de Troyes's version of the "don récupéré", the merchant has his cake, eats it too, and goes back for another helping. He sleeps with the wife ("et Dieu scet la chere qu'il firent", 226), keeps his hundred crowns, and stays at the inn for free with the husband's approbation ("auquel il fist bonne chere", 228). The striking element in this iteration is that the merchant seems virtually untouchable. The broken pact between the merchant and the innkeeper's wife foreshadows the broken vows of marriage as the innkeeper and his wife's union succumbs to the disorder wrought by a visiting salesman – and the husband, notably cognizant of the merchant's transgression, persists in taking his side. These narrations concerning re-

[38] Nicolas de Troyes, *Le Grand parangon des nouvelles nouvelles*. Krystyna Kasprzyk, ed. (Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1970) 226. Further citations refer to this edition.

appropriated gifts revolve around the idea of broken agreements, and call into question the notion of credit, which was becoming a fundamental element of trade in the sixteenth century. Implicit skepticism with regards to credit underscores a latent conservatism in the *nouvelles*. The figure of the meddlesome merchant suggests the perception that traveler is motivated by economic gain were detrimental to social structures in the towns they moved between, and that travelers, traveling and trust do not necessarily go hand in hand. The final words of Nouvelle 114 sum up its moral succinctly: "vauldroit mieux fermer l'huys de la cheville, car on ne scé qui va ne qui vient" (228).

Compared to some of the other threatening wayfarers that populate collections of short narrative prose from the early modern period, the merchant is substantially less menacing than his traveling peers. Mercantile mischief is comical, often bawdy, but rarely dangerous. While the merchant's exploits often smack of opportunism, the tales underscore that the merchant is himself highly vulnerable to economic loss. The fraternal collaboration present in the aforementioned *nouvelles* is reminiscent of the real bonds of trust and reciprocal favors upon which mercantile success in the sixteenth century was predicated, when long distance trade necessitated networks of loose acquaintance between merchants who could conduct transactions globally and those who could conduct them locally. This was particularly true for lesser merchants who could not rely on banks or state-owned resources to guarantee their transaction.[39] While the traveling merchant should elicit caution, he generally does not inspire fear.

Marauding Mercenaries: Insatiable Soldiers and the Menace of their Movement

Villagers in medieval and early Renaissance France were no strangers to violence, least of all to the ravages of war. The Hundred Years War had hardly drawn to a close in the mid-

[39] For more on mercantile networks and bonds of trust between merchants in sixteenth-century Italy, see Ricardo Court, "Januensis ergo Mercator: Trust and enforcement in the Business Correspondence of the Brignole Family", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 34 No. 4 (Winter, 2004) 987-1003.

fifteenth century before the Burgundian Wars began in 1474. Charles VIII launched his campaign in Italy in 1494, which was perpetuated by his son Louis XII, and the territorial disputes between France and Italy were not resolved until the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559. Wars between the Valois and the Hapsburg dynasties also persisted until 1559 after their inception in 1521, followed in quick succession by the Wars of Religion that began in 1562. Not only did wars serve to alter the geography of the French nation, they also had a profound impact on its social climate, as traveling soldiers and mercenaries became thieves and brigands as the spoils of war diminished from their coffers. These characters join the ranks of traveling menaces that populate collections of short narrative prose from the early sixteenth century, testifying to a perception of bellicose travelers as harbingers of detriment to villages and personal property.

Traveling soldiers were often foreigners as well as outsiders. Arlette Jouanna confirms that to expand the ranks of the infantry, newly created in 1534, volunteer *gens de pied* and *aventuriers* were recruited from within France and additionally from Switzerland, Germany, Scotland, Italy, and Corsica.[40] For French peasants, the opportunity to serve in the infantry was an excellent opportunity to enhance social standing. However, the negative consequences of allowing roving bands of adventure-minded men to traverse the country were apparent once they turned to pillaging to supplement their incomes, hardly mindful of allegiance to the country or villagers they were hired to protect. Duby and Mandrou document the horrific actions of these wandering militias from the end of the fifteenth century through the beginning of the eighteenth:

> Nos archives, (la série B des Archives départementales, notamment) regorgent de plaintes, de récits horribles touchant la soldatesque détestée, qui laisse partout derrière elle tant de mauvais souvenirs. Les soldats arrivent, à loger ou non; en service, en campagne ou non: amis ou ennemis, il n'importe non plus; le comportement est le même: ce qui ne doit pas étonner puisque ce sont partout jusqu'à la fin du XVII^{e} siècle des mercenaires, qui louent leur talent sans se

[40] Jouanna, *op. cit*., 186.

> soucier beaucoup de la cause qu'ils servent, pourvu qu'ils soient payés, et trop souvent, ils avaient pour excuse à leurs déprédations le retard de la solde.[41]

The portrayal of military men in French *nouvelles* mirrors this historical assessment, depicting the traveling soldier as a predator who intimidates his host while depleting storerooms. Nouvelle 67 of Bonaventure des Périers's *Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis* from 1558 contains the following adage:

> Un advocat en une ville, Un noyer en une vigne, Un pourceau en un blé: une taulpe en un pré: Et un sergent en un bourg: C'est pour achever de gaster tout. Car ilz pilloyent, ilz ruinoyent, ilz destruisoyent tout.[42]

The short anecdote that follows concerns a woman in Meudon, France, who is visited by a host of *soudars* (mercenaries). They kill and devour all her chickens, in spite of her protests, and mock her discomfiture. The *nouvelle* ends with the quatrain:

> Depuis que decretz eurent alles
> Et gensdarmes porterent malles,
> Moines allerent à cheval:
> Toutes choses allerent mal. (250)

Movement, mendicants, and mercenaries – none of them bode well for villagers like the poor woman of Meudon, who relinquish hard-earned provisions to menacing militiamen. Armed outsiders with no stake in the wellbeing of the places they visit cannot be trusted to protect or invest in them.

Nouvelle 97 of Nicolas de Troyes's *Grand parangon des nouvelles nouvelles* contains a tale of three "avanturiers" who enter a hapless village between Paris and Troyes. Unbeknownst to them, they are in the presence of a devil disguised as a young boy, who had entered the village in order to tempt its inhabitants. The devil is serving as a valet in a house where six or seven adventurers are lodged, creating a dreadful hullaballoo: "Dieu scet comment tout alloit: il tuoint

[41] Duby and Mandrou, *op. cit.* 328.
[42] Bonaventure des Périers, *Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis I-XC*. Krystyna Kasprzyk, ed. (Paris: Société des Textes Français Modernes, 1997) 249. Further citations refer to this edition.

poulles, chappons et poullés, oyson(s) et cochons et aneaux de lait, bref, c'estoit ung grand deluge du mal qu'i faisoint" (201). Presently, the adventurers take to complaining that they are still famished, and boast of their prodigious capacities for consumption. One brags that he could eat a half-ell of stuffed tripe, the next that he could polish off an entire cow. The third claims that he could consume a devil, horns and all, which incites them all to make similar assertions until they have decided to invade Hell and devour "Lucifer, Sathan, Astaro, Bellial, Marcon, Torcu, Torvant et tous les diables qui sont en enfer!" (202). The poor valet-devil, terrified, dashes precipitously to the gates of Hell to warn Lucifer of the invading adventurers: "'A, nostre maistre, fermés bien les portes hardiment, car nous sommes tous perdus!'" (203). Sure enough, the adventurers arrive, but Lucifer prevents them from entering, declaring: "Vous n'y entrerés pas à ceste heure, mais quelque jour viendra que je vous arons trestous, en corps, en aame, quoy qu'il tarde." The adventurers ultimately give up and depart in search of another adventure.

Nouvelle 97 of the *Grand paragon* is a two-fold condemnation of travelers, initially implying that any newcomer could potentially be a devil in disguise. The adventurers, however, are the more disagreeable antagonists by comparison. They display all manner of sacrilegious behavior, taking the Lord's name in vain ("Par la mort bieu", "Je regnye bieu", "Je renonce celluy qui m'a fait"), and are compared to a "deluge du mal", a disaster of biblical proportions. Although the *nouvelle* suggests that men such as these will ultimately be punished for their misdeeds, a doubt is cast as to whether Hell itself can accommodate such evil. The defining trait of these marauders is their voracious appetites, and their ability to insert themselves into almost any place, right up to the gates of Hell. Mercenary soldiers are portrayed as an inevitable and destructive moving scourge, consuming without contributing, showing a complete lack of concern for their ill-fated hosts, who reap none of the benefits of their passage.

Philippe de Vigneulles, as a native of the free city of Metz, was no stranger to the hazards of war. He spent over a year in a prison in Lorraine, having been captured with his father and held for ransom.[43] Philippe's *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* contains a version of the common theme of the lover who substitutes himself for another that suggests a singular element in the palpable suspicion of military outsiders. Nouvelle 38 takes place at the time when "la guerre regnoit entre le duc Regné de Lorraine et la cité de Mets" (177), when numerous foreign soldiers were sojourning in Metz: "comme chascun sceit, en celle guerre y avoit pluseurs gens d'armes en la cite et de beaucop de nacion et de diverses sortes". One of these soldiers becomes smitten with a woman who sells cloth, and she requites his affection. One day, they are in her shop, making plans for an amorous rendezvous. Although they speak in the presence of another soldier, they assume that he does not understand their native tongue because he speaks German: "lequel homme d'arme qui achetoit le drap parloit en allement à la marchande deventdite qui vandoit le drap, nonobstant qu'il estoit François ou Roman de nacion". The third-party soldier feigns incomprehension, but secretly notes the details of the tryst in order to visit the lady in her lover's stead.

In Philippe's Nouvelle 38, the lady cloth merchant ultimately realizes her mistake, but the substitute suitor succeeds in winning her affection, "et ainsi par sa subtilité conquesta une dame par amour" (178). Although the story has a happy ending, the implications of his ruse are troubling for the sixteenth century village dweller. In communities with mobile populations, language is no longer an effective means of parsing friend and foe, and privileged information is harder to safeguard from the wrong ears. Using language as part of a camouflage to penetrate restricted space, particularly in a military context, hints at the problem of determining loyalty in

[43] Livingston, *op. cit.*, 16.

a convoluted political climate. The very concept of loyalty is rendered ambiguous by reliance on mercenaries, who may not harbor any actual allegiance to the party they represent.

The facetious outcome of Nouvelle 38 belies the gravity of espionage, a menace to lives and property. Furthermore, the necessity of military defense coerced men to leave personal assets unattended and vulnerable to the incursions of opportunistic outsiders, as was the case in Nouvelle 38: the lady cloth merchant was home alone to receive her suitors as a result of her husband's absence, "car son mary debvoit faire le guet" (177). This subtle reference to the husband's role as night watchman, guarding the city of Metz against attacks by the Duke of Lorraine, alludes to the fallibility of fortifications in effectively impeding harmful outsiders from penetrating the space of the city and the home. The proliferation of military personnel throughout France and its surrounding regions facilitated the movement of opportunists and evildoers. The aforementioned *nouvelles* bear witness to a well-founded unease with regard to mobile soldiers in early sixteenth century France.

Pilgrims Pretenders: Travel Under the Guise of Religious Devotion

From the Middle Ages into the Renaissance and even into the present, people of all walks of life have taken to the roads to enact religious pilgrimages, on local and international scale. An early modern pilgrimage could take as little as a day, to visit a church or sacred shrine, or it could take years and large sums of money, as it would to journey to the Holy Land. Pilgrimage was unique in that it was a form of travel that was theoretically accessible to men and woman of any station, provided they had the means. Pilgrimage had its heyday at the dawn of the new millennium, when travel was safer due to the waning of barbarian invasions.[44] Early on, however, people expressed skepticism at the purity of religious intent associated with pilgrimage,

[44] Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1976) 114-115.

notably including Church father Saint Jerome in the fifth century.[45] Pilgrimage and its imperfections were immortalized in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, an English collection of short narrative prose from the late fourteenth century. Chaucer's tongue-in-cheek portrayal of this religious rite reverberated in French short fiction from the fourteenth century onward, suggesting skepticism with regards to the true objectives of religious travelers, and wariness of strangers from elsewhere with no viable means of verifying their alleged intentions and identities. Religious hypocrisy, the defining trait of the mendicant friar in scores of French *nouvelles*, is likewise the cloak of the pilgrim in a number of literary representations.

Les Quinze Joies du mariage, of unknown author, was roughly contemporaneous with the *Canterbury Tales*, appearing towards the beginning of the fifteenth century. As suggested by its ironic title, this acutely misogynist text is divided into fifteen somewhat redundant scenarios of the travails a husband can expect to endure once ensnared in "la nasse" of marriage. The *Quinze Joies* displays a tendency that is reflected in later *nouvelles* to associate pilgrimage with feminine frivolity, most notably infidelity. In the second of the *Joies*, the coquettish bride longs to show off her new clothes, obtained at the poor husband's expense, and to do so "va a pleuseurs festes, assemblees et pellerinages".[46] Pilgrimages are associated with parties, places to see and be seen. The eighth *Joie* is dedicated almost entirely to a pilgrimage promised by the wife during a difficult birth, which she enacts for her pleasure at the first signs of spring, along with all her girlfriends: "Lors emprenent a aller en quelque pelerinage et, quelque besongne que les mariz aient a faire, il ne leur en chault" (110). The husband is condemned to suffer all kinds of indignities in attending to his wife: "il lui vaulsist mieulx, de quelque estat qu'il soit, qu'il demourast a l'oustel, et deust ores porter pierres a son coul touz les jours" (112). He must

[45] *ibid*., 90-91.
[46] *Les quinze joies de mariage*. Monique Santucci, ed. (Paris: Stock, 1986) 38. Further citations refer to this edition.

procure horses and appropriate clothes, and hearken to his beloved's slightest whim, adjusting her stirrups, fetching her jacket, hoisting her into the saddle, and foraging for her preferred victuals. At the pilgrimage site he must tolerate suffocating crowds as he attempts to approach the relics with his wife's rosary, "et Dieu sceit s'il est bien empressé et 'sil a de bonnes coudees et de bons repoux!" (114). His wife compels him to purchase the gaudy coral rosaries that other ladies are buying, leaving him with no money to spare, for which he will suffer greatly on the return journey. He arrives home at last to find his household in arrears. To add to his misfortunes, his wife has developed a taste for travel: "Dorenavant elle vouldra voyager et estre toujours par chemins, puis que el y a commencé. Le sien se gastera, et veillira et sera gouteux" (114).

In the *Quinze Joies*, the rite of pilgrimage is conflated with woman's inherent fickleness and extravagance. In Wes Williams's study of pilgrimage narratives, he confirms that although pilgrimage was a material practice, it had an intrinsic metaphorical component for its early modern practitioners: "What the apparent confusion of Renaissance writing makes clear is that pilgrimage is – even at its most material – always in part a metaphorical practice".[47] Conspicuously lacking from the pilgrimage recounted in the *Quinze Joies* are any spiritual overtones that convey a higher purpose of the journey. Unlike the pilgrimages in the narratives examined by Williams, this facetious account details a quest whose scope is purely material, from its inception to its outcome. If a metaphorical meaning is intended, the voyage could only be interpreted as an allegory of the husband's undoing.

In addition to being an extravagance, pilgrimages are also represented as false pretexts in a number of *nouvelles*. The *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* attributed to Antoine de la Salle and the

[47] Wes Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: 'The Undiscovered Country'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 17.

collection by the same name authored by Philippe de Vigneulles both contain a version of "le pèlerinage dans la chambre", in which a disloyal wife claims to make a pilgrimage in order to spend intimate time with her lover. In the earlier version, "elle raconta à son mari qu'elle était redevable d'un pèlerinage à un saint, dont le sanctuaire n'était pas loin de chez eux, une lieue environ" (497), as part of a vow that she had made during childbirth. In Philippe's iteration, the wife "fist acroire à son mary qu'elle alloit en pelerinage à Nostre Dame de Rabay" (190), and then on another occasion "à Saincte Barbe en pelerinage". In both versions, the faithless wife is caught *in flagrante delicto*. The naïve husband, instead of getting justifiably upset, brags to his friends that his thrifty wife is making the pilgrimage on her back in order to save her shoes.

Pilgrimage as a costly frivolity or a pretext for infidelity is grave enough to render it suspect, but pilgrims hailing from elsewhere pose a significantly greater threat to social stability. In the aforementioned versions of the "pèlerinage dans la chambre", the offense committed by the false pilgrim was apprehended by her husband and neighbors. In Philippe's version, the erring wife's neighbors actually follow her to spy:

> Toutesfois elle ne sceust faire son faict sy secret que aucuns ne s'en apparceust, lesquelx allerent aprés de loing en loing pour espier de son fait et pour veoir quel chemin elle tiendroit. Et veirent tout le train qu'elle tenoit, car elle rentra à Mets par une aultre porte et s'en alla en sa maison, faisant bien de la lassée. Et ceulx qui avoient ceu veu et apparceu le dirent à son mary et comment ilz l'avoient veu sortir des Carmes et avoient veu tout le train qu'elle avoit tenu. (190)

This neighborly surveillance serves to illustrate how a community safeguards its members from harm: the wife, a known inhabitant of the city, has a difficult time disguising her misdeeds from her peers. The naïve husband, who refuses to acknowledge his spouse's transgression, is thus ultimately the butt of the joke. The pilgrim hailing from elsewhere, however, is greater cause for alarm, as his identity is often as difficult to ascertain as the purity of his intentions or the veracity of his claims.

The *Comptes du monde adventureux* by the unknown author A.D.S.D, published in 1555, reflects deep skepticism about pilgrims, their motives and their assertions. Compte IX tells the story of a "bezassier", elected by the brotherhood of Saint Ives to collect all donations made in the Saint's name. For this, he receives a generous stipend and benefits from the hospitality of local housewives, and supplements his income by skimming the generous donations made to honor his Saint. Another jealous priest, envious of the alms gatherer's easy earnings, encourages him to pursue the lucrative post of parish priest in Saint Nicaise, three or four *lieues* from his location in lower Brittany. The only requirement is 100 crowns up front, to cover expenses, which the alms gatherer can easily provide: "puis qu'il ne tient qu'à de l'argent j'ay bonne esperence de parvenir à la cure" (58). The alms gatherer eagerly quits his job, nominating the priest as his successor as per their previous arrangement, and hurries off to secure the new and more profitable position, "postoit et volloit par les chemins comme ceux qui vont à la foyre des benefices" (58). He arrives only to find that the post has been given to someone who proffered 300 crowns, and thus finds himself out of work, and quickly bleeding funds due to the expense of traveling.

Frustrated and nearly destitute, the former alms gatherer formulates a solution:

> car apres avoir long temps cheminé par païs voyant que son argent diminüoit sans rien gaigner, soy souvenant que quand il print conge de ceux de la confrarie de saint Yves il leur avoit dit qu'il alloit en loingtain pellerinage sur ses brisées, songeant par le chemin invention de rentrer en credit retourna en son village (59)

He decides to claim that he had been to Rome and to the Holy Land, "Hierusalem (lieu de l'escriture sanctifiez)", and to prove it, he would show a host of trinkets, "joyaux & reliques ayans plusieurs proprietez de garder le peuple de tout mal & d'infortune", and request alms for his travails. His plan is thwarted by the jealous priest, who, not at all pleased to see the former alms gatherer return, manages to pilfer all the fake relics from of his bag, replacing them with

hay. The unflappable alms gatherer, discovering this substitution mid-sermon, quickly puts a new spin on his phony artifacts from the Holy Land, claiming that he has brought "du foin de la cresche ou nostre savueur & redempter Jesus coucha le jour de sa sainte nativité" (60). He urges only the pure of heart to approach the sacred straw, upon which "tout le peuple avec une devotion s'afforça de faire offrandes en baisant ce saint foing, les uns par superstition, & les autres de crainte d'estre scandalisez et estimez adulteres."

This *nouvelle* roundly criticizes religious hypocrisy on all fronts - from the avaricious clergymen to their superstitious congregants. The evocation of pilgrimage and relics is reminiscent of the condemnation of pilgrimage in Erasmus's *Peregrinatio religionis ergo* (1526) and in Rabelais's *Gargantua* (1534), in which the eponymous giant inadvertently devours six pilgrims in a salad, who are subsequently admonished by his father Grandgousier to give up such useless voyages: "dorevnavant ne soyez faciles à ces otieux et inutilles voyages".[48] Erasmus's colloquy underscores the financial-material nature of pilgrimage by making his credulous pilgrim Ogygius a munificent giver at the sites of purported relics but a tightfisted miser in his local tavern. Ogyguis's counterpart Menedemus sagely stays at home to attend to the needs of his household and family, implicitly questioning the utility of religious travel.[49] Menedemus is likewise suspicious with regards to the authenticity of the religious relics that his friend worships and collects during his journey, underscoring the ephemeral nature of appearances, particularly with regards to religion, and chiefly over the course of travel, when they are rendered even less trustworthy.

Pilgrimage was an increasingly contentious subject as reformists such as Luther and Zwingli adamantly questioned its theological soundness. Félix Frank notes the reformist

[48] Rabelais, *Gargantua* (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1972), 279.
[49] Desiderius Eramus, *Colloquies* Vol. 40; Craig R. Thompson, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 623-650.

undertones in A.D.S.D.'s collection of *nouvelles*, in identifying him as a probable *valet de chambre* in the service of Queen Marguerite de Navarre.[50] Long before the Reformation, however, there is evidence of suspicion towards wanderers with purportedly pious aims. Similarly to mendicants, pilgrims have the ability to cloak worldly motives in sanctimonious behavior, and the itinerant nature of their practice renders duplicity even less detectable. By promising salvation through false relics purportedly brought from the Holy Land, by treating religious pilgrimage solely as a material voyage and not a spiritual one, false pilgrims gamble with their victims' very souls.

Place Matters

Although travelers are portrayed with a strong measure of suspicion, a defining feature of French *nouvelles* from the late Middle Ages through the early Renaissance is their insistence on place. According to Gabriel Pérouse, the designation of place is what distinguishes a *nouvelle* from a *conte*, the *conte* being independent of a specific time and location.[51] For Pérouse, a place name is an essential piece of *realia* that makes a *nouvelle* believable, and thus interesting. Indeed, *nouvelle* means "news", connoting something that really happened. In a literary tradition characterized by formulaic tales and themes, it is noteworthy that a number of borrowed tales come rebranded with a place name that belies their recycled construction. In the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* by Antoine de la Salle, for example, 88 of the 100 tales are marked with a place name, even those transcribed from sources such as Boccaccio, Poggio, or the French *fabliaux*.

Insistence on place in the *nouvelles* is indicative of a broader phenomenon concerning spatial perception in early modern France. The relationship between mapping and literature in sixteenth century France has been explored by Tom Conley, who identifies literary evidence of

[50] Félix Frank in the *Notice* preceding the *Comptes du monde adventureux* (Paris: A. Lemerre, 1878) 64-65.
[51] Gabriel Pérouse, *Nouvelles françaises du XVI^e siècle* (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1977) 493.

"cartographic writing" and a burgeoning sense of "geographical consciousness" in works of the French Renaissance.[52] There is likewise evidence of a developing cartographic consciousness in the *nouvelles*, as formulaic tales are embellished over time with increasingly specific spatial and geographical details. Antoine de la Salle's *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* falls at the beginning of this transformation. The abundance of regional indices in the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* may be attributed to Antoine de la Salle's desire to make the collection relevant to citizens of Burgundy. For residents of this Duchy in the fifteenth century, life began to involve neighboring cities. As commerce increased in the wake of the Hundred Years War, inhabitants of Bruges had an interest in their neighbors in Brussels, Hainault, Paris and London. Still, the stories are isolated: each is its own universe, like the closed world of the medieval city. There are rarely two loci in one nouvelle, and never more than two. If movement occurs, it is point-to-point. This collection represents nascent topographical consciousness with its designation of place names, but lacks a description of particulars, or a true sense of towns' spatial relationship to one another.

In an article entitled "*Le déclin d'un savoir: La crise de la cosmographie à la fin de la Renaissance*," Frank Lestringant describes an essential problem confronting the Renaissance geographer. Not only were geographers forced to reconcile the emergence of new horizons accompanying the discovery of the New World, but they also had to grapple with the "déplacement du point de vue en hauteur"[53] according to the Ptolemaic vision of the world based on spherical projections. Renewed interest in Ptolemy's *Geography* in the fifteenth century testifies to a conscientious movement towards a new way of envisioning space. In Estienne's *Guide* and its predecessors, space was described according to topographic or chorographic qualities: towns, rivers, coasts, and mountains – descriptions that are limited to what can be

[52] Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) 2.
[53] Frank Lestringant, *Ecrire le monde à la Renaissance* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993) 319.

experienced first-hand. With the advent of mapping, the world could be envisioned differently. In Lestringant's terms, the "regard proche" of the Middle Ages was evolving to accommodate a "regard éloigné", and this evolution can similarly be witnessed in short narrative prose of the period.

Antoine de la Salle's *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, with its abundant topographical information, exemplifies the "regard proche" that dominated spatial perception in the late Middle Ages. Roughly 50 years later, Philippe de Vigneulles's collection of *nouvelles* by the same name contains a wealth of chorographical information that distinguishes his collection from its predecessor. Gary Backhaus explains topography as "local circumstances of a district in terms of spatial positionings", whereas chorography conveys the particulars of a specific place.[54] While Antoine de la Salle imprints his *nouvelles* with city names that have an arbitrary relationship to their respective intrigues, Philippe de Vigneulles demonstrates an acute awareness of the dimensions of Metz, particularly of what constitutes "inside" and "outside". His depiction of Metz depends on the city's rapport with the exterior. Philippe embellishes his tales with the names of streets, rivers, and portals to the city. The familiar story of the "prêtre châtré" is a noteworthy example. In this macabre tale, a lascivious priest loses his member to a vengeful wronged husband. In Antoine de la Salle's version (Nouvelle 76), the husband is a knight from Burgundy, and the priest is his chaplain. In Philippe de Vigneulles' version (Nouvelle 18), the story takes place in Metz, "ung peu aprez la guerre que le roy René de Cecille et duc de Lorraine fit contre ladicte cité de Mets" (102) and the priest is "ung jeune prebtre d'estrange nation, et croy qu'il estoit Picart ou Hanouyez". Philippe's version contains more descriptive context: the husband is a winegrower who lives "en une rue nommée Ayest auprés du couvent des Carmes", where the priest parades up and down hoping to catch the pretty wife's eye. Not only is there a

[54] Gary Backhaus, *Lived Topographies* (Lanham: Lexignton Books, 2005) xi, xx.

more detailed description of the inside of the city of Metz, the mischievous priest is clearly labeled as an outsider.

A number of *nouvelles* in Philippe de Vigneulles's collection contain similar minutiae that depict the city of Metz as an observant local would see it. While this attention to regional detail is not far from the medieval "regard proche", there is a sense that Metz is defined by what is *not* Metz. Many of the *nouvelles* in this collection revolve around city walls and entryways. Nouvelle 51 takes place at the "Porte des Allemans", ostensibly haunted, and a number of *nouvelles* take place on the city walls themselves, such as the tale of a dimwitted night watchman in Nouvelle 61. Several stories involve interactions between citizens of Metz and citizens of Pleppeville, a rival town separated from Metz by the Moselle river. In Philippe de Vigneulles's *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, as opposed to its predecessor, there is significant movement within the *nouvelles* themselves. Metz is described with respect to what it contains and what surrounds it, even if the city's specific spatial rapport with its surroundings is not articulated.

Queen Marguerite de Navarre's appropriation of the *nouvelle* in her unfinished collection of a hundred stories, the posthumously-named *Heptaméron,* is not only remarkable for her use of the narrative format to scrutinize the social, political and religious mores of her time, but also for the way in which she incorporates geography into her storytelling. Marguerite demonstrates a degree of geographic consciousness that distinguishes her from her predecessors. Under the reign of her brother, François I, mapmaking was firmly established as a royal interest and institution.[55] The wars that constantly engaged François I also had an impact on his sister, whose peregrinations were dictated by the movements of the court. Additionally, Marguerite's second husband was perpetually struggling to defend his interests in Navarre, which also preoccupied Marguerite as she tried to ensure a prosperous future for her daughter. Geography, marriage, and

[55] Buisseret, *op. cit.* 102.

politics are all interwoven into the texts of the *Heptaméron*. The locations of the various *nouvelles* mimic the itinerancy of the royal court during the reign of François I. At times, however, Marguerite refuses to topographically situate her *nouvelles*, placing them instead in "une des bonnes villes du royaume de France", for example (Nouvelle 18), or in "une des meilleures villes de France après Paris" (Nouvelle 72). Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani sees this recurring refusal to name people and places as a way of broadening the context of the nouvelle from the specific to the general.[56] This "dé-réalisation" is seen by Mathieu-Castellani as "les premiers symptômes d'une crise de la nouvelle."

The prologue to the *Heptaméron* affirms Marguerite's keen geographical consciousness, as pilgrims from France and Spain scramble to safety after torrential rains disrupt them from their baths. Marguerite goes into great detail concerning their respective movement: some from Cauterets to Tarbes, which was unattainable due to the swollen Gave de Pau, some over the mountains to Aragon into Roussillon and from there to Narbonne, others to Barcelona and then by sea to Marseilles and Aigues-Mortes. Several *nouvelles* in the *Heptaméron* contain a similar abundance of geographical detail that goes beyond simple place names and descriptions of regional particulars. Nouvelle 10, the story of Amadour and Floride, is one such tale. Taking place entirely in Spain, this *nouvelle* is distinguished by an almost frenetic amount of movement, some almost unrealistically ambitious, the scope of which is described by one who evidently comprehends the spatial relationship and relative sizes of cites and regions in Spain. This *nouvelle* departs from the traditional format not only in its length and abundance of geographical information, but also in its intricate plot, which has no obvious conclusion. The plot is non-linear; various tangential plot lines continually unfold, such as an attack of the Mores, or the death of Amadour's wife. Furthermore, the discussion following the *nouvelle* urges the reader to

[56] Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani, *La Conversation conteuse* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992) 96-97.

consider the tale's outcome from multiple perspectives, something one would hardly be tempted to do with a *nouvelle* drawn from either of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. The discussants in the *Heptaméron* urge the reader to consider the *nouvelle* from several points of view: should we praise the lady Floride's steadfast virtue, as the discussant Parlamente does, or decry the dashing Amadour's lackluster attempt to win her, in accordance with the discussant Hircan's sentiments? The reader is once removed from the telling of the story, at a more distant vantage point, with additional information at his disposal – information gleaned from the passage of time, for example, or from other *nouvelles* in the *Heptaméron*. In these ways, Marguerite's *Heptaméron* encapsulates a "regard éloigné" which distinguishes it from its literary antecedents.

Timothy Hampton's study of Nouvelle 10 focuses on a tension between genres. The tragic tale of Amador and Florida represents a fundamental incompatibility between romance and the novella: romance threatened by realism.[57] For Hampton, Amadour's itinerant wandering, reminiscent of the medieval errant knight, is limited by the political manipulation of the Court. Conversely, Mathieu-Castellani's theory posits the "dé-réalisation" of the *nouvelle*, implying that Marguerite's discussants, by mulling over the tales' outcomes, resist the notion of one sole truth. In light of the changes in spatial awareness that can be perceived in earlier collections of *nouvelles*, it can be construed that the evolution of the *nouvelle* is linked to changes in spatial perception over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As perspectives broadened, and geographical information became available to a wider sector of the population, traditional models of short narrative prose struggled to capture the interest once elicited by the *nouvelle*. This gave rise to new forms of prose that strove to portray the world from a newly discovered "regard éloigné", such as the *cosmographie*, the *isolario*, the *discours*, the *essai*, the *histoire tragique*, and the *récit de voyage*, and eventually, the novel.

[57] Timothy Hampton, *Literature and Nation in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001) 116.

A New Traveler Emerges

The resonant message from short narrative fiction in the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance is: don't leave home! The confines of the home, the walls of the city, and the perimeter of the village are best not to be breached in order to safeguard personal property and to maintain general wellbeing. To a similar end: beware of travelers! Strangers hailing from foreign regions are adept at misrepresenting themselves, finagling trysts with wives and purloining hard-earned chattels. At the same time, there is literary evidence of a change in the way that everyday people imagined their spatial surroundings. The *nouvelle*, a style predicated on popular tastes, evolved to incorporate a range of geographical information that reflects enhanced possibilities for spatial imaginings brought about by developments in cartographic science. If movement is evoked with suspicion in collections of *nouvelles*, it is also represented as an inevitable facet of everyday life. For better or for worse, improvements in the mechanisms of travel and improved geographical imagination were impacting the way that people experienced France, and subsequently the way they wrote about it.

If French *nouvelles* from the early half of the sixteenth century implicitly decry travel and travelers, they represent an attitude that was slowly and subtly losing ground as a new ideal of travel emerged. Tale Three from the fifth volume of François de Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques* (1572) tells the story of Marguerite de Roberval, a woman trapped on a desert island, whose fortitude preserves her from the ravages of weather and wild beasts until her ultimate rescue and return to civilization. Those familiar with Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* will recognize this as Nouvelle 67, in which a woman's faith in the Scriptures and prayerful devotion sustain her until deliverance from the fierce lions off the "isle de Canadas" (645). While Marguerite's *nouvelle* is a testimony to the power of faith, Belleforest appropriates the tale to

laud the feats of modern travelers, motivated by their commendable "désir de savoir": Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Vasco de Gama, and « de nôtres, Jacques Cartier Breton, homme excellent » and Villegagnon, famous for his exploits in Brazil, the "France antarctique". Belleforest heaps praise on the inventors of the compass, the sundial, and the astrolabe. He boasts that his contemporaries have surpassed the travelers of antiquity, and embellishes his tale with a dizzying if improbable maritime itinerary that includes Brittany, Normandy, England, Spain, Gibraltar, Canada, Florida, Mexico, Africa, Rio de la Plata, and the Straits of Magellan.

The enthusiastic effusion with which Belleforest ornaments Marguerite's stark *nouvelle* recounting a woman's pious isolation is mirrored in the work of his archrival and onetime friend André Thevet, who published the same story as fact in his *Cosmographie universelle* (1575) and *Grand insulaire* (1586). The contradictions and outright errors in Thevet's work have confirmed for modern scholars that his account was far from accurate, but the interest in travel and New World discoveries that motivate his narration is abundantly apparent.[58] Collections of *nouvelles* have demonstrated that borrowing was a common tactic for early modern storytellers, but the adaptation of this particular tale is different. Not only is the narrative format altered, the story's focus also changes, with the miraculous marvels of travel and the New World as its new impetus. Rather than disparaging the hazards of transatlantic voyage, Belleforest and Thevet wax eloquent about the wonders of the ever-expanding world. Their narrations contain the idea that travel grants access to a desirable brand of singular knowledge, and that travelers, though perhaps not free from shortcomings, are heroes.

[58] Roger Schlesinger and Arthur Stabler, *André Thevet's North America* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986) xxii-xxiii

Evidence of new attitudes towards movement supports the notion of an emerging concept of France as a defined space that can be envisioned, visited, and known. As a counterpoint to the negative traveling types that are common to the *nouvelles*, a new kind of continental traveler came to embody these new attitudes and conceptions in period literature. This new and nuanced traveler, in opposition to his one-dimensional troublemaking counterpart, is not motivated purely by material gain. His peregrinations are justified by a higher order of intellectual seeking and reasoning. He possesses a superior capacity for spatial imagining, and an advanced competence for spatial navigation. As a result, his travels endow him with a particular understanding of France and with a unique relationship to France. Through informed wanderings and sapient parsing of spatial information, he is able to serve as a participant in the formation of a French identity.

One such literary figure is that of the prince. Geographical information was initially the privilege of royalty, and this association may have influenced the complimentary portraits of monarchs whose governance is enhanced by a special relationship with space. This positive portrayal goes hand in hand with a reinforced notion of what France is. In the examination of literary princes that follows, geographical realities are aligned with mythological commonplaces to evoke a France and French people that are superior to other nations and races. The stage is set by a non-fictional monarch, King Louis XII, whose exploits in the Italian wars are described in epic verbosity by Jean Marot in the *Voyage de Gênes* (1507) and the *Voyage de Venise* (1509). Louis's striking capacity for horizontal movement brings glory and short-lived territorial expansion to France. His endeavors are compared with those of a fictional prince in France, the eponymous hero of Rabelais's *Pantagruel* (1532), who demonstrates unfaltering leadership as he undertakes a fantastical voyage of discovery in Rabelais's *Quart Livre* (1552). Alongside these

narratives of princely peregrination, a third and more obscure selection, *Alector ou le Coq* (1560) by Barthélemy Aneau, describes a benevolent monarch who soars above the globe on a flying hippopotamus. Aneau's work, replete with foundation myths linking Gaul to ancient Troy, promotes an image of France as a superior civilization and civilizing force.

Another literary personage whose movement refines a concept of what constitutes France is the nobleman. Renaissance noblemen had resources that permitted them to travel for reasons other than necessity, and several literary works document how this opportunity influenced their relationship to France and their perception of it. A first example is *L'Amant resuscité de la mort d'amour* by Nicolas Denisot (1558). This little-known work promotes erudite travel as a way of salvaging the decadent French nobility in the 16th century, evoking a global noble network that upholds a code of courteous conduct and civil curiosity. A network of nobility is likewise perceptible in Montaigne's *Journal de Voyage* (1581), where the subject's preoccupation with France's internal problems is palpable, although not central. Movement is portrayed in a distinctly negative light by the bitter former statesman Agrippa d'Aubigné in his farcical *Aventures du Baron de Faeneste* (1617-1630), whose hero and avatar espouses geographical isolation and immobility without compromising his inner cosmopolitanism. France and its nobility were in crisis during the latter half of the 16th century, turmoil due to the vestiges of a political system that linked noble status with territorial ownership, with repercussions that are perceptible in the literary portrayal of noble travelers.

A third traveling personage, made out in the *nouvelles* to be a mischief-maker, is that of the traveling student. The advent of humanism heralded new attitudes towards knowledge, and literary evidence suggests a budding association between knowledge and movement. The great minds of the Renaissance were men who traveled, many of them sojourning in Europe's

important university towns, some of whom went on to craft the representations of traveling students found in Renaissance literature. Students were exposed to people of multiple nationalities, honing a particular relationship with their country of origin and their host countries as a result. Noël du Fail's *Propos Rustiques* (1547) blends tongue-in-cheek nostalgia for rustic village life with an ironic representation of itinerant students as an inevitable byproduct of modern times. The journals of two brothers from Basel, Felix and Thomas Platter, depict France as it was experienced by students of foreign nations in the mid-sixteenth century and the turn of the century, respectively. While the brothers reference youthful pranks reminiscent of naughty student behavior in the *nouvelles*, their proclivity for hard work and scholarship reveals a determination to wring the maximum yields from the hazardous and uncertain undertaking of scholarly travel. Finally, *L'Esté* by Bénigne Poissenot (1583) is a triumphant portrait of students who sometimes behave badly but merit the sympathy and approbation of their narrator for their worthwhile pursuit of erudition. Poissenot's depiction of the student as patriot, in creating an association between travel, scholarship, and nation building, is ultimately at odds with the humanistic goal of international scholarly collaboration so cherished by his peers.

In the following analysis of these works, I ask similar questions of each text in turn. I strive to determine the role of place names and other geographical information, and observe how France is referred to and depicted. I examine how space is portrayed, whether there is there a strong sense of inside and outside, a consciousness of thresholds, and whether the space portrayed is unified or disjoined. I pay attention to the text's attempt to "map" space, and to ways in which the text resists doing so. I compare references to real and imaginary places, and scrutinize how they interact. How the traveler moves is a primary concern, particularly whether he moves easily or with difficulty. I identify what aids, hinders, or distinguishes his travel, and

how he interacts with other members of his traveling class. The role of language is a significant issue in the overall question of how the traveler reacts to geographical similarity and difference. Finally, I consider how the works in my corpus dialogue amongst themselves, and how they refer, implicitly or explicitly, to other texts from the Renaissance and earlier.

While attempting to make synthetic conclusions about the perceived role of movement in honing a sense of geographical identity, it is important to consider each text in its own right, and to respect the unique design of each author. Investigating the role of movement in Renaissance texts has the potential to shed new light on previously studied works, and to uncover idiosyncrasies within them that have lain outside the scope of previous inquiries. Ultimately, the dialogue provoked by our thematic study of movement should lead to a profounder understanding of the beliefs and values that shaped a remarkable period in history, and should confirm the worth of Renaissance studies today.

Chapter Two: Princely Peregrinations

Over the course of the Middle Ages, French sovereignty evolved from a sense of power over people to a notion of power over place. In 1254, the King's title changed from "rex francorum", King of the Francs, to "rex franciae", King of France.[59] As the geography of the French nation-space changed over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries due to wars and dynastic progressions, the sovereign's peculiar relationship to space was a subject of national concern. An interest in royal movement is manifest in numerous works of popular fiction from the Renaissance, where princely movement carries implications for a budding sense of French national identity and statehood. Renaissance authors and humanist thinkers were preoccupied with ideas of how princes should behave, and this consideration extended to theories of the prince's ideal relationship to space. Representations of princely movement in fiction portray the prince as a singular traveler, immune to the quotidian realities that hindered the displacement of everyday people, whose movement was full of portent.

The works treated in this chapter depict princes in motion, whose geographical displacement conveys attitudes towards France both as a place and as an ideology in the first half of the sixteenth century. In spite of stylistic variations, all of the works attribute singular geographical sapience to a monarch protagonist, whose relationship with France and the French people is enhanced by his unique relationship to space. Jean Marot's epic poems, the *Voyage de Gênes* and the *Voyage de Venise*, reproduce the travails of a real historical figure, that of King Louis XII, as he attempts to expand the limits of his kingdom and influence. Rabelais's illustration of a fictional foreign monarch in *Pantagruel*, by contrast, depicts the prince not as an irrepressible moving force, but rather as an actor and agent in the stories that comprise the

[59] Kagan, Richard L. and Benjamin Schmidt. "Maps and the Early Modern State: Official Cartography" in *A History of Cartography* Vol. 3 ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) Volume 3 Part 1, 662.

French landscape, whose flexible movement attests to an unusual capacity for knowing places and their people. Pantagruel's talent for measured movement is likewise apparent in the *Quart Livre*, where his steadfast guidance safeguards the micro-nation that accompanies him on an oceanic voyage of discovery. Finally, the aerial adventures of Franc-Gal and his son Prince Alector in Barthélémy Aneau's *Alector ou le Coq* depict a monarch whose benevolent omniscience and civilizing acumen is predicated on a superhuman facility with flight. Aneau's royal protagonists are the fabric of a newly melded foundation myth that corroborates French superiority, into which geographical displacement features heavily as a substantiation of divine royal vision.

Adventures in Italy: The *Voyage de Gênes* and the *Voyage de Venise*

In 1507, Jean Marot composed the *Voyage de Gênes,* a poem in which history, mythology, and stylistic elements of the chivalric epic are ornately intertwined. While this work did not see publication until 1532, the elder Marot's oeuvre is a primordial example of the poetic tradition that influenced generations of French writers, showcasing a stalwart predilection for cloaking historical events with bravado and effusive nationalism. In the *Voyage de Gênes*, Marot evokes Roman deities alongside real historical events with a panache that belies the ultimate outcome of the wars in Italy. In Marot's dramatic rendition, however, France's pre-eminence is unquestionable, and the movement undertaken by her denizens takes on an epic quality that echoes the heroic journeys of antiquity, setting a standard for subsequent literary tributes to the martial exploits of kings.

The personification of towns and the mythification of real personages in the *Voyage de Gênes* give the historical account a distinctly literary tone. In one arresting scene, a proud woman decries her treatment at the hands of a man who violated her:

> Ainsi vaincue, palle, blesme, adollé,
> De desespoir presque tout affollée,
> Contrainte fuz de luy ouvrir ma porte
> Et, neantmoins que jamais maculée
> N'avoyt esté, fut lors despucellée,
> Car jamais homme n'y entra de la sorte.[60]

The violated maiden is the personified city of Genoa, and the man, here depicted as a rapist, is King Louis XII of France, otherwise known as the "Father of the People." In keeping with the unabashedly misogynist formula of certain Renaissance literature, Marot does not use this analogy to question whether Louis XII was justified in his masculine aggression, or whether the King of France merits praise for violently chastising the proud city of Genoa. The *Voyage de Gênes* is, to the contrary, a glorified account of penetration and conquest.

Even more than a father figure, the King of France was a sacred being, a symbol of God's intervention on earth and of the nation itself. According to Myriam Yardeni, a sense of French national identity is indelibly associated with the personage of the king: "Les deux formes les plus anciennes et les plus primitives du sentiment national en France sont l'attachement au sol natal et la fidélité envers le roi et le royaume."[61] As a corporeal manifestation of divine puissance, the King's physical presence carried a great deal of significance, as is evident through the sacralization of events such as the coronation and the royal entrance ceremonies. Royal movement was a subject of national concern. The king's body represented a connection to God: where he traveled, people gathered to receive his touch, reputed to be a cure for scrofula.[62] As a living representative of the French nation, the King's movement defined, to a large extent, the space of the French kingdom.

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[60] Jean Marot, *Le Voyage de Gênes*. Giovanna Trisolini, ed. (Geneva: Droz, 1974) lines 897-902. Further citations refer to this edition.
[61] Myriam Yardeni, *La Conscience nationale en France* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1971) 15.
[62] See Marc Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1961.

The *Voyage de Gênes* is a specimen of how princely movement was represented in a France whose borders were not yet the precise periphery of the hexagon we recognize today. When Louis XII invaded Genoa, maps were increasingly available as a tool for warfare among kings, but hadn't yet permeated popular consciousness. Maps of France that existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries often misrepresented the boundaries of Renaissance France: Berlinghieri's "Gallia novella" extends France's borders to the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, which was a more generous swath of space than France could actually claim at that time. Later maps of France, such as those completed by Oronce Finé (1525), Jean Jolivet (1560), and Guillaume Postel (1570) applied the same nebulous borderlines to incorporate French territorial pretentions in Italy. Increasingly refined efforts to produce a French national map reflect the use of maps as a symbolic tool to bolster border security in France, culminating in the first French national atlas presented to Henri IV in 1594, Maurice Bouguereau's *Le theatre français*.[63] Marot's *Voyage de Gênes* (1507) and the longer *Voyage de Venise* (1509) are relics from the period well before France had renounced its claim to Italian soil, and reflect the King's peculiar relationship to "national" space, namely, a scenario in which royal movement is associated with conquest and territorial acquisition.

Boundaries are markedly present in Marot's *Voyage de Gênes* and even more so in its sequel, the *Voyage de Venise* (1509). They are present in two forms: natural and man-made, *monts* and *murs*. The Alps were a real preoccupation among both early cartographers and French historiographers. By crossing the Alps to enter "les nations Ytalles" (15), Louis XII inscribes himself into a long tradition of heroic personages, not the least of whom was Heracles, the "Gallic Hercules" who was to become a central facet of sixteenth-century myths of French origins. One of the defining facets of Louis XII's movement is the relative effortlessness with

[63] Monique Pelletier, "National and Regional Mapping in France to about 1650" in Woodward*, op. cit*. 1489.

which he surmounts these formidable obstacles. Before his foray into Italy, the personified city of Genoa boasts robustly:

> Renforcée suys d'Alpes, rocs et montaignes,
> Où roys et ducs ont planté leurs enseignes,
> Qui plus y ont prins de honte que gloire (232-4)

Genoa goes on to enumerate those nations who have tried and failed to conquer her: "les fiers Rommains et nations Espaignes… mesmes les Allemaignes" (236-7) all renounced the offensive in turn. Genoa is the self-described "royne de la mer" (247), fortified by nature and by man, and will not go down without a fight.

Knowledge of French history and of Renaissance popular fiction suggests, however, that this proud and boastful woman is soon to receive her comeuppance. The phrase "passe les monts" occurs frequently with respect to Louis XII, affirming the facility with which he delivers swift justice despite geographical hurdles. When the fortress of Le Castellat is taken, the King hastens to avenge the transgression: "passe les montz pour vengier ce desroy/plus promptement que jamais ne fist roy" (454-5). Marot emphasizes the King's speed and relentless progress ("de nuyt et jour, traversant rocs et mons" 465, "passé les monts sans sejourner ung jour" 475) as well as the gymnastic ease with which he and his army navigate imposing natural barriers like lithe woodland creatures ("qui rocs et alpes comme lyons ramperent" 550, "par la Montaigne couroyent comme chevreaulx" 557, "monter, ramper, courrir comme levriers" 584).

Man-made barriers hardly constitute a greater deterrent to the French king and his allies than natural ones. Genoa, styling herself as the mother of her people, speaks of having raised them "dedens ma closture" (125) to bear loyalty to only her. The cause for the king's bellicose voyage is to administer a paternal reprimand, responding to internal discord between Genoa's children, "Marchandise" and "Noblesse". The French king, as the "patron de noblesse" (65-66),

ostensibly penetrates the stronghold of Genoa in order to protect the aristocracy from the usurping mercantile class. He does with such effortless bravado that the "cite fiere" (228), also described as a "dolente mere" (156) and "povre Dame esgarée" (190), is overcome and humiliated. Try as they might, soldiers loyal to Genoa are unable to overcome soldiers loyal to France who defend the stronghold at "la place de Saint Françoys". Walls continue to figure heavily into the intrigue: the Genoese soldiers march "jusqu'aulxs rempars" (381, 397) to spray the French with artillery fire, and even attempt "par tricherie" (405) to dig under the ramparts, but to no avail. French mercenaries valiantly conquer the stronghold of le Bastillon, effectively putting an end to the skirmish:

> Car jamais roy ne fut si bien servy;
> Et qu'ainsi soit, il est tout veritable,
> Qu'en moins d'ung jour ont prins et asservy
> Le Bastillon qu'on disoit impregnable (589-592)

Genoa is forced to surrender, the usurping duke who had the audacity to assume leadership is decapitated, and the magnanimous Louis XII pardons the guilty members of the revolt. As a measure to protect the newly humbled city and to ensure his own dominion, the King causes a new set of barriers to be erected, and proclaims martial law: "en tel façon que nul sans leur licence dedens ycelle pour le temps pié ne mist" (706-7). The King thereby demonstrates the superiority of his own territorial safeguards. Furthermore, he has a new fortress built, to defend against future uprisings, between the city and its port – as Genoa laments vociferously towards the end of the poem: "Non assouviz, sur roc inexpugnable, ilz m'ont basty ung chasteau imprenable" (1131-2). She is no longer in control of her own enclosure once its walls have been breached by the King, "Car chastellain n'est point du chasteau sire s'il n'a les clefs de derriere et devant" (1123-3). Louis XII, indifferent towards natural barriers, is likewise capable of

exercising full control over those constructed by man. He asserts himself as master of the space that he has tamed and claimed.

The ease with which Louis XII moves through space is further reinforced by the fact that he himself does relatively little fighting in the *Voyage de Gênes*. Rather, his presence is so influential that he moves people around him to do his bidding, a kind of Pied Piper for those loyal to France. The King surges forward, seemingly without effort, inspiring bands of French princes and foreign mercenaries to bound ahead like lions, deer, and greyhounds. He moves rapidly from Blois to Asti, then to Alexandria, Felizzano, Gavi, Bosco, and then on to Bourg, from whence he attains Genoa, only after his troops had taken the Bastillon. The King makes camp in a local monastery and seems quite nonplussed when, as he is sitting down to dinner, word comes that the usurping duke in Genoa had renewed the assault. There is mention of the King putting on armor, but the combat is waged by soldiers all eager to serve him. Somewhat surprisingly, a large body of the King's troops is not French: Marot makes references to Swiss, German, and Albanian mercenaries, in addition to "aventuriers" among the soldiers who fight for France. The King's charisma, in addition to the attractive possibility of remuneration (or loot), wins him these allies, and Marot implies that their loyalty extends to the French nation as a whole. Wherever the King goes, he is heralded by cries of "France!" ("crier france": 491, 602, 725, 800, 823). Loyalty to France is infectious where the King travels. Even the reluctant and proud lady Genoa, won over by his clemency, relinquishes her "gloire mondaine" (1106) to wear a dress emblazoned with the fleur-de-lys.

Marot pays significant attention to the King's entry into Genoa and then subsequently into Milan, suggesting that the king's symbolic presence is instrumental to garnering the

sympathy and nationalistic sentiment expressed by legions of troops and mercenaries, and eventually by the conquered Italian peoples. The King moves with an entourage of nobility:

> …Lors princes et marquiz
> Devant le roy fierement chevaucherent.
> Cinq cardinaulx aupres de luy marcherent
> Jusques au dosme, où filles et pucelles
> Vestues de blanc, gratieuses et belles,
> Portant rameaulx representant concorde,
> Genoulx en terre, leurs cheveulx entour elles,
> Incessamment par places et ruelles
> Devant le roy, crioyent misericorde. (730-738)

The ceremony continues with music and celebration as the King proceeds towards the church, and the Genoese people fall to their knees in turn before him, basking in his clemency. Five days later, he receives a similar welcome in Milan, as the townspeople flock to the streets to celebrate the king's entrance, crying "France." These stylized depictions reinforce the symbol of entering a city as a gesture of appropriation and ownership. Marot does not dwell on the King's travails as he enters each city. Instead, Louis XII moves with tacit, almost divine, ease.

Securing French territories in Italy would require, however, a bit more geographical displacement on the part of Louis XII. Two years later, in 1509, his voyage to Genoa was followed by a voyage to Venice, and by Marot's poem bearing that name. The ultimate outcome of this voyage, history tells us, was a failure – but you would not know it to read Marot's illustrious account of the King's triumph. In the wake of the *Voyage de Gênes*, the overall effect of the *Voyage de Venise* is of amplification. For one, it is longer: 4,105 lines opposed to the modest 1,306 of Marot's poem from 1507. The King's movement is endowed with a greater sense of effortless virility, particularly with respect to *monts* and *murs*: mountains tremble beneath him, and walls crumble before him. Where in the *Voyage de Gênes* Louis XII would

simply "passe les monts," in the *Voyage de Venise* his movement takes on a more pronounced legendary quality:

> Fors que le Roy, qui d'ung hardy courage
> Se gette aux champs avecques son bernage
> Tant que soubz luy tremblent rocz et montaignes,
> Car, comme on dit en ung commun langaige,
> Là où le Roy en armes fait passage
> Dix ans apres y restent les enseignes[64] (615-620)

In addition to walls and mountains, the King also crosses a new host of obstacles in the form of rivers, ditches ("fossées") and moats, exemplifying a stunning capacity for horizontal movement. Roads are absent from the King's trajectory: he moves as the crow flies, defying nature. The only "rues" that are referred to exist within cities. Once the rumor of the King's unrelenting progress reaches the Venetian-held cities lying in his path, these cities start surrendering of their own accord, opening liberally to the King whose reputation precedes him:

> Aultres chasteaulx, villes, citez et fors
> Du Cremonnoys, neantmoins leurs renfors,
> Considerant du Roy les grans effors
> Et durs vacarmes,
> Apportent clefz, du Roy prennent les armes
> Luy promettant estre loyaulx et fermes,
> En louant Dieu, selon leurs ditz et termes,
> D'avoir tel Prince (2741-2747)

From that point onward in the *Voyage de Venise*, cities fold before the King like dominoes, "villes, chasteaulx et bourgs luy sont ouvers" (2786) with hardly a tussle. The city of Bresso, in spite of its walls, moats, and similar reinforcements, "eut craincte et peur, doubtant les assaulx fors" (2844) of the King, and abandons its patron Saint Marc in favor of the fleur-de-lys. A last remaining stronghold of Venetian villainy is Pesquiere, where the soldiers (who "Comme meschans extraictz de villenaille/monstrent leur cul par dessus la muraille" 3009-10) are sprayed

[64] Jean Marot, *Le Voyage de Venise*. Giovanna Trisolini, ed. (Geneva: Droz, 1977) lines 615-620. Further citations refer to this edition.

with an overwhelming volley of artillery fire that causes their walls and towers to explode into nothing. Finally, the Castle of Cremona, "le plus fort des Italles" (3296), gives itself up peacefully to the King, who enters with great pomp amongst cries of "Vive le Roy" and "France." Upon his arrival in Milan, the townspeople want to ceremoniously bring down a chunk of the city wall to symbolize the King's barrier-mowing prowess:

> Mais bien vouloient de leur muraille forte
> Rompre et casser
> Ung grant quartier pour par illec passer
> En demonstrant qu'il faict fendre et froisser
> Chasteaulx et fors et par terre verser
> A son venir (3558-3563)

Louis XII, however, politely demurs.

The amplification of the King's resiliency with respect to traversing barriers is accompanied by a redoubled insistence on the King's heroic and mythical status. Louis XII is more frequently associated with Hercules, his Gallic predecessor, whose alpine exploits were the stuff of legend: "Fort Hercules d'invincible puissance" (401), "Sembloit Hercule, ayant cueur de lyepart" (1249), "Plus dure est sa rencontre que de Hector ne Achiles, Et trop plus furieuse que la masse Hercules" (1859-60), "Et tout ainsi que Hercules affolla Chien Cerberus, quant aux Enfers alla" (2564-5), "Et croy que si Hector, fier batailleur, Fort Hercules, Cesar, grant debelleur, Estoient vivans, auroient crainte et frayeur de tel tempeste" (2772-2775). Marot's renewed and more rigorous insistence on this comparison in the *Voyage de Venise* posits Louis XII as a new and better Hercules. In a triumphal procession in Milan, the King is followed by a host of chariots, each bearing a painted model of a fort, castle, or powerful city that had been subjugated by the King and his forces:

> Aux autres chars eut denotance mainte,
> Car chascun d'eulx portoit, en son enceinte,
> Une cite taillée au vif et painte,

Representantes
Les fors, chasteaulx, et citez tres puissantes
Que avoi(en)t conquis par armes triumphantes
En subjugant les forces belliquantes
Venitiennes. (3588-3595)

Louis XII notably refuses to take credit for these victories, offering thanks to God for his success, which only increases the implication that God himself is behind the King's inexorable progress. The appropriation of these Italian territories is at once real and symbolic, the King's movement simultaneously galvanizing the creation of history and legend. During his ceremonial entry in Milan, Louis XII is favorably compared to Alexander, Hannibal, Scipio, Pompey and Cesar, all monarchs for whom movement was pivotal to the construction of empire and myth. Through comparisons with epic itinerant heroes, Marot inscribes Louis XII into a tradition of powerful leaders for whom geographical movement was essential to national greatness.

Geographical locations in the *Voyage de Gênes* and the *Voyage de Venise* are represented like the painted model towns paraded through Milan in the King's procession: discrete, tenable entities that can be claimed and bound together as the King sees fit. These depictions of space are not just trophies, but symbolic entities that take their place among the ranks of the King's followers. Visual representations of cities are used to authenticate their appropriation, just as the personification of Genoa as a woman is a key element in the narrative of Genoa's submission to France. The models are paraded amongst Milan's citizenry, whose members are in turn enumerated: noblemen, clergy, judges, governors, bourgeoisie, merchants, and soldiers precede the model cities, which are then followed by prelates, cardinals, archbishops, ambassadors, and other dignitaries. The model cities participate in the procession like people who share the crowd's ideology and loyalty. Marot's poetic ekphrasis makes the model cities ("Crème, Bresse,

et Cremonne/Pesqiere, aussi Bergame et aultres troys" 3809-10) seem more real than the cities themselves.

The conquered cities in Marot's poems do not have distinguishing features or distinctive identities. Travel is enacted in discrete itinerant trips from city to city, where the King either takes control in the case of insubordination or basks in ceremony if the city is already loyal to France. In the *Voyage de Venise*, cities are claimed by European rulers like so many marbles: the Pope wants to regain control of Sarsina, Cervia, and Faenza; Emperor Maximilian desires jurisdiction over Verona, Padua, and Vicenza; the King of Spain wants Monopoli, Trani, and Otranto, and King Louis XII simply wants the cities that belong to the Duchy of Milan, and thus to him: Crema, Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona. Cities are described in terms of their fortifications and their loyalty; there is little sense that they possess defining characteristics beyond these. Possessing a territory consists of rendering its geographical and man-made fortifications obsolete, penetrating it, and taking it over. Louis XII, however, is the only one of the aforementioned rulers with the gallantry to sally forth: "Mais toutefois nul ne se mect en voye, fors que le Roy" (614-5).

The portrayal of space in Marot's poems gives a sense of how insular life was for people at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The world outside of each city and its fortifications is alluded to only vaguely, aside from the recurrent theme of the Alps. In the *Voyage de Venise*, Marot describes a battle that takes place in the Plane of Vailà, and how elements of the surrounding terrain stymie the progress of Louis XII's troops, "Maulvais chemins passerent/Comme marestz, vignes, praeries et bledz/Environnez de fossez, d'eau comblez" (2146-8). Evidently, the business of waging war in the open is a tenuous endeavor – but the French under Louis XII's command are able to attain the village of Agnadello and to gain an

advantageous position, forcing the Venetian forces to retreat even further. This maneuvering was made possible by the intervention of "le Seigneur Jehan Jacques… Qui congoissoit les lieux et les destroitz" (2206-7), a French marshal and governor of Milan. This detail constitutes a rare but salient suggestion that the King's prowess is partially due to the geographical sagacity of his advisors, and not just his own innate capacity for negotiating spatial hurdles.

Louis XII's talent for assembling territories, however, goes hand in hand with his talent for rallying diverse groups of men under the banner of France. In the *Voyage de Venise*, Marot enumerates the noblemen as well as the commoners who were eager to fight for the King: among them the Dukes of Alençon, Bourbon, and Lorraine, and the Counts of Vendôme, Nevers, and Geneva, along with a host of other Dukes, Counts, Marquis, and "princes de grant renom" (1755). Likewise, the King garners the support of "aventuriers" from Picardie, Normandy, and Gascony, although significant attention must be paid to preventing them from running amuck and pillaging indiscriminately. Marot nods to their local differences, even while affirming their loyalty to the King, by drawing out their regional accents:

> Dit le Picard: "Plais Dieu, ches usuriers
> Me rempliront me bourche qui est vuyde."
> "Par sainct Miquel, se Dieu nous est en ayde",
> Dit le Normant, "je reviendray grant mestre."
> "Bo cap de Bieu, non sapi que bol estre,
> Respond adonc Arnoton de Gascogne
> "Mais si pody sur quelque ung la main mettre
> S'il n'a ducatz et fut-il monge ou prestre
> Jou le batray comme ung billain ibroigne." (625-633).

The King wisely reins these ruffians in by assigning them to the aforementioned noble captains. At several points throughout the *Voyage de Venise*, Marot recalls the "Aventuriers Gascons, Normans, Picars" and their role in the triumphant offensive, a noteworthy nod to regional provenance.

The King represents France, and where he voyages, people inevitably fall under the spell of his irresistible influence. In both Marot's poems, the King inspires a frenzy of forward movement: his men scramble over mountains, drive holes in walls and clamber up towers, swim across ditches, and risk their lives "en lieux ultramontains, estranges regions" (1855), crying "France!" all the while. The King's prowess consists of a superior ability for leveling hurdles, thereby leveling the essential obstruction that would prevent France from acquiring Italy: the Alps. Just as the visual representation of model cities in a triumphal procession connotes a sense of real territorial ownership, Marot's poetic representation of Louis XII's effortless movement through space serves to assert and to glorify the King's sovereignty: he is above the laws, just as he is above geographical constraints. The territorial gains made in Italy were, alas, short-lived. Less so, however, was the royal ambition to keep striving for them. Nevertheless, the categorical wisdom of doing so was progressively becoming more questionable.

A Peripatetic Prince: Rabelais's *Pantagruel*

Rabelais's Pantagruel is a Utopian prince who is linked with the French soil from infancy. Baby Pantagruel's dimensions are those of France. To make the saucepan for his mush, pot-makers from across the nation join forces: "furent occupés tous les poêliers de Saumur en Anjou, de Villedieu en Normandie, de Bramont en Lorraine"[65] – and baby Pantagruel leaves his immense bowl in Bourges, where it can still be seen today, missing a chunk gorged out of it by his rapacious teeth. To control the baby giant's unruly behavior, Pantagruel is restrained by cables that are compared to the chains barring passage across the Rhône in Tain, or those that tether French ships in the Hague. As a toy, his father Gargantua gives him a crossbow, which becomes a vestigial element of the landscape in Chantelle. From the outset, this young monarch

[65] François Rabelais, *Pantagruel*. Gérard Defaux, ed. (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1994) 117. Further citations refer to this edition.

takes part in a singular relationship with the French nation-space. Baby Pantagruel matures through a symbiotic link with France, shaping his environs. He is, naively, an element of the landscape and the quotidian life of the French people, from childhood into adulthood.

During his adolescence, Pantagruel's peregrinations attest to Rabelais's intimate knowledge of the Poitevin region that he gained in the service of Geoffroy d'Estissac[66]. The giant prince begins his tour of French universities by visiting Poitiers, where he erects the rock at Passelourdin, continuing on to Maillezais, via Ligugé, Lusignan, Sanxay, Celles, Saint-Ligaire, Coulonges, and Fontenay-le-Comte. The details of this journey imply regional familiarity through references to food and other specific elements of local culture. *Pantagruel* contains an amalgam of Rabelais's own personal geography, framed by the tale of a royal baby with national dimensions. Throughout *Pantagruel*, there is a reinforced notion that people can never fully efface their regional heritage, and the author himself is no exception to this rule. The regional specificity of Pantagruel's Poitevan adventures belies the broad national scope of his infancy, inscribing him into both specific regional narratives and a broad universal narrative. Just as the giants in Rablelais's series seem to conveniently fluctuate in size according to the nature of their adventures, Pantagruel adapts the scope of his travel to both a local scale as well as to a national scale. The extents of the Hexagon are within his reach, which does not preclude his participation in the minutiae of provincial life.

Pantagruel expands the range of his *studiosus vagans* to include major university cities in France: La Rochelle, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montepellier, Avignon, Valence, Angers, and Bourges. This accumulation of place names suggests a facility of movement, namely, the ability to transition from regional exploration to transnational itinerancy. Pantagruel does not achieve learning of merit during his travels, but participates in the typical wayward life of a French

[66] Jean Plattard, *L'Adolescence de Rabelais en Poitou* (Paris: Les Belles-Lettres, 1923) 37.

university student at the dawn of the sixteenth century. Travel does not form him; rather, he forms the landscapes that he travels through. At the behest of his father Gargantua, Pantagruel eventually spurns the lifestyle of the shiftless scholar and embarks on a humanist program of study designed to prepare him for knowing and ruling the world with Christian principles. Pantagruel's scorn for scholarly pretention is manifest in his encounter with a Limousin student who feigns erudition by indiscriminately mixing Latin and French. Pantagruel is so enraged by the student's airs that he picks him up by the throat, and the student is reduced to pleading in his native patois, whereupon Pantagruel lets him go, pronouncing: "a cette heure parles-tu naturellement" (139). This notorious episode reinforces the notion that people are inevitably marked by place. The Limousin student tried to deny his own personal geography by covering it with affect, and is subsequently punished.

Over the course of the novel, Pantagruel's movement takes on a singular nature that distinguishes him from his traveling counterparts. From infancy, his national dimensions require him to negotiate a complex relationship with space. During Pantagruel's youthful peregrinations, he encounters typical Renaissance travelers, such as the Limousin student, as well as Panurge, Pantagruel's polyglottal alter-ego. Part of Pantagruel's education involves rejecting these models in favor of a more worthy approach to movement. Just as he abandons the lazy and unproductive itinerancy of the conceited student, he likewise declines to become a new Ulysses, hungry for personal glory and worldly knowledge, like Panurge.[67] Pantagruel is ultimately elevated to the role of overseeing and protecting travelers, as evidenced by his use of his giant tongue to protect soldiers from a rainstorm, and the episode detailing the narrator's foray into his mouth. From his origins as an infant of national dimensions, Pantagruel shapes and ultimately comes to embody a

[67] For the comparison between Ulysses and Panurge, see Gérard Defaux, *Le Curieux, le glorieux et la sagesse du monde dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle : l'exemple de Panurge, Ulysse, Démosthène, Empédocle* (Lexington: French Forum, 1982) 35, 55.

kingdom.[68] This feat is made possible by his unusual relationship with space, and his ability to enact horizontal movement with ease and a measure of detachment that belies his stature.

While Pantagruel performs a great deal of movement, few details describe how he moves. He enters and leaves towns without ceremony, a significant detail considering the treatment that Renaissance princes habitually received as they entered and left cities. The only French city where Pantagruel garners much notice is Paris, where "tout le monde sortit hors pour le voir, comme vous savez bien que le people de Paris est sot par nature" (145).[69] Pantagruel travels through France with no entourage but a few companions. References to his displacement are stark and almost glib: he encounters no physical obstacles to his progress, and there are few accounts of how he gets from place to place: "Et partant de Poitiers avec aucuns de ses compagnons, passérent par Legugé, par Lusignan, par Sansay, par Celles, par Saint Lygaire, par Colognes, par Fontenay le Comte, et de la arrivèrent à Maillezays" (127). Pantagruel's peregrinations do not involve horses, carriages, river-crossings, bandit-riddled woodlands, prototypical customs procedures, or other realia representing the nature of travel in sixteenth-century France. Some of these hindrances do, however, exist for the narrator Alcofribas on his journey into Pantagruel's mouth. Long distances pose no more of a problem for Pantagruel than short ones, and his tour of the environs of Poitou is followed by an accumulation of disparate destinations that he visits with comparable facility. Certain details emphasize the velocity of Pantagruel's passage: between Montpellier and Avignon, he takes a three-hour break to build the Pont du Gard; in Avignon he falls madly in love in just three days. He covers the distance

[68] Edwin Duval alludes to the episode of the voyage into Pantagruel's mouth to posit that his body thereby becomes the Kingdom of France. *The Design of Rabelais's* Pantagruel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991) 131. Frank Lestringant likewise upholds the episode of Alcofribas in Pantagruel's mouth as a form of benevolent itinerancy and laudable curiosity in the essay "Dans la bouche des géants" in *Ecrire le monde à la Renaissance* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993).

[69] There is, however, a triumphal procession following his victory over the Dipsodes in in his native Utopia

between Valence and Angers "à trois pas et un saut" (131). Moving with little fanfare and less ostensible effort, Pantagruel defies typical constraints of time and space. The accumulation of place names in his itinerary suggests an omnipresence befitting his stature.

Up until the day when Utopia is menaced by the invading Dipsodes, Pantagruel moves without urgency, guided by his whims: expressions such as "il voulut" and "il délibéra" announce the deviances in his trajectory. The novel's episodic narrative is driven by Pantagruel's encounters with other travelers, which are occasioned by his own movement. On three occasions, the catalyst for a narrative episode involves Pantagruel simply going out for a walk, a mundane action that is utterly at odds with his status as royalty. His encounter with the Limousin student begins thus: "Quelque jour que Pantagruel se promenait après souper avec ses compagnons par la porte dont l'on va à Paris…" (135). Likewise, the beginning of Chapter Nine finds him once again walking and talking outside the city with his friends: "Un jour, Pantagruel se pourmenant hors la ville vers l'abbaye saint Antoine, devisant avec ses gens et aucuns écoliers…" (169).[70] Once more in Chapter 14, the episode debuts with Pantagruel stretching his legs: "pour se recréer de son etude, se pourmenait vers les faubourgs Saint Marceau, voulant voir la folie Gobelin" (231). Movement serves as a form of leisure and mental repose, with unanticipated but invaluable outcomes. France, for Pantagruel, is a collection of people, stories, and subjective experiences.

Pantagruel's relationship to space is characterized by an atypical insouciance towards obstacles. For the typical sixteenth-century traveler, landscape features restricted and defined the parameters of movement. Accordingly, on his journey into the Pantagruel's mouth, the narrator Alcofribas is obliged to negotiate the mountain range of Pantagruel's teeth and the forest near his

[70] Defaux discusses these chapter openings in his discussion of the parallel episodes of the encounter with the Limousin student and the encounter with Panurge, *ibid*. 26.

ear, and to present a "bulletin" proving that he doesn't carry the plague. Normal travelers get tired, like the Parisian youths charged with measuring the leagues in France and its outlying territories in Panurge's explanation for why leagues were longer the farther one traveled from Paris. Initially, the youths stopped frequently to satisfy the demands of amorous passion: "Et à tous les passages qu'ils biscoteraient leurs garces, que ils missent une pierre, et ce serait une lieue" (321). The farther the Parisian youths went, the more exhaustion cooled their ardor, and the more space they left between league markers. Such impediments – fatigue, distance, and physical obstacles – don't seem to affect Pantagruel in his movement throughout France. This effortless movement, however, is unlike the swift and unproblematic displacement of Louis XII as described by Jean Marot. Pantagruel is not glorified, much less deified, by his movement.

What Pantagruel does with his unusual ease of motion is also unusual. Given his formidable stature and his talent for winning friends, he could choose to assert his dominance in French territory. Instead, he erects some rocks, moves some bells, abandons his giant pan and crossbow and litters the French soil with puddles of warm piss. Pantagruel leaves his mark on France as he traverses it, but does not use movement for personal or political gain. Pantagruel's stint as a roving student fails to acquire him useful knowledge, and, save for the gaping Parisian hords, he doesn't acquire much notice, particularly considering his stature. Nor does he move to acquire glory. When Pantagruel wages war, as Edwin Duval points out, it is an anti-imperial war, whose ends are defensive rather than acquisitive.[71] In Frank Lestringant's commentary on movement within *Pantagruel*, he underscores the value of travel motivated by the benign desire to see, and the subsequent drawbacks of travel motivated by a desire for adventure.[72]

[71] Duval, *op. cit*. 85
[72] Frank Lestringant, "Geographies de Rabelais: du *Pantagruel* au *Quart Livre*" in *Ecrire le monde à la Renaissance* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993).

Pantagruel's movement is peaceful, unproblematic, and, until the war against the Dipsodes, motivated by a simple desire to see and learn.

Pantagruel's journey to Utopia is not so different from Louis XII's foray into Italy, as described in Marot's two poems. Pantagruel inspires his followers Panurge, Epistemon, Eusthenes and Carpalim to fight and die for him ("'vous tenez assuré de nous, comme de vos doigts propres'" 327). He sends Carpalim over their walls to set their camp on fire ("Allez en à la ville gravant comme un rat contre la muraille, comme bien savez faire… vous mettrez le feu dedans toutes les tentes et pavillons du camp" 361). He has an "arc triumphal" erected to celebrate their victory, for which he gives thanks to God, and enjoys a triumphal entry into the Utopian city of Amaurotes. As Pantagruel progresses into the lands of the Dipsodes, the inhabitants greet him with joyous celebrations, and "de leur franc vouloir lui apportèrent les clefs de toutes les villes où il allait" (405). But where Louis XII inspires legions of misbehaving Italians to cry "France" and sport the fleur-de-lys, Pantagruel uses his influence to spread the Gospel where he travels: "je ferai prêcher ton saint Evangile purement, simplement, et entièrement" (373).

When Louis XII traveled abroad, he encountered *monts* and *murs*, and prevailed by leveling the obstacles to his movement. Pantagruelian movement takes on an entirely different character. His itinerancy as a Utopian prince in France suggests a vision of the nation as an open and traversable landscape, compartmentalized not by walls or mountains, but by the unique variety of people and stories that compose the nation space. Space, in *Pantagruel*, is a uniquely subjective experience. Movement is undeniably a significant part of Pantagruel's education, but the how's and why's of his displacement are conspicuously underemphasized.

Adventures overseas: Rabelais's *Quart Livre*

In 1552, 20 years after Rabelais's giant prince had his debut, a fourth installment of the Pantagruelian chronicles was published. The *Quart Livre* features Pantagruel and his friends in a series of high sea adventures on a quest for "l'oracle de la dive Bouteille Bacbuc." This final chronicle has been seen as a nod to Europe's increasing preoccupation with New World discoveries and transoceanic travel. At first glance, the degree of geographical realism in the *Quart Livre* seems to have diminished with respect to the series' first two volumes. The hero and his cronies visit a series of fourteen imaginary islands, where their peculiar adventures allegorize religious tension between Papists, Gallicans and Reformers that was simmering in turn-of-the-century France. In his study of the *Quart Livre*, Edwin Duval examines the structure of this series of island encounters, qualifying the islands not as obstacles, but as false utopias and anti-*telos*, each less appealing than the last.[73] Indeed, the stark incompletion of the voyage's purported object seems to confirm that the voyage in the *Quart Livre* is not to be interpreted as a literal trajectory, but rather as a vessel for didactic anecdotes: a "fiction en archipel" or "recit par îles", in the assessment of Frank Lestringant.[74]

There are, however, numerous references to the physical realities of ocean travel in the *Quart Livre*. The voyagers leave on 12 ships and a host of other well-equipped vessels ("en conserve de Triremes, Ramberges, Gallions, et Liburnicques"[75]) manned by skilled seamen ("officiers, truchemens, pilotz, capitaines, nauchiers, fadrins, hespailliers et matelotz", 181), and armed with an "universelle Hydrographie" that illustrates the route to the divine bottle. Aboard the ship, among Pantagruel's usual company, is Xenomanes "le grand voyageur et traverseur des voyes perilleuses", whose name in Greek (according to editor Defaux) means "lover of travel",

[73] Edwin Duval, *The Design of Rabelais's* Quart Livre de Pantagruel. (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1998) 20
[74] Frank Lestringant, "L'insulaire de Rabelais", *op. cit*. 159.
[75] François Rabelais, *Le Quart Livre*. Gérard Defaux and Robert Marichal, eds. (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1994) 179. Further citations refer to this edition.

and the pilot Jamet Brayer, who designated a route and readied the compasses ("désigné la route et dressé la Calamite de toutes les boussoles", 183). There are knowledgeable references to the winds that drive the fleet's progression, such as the Zephyre and the Garbin (233). In contrast with the movement in *Pantagruel*, the giant prince is no longer moving according to the dictates of his whims, at the helm of his own destiny. At once a leader and a passenger, he is ceding control of his movement to a body of qualified and well-appointed advisors, and likewise to the hands of fate, embodied by the fickle winds.

At the outset of Pantagruel's ocean voyage, there is a clearly articulated route that demonstrates awareness of global geography, as it was understood in Rabelais's time. Xenomanes and Brayer, who have deduced that the divine Bacbuc is near "Indie superieure", spurn the route of the Portuguese

> lesquelz passans la Ceincture ardente et le cap de Bona Speranza sus la poincte Meridionale d'Africque, oultre l'Aequinoctial, et perdens la veue et guyde de l'aisseuil Septentrional, font navigation enorme (185).

Instead, they choose a more efficient course:

> suyvre au plus près le parallele de ladicte Indie, et gyrer autour d'icelluy pole par Occident: de maniere que tournoyans soubs Septentrion, l'eussent en pareille elevation comme il est au port de Olone, sans plus en approcher, de paour d'entrer et estre retenuz en la mer Glaciale.

The primary stages of the voyage are characterized by singular rapidity: "sans naufrage, sans dangier, sans perte de leurs gens, en grande serentié." Pantagruel and his companions complete this trajectory in only four months, where the Portuguese typically take three years.

However, once the initial foray overseas is complete, the voyage ceases to bear resemblance to known geographical routes of the period. For Pantagruel and his minions, the real voyage outside of known territory has not yet begun: "car aultres foys avoient aré ceste routte" (187). In fact, the first leg of the trip is so unproblematic that Gargantua's ships locate Pantagruel

and his entourage without any apparent hindrances as they dally on the Isle of Medamothi. Once the Prince's ships depart from this island, however, and stray from the Equator, the going is not effortless, nor do the places evoked bear an obvious likeness to geographical locations in the known world. The giant and his companions endure a storm, a whale attack, a fright of frozen words, and a host of encounters with unsavory island peoples, including some bellicose sausages. The places they visit are outlandish in every sense; both Utopia and France have been left far behind.

A noteworthy element of the narration is therefore the frequency with which familiar geographical locations are evoked with respect to new peoples and territories encountered by the Pantagruelian fleet. Upon passing the island of Procuration, Panurge explains the bizarre rites of the inhabitants or "Chiquanous" by telling the long-winded tale of the seigneur Basché, returning to France after the Wars of Italy, and the prior of Saint-Louant, a town near Chinon. Within this tale is a reference to François Villon in Poitou and the performance of the Passion in the French towns Saumur, Doué, Montmorillon, Langes, and Angers (269). Epistemon likens the departure of heroic souls from the island of the Macraeons to the death of Guillaume du Bellay in France. The darts that Pantagruel uses to kill the monstrous Physetere are compared to the pillars holding up bridges in Nantes, Saumur, Bergerac, and Paris (403). The narrator corroborates the existence of sausage-people (the Andouilles of the Isle Farouche) by likening them to the half-serpent fairy Melusine and her verifiable oeuvres in Lusignan, Parthenay, Vouvant, Mervent, and other cities in the Poitou region (431). On the Island of Ruach, where the inhabitants eat wind, a panegyric of the wind of Languedoc makes Panurge pine for the wine of Languedoc (a play on the similar sounds of *vent*/*vin*) (457).

On the Island of the Papimans, where the pope is revered as a supreme being, several members of Pantagruel's inner circle tell stories attesting to the power of such sacred documents as the papal decretals. After reading a chapter of the decretals in Poitou, Panurge became constipated. Frere Jan wiped his bum with a page of the *Constitutiones Clementinae* in Seuilly and got hemorrhoids. Similar miracles took place, according Gymnaste, in Cahuzac, at an archery match between Lord d'Estissac and the Vicomte of Lausun, and to one of Lord d'Estissac's pages in Pouillac (515). The island of Gaster reminds the voyagers of steep escarpments in the Dauphiné (547), and the obsequious Gastrolatres celebrate their ruler by brandishing a hideous "Manduce", likened to the Maschecroutte used at Carnival in Lyon (561). On the Isle de Chaneph, where the travelers do not set foot, Xenomanes attests that the unfortunate inhabitants live as poorly as the legendary Hermit of Lormont (599).

The Pantagruelian travelers interpret what is geographically foreign in terms of what is geographically familiar, and the frequency of references to France is a constant reminder of the regional provenance of the giant prince and his fleet. The intermingling of these anecdotal references with tales from classical antiquity grants them an authority that belies their quotidian status. Tales of the European continent are used to foster a sense of sameness, rather than of difference. Pantagruel's companions endeavor to interpret the realities of their interlocutors in terms of equivalence, rather than by emphasizing their alterity. Even while embarking on a tour of the world, France is foremost among the travelers' preoccupations.

In the *Quart Livre*, the voice of the narrator is conflated with the voice of the entire crew, and a substantial portion of the narration is conducted in the first person plural. The master ship, the "Thalamege", and its accompanying vessels make up a traveling country, of sorts, with Pantagruel at its head, whose unity is reinforced by the use of the subject pronoun "nous." The

idea of ship as state is likewise reflected in the encounter with a boat off the island of the Papimanes, which contains a monk, a nobleman, a solicitor, and a winegrower. Defaux's note clarifies that these four men represent the hierarchical social divisions in sixteenth-century France (the clergy, the nobility, the "peuple moyen" and the "menu peuple", 484). The meeting of boats functions as a cultural exchange between pseudo-countries. In all such encounters, ideologically opposed though the parties may be, Pantagruel strives for conciliation and exchange, rather than authority and dominance. He listens patiently to the indigenous representatives, reacting with forbearance and generosity, and bestowing significant financial gifts.

Pantagruel, who is unquestionably the mission's leader, does not direct the fleet himself, nor is he always at the forefront of the action. He delegates responsibilities in addition to taking them on. Much of his role in guiding the movement of the ships consists in seeing, rather than in doing. The primacy of vision in the *Quart Livre* is articulated most clearly by the giant prince on the Island of the Macraeons: "une et seule cause les avoit en mer mis, sçavoir est studieux desir de veoir, apprendre, congnoistre, visiter l'oracle de Bacbuc, et avoir le mot de la Bouteille" (345). As a result, actions most frequently attributed to Pantagruel are "descouvrir" and "apercevoir." Sometimes, this applies to heading off dangers: "Pantagruel de loing apperceut un grand et monstreueux physetere" (395), or on the island of the ferocious Andouilles, "Pantagruel apperceut comment elles desployoient leurs braz, et jà commençoient besser boys" (445). Defaux points out that the verb "descouvrir" has the modern sense of "observer": "adoncques se lieve Pantagruel de table pour descouvrir hors la touche de boys" (413); "Pantagruel se leva et tint en pieds pour descouvrir à l'environ" (535). On other occasions, another crewmember observes or perceives something: before the tempest, Pantagruel is unusually melancholy, and "Frere Jan

l'apperceut" (301). In the flurry of activity that ensues, Frere Jan peels off his doublet and barks orders, and Panurge devolves into an incomprehensible nincompoop. Pantagruel remains steadfastly motionless, holding the mast ("l'arbre") in place while the rest of the sailors struggle to secure the ship. Standing firm is a viable alternative to movement for the leader of the Thalamege and its accompanying vessels.

What seems most valuable to these travelers in foreign seas is a leader who prizes observation and steadfast behavior over impulsive reactions. Pantagruel's vision, construed by the recurrence of the verbs "descouvir" and "apperceut" in the *Quart Livre,* evokes the figurative vision by which kings and leaders govern well through informed observation. Pantagruel shows a capacity for foresight by his subdued behavior at the advent of the storm. His subjects' wellbeing is contingent on his ability to parse strange and precarious situations by relying on his education, his experience, and his sense of Christian charity. Observation is paramount in deciding how to react to threats and to address discrepancies between ideologically-opposed populations. When confronted with seemingly insurmountable differences, Pantagruel's approach is to seek out commonplaces that defy geographical or ideological boundaries.

While the *Quart Livre* initially appears to be the account of a voyage of discovery, oriented towards the exterior, it is instead a platform for a closer look at France's mores and regional idiosyncrasies at a time when conflict threatened the nation's burgeoning sense of unity. The strangeness encountered overseas mirrors the variety of France's interior, and the diversity of the island nations reflects the factious nature of France's internal politics at the turn of the sixteenth century. Pantagruel's quality as a prince is manifested in his ability to stand firm while there is agitation around him, and by his equitable reactions to the diversity he encounters among those loyal to him and among others.

A prince's authority depends on his capacity for negotiating the universal and the particular, keeping an eye on things at home while remaining oriented towards the expanding frontiers of the known world. This moral is imparted in the Prologue to the *Quart Livre*, which includes the tale of a French laborer, Couillatris ("natif de Gravot" 155), who implores Jupiter to help him find his lost ax. Jupiter, although he is occupied with affairs of foreign politics (a campaign in Constantinople, warring Tartars and Muscovites, the dethroning of the Moroccan sovereign, the new duchy of Parma, and other affairs concerning France in 1550-1), still deigns to help the humble laborer, recognizing that "sa coigné luy est en tel pris… que seroit à un roy son Royaulme" (163-5). Jupiter's concern for affairs of state does not compromise his ability to discern and to heed the demands of his humblest subjects. Looking towards the outside of France should not preclude examining the state of its interior, nor should a ruler snub or belittle the matters that are issues of paramount importance to his subjects, in all their diverse manifestations. At the end of the day, our common humanity links us more than our regional or ideological discrepancies divide us.

Global perspective in Aneau's *Alector*

The *histoire fabuleuse* of *Alector ou le coq* by Barthélémy Aneau (1560) is a bizarre amalgam of geographical references, myths of national origin, alchemical observations, cabbalistic allusions, neo-platonic revelation, and fairytale fiction. It is the story of the fictional King Franc-Gal's quest to find his lost son Alector, who has been carried away by the wind. The book begins *in medias res*, with Alector apprehended and imprisoned in the imaginary city of Orbe, held responsible for the accidental death of his beloved Noémie. Unbeknownst to him, his father Franc-Gal has arrived in the environs aboard a flying hippopotamus and is proceeding towards Orbe on foot. Over the course of this pedestrian trajectory, Franc-Gal recounts the story

of Alector's extraordinary conception and infancy, along with itineraries from his own worldwide voyages of airborne exploration. These tales are narrated to his newfound friend, l'Archier Croniel. The pair arrives in Orbe in time to see Alector defeat a vile serpent that has been plaguing the city, redeeming himself and proving his readiness to follow in his father's footsteps. Franc-Gal dies of joy as Alector is crowned with the "couronne civique"[76], and Alector's project to visit Gaul is projected for Book Two.

Despite the omnipresent theme of movement and Aneau's insistence on Gallic mythology, *Alector*'s protagonists cover the expanse of the known world without ever actually setting foot on the Hexagon. Unfortunately, Aneau was assassinated before undertaking Book Two, in which the young prince Alector is to fulfill his destiny by founding Gaul. Space and movement, however, are essential facets of this unusual narrative, which links allusions to French national supremacy with a capacity for vertical flight and foresight. Through his associations with Gallic Hercules, Franc-Gal is portrayed as an ideal monarch, with links to the past and an eye towards the future. As an ideal monarch, he models the style of movement that his son must endeavor to emulate. Alector's princely education involves imitating the mastery of space demonstrated by his royal father.

Aneau's untimely demise truncates the body of work that might explain his attitudes towards royalty, movement and nationhood, but his unique novel (although he rejected this designation) nevertheless sheds light on conceptions of space in French literature of the late sixteenth century. *Alector* is a fitting juxtaposition to *Pantagruel,* and not just because of the obvious influence that Aneau's predecessor had on his work. Both texts concern the education of an ideal prince, and his foray along the occasionally rocky path towards his role as monarch. In

[76] Barthelémy Aneau. *Alector ou le coq: histoire fabuleuse*. Marie-Madeleine Fontaine, ed. (Geneva: Droz, 1996) 195. Further citations refer to this edition.

both works, movement is an integral element of princely education. Both works are similarly strewn with references to real and fictional locations, and contain a high degree of geographical movement. In addition to serving as a means of acquiring knowledge and experience, movement can be enacted to benevolent or nefarious ends. Learning to rule involves learning how to control one's movement through space. Above all, Aneau upholds an ideal of munificent cosmopolitanism, which is somewhat at odds with his none-too-subtle indications of French national supremacy, suggested by frequent references to myths of French national origin. Geographical references and spatial cues in *Alector* function on a symbolic level, ascribing a privileged viewpoint to royal personages: monarchs are both literally and figuratively on a higher plane than citizens of the world. Similarly to Pantagruel, Alector must learn how to distinguish himself from the self-interested and otherwise negative personages who move through his world, and who reflect negative stereotypes of Renaissance travelers typically found in popular fiction.

Alector reflects a literary trend that burgeoned in the latter half of the sixteenth century, concerning myths of French national origin. Inspired by the historiographical writings of fifteenth century Dominican friar Annius of Viterbo and the second century Greek philosopher Lucian of Samosata, among others, scores of patriotic French authors took up their plumes to link the Gallic people with Noah of the Old Testament, the divine hero Heracles, and classical rulers of Troy.[77] The writings of Lucian and Annius were surely known to Rabelais, as were the *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troie* by Jean Lemaire des Belges. While Rabelais parodies these texts, Aneau's allusions to the theory of a Gallic Hercules verge occasionally on tongue-and-cheek, but hardly skirt the outsized guffaws of Rabelaisian humor. References to Gallic antiquity and the symbol of the rooster are, for the most part, primordial elements of

[77] For more on this topic, see Marc-René Jung, *Hercule dans la littérature française du 16^{e} siècle: de l'Hercule courtois à l'Hercule baroque*. (Genève: Droz, 1996).

Aneau's narration - his hero actually hatches from an egg. In this respect, Aneau's work resembles that of the orientalist and onetime ambassador to François I, Guillaume Postel. Postel's writings, which precede *Alector* by roughly a decade, seek to establish Gallic supremacy while simultaneously affirming the legitimacy of a universal world order. Postel's cabbalistic and neo-platonic reasoning, his cosmopolitan worldview and his forays into the genre of the cosmography, are harbingers of the mystical and puzzling universe evoked in Aneau's *Alector ou le coq*.

Geographical references are frequent in *Alector*. Aneau's use of place names is evidence of his familiarity with Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Ptolemy. However, his liberality with geographical indices suggests that verisimilitude was not his main objective. *Alector* incorporates elements of myth and cosmography with perplexing results: any attempt at geographical realism is corrupted by the high degree of whimsy (and sometimes error) that shades Aneau's references to known places. The imaginary city of Orbe is located somewhere in Asia Minor; Alector is referred to as "le filz deux fois né devers le Pol arctic." Alector's father Franc-Gal is descended from a superior race of "Macrobes", giants who first peopled the planet ("de leur sang ont esté extraictz de tresgrandz roys, Princes et vaillans Chevaliers" p 85), and who hale from Meroë in Ethiopia, between the Levant and the Midi, which Münster identified as Sheba. After founding a new civilization in Scythia, Franc-Gal leaves his beloved half-snake queen, who is heavy with egg, and sets off on an ambitious world tour astride his flying hippopotamus Durat. He crosses the mountains and visits a host of places in Europe, the Mediterranean, and Africa; culminating in a bewildering enumeration of place names:

> j'estoie monté en mer sur mon grand Cheval Durat Hippopotame, au goulphe inhospital du pont Euxin. Duquel passée la large propontide, et entré en la mer Mediterraine par le destroict d'Hellespont, Bra Sainct George, je visitay vers la part du Levan et Midy la coste de l'Asie mineur ou Natholie, Phrygie, Pamphilie,

> Cilicie, Caramaigne, Surie, Aigypte et les sept bouches du Nil, Lybie, et Barbarie, jusques au mont Atlas. Et vers la part du Septentrion et Ponant, je recogneu la Morée de Peloponnesse. Puys, rasant le col de l'Isthme, aborday ès ports fameux et nobles villes de la renommée Grèce, tant en la mer de Negrepont que de l'Archipel, sans laisser pas une Isle – ne Rhodes, ne Candie, ne le Lango, ne Methelin, ne Malthe, ne les Isles esparses, ne les Isles tournoyantes (…) et semblablement ès terres fermes de Macedoine, du Boulphe de Larthe, d'Epidaure ou Albanie, de la Rade des mons Foudroyans. (114)

In her annotation of this episode, Marie Madeleine Fontaine suggests a variety of sources that were likely to have inspired this overwhelming list, not the least important of which are the writings of royal cosmographer André Thevet (647-651). Aneau does not pause to examine the regional particularities of the places alluded to in these geographical inventories, which occur at intervals throughout his work. Rather, he seems to have grafted them into his work to emphasize the facility with which his hero Franc-Gal can access the farthest reaches of the known world.

Aneau's casual evocation of geographical *topoi* suggests a desire to emulate the geographical erudition of his peers. Geographical writing and the developing genre of the cosmography were a literary fad in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and Aneau may well have been manifesting a legitimate desire to reap the commercial benefits of a popular trend. Despite the casual sophistication of his geographical ruminations, his itineraries contain several glosses and oversights, not to mention mistakes, which are identified by Fontaine.[78] Aneau himself acknowledges geographical discrepancies in his work in the "Prémonition" that he added to the beginning of *Alector* after its completion. There is tension between the evocation of a real global geography, and the fantastical narrative concerning a prince's patrimony, education, and ascendency to the Gallic throne.

Alector is the story of the education of a prince. He cannot fulfill his destiny and realize his father's civilizing mission until he is able to navigate space like a king. The ideal he must

[78] See Fontaine's notes that accompany chapters 10, 18, and 25.

emulate is the superhuman figure of his father Franc-Gal, whose globetrotting expeditions consist in movement which is beneficial to his subjects, both for the knowledge that he acquires and for his favorable interventions at critical moments. In Franc-Gal's conversation with Croniel, he tells of his exploits before Alector was born: how he tamed the hippopotamus Durat in time to succor the victims of a deluge of biblical proportions, which he had foreseen, and how he was heralded and named by those who scrambled to safety in the mountains. Of the survivors, Franc-Gal formed a new civilization ("je vous admoneste à civile société, à concorde, » 100). From astride Durat, he frightens off evil spirits that reside in the mountains, clouds, and seas, and undertakes to combat the monsters and giants atop Mount Imaus. Movement is thereby established as a qualification for leadership.

Franc-Gal's mandate is primarily justified by his privileged relationship with space and with time, namely, on his ability to behold the sphere of the universe from a celestial perspective. In *Apollo's Eye*, Denis Cosgrove underscores the urge among early modern authors to mesh geographical and metaphysical knowledge through an imaginative depiction of space that he dubs "poetic geography." The "Apollonian eye," evoked by Ortelius in his 1570 cosmography, is an omniscient eye, whose ability to visualize the globe by means of spherical projections is linked to a capacity for ordering and controlling the world.[79] Classical rulers in Greece and Rome (such as Alexander and Augustus) embraced the idea of a universal empire, where the city serves as an "*axis mundi*", "a point where terrestrial space connects with celestial time".[80] According to this model, the ruler of a nation or empire has a pivotal role in controlling the spatial and temporal order of his domain.

[79] Denis E. Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: a Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2001) 5.
[80] *ibid*, 20

Franc-Gal's altitudinous wanderings are reminiscent of the oneiric writing underscored by Cosgrove as an example of the Stoic philosophic ideal of *kataskopos*, or "view from above", that is linked with a superior intellectual perspective.[81] Works such as Plato's *Phaedo* and Macrobius's *Commentary* on Scipio's dream from Cicero's *De re publica*, which fascinated Renaissance authors, ascribe a bird's eye view to their respective protagonists. The influence of these texts is manifest in *Alector* through depictions of Franc-Gal's flight. The first flight episode occurs in Chapter 7, where Franc-Gal recounts his ascension of the "Tour d'Anange," enabled by a mystical white bird who ravishes his spirit and transports him on high ("par une certaine vertu occulte tira mon esprit à soy, le corps ce pendant laissé vivant" 57). Fontaine affirms that this symbolic ascension is a reference to the Neoplatonic myth of elevation towards knowledge and the soul's immortality. Lady Anange presides over the tower, and from her superior vantage point imposes world order: "par son seul regard, tout est conduict et reduict à son final et droict poinct d'eternelle ordonnance" (82). Aneau's innovation in the *topos* of dreams of flight, Fontaine asserts, is his creation of the allegorical tower, representing the journey of life. A person's life is represented by the candle he carries as he ascends the tower. Franc-Gal, having climbed higher and lived longer than any other (he is over 900 years old), thereby confirms both spatial and temporal superiority. His candle equips him with the ability to see and understand things beyond the scope of a typical mortal:

> Et tout cela par longueur de temps ay je veu à la resplendissante clarté de mon cierge, par laquelle je voioie les causes des choses et les consequences et progrès d'icelles; et comme n'ignorant point les antecedents, je comparoie de similitudes, adjoignant aux choses presentes les futures, et par ainsi facilement je prevoioie tout le cours de ma peregrination, qui a esté jusques icy longue, durable et diverse par divers pays et regions du Levant et Ponant, Septentrion et Midi (p 88).

[81] *ibid*, 49

Franc-Gal's superhuman perspective thus implies physical and metaphysical clairvoyance, which enables the civilizing mission he undertakes over the course of the novel. His role in the construction of a myth of foundation is realized by his foundation of a postdiluvian society. In stitching together allusions to Noah, "gallus" the rooster (the symbol of France), and Gaul, Aneau creates what Fontaine refers to as "la 'tarte à la crème' des mythes gaulois" (565). The association between Franc and Gallic is not surprising, as it was a commonplace amongst sixteenth-century historiographers such as Jean Lemaire de Belges and Estienne Pasquier. Aneau's addition of the hippo, however, seems to plant his work squarely in the realm of the fantastical, if not the purely imaginary.

Aneau's *histoire fabuleuse* is replete with symbolism – some obvious, some bafflingly cryptic. Alector's conception is a pastiche of French legends and myths of origin. Franc-Gal has a vision of his future son hatching from a snake's egg as a "poullet Basilisc, dict coquatrix", or a chicken-headed dragon with emblematic and alchemical symbolic significance (Fontaine's note specifies that "basilic" means "little king" in Greek). The royal mother Piscaraxe has a serpentine tail, evoking the Celtic legend of Melusine from Lusignan. Franc-Gal also possesses the eloquence of Gallic Hercules, as he accepts Piscaraxe as his beloved and admonishes his loyal subjects to obey her. These layers of allusions, while they make *Alector* fairly inaccessible to the modern reader, (unless he is equipped with a well-annotated edition and ample patience) spoke to a real preoccupation with narratives justifying French superiority. This kaleidoscope of esoteric allusions and allegorical prose is not unique to Aneau's prose. His imitation of geographical and mythological writing from other sources is crafted as an appeal to a readership that shares his cosmic vision of French supremacy in a universal world order. Hermetic writing was commonly employed by sixteenth-century writers to communicate shared intellectual and

philosophical ideals, and the allusions that intersperse Aneau's prose serve as literary emblems, conveying meaning to like-minded readers. Aneau's engagement with the emblematic tradition is manifest through his translation into French of Alciato's famous *emblemata*, a volume that appeared in 1549. The emblem was a favored motif of the mapmakers and cartographers who shared Aneau's cosmopolitan ideals. Oronce Finé and Abraham Ortelius used codiform projections to portray the world in the form of a human heart, relying on the *topos* of the heart as a microcosm, furthering the notion of the world as a theater where humans exercise free will in their quest for eternal salvation. Their work deliberately echoes the ancient stoic representation of the world as *theatrum mundi*. Guillaume Postel, himself a mapmaker, was an ardent admirer of Ortelius's *Theatrum* and deemed his atlas to be the most important book after the Bible.[82] Like Aneau, Postel employed geographical symbolism to support his notion of a universal world order, while relying upon mythological commonplaces to confirm French supremacy in the cosmos.

Franc-Gal is not a national hero; he is a citizen of the world, a sentiment that can be traced back to the Roman stoic philosophers and the gospel of Saint Paul.[83] Franc-Gal does not stay in Scythia to reign over the newly civilized and organized populace because of his desire for a "peregrination universelle" which he justifies thus:

> Car estimant toute la terre donnée aux filz des homes pour habitation par le Souverain Seigneur, qui se est reservé le Ciel des Cieux, n'estre que une maison et domicile des humains, je m'estimoie indigne du nom d'homme et d'estre tenu de la famille humaine si je n'avoie veu et recogneu toutes les parties de ceste maison universelle (p 94)

[82] Giorgio Mangani, "Abraham Ortelius and the Hermetic Meaning of the Codiform Projection." *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 50, 1998. 63-66, 77.
[83] See Kwame Appiah's *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006.

Despite his undeniable ties to the French race, Franc-Gal is characterized by worldliness. His behavior echoes the heroes of classical antiquity, but his movement betrays an erudite acquaintance with territories beyond the scope of the classical world. In this respect, Aneau is participating in a hybridization of genres that was quite en vogue in the sixteenth century: that of "blending classical literary cosmography with geographical knowledge from a century of discovery" to achieve a work that "stages the globe as a maritime surface for Europe's *telos.*"[84] The description of Franc-Gal's frenetic world tour, replete with geographical references and movement, only serves as a reminder of the relative vastness of the universe with respect to the particularity of the Gallic landscape. Alector's relationship to France is, alas, never defined, due to Aneau's untimely and brutal demise before the completion of book two. Nevertheless, Alector's emulation of his father suggests a relationship to space and to movement that is privileged by his princely status, and vice versa.

Franc-Gal's movement is both horizontal and vertical: he moves up and down in episodes such as the ascent of the Tour d'Anange, and laterally in his walk to Orbe with Croniel. This multidirectional movement suggests the gridded space illustrated by sixteenth-century French mapmakers such as Oronce Finé, Jean Jolivet and Guillaume Postel. Aristotle and Ptolemy described a universe in which the heavens and the earth are fixed, and the celestial sphere rotates on an axis. Alector represents an allegorization of space in which the monarch functions as the axis of history. The role of mapping in the sixteenth century, according to Frank Lestringant and Monique Pelletier, was to "mold the future by giving orientation to the present"[85] – and this is precisely Franc-Gal's role in the universe evoked by Aneau. The narrative is structured along the horizontal axis of Franc-Gal's promenade with Croniel Archier, during which he tells of his

[84] Cosgrove, op. cit. 79.
[85] Frank Lestringant and Monique Pelletier. "Maps and Descriptions of the World in Sixteenth-Century France" in Woodward, op. cit.. 1463.

world travels and the birth of his son. Franc-Gal's superhuman omniscience is related to his ability to move up and down aboard his fantastical flying steed. The allegorical Tour d'Anange is another vertical ascent that serves to illustrate the hero's privileged relationship with space and time: Franc-Gal soars higher than mere mortals, lives longer, and is thus endowed with visionary, god-like capabilities.

Alector's formation as prince consists in an effort to emulate Franc-Gal's relationship to space, and his resultant proclivity for ordering the universe according to humanistic principles. The young prince has several false starts, represented by his thwarted attempts to achieve and control his own vertical movement. As Alector embarks on a journey to find his father, his first tribulation occurs as he traverses Asia Minor, arriving at the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates. At the intersection of three roads, he finds a shield emblazoned with the figure of a rooster, and tries to appropriate it. A black knight appears and demands that Alector return the shield. Alector refuses, and as a result he is whisked into the air and then shaken by the knight, who: "en l'espace de deux ou trois heures, le transporta à plus de six cens lieües du lieu où il l'avoit prins; et un peu devant jour s'abaissa à la hauteur d'une lance près de terre" (p 141-142).

The result of this encounter is hardly extraordinary. Alector discovers that the black knight Gallehault is actually a friend who was in fact rescuing him from savage beasts by hoisting him into the air. Alector receives the rooster-embossed shield not as a gift, but as his birthright ("*A l'escu plus effort ne fais, Il est pour l'enfant né deux fois*" p 145). However, the episode is indicative of Alector's naive failure to navigate vertical space: he is not in control of his own movement, but is snatched into the air by an apparent adversary, against his will. Alector's involuntary flight with Gallehault prefigures a second vertical mishap, which occurs as he is reunited with his father. At the beginning of this episode, Franc-Gal has an alarming

premonition involving birds: a woodpigeon, a crow, a vulture, and eagle and a swan. In his dream, the woodpigeon is ravished by a vulture, while in the act of carrying a laurel branch. As noted by Fontaine, the woodpigeon, representing Alector, is a bird known for its capacity for long flight. Sure enough, when Alector tries to climb aboard the flying hippopotamus, he is ravished by the wind, inspiring the next stage of Franc-Gal's world tour: the quest for his son ("ô Alector, Basilisc, petit roy, enfant Royal"! p 151) and his subsequent journey to Orbe. Once again, Alector has failed to imitate the voluntary, controlled flight exhibited by his father.

An opposition between royal movement and unintentional or ill-intentioned movement is further reinforced by an anecdote that Franc-Gal hears during his long walk to Orbe. The better part of Aneau's fabulous narrative is imparted by Franc-Gal during his walk with Croniel Archier. This trajectory on foot is noteworthy, not only because Franc-Gal has temporarily renounced his epic global peregrination, deigning to progress on foot, but also because it underscores the sense of Franc-Gal's role as the narrative's fulcrum. Franc-Gal and Croniel walk and talk, their forward movement occurring in conjunction with the narrative's progress. Their horizontal trajectory is punctuated by tales of vertical movement: the Tower of Anange and Franc-Gal's tour of the globe, and two anecdotes about Alector's involuntary flight.

An additional tale of flight is told by Croniel, and serves to illustrate the antithesis to royal movement. In an anecdote that incorporates several topoi of popular fiction, Croniel tells of a strange foreign merchant who arrived in Orbe, "noir comme un Aithiopian", a "marchant temporal" named Mammon who traffics in time.[86] Mammon is a foreigner, a merchant, and black - descriptive qualities that announce the despicable undertakings he subsequently enacts. Enamored of a local maiden, he attempts to rape her, and then poisons her in a most nefarious

[86] While the idea of a "marchant temporal" is not explained, just as spatial movement can be enacted for good or evil purposes, so too can time be manipulated for good or for evil – Franc-Gal uses his powers of premonition to help; it is suggested that Mammon's manipulation of time is, by contrast, for selfish, harmful motives.

way, with a “pomme de Venus” that causes her to die in the throes of “rêves impudiques”. The result of Mammon’s repugnant necrophilia is a child named Desalethès, characterized by his duplicity, and notably referred to as a prince of evil. In his youth, Desalethès embodies all the negative stereotypes of Renaissance travelers and merchants: he counterfeits money, opens letters, spreads gossip, uses flattery to his own evil ends, and is described as a “vendeur de fumées Thurines" (75). He is eventually decapitated for his mischief, and his head takes flight, flapping its ears and disappearing into the sky above for three whole days. In the end, Desalethès’s evil flying head reports that he was denied access to the Tower of Ananges: “Où je n’ay peu monter, ayant demerité de tomber au fin fond, pour avoir trop menti” (79).

The birth and life of this evil anti-prince are juxtaposed with the righteous trials of the virtuous prince Alector. In contrast to Desalthès’s flight, which showcases his avarice and malice, Alector’s movement is eventually motivated by the benevolent practice of superhuman sapience. Fontaine highlights several of the parallels between Desalethès and the anti-heroes of early popular fiction, such as Ulenspiegel. It is likewise hard to escape the parallels between Desalethès and Pantagruel’s mischievous foil Panurge, who functions as his alter-ego. Aneau even employs the Rabelaisian technique of comic enumeration to describe Desalethès education in the “bons ars de faulseté et de mensonge”: his tutor Psudomanthanon (“master liar” in Greek, according to Fontaine) schools him in the following lying practices:

> Magie, Cabale, Thalmud, Hypocrisie, Frerie, Idolatrie, Astrologie judiciaire, Sophisterie, Poësie, Alchimie, Empirie, Medicastrie, Triaclerie, Cautelle Cepollaine, Pillatique, Banquerie, Usure, Interesserie, Change, Blescherie, Jargon, Gueusserie, Sophistication, Falsification de qualitez, poix et mesures, Billonnage, Happelourderie, Faulse monnoie, Saffanerie brezillée, Gingembrerie carronnée, Empoisement, Empuisement, Empoisonnement, Moilleures, Lanternerie cordage, Tenterie, Revente, Jaserie, Plaisanterie, Maquerellage, Flaterie, Parasiterie, Crocqueterie, Courtisanerie, Menterie, Diablerie, Damnerie et toutes telles sciences et practiques desguisantes ou destruisantes verité. (p 72-3)

Desalthès immoral education is reminiscent of Rabelais's critique of the Sorbonne's sophism, although Rabelais's criticism is decidedly more pointed and less contradictory. Likewise, the personage of Panurge is not depicted in the black and white moral terms that Aneau employs for Desalethès. Where Panurge is naughty, Desalethès is downright malevolent. In Rabelais's work, Panurge and Pantagruel are friends; they interact with each other and together they join forces to navigate the territories and situations encountered by the young prince. In Aneau's work, by contrast, Alector and Desalethès never meet, and are starkly ideologically opposed. Their stories overlap but do not intersect. Aneau does not admit that there are shades of gray in the portrait of an ideal prince. The condemnation of Desalethès as a despicable prince of evil prepares Prince Alector's ultimate triumph and redemption before the people of Orbe.

Alector's eventual victory over the serpent that menaces the city of Orbe represents the culmination of his princely formation. This conquest is also the crowning accomplishment in Alector's mission to prove himself to the citizens of Orbe as a traveler of pure and benevolent intentions, as opposed to an ill-intentioned rogue like Desalethès. Of central importance is his appropriation of the classification "estrangier", an epithet that is applied both to his father Franc-Gal and to Desalethès's father Mammon, with contrasting implications. Upon his arrival on the outskirts of Orbe, Franc-Gal is immediately identified as an honorable traveler by Croniel Archier: "car à sa personne et à ses armes et habitz, bien le cognoissoit estre estrangier" (48). Franc-Gal gains Croniel's trust by fighting and killing a lion that had been lurking in the forest, about to strike. In addition to confirming his status as a friendly traveler ("O estrangier, mon ami" 52), the slaughtering of the lion is yet another deed that links Franc-Gal to French national identity, the motif of the lion fighting the rooster being a common motif in medieval and Renaissance French literature (438-9).

However, the designation of "estrangier" was not usually a positive one, and a foreigner was rarely the harbinger of good fortune in popular literature of the sixteenth century. Franc-Gal's appropriation of this label is another noteworthy aspect of his personage: even among strangers, he inspires trust and awe, unlike a typical foreigner. The portrait of the typical "estrangier" is found in the personage of the merchant Mammon: "un homme incogneu", black, rich, and ugly. Over the course of the novel, Alector must refine his status as "estrangier" to prove that he is a benevolent outsider like his father, and not a malicious outsider like Mammon. At the outset, he fails. The narration commences with Alector in the bedroom of his ladylove Noémie, surprised by her pugnacious brothers, who are outraged by the dishonor thus caused "par l'estrangier qu'ilz avoient tant honnorablement recue et tant gratieusement entretenu en leur Gratianne maison et famille" (18). The *topos* of the lover hiding in the bedroom is a commonplace of early popular fiction, and Noémie's brothers react accordingly, condemning him as "estrangier, espion, insidiateur de lictz pudiques, violateur d'hospitalité, rapteur de virginité, voleur et effracteur de nobles maisons, turbateur de paix publique et meurtrier sanguinaire," et cetera (24). Noémie is struck by an arrow that was meant for her lover, and Alector is blamed. Alector's response during his trial is to protest most stridently against the appellation "estrangier": "Ilz me dissent estre incogneu estrangier," he protests citing his lineage as the son of Franc-Gal, "Ainsi je suys noble, non incogneu estrangier (comme ilz dissent), mais mondain et citoyen du monde… et ne me tenant estrangier en nulle noble maison qui soit ouverte aux gens de bien." (26).

Alector thereby announces an opposition between the negative perception of "estrangier" and his own status as a nobleman and world citizen, "citoyen du monde." He strives to claim the authority that his father possesses, as one whose royal status and benevolent intentions are

confirmed by a mystical knowledge of the cosmos. While Alector's agreeable demeanor ("visage liberal et asseuré") garners the crowd's approbation ("la grace et faveur de tous"), he still must prove himself to the citizens of Orbe, for whom he is a troublesome outsider. This brings us to the terminal episode in book one of Aneau's unfinished epic, that of Alector's battle with the serpent in the arena of Orbe. In Orbe's arena, Franc-Gal arrives in time to witness his son's "premiers honneurs en terre estrangiere" (192). The citizens of Orbe are overcome with admiration of "ces deux personages estrangiers, le pere et le filz", and they marvel at being saved "par mains des estraingiers" (194). Thanks to Alector's feat, saving Orbe from "nostre cruel ennemi internel" (195), he is received as a citizen of Orbe, and crowned with "la coronne Civique" as the city's liberator. When Alector bestows the crown upon his father, in an act of filial piety, Franc-Gal dies of joy. The king is dead; long live the king.

Leading up to Alector's victory is Aneau's detailed "Corographie de la ville d'Orbe" that constitutes all of Chapter 24. The city of Orbe is characterized by its symbolic symmetry, evoking a spherical microcosm that marks the endpoint of Franc-Gal's navigation of the globe and celestial spheres. His first destination in Orbe is the temple, where "en parfaicte rondeur" the citizens of Orbe contemplate the heavens "par un grand trou rond de trois coudées en diameter, donnant veüe et regard au Ciel ouvert" (155). As Fontaine corroborates, the spherical temple is an allusion to the circle as a symbol of the world, the circle of God, eternity, and perfection. Orbe is likewise depicted as a perfectly circular city, bounded by thick stone walls, "close en parfaicte circularité" (169). Four main streets traverse the city, and four doors and four bridges connect Orbe to the outside world, which is divided into four temporal zones that correspond to the four seasons. There are likewise four ports, where "les marchans de toutes nations et langues" travel up the river Clotterre and assemble to trade their wares (182). Vertical structures (towers, pillars,

structures such as the arena and coliseum) suggest a view from above, in addition to the increase in elevation as one moves towards the city center, where a temple marks the highest point. The depiction of Orbe is one of self-contained utopian perfection, separated from the chaos of the outside world by physical ramparts as well as by a sense of ideological superiority.

This idealized version of an imaginary city is reminiscent of fifteenth century theories on city planning, devised by architects such as Brunelleschi and Alberti, who developed and refined Ptolemaic systems of coordinates to plan and to illustrate Italian Renaissance cities. In her monograph on Renaissance city maps, Naomi Miller affirms: "Just as medieval cartography placed symbolism and moralizing above geographic precision, so the Italian Renaissance could subordinate the science of mapmaking to a desire to convey ideas no less dear to its particular ideology and politics."[87] For all his allusions to real geographical locales across the globe, Aneau's ultimate achievement was to illustrate a thoroughly imaginary world of idealized space. His dream of a spherical utopia at the center of a spherical universe is crowned by the presence of a cosmopolitan ruler, who employs his worldly knowledge to ensure the wellbeing of his subjects. The world outside of Orbe is portrayed as ordered chaos, which the young prince Alector must learn to navigate by emulating his father's grasp of movement along an axis of horizontal and vertical space. The threat to the ideal city, however, comes not from without, but from within: the sinister "ennemi internel" represented by the serpent, and subsequently vanquished by the rooster, "qui naturellement luy est redoubtable" (p 186). Salvation comes at the hand of a cosmopolitan hero, a "citizen of the world."

Shifting perspectives, evolving visions

[87] Naomi Miller, *Mapping the City: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance* (London: Continuum, 2003) 156.

The aforementioned texts hail from three distinct periods in French history. Marot's poems from 1507 and 1509 are representative of a time when France's foothold in Italy was firm enough to inspire dreams of expanded borders and increased national space. Rabelais's novel from 1532, by contrast, questions the wisdom and the morality of imperial conquest at a time when an impending shift in the power balance in Europe threatened to alter France's status with respect to other countries on the continent. His work from 1552 casts a profounder look into France's complex internal politics, disguised as a gaze towards new worlds. By 1560, the date of publication of Aneau's *Alector*, France was on the cusp of the Wars of Religion, and the threat of internal discord combined with increasing interest in New World discoveries had stifled the call for new territorial acquisitions on the European continent. Marot, Rabelais, and Aneau all created literary versions of an ideal prince: one real in a real space, one fictional in a real space, and one fictional in a fictional space. All three princes do a great deal of moving, and in all three texts, the prince's movement sheds light on evolving attitudes towards what constitutes France. These three authors seek to inscribe the prince into a myth of French origins, and in doing so draw from a similar inventory of mythological commonplaces to describe his role with respect to the nation. All three likewise portray exploits of a prince who is removed from his native soil. Princely movement takes on a distinctly different character in each work, partly as a function of creative differences between them, but also in response to the changing political climate in France and Europe over the course of the sixteenth century and changing notions of how spatial knowledge related to the ability to govern.

Louis XII's travails in the *Voyage de Gênes* and the *Voyage de Venise* represent an orientation towards the exterior that shaped and defined the period of his rule. Marot chooses to glorify Louis XII's exceptional talent for moving horizontally and negotiating obstacles, both

natural and man-made. As the King moves through space, his environs are bathed in the aura of his influence: where he goes, he is heralded by cries of "France." Cities are personified, and people are animalized. France is a concept, rather than a place. Loyalty to the idea of France, embodied in the personage of its King, creates the French nation space. Like water carving a path through rock, Louis XII's forward movement is as relentless and inevitable as it is far-reaching. The result is a portrait of France as a cult of influence with the potential to spill over its frontiers and reach past the limits of its natural boundaries. The ideal monarch, as portrayed by Marot, is one with the potential to serve as figurehead for the transmission of this influence and the capacity to reach past existing territorial limits. Spatial constraints exist, but not for the King.

This orientation towards the exterior that defines Marot's ideal prince is accompanied by a sense of nationality as a malleable and sometimes inconsequential designation. Among those fighting for Louis XII in the *Voyage de Venise* are Swiss, Albanian, and German soldiers, lumped together with "princes de France et autres provinces" and "aventuriers" from Picardy, Normandy, and Gascony. There is not a strong sense that their geographical provenance has an impact on their respective abilities to serve as cogs in the machine of the King's momentum, but simply that their willingness to serve is indicative of his value as leader, at once a father figure and a "chef", implying either "boss" or more figuratively "head" of his people. The Genoese are described as "sans foy et sans loy"; Louis XII is thus called upon to exert the power of "roy".

In spite of the power of French influence, Louis XII's herculean capacity for transalpine movement, and the elder Marot's unflagging enthusiasm, the Wars in Italy ultimately failed. In a text that was published contemporaneously with Marot's poems (published posthumously) and Rabelais's *Pantagruel*, the notorious Italian statesman Machiavelli blames France's failed campaign in Italy on the fact that Louis XII neglected to take the necessary steps in order to

secure territorial acquisitions on foreign soil, where customs and language differences necessarily compromise assimilation. In Chapter Three of *The Prince*, Machiavelli gives as a counterexample the French acquisition of territories such as Brittany, Burgundy, Gascony and Normandy, where preexisting similarities in language and mores allowed for easy integration. It is not so easy, however, to acquire lands where a different language is spoken. In Chapter Thirteen, Machiavelli likewise condemns the practice of enlisting the aid of mercenary soldiers. Without this detrimental practice, he contends, France would be untouchable. Louis XII's orientation towards the exterior, it would seem, was also the root of his failure.

By Rabelais's time, it appears to have been common knowledge that France needed to change its approach to national space. François I's reign saw an increasing impulse to unify the French kingdom through use of the vernacular. Yardeni describes this "patriotisme linguistique" that was embraced by the authors of the Pléiade and persisted into the second half of the sixteenth century as constituting the strongest and most stable element of French national sentiment.[88] Language and geography play a decidedly significant role in *Pantagruel*, but the role of language in the construction of national identity is not evident. Tom Conley posits that the multi-lingual riffs performed by Panurge in his first encounter with Pantagruel constitute a language map that ends with the exchange of good French, thereby confirming Pantagruel's participation in an ideology of space.[89] However, Edwin Duval maintains that this exchange serves to demonstrate the opacity of language, and the supremacy of caritas for an ideal Christian prince: Panurge's appearance spoke for him, rendering words obsolete, and Pantagruel's first instinct as monarch should be to administer Christian charity.[90] In Duval's theory, the prince's

[88] Yardeni, 50.
[89] Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1997) 146.
[90] Duval, 70.

use of the national language is less crucial to winning loyalty than the practice of brotherly love. Unifying a country under one language may subsequently be less important than unifying it under one ideology.

France is presented in Rabelais's text as an amalgam of different places, each associated with a different story.[91] Pantagruel's effortless itinerancy sets him apart from the typical traveler. He is uniquely capable of inscribing himself into the narrative past of a multitude of French cities. Rabelais's fictional prince thus underscores the difficulty of fostering a sense of unity in a nation made up of disparate traditions and backgrounds. While Pantagruel could traverse huge swaths of space with ease, the average real-time traveler could only move 20 to 30 kilometers per day on foot.[92] A giant may be capable of transcending the usual constraints of space and time, but a normal person in sixteenth-century France, for whom travel was still a complicated affair, bears indelible traces of his geographical provenance, and is a fool to attempt to obfuscate them, as evidenced by the episode recounting the comeuppance of the unfortunate student from Limoges. Rabelais's ideal prince is able to navigate the geographical totality of the nation as well as its regional particularities, suggesting an approach that the real King of France might adopt as he tries to reconcile the universal and the particular in the governance of his vast and multifarious kingdom. Indeed, François I covered a significant amount of territory during his reign, with his itinerant court in tow. This is reminiscent of another observation made by Machiavelli in his *Discourses on Livy*: a commander of armies must have knowledge of the universal and the particular with respect to the geography of his nation and its surroundings. This point of view is likewise endorsed by Claude Seyssel in *La Grande Monarchie de France*, published in 1519, who exhorted François I to visit his provinces and to live in conquered

[91] Lestringant expands upon the idea of "cheminement discursif" in his essay "Rabelais et le récit toponymique", *op. cit.*
[92] Arlette Jouanna, *La France du 16^{e} siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996) 8.

areas.[93] Pantagruel seems to take this advice to heart as he gains topographical knowledge of the French kingdom.

Unlike Marot, Rabelais does not use *Pantagruel* as a platform for lauding French national superiority, and touting imperial pretentions. Instead, he seems to question the possibility of centrality and supremacy by unremittingly lampooning Paris, the seat of despised Sorbonnic sophistry. From the foolish crowds that gape at Pantagruel to the hypocritical women, friars and students that Panurge torments, Paris is portrayed as a hotbed of ignorance, rather than of humanistic principles. In spite of its status as the most heavily populated city in France in the sixteenth century and the chosen abode of François I after 1528, Rabelais's Paris is portrayed as a contaminated space, rather than a nexus of intellectual exchange. Panurge's vulgar allusion to a fortification made of genitalia infected with venereal disease reflects this sense of contamination and impurity. The idea of penetrability is reinforced by Panurge's antics around the city walls of Paris: he dumps dung on the night watch by the Collège de Navarre, and sets a trail of gunpowder on fire to scare the same unfortunate watchmen. Paris is a penetrable mish-mash of identities that foments ignorance and incoherence, rather than unity. Unity, in Rabelais's work, is an unrealized ideal: space is fractured, and everyday people naturally abide within the limits of their own spatial reality (like the planter of cabbages inside Pantagruel's mouth). Ideal monarchs and imaginary giants don't play by the same rules as everyday folk: their ability to move through space is an issue of national importance, where observation and participation lead to understanding and the ability to serve. The diversity of the French nation is its essential characteristic in Rabelais's portrait of France. Contamination is an inevitable consequence of physical displacement, and efforts to unify and contain should be undertaken with caution.

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[93] For a discussion on the topographical wisdom of monarchs, see Kagan and Schmidt, "Maps and the Early Modern State" in Woodward, *op. cit.*

In Rabelais's *Quart Livre* there is a sense of connection between knowledge of the homeland and a prince's ability to know the world. The business of exploring new territories and negotiating international concerns does not preclude the necessity of intimate acquaintance with the nation of origin and its variety of regional iterations. The passengers aboard the Thalamege are looking outwards towards the expanding horizons of the world, and simultaneously looking inwards at the idiosyncrasies that sculpt their understanding of France. As it happens, the bizarre new worlds that Pantagruel's fleet encounters are no stranger than the old world they left behind, and their experience of the political tribulations in these allegorical island nations has a didactic quality that suggests how a prince's governance of his own subjects may improve through orientation towards the outside world. Pantagruel's leadership is effective because he maintains sight of the principle that is fundamentally at stake: his subjects' wellbeing. In the *Quart Livre*, the prince's role consists in seeing more than in doing, and in standing firm through tumultuous times. In keeping with his performance in the first installment of the Pantagruelian chronicles, Pantagruel strives for conciliation and understanding, rather than superiority and dominance.

In Aneau's *Alector*, in stark contrast to Rabelais's *Pantagruel*, a notion of French superiority resonates. Aneau depicts an urban ideal that clashes with Rabelais's portrayal of an impure and imperfect Paris. Aneau embraces an idealized universal geography where concentric spheres symbolize perfection, culminating in the city of Orbe, where the egg-hatched hero Alector enjoys his first definitive victory. Geography is allegorized in Aneau's work to craft the portrait of a leader endowed with a divine capacity for vision. Aneau's ideal prince is above all a visionary, who uses his capacity for vertical movement to anticipate the future and to protect his mortal subjects from earthly perils. To see space is to control it. Alector is the only work of the three that strays from horizontal itinerancy to incorporate a bird's eye view of the world: Franc-

Gal's clairvoyance is attributed to his faculty for rising into the heavens and contemplating the earthly sphere from on high.

In *Alector*, there is a note of urgency in Aneau's constant allusions to Gallic and biblical mythology. This is another point of contrast between Aneau and his predecessor Rabelais, who relied on the same literary traditions to construct *Pantagruel*, and evidently inspired many elements of Aneau's fantastical story. Unlike Rabelais, Aneau strives to affirm French supremacy while simultaneously demonstrating a cosmopolitan sensibility. As a result, there is a stilted quality in his attempt to distinguish France from the myriad of other global locations evoked throughout his narrative. To be fair, Aneau was accused of Protestant sympathies and murdered before he could produce his depiction of Gaul. Nonetheless, in *Alector*, France hardly progresses beyond the status of an idea, and never becomes a real place, as it is portrayed in Rabelais's work.

Over the course of these three works, the literary prince's relationship with space evolves alongside an evolving idea of what France is. Marot's prince is a king who can smash through barriers, who traverses space by the power of his irresistible influence, and who subsequently transmits his influence to new territories. Marot's *Voyage de Gênes* and *Voyage de Venise* demonstrate an orientation towards the exterior that characterized the period during which France's borders were still perceived to be extendable. While Marot's prince is on the inside looking out, Rabelais's prince is on the inside looking in, a corporeal being who compassionately observes the disparate singularities that together make up the French nation space. Pantagruel's superhuman capacity for horizontal movement spans a France that is the sum of its parts, which cannot be melted down and homogenized to conform to the conventions of its governing body. The Rabelaisian prince becomes of a facet of the landscapes he traverses, and inscribes himself

into the popular imagination, eventually embodying a nation. The idea of a superior France, however, finds no place in Rabelais's work, where nationalism is effaced in favor of Christian humanism.

The perspective in *Alector* is from the outside looking in. The prince is no longer a chivalric warrior bent on territorial expansion, or an itinerant traveler exploring and participating in the local histories that make up the French kingdom. Rather, he is a supernatural being whose vertical movement through space is an allegory for superior cosmic vision, and whose mythological pedigree is a mandate for his divine right to rule. Aneau's work anticipates the work of cosmographer Guillaume Postel, whose 1578 world map features a meridian bisecting Paris, making Paris not just the center of France, but the center of the world. Postel sought to establish a direct correspondence between geography and ideology, believing that nature held the signs that would confirm divine design.[94] It comes as no surprise that this preoccupation with a vision of French wholeness and unity came at the dawn of one of France's darkest periods, when the differences between its peoples caused an ideological rift that threatened to tear apart the nation. For all the geographical incoherencies in *Alector*, Aneau may well have been correct in attributing to the ideal prince the qualities of a visionary. Unfortunately, he died before the ascension to the throne of Henri IV, the "visuel"[95] or visionary who had the foresight necessary to resolve France's interior conflict and reinforce the unity and security of his kingdom, just as prince Alector liberated the city of Orbe from the evil serpent who lurked within its walls.

[94] Nancy Bouzrara and Tom Conley, "Cartography and Literature in Early Modern France" in Woodward, *op. cit*., 430.
[95] *ibid.*

Chapter Three: Noble and Mobile

In medieval France, nobility was rooted in place. One of the primordial qualifications of nobility in the Middle Ages was the possession of a fiefdom and a coat of arms, which granted one the right to carry a sword, to wear special clothes, and to enjoy tax exemption and other legal privileges.[96] Movement was an element of the original concept of French nobility, which, as a military profession, necessitated spatial displacement as a function of duty, and the nobleman was associated with the chivalric hero of the medieval *chanson de geste*. As the quotidian realities of life in France changed over time, so too did conceptions of what defined its nobility, and the reasons that noblemen moved. The noble class, which had established itself on land ownership and management, was impelled to travel in quest of offices and distinctions that might enhance their prestige, power and wealth.[97] The question of how to act nobly preoccupied sixteenth century authors, particularly given the developing notion that education and a career in letters may have the same ennobling affect as a career in arms.[98] As movement became easier and more realizable for persons of status with financial means, and necessary as a result of the demands of an itinerant court, noble motives for movement broadened beyond the scope of defense and conquest. Prudent judgment began to rival action as the hallmark of noble conduct. The mobile nobleman in literature reflects the expanding variety of rationalizations for noble movement in the sixteenth century, and the nuanced figure cut by the noble traveler.

The sixteenth century saw a growing number of noblemen who traveled for reasons of curiosity, education, and self-improvement, rather than bellicose aims. Literary works from the latter half of the century suggest some of the preoccupations and justifications that characterized

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[96] Ellery Schalk, *From Valor to Pedigree: Ideas of Nobility in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) 147.
[97] Arlette Jouanna, *Le Devoir de révolte* (Paris: Fayard, 1989) 40.
[98] James Supple, *Arms versus Letters: the Military and Literary Ideals of Michel de Montaigne* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) 62.

noble travel in the early modern period. Among them are the *Amant Resuscité de la Mort d'Amour* by Nicolas Denisot, published at the dawn of the Wars of Religion, the *Journal de Voyage* by Montaigne, realized during the Wars, and the *Aventures du Baron de Faeneste* by Agrippa d'Aubigné, which primarily takes place in the wake of the Wars. In spite of their artistic differences, all three have autobiographical elements. All three authors portray noble movement in part as a reaction to political pressure, whether to serve the king, to bow to the demands of government office, to seek favors from powerful political players or refuge from the turmoil of a country at war with itself. While many noblemen enjoyed freedom and resources that granted them a considerable measure of mobility, they remained, to a certain extent, satellites of the king and court, by necessity. These literary works attest to cleavages within the noble class itself, and how noble movement responded to the tension of rifts between the *noblesse de robe* and the *noblesse d'épée*, as well as between rival religious factions. As the political and economic climate in France changed, the question of noble identity became intertwined with the question of French identity. The following discussion examines how a selection of noblemen and their literary avatars understood and enacted movement, how the trappings of their status may have privileged or distinguished their movement, and how mobility influenced noblemen's conception of France, both as a space and as a country, in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Far from upholding a single traveling "type," these literary portrayals underscore the nuanced character of the sixteenth century nobleman in motion. They are noteworthy as evidence of noble reflection on the value of movement with respect to the noble persona.

An Innocent Abroad: Denisot's *Amant resuscité*

The biography of Nicolas Denisot is in many ways more interesting than his polygenous narrative published in 1558, *L'amant resuscité de la mort d'amour*. Denisot's career as an author

and poet was supplemented by his work as a cartographer, a talent that he employed in an espionage mission to England in 1556 to report to the French king on the fortifications of Calais. During a previous tenure in England, Denisot honed his English while serving as tutor to the Duke of Somerset's daughters: Anne, Margaret, and Jane Seymour. Although Denisot had the distinction of creating the first illustrated map of Peru produced in France, he enjoyed only marginal success as a poet and author. *L'amant resuscité* is classified as a failure by its contemporary editor, Véronique Duché-Gavet, who attributes its lack of appeal both to Denisot's heavy-handed prose and to the confusion of genres within his work.[99] Nevertheless, the narrative provides a noteworthy snapshot of the mores of a nobleman in motion midway through the sixteenth century, in addition to his attitudes towards France and other nations.

L'amant resuscité is a novel in five books, an homage to the nascent genre of the *roman sentimental*, and an amalgam of erudite classical and biblical passages that Denisot integrates liberally into his text without citing their sources. Denisot's primary inspiration was a pair of Spanish novels whose French translations were in vogue during the first half of the sixteenth century, namely the *Tractado de amores de Arnalte a Lucenda* and the *Carcel de amor* by Diego de San Pedro.[100] The protagonist and narrator of the *Amant resuscité* is Theodose Valentinian, a nobleman and adventure-seeker who resolves to travel the known world: "je prins deliberation de peregriner par les contrees et nations estranges",[101] less for curiosity's sake than to improve his character: "Moins je vous asseure… pour envie que j'eusse de paistre et contenter mes yeux de la veue de chasteaux, villes, places et bourgades, que pour par ce moyen establir en moy facilité de complexions, moderation d'esprit, et quelque peu de prudence." Valentinian declines to give

[99] Véronique Duché-Gavet in the Introduction to her critical edition of *L'Amant resuscité de la mort d'amour* (Geneva: Droz, 1998) 45.
[100] *ibid*, 30.
[101] Nicolas Denisot, *L'Amant resuscité de la mort d'amour*, ed. Duché-Gavet. Further citations refer to this edition.

details on the cities he has visited, preferring to elucidate his strategy for navigating foreign places. His first order of business is to visit notable inhabitants "qui eussent reputation d'estre sçavans et doctes" (69). He makes a point of surrounding himself with the most learned men in every new territory, inviting them to his lodgings, questioning them, making sure to "prendre d'eux le fruict pour lequel je les avois cherchez." A year into his vagabondage, weary of the tribulations suffered during a journey to the Levant ("coursaires", "barbares" and "monstres, qui sont ordinaires en telles contrees," 70), Valentinian decides to return home to France, only to endure the greatest trial of the entire voyage: a storm, followed by a shipwreck. As Duché-Gavet confirms, the narration of this event is an almost direct translation of the "Naufragium" from Erasmus's *Colloquies*.

Miraculously, Valentinian manages to reach a nearby port, where a host of swarthy men endeavor to rescue the ship's remaining survivors. Valentinian asks his saviors what country he is in, and finds that he has arrived in Great Britain. He makes his way to London, "qui est la premiere et principale ville du royaume, et en laquelle pour lors le Roy faisoit sa residence" (78), and naturally goes to visit the King's house, his court, the princes and lords of the kingdom, and the great ladies. According to Valentinian's custom, he seeks out the country's learned men, and takes lodging in a neighborhood whose noble inhabitants, including the wives and children, have learned French "par une curiosité honneste" (79). It is through these people, who hail from "bonnes maisons et familes des principaux de la ville", that Valentinian is introduced to a gravely ill patient and fellow countryman, whose ultimate fate is unsubtly disclosed by the novel's title. The sick man came to England for some business at court, only to fall sick with a mysterious ailment from which he seems unlikely to recover.

At the end of Book One, Valentinian applies his powers of observation and his knowledge from past experiences to deduce that the patient is lovesick, a diagnosis which the King's own doctors had been helpless to proffer. Book Two is a treatise on "parfait amour" given by the Countess Marguerite, followed in Book Three by a narration of the story of Lucenda and Arnalte from Diego de San Pedro's novel and the story of Dido and Aeneas from the *Aeneid*. Only in Books Four and Five does the patient (exclusively referred to as "le malade") tell his tale of woe, which consists of a clandestine marriage to the most beautiful girl in his native region in France, who apparently requited his affection, only to learn of her marriage to another shortly after his departure to England on an errand for the French King, a trajectory that bears a suspicious resemblance to Denisot's. A number of pages are devoted to the discussion and interpretation of the patient's bizarre dreams. At the end of Book Five, the patient dies, is mourned briefly and heartily by all, and then miraculously comes back to life, as the book's title suggests.

Although, as Duché-Gavet suggests, the novel's lengthy discourses on love and on dreams may have proven tedious even for Denisot's contemporaries, several episodes within the *Amant resuscité* reveal attitudes towards travel amongst men of a certain social standing, in addition to attitudes towards the nation-space of France. Valentinian's choice to "peregriner par les contrees et nations estranges" is one that he staunchly endorses, citing the travels of great men such as Pythagoras, Plato, the "nobles et grans seigneurs" who went to learn from Titus Livy, and Apollonius going to visit the Brahman sage Hiarcas and the Gymnosphists in Ethiopia. All these, according to Valentinian, were voyages of self-improvement, like his own, involving a refined countenance and incisive wit:

> Sachant que les plus folz sont contraintz d'estre saiges, les plus insolens par necessité aprennent modestie, et les plus dificiles en meurs par force forcee

> deviennent aysez et doux, eux trouvans en pays eslongnez du lieu de leur naissance, comme ceux qui avec peuples estrangers ne trouvent support ne faveur aucune, sinon de tant, qu'eux mesmes s'en peuvent gaigner par leur raison et providence (66).

Valentinian makes a point of visiting men and women of renown who have knowledge to share with him. During his accidental sojourn in England, he seeks out hosts "de bonne maison," subsequently learning that "en toute nation, region, et contree, il y a tousjours nombre de personnes de bonne volonté" (70). Valentinian seeks diversity while maintaining a sense of social hierarchy. Although he is surrounded by everyday travelers, as the episode of the shipwreck confirms, his status and carriage grant him access to a privileged international network of savants, who thrive upon each other's company, and whose wanderings constitute participation in a system of intellectual understanding and exchange.

Despite Valentinian's appreciation of foreign lands and the wisdom of foreign peoples, he remains unswervingly loyal to his native county, as evidenced by his discourse on the touchy subject of Anglo-French relations with his English hosts. Valentinian attends a banquet held for "plusieurs grandz seigneurs et gentilzhommes, dames et demoiselles de la court" (79) where a hotheaded guest questions the French King's entitlement to his crown, and lambasts France's Salic law, going so far as to suggest that the French King does not merit the designation of "treschretien" (83). Valentinian staunchly defends his King and country, justifying the Salic law as a reasonable measure for protecting territorial patrimony: "à ce que le royaume ne chee point en familes et maison estranges, et que perpetuellement il soit gardé et maintenu en son ancienne et accoutumee maison et famile de France" (85). It is only natural, Valentinian argues, for a kingdom to uphold its most ancient laws and customs and to safeguard its lineage. Furthermore, God is clearly on the side of the French: "le seigneur, qui est seigneur et Dieu des armees et

exercites, a esté par dessus, sachant nostre bon droit, s'est mis de nostre costé" (86), which God revealed by sending Joan of Arc to fight for the French.

Although Valentinian is attached to his country and wears his nationality proudly, tailoring his clothes "à la mode Françoyse" (79) and revealing his provenance with his demeanor ("à la contenance connoissans que j'estois Françoys"), he demonstrates a cosmopolitanism and humanitarian sympathy that outweighs his fidelity to his homeland. When his courtly companions introduce him to the sick lover, on the grounds that the two men hail from the same country, Valentinian consents to see him "sachant y estre obligé, en premier lieu pour ce qu'il est homme, secondement pour le pays" (89). Valentinian exemplifies an ideal of self-improvement through the experience and knowledge of peoples and places, erudition that is acquired through movement. Evidently, this sympathy does not undermine Valentinian's French identity or his loyalty to his King. His status as a nobleman facilitates his access to an educated elite: he continually reiterates and actualizes his desire to interact with "grand seigneurs" "de bonne maison," who recognize him by virtue of his noble bearing. Lineage is important to Valentinian, confirmed by his defense of the French right to sovereignty, but less important than treating people humanely.

Several episodes in Denisot's work suggest that nobility is not just a birthright. In Book Four, the patient introduces himself thus: "Je suis né de pere gentilhomme, de mere gentilfemme, nobles et vivans noblement, et race et de maison assez ancienne" (214). He demurs from disclosing his regional provenance in order to protect the identity of his faithless sweetheart. In his youth, his father, "ayant en grand admiration les homes doctes", sends him to Paris to study. Upon hearing this information, the Seigneur Trebatio, another nobleman in attendance at the patient's bedside, interjects with a lengthy commentary on France's error in undervaluing the

"profession des lettres" amongst its nobility. The lengthy development of his argument, in addition to the fact that it is not refuted by Valentinian, suggest that this criticism corresponds with the opinion of the novel's author:

> Je trouve certes fort raisonnable et louable, que les gensdarmes d'une republique ou royaume, comme sont ceux lesquelz vous appellez gentilzhommes en France, soyent nobles, joyssans de tous privileges et immunitez de noblesse, comme ceux qui de leurs propres corps, bras et mains font murailles et rempars aux ennemys pour sauver et defendre le pays. Mais sans point de faute, il est souz correction trop plus raisonnable que ceux qui regissent et gouvernent la republique par bonnes loix, qui aministrent au peuple la justice, et qui par les bonnes sciences par eux avec long travail et labeurs aquises font service au Roy, ou à la republique, soyent nobles ou gentilzhommes, et encores nobles en quelque plus haut degree de noblesse, comme ceux qui par leur sapience et sçavoir, sont autheurs de repos, de la paix, et de la tranquilité publique, mememt qui donnent aux peoples, aux republiques, ou royaumes, la beatitude et felicité de tout ce monde la plus grande. (215)

Trebatio's essential argument is that the *noblesse de robe* merits equal if not greater esteem in society than the *noblesse d'épée*. He goes on to vociferously abhor the "petit gentilhomme" from "petite maison" who by the sole distinction of "gentilhomme" pretends to possess more dignity than presidents and court councilors: "Quelle insolence je vous prie? Quelle barbarie? Quelle confusion de tout ordre? Quelle perversion de toute raison naturelle, et divine, et humaine?" (216). While the maintenance of order is paramount, the crucial lesson of the *Amant resuscité* is to not prefer "*chair*" over "*esprit*", a lesson that Denisot also applies to the question of nobility. A new model of nobility was emerging in turn of the century France, as *nobles de robe* began distinguishing themselves through adherence to erudite culture. Whereas the *noblesse d'épée* was defined by its bellicose virtue, the *noblesse de robe* was establishing a new platform of noble comportment based on knowledge and sound reasoning: according to Arlette Jouanna, "Ce sont pourtant des hommes de robe qui finirent par imposter un autre modèle de virtu noble, caractérisé par la culture livresque et la prudence du jugement." Some *nobles d'épée* made a

show of embracing their lack of learning in defiant reaction: "dans la mesure où la culture livresque devenait de plus en plus le signe distinctif du nouveau modèle d'homme noble, beaucoup firent ostensiblement montre d' «ignorance » pour mieux s'en différencier".[102] Denisot clearly reviles this aversion to learned culture characteristic of some members of the hereditary nobility. In his novel, the French King himself is a supporter of the education of noblemen, and abhors the culture of ignorance that plagues France's nobility: "pour l'ignorance ordinaire des gentilzhommes, je suis contraint bailler mes offices et estatz, aux enfans des villes; lesquels estatz certes, avec plus de volonté je donnerois aux gentilzhommes, s'aucuns d'eux se trouvoyent lettrez et sufisans" (313-4). The King would elect to employ noblemen if they were sufficiently educated, but they are not.

Education, according to the countess Marguerite, is the cornerstone of the nation. Taking up Trebatio's lament concerning the French hereditary nobility's troubling lack of regard for letters, she focuses on the gift of eloquence, which is likewise undervalued: "je ne me puis assez emerveiller, memement de ce que l'eloquence et les orateurs et professeurs d'icelles y sont à mepris et dedain" (225). Marguerite maintains that eloquence is the capacity by which men organize themselves spatially:

> quelle autre force et vertu a eu pouvoir, ou de faire assembler en un lieu, et congreger les hommes, au commencement dispersez et vagabondz sur la terre, ou de la vie sauvage et ferocieuse les reduire à ceste civile et humaine, ou les villes et citez ja constituees, ordonner les loix et la justice? (227)

Like her interlocutor Trebatio, Marguerite goes on to enumerate examples: great figures of antiquity who founded empires through the power of their rhetoric. As Duché-Gavet points out, Marguerite's discourse is based on arguments presented by Cicero in *De Oratore*, from which Denisot borrows without scruples. This position has resonance with the French founding myth of

[102] Jouanna, *op. cit.* 42, 44-45.

a Gallic Hercules, whose followers' ears were bound to his tongue by golden chains. Marguerite's harangue also echoes Guillaume Budé's discourse on the civilizing powers of eloquence, voiced in the *Institution du Prince*, presented to François I but not published until the decade preceding Denisot's novel. Marguerite contends that eloquence flourishes primarily in cities, begetting peace and tranquility where it reigns. Urban centers are presented in Denisot's work as nodes of civilization, hierarchically organized, where those seeking education may find and interact with one another. Within these centers, the noble elite may enjoy civil commerce with members of their class, in a mutually beneficial transaction governed by awareness of the principles of social order.

The *Amant Resuscité* depicts the spatial navigation orchestrated and enacted by educated noblemen who possess equal esteem for lineage and for learning. Movement is a catalyst for education, and cities are valued as the spaces where men congregate to share knowledge. Regional provenance and national sentiment are manifestly important, but do not trump the bonds of humanity that unite all men. However, men are not equal: there are those who by their blood and their bearing enjoy participation in a special network of the learned and noble, separated by rank and privilege from the *hoi paloi*, and these distinguished men are endowed with the ability to recognize each other wherever they go. Denisot's narrative reads as an apology for class distinction in addition to an apology for travel. The patient, during his youth in and around Paris, adopts an approach that resembles Valentinian's traveling technique: "je fuz fort soigneux d'une chose, de hanter les bonnes compagnies, et avoir entrees es bonnes et honnestes maisons des villes, esquelles je faisois sejour" (228). Like Valentinian, the patient scrupulously frequents "bonnes maisons" both at home and abroad. Although he is destined for "l'estat des armes," he devotes his time to studying "la science des loix," in accordance with the

example of "les plus grandz princes et seigneurs qui furent oncques au monde," who in turn are responsible for the prosperity of urban centers and the wellbeing of their kingdoms.

Denisot upholds mastery of space as characteristic befitting a nobleman. *L'amant resuscité* suggests an association between movement and conduct, particularly with respect to the laudable quality of "moderation" so prized by the narrator and his noble associates. Valentinian first embarks on his travels in order to cultivate an easy temperament, prudence, and "moderation d'esprit." The patient's unlucky amorous adventures are a result of his inability to harness the desirable attribute of moderation, and his struggles are often described using metaphors of spatial movement. In the narration of his tribulations, the patient describes his bewilderment in the wake of his father's death: "Comme si à un homme auquel a esté toujours soutenu le menton en nageant, contrainte soudain esoit aportee de nager luy seul" (231). He contemplates forces that might waylay him from the "chemin de vertu", namely anger and love. The first of these poses no risk to him, as he tends to remain calm in heated situations: "tenant la bride diligemment à ma langue… moderant et mon ame et ma parolle." He is naturally disposed towards love, but resolves to reject his amorous inclinations, "de y tenir la bride doresnavant et la main assidue" (234). Twice, he articulates his resolution to "tenir la bride" to remain on the path of virtue, an oath that he fails to uphold despite his best efforts.[103]

The premature death of the patient's father may account for his faltering attempt to overcome the throes of amorous passion. As seigneur Trebatio affirms, love is a sinister force that plagues men "par tous lieux, en tous endroictz, et en tous temps, en afaires, et en oysiveté" (236), and should be avoided. The metaphor of a bridle and pathway gives way to a metaphor of a ship at sail, and the patient strives to determine "de quel havre principalement je mettrois à

[103] Spatial navigation as a metaphor for living is a literary trope that predates Denisot's work by over two hundred years, appearing in Dante's *Commedia* (the "cammin di nostra vita") and Petrarch's *Canzoniere* (the ship as a symbol of life in the sestina "Chi è fermato di menar sua vita")

l'abandon des vagues la galere de mes passions, pour encommencer ma navigation amoureuse" (247-8). As he struggles with the news that his beloved was married in his absence, he exhorts himself to remain calm: "je reprins aussitost les rames de la gallere de mes passions" (345). However, his valiant efforts are in vain, and he fails to control the ship of passions, lapsing into despair. On his deathbed, he begs God's pardon, once again referring to the metaphor of navigation: "Je me suis eloingné des routes de voz sentiers et chemins. Aussi j'ay erré. Je me suis egaré," (374). Death comes for the patient, and he leaves life "comme un pelerin de l'hotellerie" (373) after only a brief stay.

The *Amant resuscité de la mort d'amour* showcases a cast of noble characters, whose willingness and desire to interact with noble foreigners does not diminish their fidelity to their countrymen. Spatial sapience is a quality that leads to success. Both Valentinian and the lovesick patient display a desire to succor and protect their fellow countrymen while abroad. At the same time, they win the affection and approval of their English companions, despite persisting tension between their respective countries. There is foreshadowing of political unrest towards the end of the novel, as Valentinian alludes to turbulence on the horizon that his (temporarily) defunct compatriot will be spared: "le trouble auquel nous commençons à vivre, la confusion universelle de toutes choses, les princes du monde animez l'un contre l'autre, presque tous les peuples de la terre, commençans à eux mettre en armes, infinies oppressions futures, maux et calamitez, provenantes de la guerre" (380). The "confusion universelle" alluded to here recalls the "confusion de tout ordre" evoked by Trebatio in reference to the decadence of France's nobility. Indeed, the perversion of France's social hierarchy, namely the splintering of the nobility into Protestant and Catholic factions, played a large role in the religious wars that were to dominate the latter half of the sixteenth century in Europe, and that wreaked havoc on the spatial and

ideological unity of the French nation. In the *Amant resuscité*, Denisot embraces a utopic vision of an educated and cosmopolitan traveling elite, where empathy is the fruit of international exposure and noble networking. He affirms, however, through references to the gathering storm, that this vision has not been realized.

Montaigne in Movement: the *Journal de Voyage*

In 1774, the manuscript of Michel de Montaigne's travelogue detailing his foray through France, Switzerland, Germany and Italy was discovered. The journey itself took place over a period of seventeen months and eight days, from June of 1580 through November of 1581. The ostensible reason for Montaigne's voyage was to seek solace from the torments of kidney stones by drinking the waters at various health spas across the continent. However, scholars have reasonably posited that Montaigne was also seeking to evade the stress and unrest caused by the religious wars that were relentlessly regenerating, attaining the geographical proximity of his own backyard.[104] Furthermore, Montaigne was driven by a strong measure of intellectual curiosity, and that same desire for self-improvement that motivated his celebrated *Essais*, for which the *Journal* was fodder. Unlike the *Essais*, the *Journal* was not destined to be shared, and was written solely for Montaigne's own edification, as a record of his medical treatments and observations from abroad. These observations often verge on mundane, with finicky references to the quality of lodgings, the cleanliness of bed sheets, and other banal accoutrements, not to mention Montaigne's frequent and painstaking references to the contents of his urine and the physical symptoms of his malady. Even so, the *Journal* provides an intimate glimpse into the experience of a traveling nobleman in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and gives insight

[104] Imbrie Buffum mentions Montaigne's desire for evasion in *L'Influence du voyage de Montaigne sur les* Essais (New Jersey: Princeton, 1946) 3. In "De la vanité", Montaigne alludes to his voyage in the following terms: "L'autre cause qui me convie à ces promenades, c'est la disconvenance aux meurs presentes de nostre estat... J'en suis en particulier trop pressé." *Essais*, III, ix, 956. Further citations of the *Essais* will refer to the edition edited by Denis Bjaï, Bénédicte Boudou, Jean Céard and Isabelle Pantin (Paris: Librairie Générale Francaise, 2001).

into the machinations of one of the most influential minds of the Renaissance, particularly in relationship to his last volume of *Essais*.

Montaigne travels in the company of several other noblemen, including his younger brother, his brother-in-law, and the young Monsieur d'Estissac, along with valets and a secretary who drafts the first part of Montaigne's manuscript. The presence of Montaigne's traveling companions is only marginally perceptible in the *Journal*, save for his secretary's intimation concerning their role in his choice of a route: "Je croy à la vérité que, s'il eust esté seul avec les siens, il fust allé plutost à Cracovie, ou vers la Grece par terre, que de prendre le tour vers l'Italie".[105] Nevertheless, commerce with other noblemen, particularly with "hommes savants," shapes a substantial portion of Montaigne's itinerary. In Meaux he visits Juste Terrelle, the treasurer of the church of Saint Stephen, "connu entre les sçavans de France" (4) for his travels in Egypt, Jerusalem, and Constantinople. In Epernay, he visits Jean Maldonat "Jesuite duquel le nom est fort fameux à cause de son erudition en theologie et philosophie" (5). In Plombières, Montaigne seeks out the company of Seigneur d'Andelot, whose father was squire to Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. The names of these noteworthy personages are enumerated in a similar manner to the names of the places that Montaigne visits.

Montaigne's orientation towards learned noblemen persists throughout his travels. In Basel, he sees "force gens de savoir": the esteemed doctor Felix Platter, the theologian Grynaeus, "celuy qui a fait le *Theatrum*" (15), which is a reference to travel theorist Theodor Zwinger, and the Protestant lawyer and monarchomach sympathizer François Hotman, who dined with Montaigne's company. Montaigne later writes to Hotman from Bolzano, where he expresses his regret to leave Germany. Montaigne's voyage to Italy, however, occasions encounters with a

[105] Michel de Montaigne, *Journal de Voyage*. François Rigolot, ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992) 61. Further citations refer to this edition.

number of illustrious noblemen, and even a learned noblewoman: in Venice, Veronica Franco sends him "un petit livre de *Lettres* qu'elle a composé" (68). In Rome, Montaigne visits his longtime friend Louis Chasteigner, the Lord of Albain and an ambassador in Rome, "gentilhomme studieux" (94), who arranges an audience with the Pope. Even abroad, Montaigne has contact with French nobility: he swaps horses on the banks of the Tiber River with Lord Du Bellay and the Barons de Chasai, de Marivaut and other noble travelers, fortuitously encountered on the way to Ostia. The French Ambassador offers to take Montaigne to examine the furniture of the deceased Cardinal Orsini. In Pisa, he visits a famous Doctor Cornacchino, with whom he is able to discuss his favorite topics: baths and urine. Leaving Sarzana, Montaigne crosses paths with Jean de Médicis, "giovane assai bello di persona," (217) who is coming back from his visit to the Empress in Genoa. Montaigne specifies that this Prince travels "su cavalli di vettura, il quale andare non disdice punto in Italia né anco a' Principi."

The noblemen Montaigne encounters abide by the precepts of a hierarchical code of behavior that dictates both their conduct as travelers and their reception of travelers. In Augsburg, Koenigsdorf, and Volargne, Montaigne is presented with a gift of wine by a local person "de qualité". In Augsburg, D'Estissac and Montaigne receive fourteen large vessels. The officer in charge of the transaction explains the custom: "qu'ils estoient trois en la ville ayant charge d'ainsi gratifier les estrangers qui avoient quelque qualité, et qu'ils estoient à cette cause en soin de sçavoir leurs qualités, pour, suivant cela, observer les ceremonies qui leur sont deues: ils donnent plus de vin aux uns qu'aux autres" (41). Montaigne's secretary explains that the officer had mistaken them for knights or barons, but that Montaigne, for unspoken reasons, "avait voulu qu'on s'y contrefit, et qu'on ne dist pas leurs conditions" (42).

The record of Montaigne's reception abroad testifies to a network of noblemen in different parts of Europe who uphold a tacit pact to maintain civil commerce with one another. Their civil interactions are reminiscent of the "culte de l'amitié" alluded to by Jean-Marie Constant in his monograph on nobility in sixteenth and seventeenth century France.[106] Courtesy is paramount in these exchanges, as Montaigne subsequently observes that "les hommes polis communiquent leur politesse aux autres" (266). He is invited to dine with the Cardinal de Perugia "qui n'avait nulle amitié ni connaissance de moi," but who invites him as a courtesy befitting his demeanor, hospitality shown "à tous estrangiers qui ont quelque façon" (115). In Siena, Montaigne reports that the Duke of Florence "traite courtoisement les grands, qui nous favorisènt" (87), and in Pistoia, he dines with Taddeo Rospigliosi, a former *gonfaloniere*, who had received a letter of recommendation on Montaigne's behalf from a friend in Rome (153). Montaigne receives visits from local nobleman at his lodging in Bagni Della Villa. A Bolognese gentleman offers his services, admonishing Montaigne's host and other locals to treat him well. Montaigne likewise receives the vicar and "delli principali gentiluomini di questa Signoria" (175), whose hospitality includes offers of financial aid. Upon leaving Pisa, Montaigne reflects favorably on the friendships forged during his stay:

> Nous partîmes de bonne heure de Pise, moi fort satisfait en particulier des courtoisies et des politesses que j'y avois reçues de MM. Vintavini, Laurent Conti, San-Miniato (ce dernier, qui loge chez M. le chevalier Camille Gatani, m'offrit son frère pour m'accompagner en France), Borro et autres, tant Artisans que Marchands, avec lesquels j'avais lié connoissance. Je suis assuré que l'argent ne m'eût pas même manqué, si j'en avois eu besoin (266)

One of the objects of Montaigne's travels is to surround himself with the learned and the noble; there is a distinct note of satisfaction in his tone as he enumerates the noblemen whose company he enjoyed over the course of his sojourn. He is particularly pleased with a hotel in Tuscany that

[106] Jean-Marie Constant, *La Vie Quotidienne de la Noblesse Française aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles* (Paris: Hachette littérature, 1985) 161.

serves as a haunt for local nobility: "on en fait si grande feste qu'on dit que la noblesse du pays s'y assemble souvent, comme chez le *More*, à Paris, ou *Guillot* à Amiens" (151).

This description of a noble red-carpet treatment, though juxtaposed with Montaigne's fussy remarks on the particulars of his lodgings, connotes an ease of travel that privileges his journey. He travels almost exclusively on horseback, being somewhat famously indisposed towards carriages and boats.[107] Fording a river ("passer à gué") was necessary at several points in the journey, as was travel both by boat and by litter. The incommodity of traveling on horseback consisted primarily in several minor skirmishes with horsemen, who were exchanged at every post, or the necessity of showing a bulletin of health at villages threatened by the plague. Montaigne abandons his plan to see Zurich because of reports of contamination. In Rome, his books are checked for heresy. One of the primary hindrances to Montaigne's movement is unavoidably his health, as periodic bouts of renal colic limit his physical abilities. His comments on the quality of roads and passes, however, are generally favorable, and garner less rhetorical attention than his observations on the relative beauty of local women, the strength of local wine, and the order of courses served at dinner.

As a traveling nobleman, Montaigne has a manifest interest in imprinting the landscape with traces of his passing, as noteworthy travelers before him have done. He takes a particular interest in noble footprints, carefully recording the text of an inscription outside of Innsbruck where Charles V met his brother Ferdinand in 1530 after receiving the imperial crown, noting another inscription in Padua attesting to the passage of Henri III on his way back from Poland, and contemplating a painting of the conquest of Siena commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici in Florence. In addition to lavish palaces and lush gardens, such as Tivoli and Villa Lante,

[107] Montaigne, *Essais,* III, vi "Des coches": "Or je ne puis souffrir long temps (et les souffrois plus difficilement en jeunesse) ny coche, ny littiere, ny bateau", 900.

Montaigne considers noble sepulchers in Neufchatel and in Pisa, musing over the crests of arms in the Church of Saint George in Verona commemorating those who had accompanied Emperor Maximilian on his unsuccessful attempt to capture Verona from the Venetians. Montaigne visits the birthplace of Joan of Arc in Domrémy-sur-Meuse (whose family was ennobled for her exploits), and examines a representation of Pico della Mirandola in Urbino, possibly considering the parallels between himself and the illustrious wandering scholar who preceded him.

Montaigne strives to inscribe the landscape with evidence of his own passage by affixing painted crests of his family seal on the hotels he patronizes. He leaves his insignia at his hotel in Augsburg, in the manner of the German nobility, and encourages his host at Bagni della Villa to adopt the same custom: "Li dissi ancora, ch'io voleva dar principio a questo costume, che si vede in tutti li bagni famosi d'Europa, che le persone di qualche grado ci lasciano le arme loro" (173-4). Montaigne is so eager to institute this tradition that he has his arms painted in Pisa, and fastens them to his wall in Bagni Della Villa, never to be removed, admonishing the lodging's staff that the arms belonged to the room, and not to its proprietors. Montaigne affixes his family's portrait to the wall at the devotional site on his pilgrimage to Loreto, with his family's titles in Latin: "Michael Montanus, Gallus Vasco, Eques Regii Ordinis, 1581; Francisca Cassaniana uxor, Leonora Montana filia unica" (139).

Montaigne passes through Western Europe not as a neutral observer, but as an engaged and informed one. His desire to inscribe himself into the landscape is reminiscent of the way he dialogues with great men in the *Essais*: not just quoting them, but juxtaposing his own ruminations with theirs. Gisèle Mathieu-Castellani recognizes Montaigne's fascination with inscriptions in the *Journal,* identifying it as an iteration of the conflict expressed in his *Essais*

between the desire to memorialize one's self and the acknowledged futility of doing so.[108] Indeed, the idea of landscape as text is alluded to by Montaigne in his reflections on the pleasure of travel, which he compares to a compelling tale or book: "il luy sembloit estre à mesme ceux qui lisent quelque fort plaisant conte, d'où il leur prend crainte qu'il vienne bientost à finir, ou un beau livre" (61-2).[109] Montaigne reiterates that the fundamental parameter of his planning is never to go over the same road twice, his desire: "entretenir des estrangers" in "lieux inconnus." His navigation of space is facilitated by his familiarity with great texts, such as *La République des Suisses* by Josias Simler, which is confiscated in Rome for being written by a heretic. In Germany, Montaigne deeply regrets not having brought Münster's *Cosmographie* with him. In Rome, when his French guide runs off "par quelque humeur fantastique" (100), Montaigne takes it upon himself to study the environs "aidé de diverses cartes et livres qu'il se faisoit lire le soir", and then masters the information so successfully that he outshines the renegade guide: "en peu de jours, il eust aysement reguidé son guide."

The freedom to travel, to observe, and to comment on the idiosyncrasies of various cities, villages, and landscapes is the privilege of Montaigne's noble coterie. His voyage constitutes a mobile *otium cum dignitate*, where his primary obligation is to maintain a noble appearance while interacting with the noble network that spans Western Europe, assessing and interpreting the world through the lens of his own experience. The *Journal* is replete with comparisons in which Montaigne measures a foreign custom or landscape feature against a familiar French one. He surveys his surroundings using French geography as a point of reference: Basel is the size of Blois, Munich is the size of Bordeaux, and Rome is a city that reminds him of Paris. The Rhine

[108] Gisèle Matheiu-Castellani, "L'Espace des inscriptions" in *Montaigne: Espace, voyage, écriture; Actes du Congrès international de Thessalonique 23-25 septembre 1992* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1995).
[109] The parallel between reading and travel in Montaigne's text has been noted by Frédéric Tinquely in "Montaigne et le cercle anthropologique" in *Montaigne Studies*, Volume XV No.'s 1-2, 2003. Tinguely in turn cites other scholars who have addressed this analogy.

bears a likeness to the Garonne, a pasture in Augsburg resembles the planes in Beauce, and Sterzig has rocky roads like those in the Périgord. The fertile slopes of Castelnuovo bring to mind the Pyrenees, and the Tuscan countryside resembles the heaths in Gascony. Many of Montaigne's observations concern aesthetic properties: Swiss cities are more beautiful than French cities, the Villa di Pratolino in Tuscany is not more beautiful than French palaces, and Roman churches are less beautiful than French ones. He draws comparisons between cultural mores: Swiss women dress similarly to French women, but German mannerisms are preferable to French ones. Swiss hotels are particularly exigent with foreigners regarding fees ("un peu tyrannique") just like in all nations, France in particular. Food in Venice is as expensive as food in Paris; hotels in Rovingo serve as much food as French hotels (but have dirtier rooms), and the chestnut bread in Bagni Della Villa is similar to French gingerbread.

Particularly in Part One of the *Journal*, which was recorded by Montaigne's secretary, but also in the remaining three parts, the juxtaposition of positive and negative observations gives the impression of equanimity on the part of the observer. Montaigne does not demonstrate a predisposition to sanction or condemn places and practices. He travels, as scholars have noted, with the perspective of an anthropologist.[110] Good and bad, abundance and paucity, excess and frugality are opposing elements that exist side by side in the people and communities that Montaigne traverses. He does not abstain from passing value judgments. Certain things merit his approval, such as the dutiful observance of the law in Plombières-les-Bains and Mulhouse, and the cozy comforters in Lindau. Montaigne likewise manifests cultural and personal bias: he finds the German custom of drinking to the point of inebriation distasteful. Nevertheless, the multifaceted nature of the details in the *Journal* testifies to an awareness that people and places

[110] See Frédéric Tinguely, *ibid*., and Frank Lestringant, "Montaigne et les Protestants" in *Montaigne politique: Actes du colloque international tenu à University of Chicago (Paris) les 29 et 30 avril 2005*, ed. Philippe Desan (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006).

exist in shades of gray: Germans may be drunkards, but they're not thieves. Basel is replete with loose women, but has an excellent library. Montaigne acknowledges the vast variety of human behaviors while implicitly revindicating his natural inclination to form opinions based on his own experience. He maintains a resolve to examine even those cultural practices that he disagrees with, most notably those of the Reformed Church. Montaigne's frequent commerce with Protestant pastors indicates acknowledgement if not acceptance of the variety of religious stances that exist around him. His observations, while fundamentally subjective, eschew overt condemnation, and do not profess to relate to any authority other than his own. His relativism is neither descriptive nor normative, but cultural and personal.

Montaigne forges an understanding of his new spatial surroundings by measuring them against French ones, applying this quasi-scientific strategy to every observable facet of his environs. Physical comfort is clearly a priority, as evidenced by the numerous references to the quality of hotels, particularly concerning their cleanliness, cost, and warmth. Montaigne uses a similar observational approach with regards to his health, scrupulously documenting the effects of different mineral waters on the contents of his urine, his colic, and his "ventosité." In each of the places Montaigne visits, he records the amount of water he ingests and the various practices he tests: drinking before or after dinner, bathing in the water on alternate days, and so on. Upon his arrival in Bagni della Villa, he undertakes this scientific method with renewed vigor, regretting the lacunae in his earlier notations:

> Perché mi son altre volte pentito di non aver più minutamente scritto sul suggetto delli altri bagni, per pigliar regola et essempio ai seguenti, questa volta mi voglio stendere e slargare (175).

With his body as with his spatial surroundings, Montaigne strives to enhance his assessment of his current circumstances based on what he has previously experienced. Often, he links

symptoms with places: he feels lightheaded after his bath in Plombières-les-Bains, but not in Barbotan. Despite variations between past and current experiences, both environmental and corporal, this series of relative observations lends a sense of continuity to Montaigne's depiction of physical space. Though it fluctuates over the course of time, his body is still the same unbroken entity, much like the contiguous landscapes he traverses. Montaigne evaluates the world with respect to its effect on him and his range of previous experiences. He is at the center of the world that he observes, and collects data on his body in the same way that he collects data on the spaces he inhabits. Body and space necessarily interact with one another. Montaigne affirms that nothing is as detrimental to his health as boredom: "Je n'ay rien si ennemy à ma santé, que l'ennuy et oisifveté" (125). He treats his body as a space to inhabit, gauging its variations as he remarks on the gradations of a landscape or the architectural marvels of a city. Through these observations, Montaigne puts body on a par with place. His scientific approach allows him to mitigate the painful torments brought on by kidney stones by reframing them in a literary and philosophical context. Montaigne submits to his body's fluctuations in the same way that he bears the idiosyncrasies of foreign hostels: both his body and the landscape he traverses are continually varying, with less agreeable sensations eventually giving way to agreeable ones. Rather than trying to escape from his body, he inhabits it, but adopts the detachment of an itinerant traveler who knows that his lodging, for better or for worse, will soon change.

Death and its inevitability are alluded to in "De l'expérience" (III, xiii) in which Montaigne rationalizes the value of corporal pleasure. He maintains that the body and its needs are not to be ignored or debased, but rather examined, pondered, and even reveled in. With regards to the "brevets" that Montaigne kept to document the iterations of his malady, he explains that the task of recording and contemplating his illness helps occupy the mind:

"endormir et amuser mon imagination" (III, xiii, 1095). The practice of documenting his condition affords him the viewpoint of an observer. This technique offsets the worst suffering, which consists in the fear of suffering: "Qui craint de souffrir, il souffre desjà de ce qu'il craint" (1095). The metaphor of travel finds its place in this essay, as Montaigne compares the symptoms of old age ("La goutte, la gravelle, l'indigestion") to the banal effects of a long voyage ("la chaleur, les pluyes et les vents" 1089). "De l'expérience" is likewise riddled with the type of seemingly gratuitous personal information that overflows from the pages of the *Journal*: remarks on when he goes to the bathroom, how quickly he eats, when and why he drinks, and how he walks. His message, however, is more lucid in this post-peripatetic essay than it is in the *Journal*: living is good, and death, our ultimate fate, is what makes us alike despite the varieties of the human condition. Montaigne maintains that the most informative examples come from close at hand, which makes the body a primordial subject for observation – hence the oft-repeated declaration, applicable to the *Journal* as well as to the *Essais*: "Je m'estudie plus qu'autre subject" (1072). He subsequently casts doubt on the wisdom of looking abroad for a model to follow, if one does not examine one's self first:

> Quel que soit donq le fruict que nous pouvons avoir de l'experience, à peine servira beaucoup à nostre institution celle que nous tirons des exemples estrangers, si nous faisons si mal nostre proffict de celle que nous avons de nous mesme, qui nous est plus familiere, et certes suffisante à nous instruire de ce qu'il nous faut" (1072)

All experience is relative, and what works for one body (or for one nation) cannot be unscrupulously applied to a different one. Nations are fundamentally different, as are people. Being Montaigne is a specific and inalienable property, like being French, entailing its own singular perspective, gleaned through a history of various experiences. It follows that Montaigne was not going abroad to look for solutions to the disorders that plagued the France of his time.

As he confirms in "De la Vanité", "l'excellente et meilleure police est à chacune nation celle soubs laquelle elle s'est maintenuë" (III, ix, 957).

This is not to say, however, that different cultural practices cannot be essayed: indeed, Montaigne proves to be an enthusiastic practitioner of foreign customs. Montaigne addresses the diversity of symptoms that arise as a result of his malady, and displays a similar inclination for adapting to the particularities of the regions on his itinerary. Sometimes this involves pleasurable physical experiences, like the delectable crayfish he enjoys in Germany, and sometimes it consists in unpleasant ones, like the diminutive napkins he is obligated to employ in Switzerland. Montaigne expresses his belief that products and practices must be evaluated firsthand, since tastes are shaped by provenance: "il s'estoit toute sa vie mefié du jugement d'autruy sur le discours des commodités des pays estrangiers, chacun ne sachant gouster que selon l'ordonnance de sa coutume et de l'usage de son village" (55). Travel, therefore, is his only viable means of experiencing difference. In Switzerland, his secretary reports: "M. de Montaigne, pour essayer tout à fait la diversité des moeurs et façons, se laissoit partout servir à la mode de chaque païs, quelque difficulté qu'il y trouvast" (23). Montaigne pursues cultural diversity just as robustly as he tests new remedies for his physical ailments: in fact, the *Essais* confirm that he considered variety to be a remedy for physical infirmity.[111] Montaigne's pursuit of variety takes the form of a cultural integration of sorts. In Germany, he particularly regrets not having brought a cook along to learn the nation's cuisine. In Italy, he writes in Italian, and attempts to learn the Tuscan language. He gives a ball for peasants, and even dances "per non parer troppo ristretto" (169).

[111] Montaigne, *Essais,* III, ix "De la vanité": "L'ame y a une continuelle exercitation à remarquer les choses incogneuës et nouvelles; et je ne sçache point meilleure escolle… à former la vie que de luy proposer incessamment la diversité de tant d'autres vies, fantasies et usances… *Le corps ny est ny oisif ny travillé, et cette moderée agitation le met en haleine*." 973-4, italics mine.

In Rome, with child-like enthusiasm, Montaigne obtains Roman citizenship. Rome is the utmost confluence of regional diversity, to the extent that foreignness is moot: "c'est la plus commune ville du monde, et où l'estrangeté et difference de nation se considere le moins; car de sa nature c'est une ville rapiecée d'estrangiers" (127). Although Montaigne's affection for Rome is mitigated by the omnipresence of French people, he marvels at its cosmopolitanism, and employs "tous mes cinq sens de nature" to procure a papal bull – without, he specifies, the help of any French person: "n'ayant employé nulle faveur, voire ny la science seulement d'aucun François." Montaigne himself admits that he has acquired "un titre vain," and that his desire for the title was engendered by vanity.[112] While every man might be at home in Rome, not everyone could call in a favor from the Pope's Majordomo, or brag that the Pope used the same wording in a document for his own son ("en la mesme forme et faveur de paroles que les avoit eues le Seigneur Jacomo Buoncompagnon, Duc de Sore, fils du Pape"). Rather than becoming more cosmopolitan, Montaigne's Roman citizenship was a way of being less French, and less a part of his own corrupted century. Being a part of Rome and "l'ancien honneur et religieuse memoire de son authorité" imbued Montaigne with Rome's immortality, distancing him from his own diseased and mortal body. Roman citizenship, like the travels that preceded it, was a form of escapism. Nor was Rome a city for everyman, but rather for every Christian man. Montaigne describes Rome as a utopia for Catholic ecumenism rather than a bastion of universal tolerance: "Son Prince embrasse toute la Chrestienté de son authroité; sa principale jurisdiction oblige les estrangiers en leur maisons." Furthermore, as "une ville toute cour et toute noblesse" (117), Rome, with its variety of nationalities, is a city that ultimately favors the noble traveler.

[112] Montaigne, *Essais*, III, ix, "De la vanité": "Parmy ses faveurs vaines [fortune's favors], je n'en ay poinct qui plaise tant à cette niaise humeur qui s'en paist chez moy, qu'une bulle authentique de bourgeoisie Romaine…" 999.

In spite of Montaigne's remarkable appetite for diversity, the idea of internal unrest is never far from hand in the *Journal*, given his internal physical torments as well as the fragile political climate in France at the time of his travels. Montaigne takes pains to note the religious affiliations of the regions he passes through, which risks giving the impression of fractured, partisan space. However, the residents of the patchwork of religious communities in Switzerland and Germany are conspicuously not massacring each other in their backyards in spite of their confessional differences, unlike Catholics and Reformists in France. The details on religious idiosyncrasies in Swiss and German cities are enumerated on an equal footing with the particularities of lodging and landscapes in the cities themselves. Basel, for example, inspires a description of the mixture of religious influences (Zwinglian, Calvinist, Lutheran, and Catholic), the method of receiving the sacrament (directly into the mouth or into the hand), and the location of baptismal fonts in the churches. Montaigne notes that the bishop who lives in the countryside is unpopular with townsfolk ("leur est fort ennemy", 16). Directly following these remarks on religion is a significantly more developed and more detailed description of the city's architecture, lodging, food and wine. Although Montaigne is Catholic, he creates more of a discernable "us and them" distinction with food than with faith: "Leur service de table est fort different du nostre… quant à la viande, ils ne servent que deux ou trois plats au coupon; ils meslent diverses viandes ensemble, bien apprestées et d'une distribution bien esloignée de la nostre; et les servent parfois les uns sur les autres, par le moyen de certains instrumens de fer qui ont des longues jambes…" (17-18). The minutiae of this description are elucidated in a swath of text that is easily twice as long as the comments on religion that preceded them.

In several other cities, the religious question is placed on equal footing with observations of a similarly quotidian nature. Wangen is described as "une petite ville imperiale qui n'a jamais

voulu recevoir compaignie d'autre religion que Catholique, en laquelle se font les faulx, si fameuses qu'on les envoye vendre jusques en Lorraine" (33). Catholicism and scythes are mentioned in practically the same breath. Pfronten is described as a "petit village Catholique, comme tout le reste de cette contrée" (36) a nod to Austria's faith that precedes a cranky harangue on the discord wrought by Montaigne's attempt to use the hotel's kitchen fire for warming his clothes in the morning: "l'une des plus grandes querelles que nous eussions par les logis" (37) – and notably not a religious one. In Augsburg, Montaigne comments first on the cleanliness of the establishment, the linens placed over the stairs to protect them from dirty feet, the height of the beds, the order in which crayfish are served in the meals, and then a Lutheran church service, including a baptism. He concludes by remarking that he did not see any pretty women.

What stands out in the evocation of religious peculiarities alongside cultural idiosyncrasies is the notion of variety, the inevitable characteristic of humanity that colors every facet of existence. It might reasonably be expected that Montaigne would uphold certain religious practices as right or wrong, given his personal convictions. However, although he clearly possesses an opinion, Montaigne's rambling ruminations place iconoclasm on an equal footing with hotel bed sheets as subjects of discussion, as they are both inherently cultural. He abstains from claiming the authority to pronounce on the overall correctness of these practices, regardless of his personal preferences. Philippe Desan notes Montaigne's treatment of religion as a social phenomenon in the *Essais*, recalling the affirmation in the "Apologie de Raimond Sebond" that we are born into our religion just as we are born into our nationality: "On naît

catholique come on naît Français".[113] In this way, Montaigne's position in the *Essais* is mirrored by his observational attitude in the *Journal*: not impartial, but not condemnatory. Interestingly, as Desan notes, Montaigne's own religious practice was a duty linked to his noble status: he was required to attend mass as gentleman of the King's Chamber and a Knight of the Order of Saint Michel. His own religious practice was a function of his nobility, though perhaps also derived from belief. Frédéric Brahami alludes to the "Apologie" in affirming that for Montaigne, religion is above all a product of society: "La religion, y compris chrétienne, est en somme un phénomène culturel".[114] Truth, particularly religious truth, is beyond the scope of human understanding, and is only made more obscure by our deeply engrained customs. The conventions that we have molded over time become our strongest prejudices; as Montaigne affirms: "l'usage nous desrobbe le vray visage des choses".[115]

The religious question was clearly not inconsequential for Montaigne. In Basel, Montaigne meets Zwinglians, Calvinists and Lutherans, some of whom still have Catholic sympathies ("couvoient encore la religion romaine dans leur coeur", 16). The ministers avoid splitting hairs: "n'osent les ministres remuer cette corde de ces différences de religions." In Baden, he muses that the contamination of religions within a city extends to religious conviction within the individual: "Quand la confusion et le meslange se font dans mesmes villes et se seme en une mesme police, cela relasche les affections des hommes, la mixion se coulant jusqu'aux individus" (23). The Peace of Augsburg in 1555, with its principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*, dictated that the religion of the reigning prince in each Imperial city should be upheld in his domain. Throughout his travels, Montaigne contemplates instances of religious co-habitation and

[113] Phillipe Desan in the Introduction to *Montaigne et la théologie* (Geneva: Droz, 2008) 7. In the "Apologie", Montaigne specifies: "Nous sommes Chrestiens à mesme titre que nous sommes ou Periogordins ou Alemans" (Montaigne, *ibid*., II, xii, 445).
[114] Frédéric Brahami, "Théologie, religion, vérité chez Montaigne" in Desan, *op. cit*., 45.
[115] Montaigne, *Essais*, I, xxiii "De la coustume et de ne changer aisément une loy receüe", 116.

contamination alongside examples of religious unity. In Kempten, for example, Catholicism and Reformism are both present: "Cette ville est Lutherienne, et ce qu'il y a d'estrange, c'est que, comme à Isne et là aussi l'Eglise Catholique y est servie très-solennellement" (35). In Augsburg, "les mariages des Catholiques aux Lutheriens se font ordinairement, et le plus desireux subit les lois de l'autre" (41). Montaigne, coming from a place where Catholics and Protestants did not peacefully coexist, shows an interest in the ideological geography of Switzerland and Germany, but displays circumspection with regards to its effects.

Montaigne has a favorable impression of the German States, and leaves them with regret. Andrée Comparot notes Montaigne's delight with Germany, and posits that his approbation resulted from finding in its religious diversity "une justification de sa politique de tolérance religieuse."[116] However, in Montaigne's observations on the religious affiliations of German cities, he does not go so far as to condone the political practice of assigning religions to regions, or of tolerating two in the same place. In fact, he pronounces the result of such mixing to be weaker personal conviction, as previously noted in his reaction to the devotion of people in Baden. Montaigne notes discrepancies among the different reformist sects that betray their lack of unity. A minister from Zurich explains that his followers are Zwinglians, but "qu'ils estoient approchés de la (religion) Calvinienne, qui estoit un peu plus douce" (24). In Isny, Calvinists accuse Lutherans of mixing "plusieurs erreurs estranges" with their doctrine (33). A Lutheran minister in Kempten admits that his congregation permits dancing and images of Christ in church, and "qu'il aimeroit mieux ouïr cent messes que de participer à la Cene de Calvin" (36). Regardless of confessional status, as Amy Graves suggests, the *Journal* illustrates a rapport between the piety of citizens and the orderliness of their "police", and concludes that for Montaigne, "Le désordre doctrinal semble envahir les moeurs du peuple et perturber la sphere

[116] Andrée Comparot, "Le *Voyage en Italie*: une confirmation des *Essais*" in Samaras, *op. cit.* 72.

sociale".[117] Unity of belief is important to social stability. However, Montaigne withholds his stance on what the essence of that belief should be. As he continually affirms, he did not consider himself to be a religious authority.[118]

It is unlikely that Montaigne considers the attempt to foster religious tolerance through geographical division after the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* to be a viable solution to France's turmoil. Unity is paramount to social order, and France, like a body, is one entity. Nor is coexistence a feasible solution, as Montaigne is wary of the effect of religious integration on the personal conviction of individuals and on the maintenance of a society's "police". It is undeniable, however, that Montaigne delights in a world in which learned men converse civilly with one another, and difference of opinion does not lead to the restriction of liberty, or to bloodshed. Montaigne's enthusiasm for Germany is partly born of appreciation for the environment, an overall peaceful one, where he relishes the opportunity to discuss questions of religion with practicing members of all affiliations. His esteem for such commerce is expanded upon in the essay "De l'art de conferer"[119], where Montaigne upholds the utility of confrontation with a dissenting opinion:

> Les contradictions donc des jugemens ne m'offencent ny m'alterent; elles m'esveillent seulement et m'exercent… Quand on me contrarie, on esveille mon attention, non pas ma cholere; je m'avance vers celuy qui me contredit, qui m'instruit (924).

This essay is another affirmation of the inevitable diversity of experience. Montaigne's rhetoric evokes physical movements ("esveillent", "exercent", and "avance vers") that recall the corporal foundation of every humble opinion, evoking a mind in movement, like the body. Given man's essentially corporal nature, he must rely first and foremost on his own experiences: "Les sens

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[117] Amy Graves, "Montaigne et la géographie confessionnelle" in Desan, *op. cit.,* 280.
[118] Montaigne, *Essais,* II, xii. Concerning a defense of Sebond's work, Montaigne humbly avows: "Ce seroit mieux la charge d'un homme versé en la Theologie, que de moy qui n'y sçay rien." 440.
[119] Montaigne, *Essais,* III, viii.

sont nos propres et premiers juges" (930). The variety of human experience is reflected in its cornucopia of beliefs and practices. Our opinion is too clouded by our customs to aspire towards elusive universal or religious truths. We can, however, maintain interactions with people of different beliefs and backgrounds in order to refine our judgment and to promote mutually beneficial exchange, and we can allow our minds, like our bodies, to move towards each other and to interact.

In spite of Montaigne's own avowed "mespris de son pays" (32), he takes note of French sympathies outside of France, with a marked interest in foreign perspectives of his homeland. He finds Baden to be a canton professing French sympathy ("qui fait profession d'estre fort nostre", 27), having opposed a confederation with the Duke of Savoy, but later finds that the inhabitants are not so sympathetic towards France as they profess to be ("guiere affectionnés à nostre cour") and have similarly refused to ally with the French king. In Florence, the Cosimo de Medici had commissioned a painting of the French defeat at Sienna, but the fleur-de-lis still ornaments many walls throughout the city. Buoncouvent has a persistent sympathy for the French: "on maintient la memoire des Français en si grande affection qu'on ne leur en fait guiere souvenir que les larmes ne leur en viennent aux yeux" (88), as does Rome: "ils ont une ancienne affection ou reverence à la France, qui y fait estre fort respectés et bien venus ceux qui meritent tant soit peu de l'estre" (105). In Bagni della Villa, sympathies are split between France and Spain, which the locals indicate by placing flowers over their right or left ear. In Bagnaia, Montaigne notes that the Cardinal Gambara is "Francesco di core" (210), and in Turin, the people speak French with only the slightest hint of an Italian pronunciation, and are "molto divoti alla Francia" (224).

These and other examples suggest Montaigne's desire to observe his own country through the eyes of an outsider, just as he experiences foreign lands as a function of his French

provenance. Although the *Journal* largely consists in observations of regional singularities, Montaigne takes pleasure in demonstrating cultural virtuosity by incorporating various cultural practices into his own conduct, and blending in wherever he goes. He thereby succeeds in simultaneously embodying both an outsider and an insider. However, he does this without relinquishing the hierarchical distinction that privileges his voyage, which allows him to rejoice in the company of learned noblemen, the "âmes bien nées" that he holds dear. In his 1942 dissertation, Imbrie Buffum demonstrates how Montaigne's voyage had an indelible impact on his attitude towards diversity as expressed in the *Essais*. In the 1588 edition, by contrast with the previous editions, Buffum concludes, Montaigne finds that men are essentially more alike than different, and that the human condition is mirrored in every individual's experience, however distinctive.[120]

It is nevertheless clear from the *Journal* that the company of noblemen structured and informed Montaigne's travels, and that he sought noble company and appearance almost as unrelentingly as he pursued new experiences. Even his most ostensibly cosmopolitan endeavor, the acquisition of Roman citizenship, is achieved through noble favors. The leisure of moving tranquilly through space, reflecting on the inner mechanisms of the body and the outer constructions of buildings, nations, and the cosmos, the capability to expedite baggage by means of porters and pack animals, the option of lengthening or prolonging one's sojourn as a function of desire rather than financial obligation – all these were the privileges of a class that did not draw its fundamental life experience from physical work. Cognizant of his own vanity, Montaigne badly wanted to be noble and to enjoy noble privileges, and valued noble appearances, perhaps even more so because his nobility was founded on somewhat fragile

[120] Buffum, *ibid*. 122.

pretentions.[121] His palpable desire to be part of a noble coterie stems from an implicit understanding that nobility privileged access to singular knowledge of the world and the self. Montaigne wanted to believe that he was born noble, just as he was born French and Catholic. During his travels, he attempted to obfuscate his nationality, and acknowledged his religion without letting it limit his commerce or exposure. His nobility, however, which was perhaps the most tenuous of the three identifiers, was the element he took the greatest pains to display. Montaigne's evocation of a network of understanding between "âmes bien nées" suggests that unlike nationality or religion, nobility may be a truly cosmopolitan quality, recognizable in others by those who possess it. Montaigne's eagerness to participate in noble networks insinuates a belief that nobility espouses the principles of intelligent discourse and polished judgment that he held dear.

Being versus Appearing Noble: D'Aubigné's *Baron de Faeneste*

Agrippa d'Aubigné's *Avantures du Baron de Faeneste* is a comedic satire that hinges on the fundamental differences between its two protagonists: the Baron de Faeneste, whose name means "to appear" in Greek, and the gentleman Enay, whose name signifies "to be." Appearing in four books, the first two of which were published in 1617, the third in 1619, and the last shortly before d'Aubigné's death in 1630, the *Avantures* relate the misadventures of the Baron de Faeneste as he participates in the later iterations of the religious wars on the side of the League, and eventually in the Thirty Years' War during France's intervention in the Valtelline valley. D'Aubigné's creation shows the influence of the picaresque tradition in his use of a humorous protagonist whose exploits form the basis of a critical commentary on society. Rather than a cunning trickster, however, Faeneste proves to be a thick-witted fop. The Baron's conversation

[121] Supple, *op. cit*. 28. Montaigne's claim to nobility is founded on his father's service in the Italian Wars (and hence practiced a military profession) and that his family had lived nobly for three generations. The Montaigne land was purchased in 1477.

with Enay occurs on the grounds of Enay's sedate property in Poitou, and showcases depictions of Faeneste's ineptitude, ignorance, superstition and amorality. The anecdotes are set against a backdrop of battles, court life, and political intrigues from the early seventeenth century. An "us" and "them" distinction, which is the cornerstone of Faeneste's worldview, is emphasized by the dialogical nature of the text, and likewise serves to underscore the fractured nature of religion, politics, society and space in France at the turn of the century. While many of the anecdotes that constitute the narrative are funny, there is an undertone of cynicism that betrays d'Aubigné's bitterness at the state of political affairs, and his dark outlook on France's future.

One of the primary oppositions between Faeneste and Enay consists in Faeneste's constant movement, which contrasts with Enay's fixed state. At the outset of Books One, Three and Four, Faeneste comes bumbling onto Enay's property in Poitou, in various states of disarray, freshly armed with a new volley of stories to recount from his exploits at court and on the battlefield. Faeneste's discourse mimics the rambling progression of his travels. He makes blustering observations on the state of religious and political affairs with an oblivious panache that testifies to his personality as an arrogant imbecile. Enay humors Faeneste and goads his storytelling in an amicable way that only partially belies the deep scorn he possesses for the courtly and martial life that Faeneste so lustily endorses.

As his name suggests, Faeneste is obsessed with appearances, and his desire for *paraître* motivates his movement. However, he is very bad at moving. When Enay first encounters the Baron in Book One, Faeneste is stuck inside an enclosure on Enay's property, confined at the confluence of the Sèvre and Autise rivers in Maillezais, unable to find the way out and disinclined to ask for directions. Frustrated and deflated at not having recognized Enay as the proprietor of the estate, almost having committed the gaffe of asking Enay for directions as if he

were a lowly peasant ("J'ay failli à faire une grande cagade!"[122]), Faeneste nevertheless expresses shock and some dismay to hear Enay refer to his walled enclosure as a "clos" and not as a "parc", arguing that "Encore ne coustera il rien de nommer les choses pour noms honoravles." Faeneste is likewise dumbfounded that Enay declines to wear a sword, for although Enay claims to have no quarrels or disagreements, Faeneste justifies his weapon with the unselfconscious avowal: "Je boudrois la faire parestre" (676).

For all his "parestre," Faeneste would be hard-pressed to conceal his region of origin, which his thickly accented speech confirms to be Gascony. As he ostentatiously expounds upon the intricacies of his attire, the patterns in his speech become manifest: b's and v's are reversed, y's take the place of j's, and his discourse is peppered with the interjection "Cap de you!" Faeneste calls attention to the eccentricities of his speech by expressing consternation at Enay's. When Enay asks if the tight waistband of the Baron's "lodier" (a type of hose or breeches) gives him kidney stones, Faeneste protests: "Qu'appelez-bous loudier? Bous autres abez d'estranges mouts pour francimantiser aux bilayes" (677). The word "Franciment" identifies a French person from the north who does not understand the southern dialects, or speaks affectedly, and Faeneste uses it liberally whenever he is confused by Enay's speech.[123] Faeneste has unwittingly misidentified Enay as a country bumpkin with rustic ways and peculiar language, an error he will be disabused of at the end of Book Two, when he learns that Enay is a former statesman with an illustrious past. Poorly compensated for years of service, abused by his King, Enay subsequently elected to lead a life of anonymity far from court. This and other references establish a strong parallel between Enay and his creator D'Aubigné. Faeneste never ceases, however, to draw

[122] Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Les avantures du Baron de Faeneste* from *Oeuvres*. Henri Weber, ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1969) 675. Further citations refer to this edition.
[123] Definition for "Franciment" in the database of the *Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexiques*: http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/francimant.

attention to the rift between himself and his host with frequent and disdainful references to “bous autres”, sometimes in reference to village dwellers, sometimes to Huguenots, and sometimes simply to designate people whose preoccupations are not centered, like his own, on appearances. Early depictions of Faeneste’s blunders illustrate his inability to accommodate views that do not align with his own, and how firmly ensconced he is in his narrow perspective. For all his boots, spurs, breeches, sword, ribbons and roses, Faeneste wears his regional identity on his sleeve, while Enay conceals his true identity under the disguise of a “faux Poictevin” (*Preface*, 671).

The stories that follow the protagonists’ initial encounter confirm that the Baron is remarkably bad at moving. In his youth, Faeneste receives a small sum of money from a cousin. Armed with letters of recommendation, he accompanies another younger member of a noble Gascon household and travels to Paris. They follow the Garonne to Bordeaux, where they meet a nobleman heading the same direction by post. The Baron and his compatriot dismiss the gentleman’s admonishments to bring boots and cushions, “comme cela n’estoit propre qu’à Francimants” (681), and as a result they find themselves bleeding through their socks by the time they arrive in “Sent Sivardeau”. When they reach Aigre, they are exhausted, feverish, and have spent all their money. As fortune would have it, they are taken in and treated kindly by a local in Villefagnan, and a passing Count takes them along with his convoy in an effort to look more sophisticated. They obtain new coats that they promptly lose by leaving them on the next carriage. The Baron is subsequently abandoned in Angerville, has a fight with a postillion rider, loses his horse and his sword, and is obliged to complete the journey on foot.

While Faeneste’s difficulties with travel are certainly the result of ignorance and tactlessness, he also demonstrates a fundamental incapacity for comprehending the nature of space. At the beginning of Book Three, Enay offers Faeneste a quadrant to determine the time of

day by taking the position of the sun. Faeneste rejects it, hotly proclaiming: "nous autres gens de guerre ne sommes pas boulontiers Astrologues, et ce quadran a trop de feiçons" (738). He goes on to rail against the "chercheurs d'Antipodes" (739) who marvel in such devices, and stalwartly refuses to believe that the sun moves to another part of the earth overnight, maintaining that it simply moves back and forth across the sky: "braiment, car il s'en rebient de nuict." Faneste thus maintains that the world is flat, and refuses to acknowledge a world that exists outside of his own. His understanding of space hails from a bygone era. Though spurning the quadrant, Faeneste does carry a watch, but admits to using it primarily as a candy dispenser.

Faeneste demonstrates further incomprehension in the following chapter, when his servant interrupts the conversation to report that Faeneste's horse has made off with his sword. In desperation, an irate Faeneste demands "la Mappemonde, cerchez une Mappemonde" (740)! Enay replies: "Il y en a une des nouvelles en la galerie," an indication that unlike Faeneste, he keeps current on the latest methods of spatial representation. Faeneste fumes: "cerchez dedans, bous ne trouberez place en la terre où le bilen se puisse cacher, à moi desrover", expressing his flawed resolution to employ a map of the world to track down his renegade horse.

The Baron's ignorance with regard to methods of conceptualizing space is one of the many comical aspects of his character, but it is also a sign of his dogged adherence to a chivalric model of movement that prizes action over judgment. The ideal of a noble chivalric traveler was embodied by the knight Bayard, a hero represented in print almost a century earlier by Symphorien Champier in *Les gestes ensemble la vie du preulx Chevalier Bayard,* which was published in two books between 1525 and 1527.[124] In Denis Crouzet's analysis, Bayard represents the ideal of chivalric virtue in his peregrination and exploits in the Wars of Italy. His

[124] Denis Crouzet in the introduction to Symphorien Champier's *Les Gestes ensemble la vie du preulx Chevalier Bayard* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1992) 21-2, 38-40, 68-69.

violent adventures constitute "un désir de Dieu", an effort to regain prelapsarian purity, and an expression of love for king and country. Bayard's movement is an expression of divine will, signaling his ability to seek salvation through violent martyrdom. In a world where inaction leads to temptation, idleness and corruption, action is paramount. Bayard's action consists in continual movement. The knight is at the center of a chaotic world, moving in a quest that is at once noble, patriotic, and sacred.

Faeneste, action-oriented though he may be, is the source rather than the antithesis of chaos. In Book Four, he complains of being stuck in a tree by the spurs, and of getting caught in the brush of Poitou because of his riding boots, which he refuses to abandon because "c'est ce qui fait parestre le caballier" (774). His movement is frenetic, impulsive, uncalculated, and easily swayed by his insatiable desire to show off, an objective that he himself most often thwarts. While the Wars in Italy had previously constituted the "champs d'honneur de la noblesse française",[125] the Wars of Religions pitted countryman against countryman, generating warriors who harbored self-interest and fomented internal discord rather than patriotic fervor. True chivalric conduct was hardly possible under such circumstances. Faeneste's flurry of bellicose activity is most apparent in Book Four, in which he narrates his experience in a variety of combats, indicating vicissitudes in his loyalty. These include the skirmish between the Prince of Condé and Marie de Médicis that ended with the Treaty of Loudun in 1616, the battle at Les Ponts-de-Cé in 1620, the conflict in the Valtellina in 1625, and the battle of Saint Pierre in 1628. Many of these exploits are depicted as gratuitous. On the side of the Catholics in the Wars in Languedoc (1625-29), Faeneste recounts an episode during which he participated in the wanton destruction of vineyards: "pour nous benger de quelques affronts, poubez dire que nous arraschasmes vien des bignes; et noutez que les grands Seingurs, par emulation, en faisoient plus

[125] Jouanna, *op. cit.* 43.

que les proubes goinfres" (779). Enay's friend the Sieur de Beaujeu expresses surprised dismay at this act, questioning Faeneste's assertion that it brought him glory: "Gloire? vrayement ceux qui ne polurent point leurs mains à telle besogne, eurent à bon escient gloire de cavaliers."

The issue of dirtying one's hands was of central importance to the definition of nobility towards the end of the sixteenth century. Régine Pernoud delineates a transition in the perception of nobility that took place over the course of the sixteenth century, with a departure from the medieval ideal of chivalry towards the seventeenth century ideal of the "honnête homme."[126] To an increasingly large extent, noble behavior was manifest in passive qualities such as intellect and *esprit* rather than in acts of bravado such as the would-be exploits of the Baron de Faeneste. Faeneste is clinging to an approach to noble behavior that hinges on galloping around incessantly and showing off constantly. He embraces an idealized perception of noble warfare that characterized the southern noblemen in Languedoc and Guyenne at the onset of the religious wars, without successfully enacting it.[127] Enay, by contrast, has rejected the sparkle of celebrity and the luster of combat in favor of a life of quiet isolation. He is not, however, oblivious of the world around him or indifferent to spatial concerns, as evidenced by the *mappemonde* in his gallery. His choice to live in Poitou gives him a freedom that is the fruit of discernment and discretion. He has removed himself from the world while remaining mobile and cosmopolitan in spirit.

To Faeneste, status is paramount. Faeneste's noble lineage is the butt of a number of d'Aubigné's jokes. In Book Four, the Baron proclaims: "Sa Majestai sçait vien d'où ye suis, et encore que ye soiez à pied, ye suis tousjours lou Varon de Faeneste, aussi vien Gentilhomme que lou Roy mesmes" (786). Faeneste upholds as proof of his noble lineage the fact that his

[126] Régine Pernoud, *Histoire de la bourgeoisie en France* (Paris: Seuil, 1960) 29.
[127] For more on this topic, see Jouanna, *op. cit.* and Brian Sandburg, *Warrior Pursuits: Noble Culture and Civil Conflict in Early Modern France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010)

grandfather had his head cut off for raping a nun, and an uncle and cousin suffered the same fate for killing a priest – nobles were not subjected to the gallows, but instead enjoyed the privilege of being decapitated for their misdeeds. Continuing in this vein, Faeneste cites the proof of his malodorous feet, dubiously reputed to be a sign of nobility, which got him expelled from the company of the Duc D'Agaran on his journey to Italy. In Chapter Fourteen, the Baron insists that his title exists in the Bible – "et qui plus est, en Grec" (810). However, even given this illustrious (albeit erroneous) distinction, Faeneste is compelled to go gallivanting around the nation, seeking new ways to "faire paraître" his noble parentage. Lineage does not speak for itself; it must be shown off. It is inconceivable to Faeneste that a nobleman would shun the court in Paris: according to him, "Qui n'est en Paris n'est pas au monde" (710).

The absurdity of such a robust dedication to maintaining distinction within an unstable social hierarchy is apparent in an anecdote concerning the Baron de Calopse and his tragicomic voyage. Calopse is depicted as a reincarnation of Don Quixote: "qui comme Don Guichot voyagea pour remettre la Chevalerie errante, cettui-ci court le pays pour restablir l'honneur des Seigneurs et regler la menuë Noblesse" (764). By comparing Calopse to Don Quixote, d'Aubigné implies that this quest is perhaps a futile one, and certainly a ridiculous one. His reference to a literary parody of the noble quest of the hidalgo underscores d'Aubigné's own satire of the chivalric quest, particularly the one undertaken by his eponymous protagonist. The Baron de Calopse, "de bonne et grand maison" (765), was a man of war in his youth, given in his dotage to bemoaning the troubled state of domestic affairs. As a result of his ruminations he becomes a hypochondriac: "il ne dormoit point, pour le desplaisir que l'Estat alloit si mal." To find a remedy, Calopse convokes a gathering of his noble friends, but finds their suggestions so impertinent that he changes color and throws his cap on the table, declaring the source of the

unrest as he sees it: “tous les desordres viennent de ce que la menuë Noblesse ne respecte pas assez les Seigneurs comme moi” (767). In a return to the chivalric gusto of his youth, Calopse resolves to address the problem himself with an expedition to personally correct the flawed conduct of the *menue noblesse*.

The Baron de Calopse undertakes his voyage garbed in a seigniorial array of finery that would incur the Baron de Faeneste’s envy: rabbit-fur boots, shiny red hose and a satin doublet, a fox-fur robe, a purple velvet four-cornered hat with dangling ornaments, and a tented hat with white netting draped to his shoulders, from which “par une fenestre carree laissoit paroistre un fort grand nez et deux gros yeux admirans toutes choses” (767). With his magnificent train, he travels first to Ars, where a cousin quibbles that his entourage is too small, “pource, disoit il, que sans parestre vous ne pouvez garder vostre authorité” (768). From there, they pay a visit to the Baron of Saujon, who was seen with a mustache “trop relevée.” The cousins check the depth of Saujon’s bows and the exactitude of his mannerisms, and find them unbefitting. Calopse proceeds to harangue the poor Baron of Saujon on his deplorable deficiencies (“Petit rustre, petit carabin, enfant de vanité!”) citing all of the ways in which Saujon failed to show deference to noblemen who outranked him, “tout fait par incartade et avec un sousris hors de saison.” The lesser baron apologizes profusely, and joins Calopse’s train, which continues its voyage to admonish and amend the lesser nobility.

The details of Calopse’s voyage have a facetious quality that renders his movement absurd, creating a parody of the confessional disputes that caused neighbors to murder each other in late sixteenth century France. With the personage of Calopse, as with Faeneste, D’Aubigné associates a desire for noble appearances with ostentatious and misguided movement. Paradoxically, in his quest to defend nobility, Calopse behaves in a distinctly ignoble way. At the

end of his travails, he takes up his sword in a righteous display of chivalry to kill a Huguenot doctor, but ends up ineffectively thrashing him with a Bible: anticlimactically, "Voila comment succeda le remede aux desordres de la France" (771). Calopse's movement, like Faeneste's, is inspired by superficial concerns. He sallies forth on a mission to right the nation's wrongs, but is so fixated on appearances that he cannot discern the true nature of the world around him. Like Faeneste, Calopse is a champion of the *noblesse d'épée* and of Catholicism, and obsessed with *paraître*. Both personages are characterized by figurative myopia and unproductive movement.

Ironically, the opportunity for movement is what makes appearances less trustworthy. Calopse, in striving to preserve a system in which appearance affirms identity, was fighting a losing battle. As Faeneste himself demonstrates, noble mannerisms are easy to mimic, for those who are adept enough to disguise their patois. Anyone with adequate means could leave his native "pays" and falsify his social status at court. George Huppert identifies this as a problem for some rural aristocrats, who struggled to affirm their status outside of their place of origin: it was impossible to identify a *gentilhomme* by his appearance, and his name was generally meaningless once he left his territory.[128] In Book Three, there is a discussion of men who falsify their identity in order to dupe credulous courtiers. One of these is the Comte de Lorme, whom Faeneste upholds as "un grand cabalier" (755) and with whom he plans to undertake a prosperous sea voyage, until Enay unmasks the buccaneer as an opportunistic adventurer with a history of evading his creditors. This "Count" tricked people by adopting different titles: "tantot l'Amiral, pour l'esperance de commander une armee navale, tantost le Comte de Marans, pource qu'il le veut acheter, tantost le Marquis de Belle Isle ou de Ré, Comte d'Oleron, Lieutenant de Roi en Bretagne, et ainsi prend le tiltre d'autres Seigneuries et Gouvernements, ainsi qu'il les desire" (758). Following the tale of the Comte de Lorme are the capers of the Comte de Manle, a

[128] George Huppert, *Les Bourgeois gentilshommes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977) 113.

clerk who had burned through his inheritance, and gone to Paris under the guise of a "grand Seigneur" to marry the daughter of a rich hotelier. At the end of the story, the false count's true identity is revealed by a humble compatriot who comes to recuperate a debt, and the girl's father acknowledges: "nous pensions avoir pour gendre un grand Seigneur, et nous avons un habile homme que j'estime autant" (761).

In the *Avantures*, France is portrayed as a fractured space, where the nobility is struggling to maintain its prestige as social climbing becomes a viable alternative to the credentials of land and lineage. Concurrently, the nobility's cohesion is shaken by the stress of rivalries and royal pretentions. With opportunistic young men and shysters flocking towards Paris hoping to make their fortunes, and noblemen being pitted against each other to defend their honor and their fortunes, the *noblesse d'épée* strives even harder to affirm its authenticity – an endeavor that, ironically, obliterates the nobility of its demeanor, as striving is the antithesis of *sprezzatura*. Appearance was a decreasingly reliable means of distinguishing class and allegiance in a mobile world. However, as Faeneste demonstrates, opportunism begets hypocrisy, and allegiances fluctuate to suit the needs of opportunists. Loyalty to the crown was hardly a hallmark of noble conduct in the late sixteenth century: the War of 1574 was primarily waged by noble "Malcontents", both Catholic and Protestant, who objected to the absolutist leanings of royal governance and felt disenfranchised as a class.[129] This tension was far from resolved in the early seventeenth century, when nobles were less concerned with absolutism than with threats to their own power and status: Jouanna notes that there were more than a dozen noble rebellions between 1610 and the 1661.[130] Noblemen sought to render services to people and parties who were likely

[129] Jouanna, *op. cit.* 147-8.
[130] *ibid*., 212.

to return the favor, operating on a system of credit and "réseaux d'amitié".[131] Faeneste's objective is self-aggrandizement and maintenance of his noble demeanor at all costs, and he fights on the side that will benefit him personally. He served such dubious causes as the "coyon de mille livres" of the Marshal Concini, a corps of courtly spies, and in Book Four he admits to having turned against the King in the "guerre du Prince", a 1616 skirmish between Henri de Bourbon, Prince de Condé and Marie de' Médicis, then regent. Social and physical mobility obfuscate motives, and unwavering loyalty, as D'Aubigné himself experienced, is seldom rewarded. Nor was nobility, as Condé discovered, a safeguard against others' ambitions. Most importantly, nobility was not synonymous with loyalty to the crown, or with French nationalistic sentiment.

The *Avantures du Baron de Faeneste* contains a significant number of place names, most of them located in the Poitou region, a hotbed of reformist sentiment. The anecdotes in the *Avantures* take place in Saintes, Limoges, La Rochelle, Niort, Maillezais and Cognac – the westernmost half of the region known as the "croissant réformé," an arc extending from La Rochelle to Lyon via the Garonne and the Rhône valleys.[132] This geography serves to heighten the sense of spatial and ideological division that persists throughout the four books, conforming to the "us and them" mentality naively espoused by the Baron de Faeneste. The Huguenot population, as the object of hostility throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century and throughout the period of the *Avantures* (1616-1630), is represented both spatially and ideologically as "un Etat dans l'Etat." This internal division, coupled with the exterior threat of Hapsburg possessions at the French borders, lends a strong sense of instability to the troubled state inhabited by d'Aubigné's protagonists.

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[131] *ibid*., 65-90.
[132] Arlette Jouanna, *Histoire et dictionnaire des guerres de religion* (Paris: R. Laffont, 1998) 42.

While appearances may not be a reliable means of divining status, there are several indications in the *Avantures* that regional provenance is discernable through behavior. Faeneste himself is the best example of this phenomenon, given his strongly manifest Gascon ancestry, as previously noted. At one point, he expresses surprise to hear that Enay is aware of current events even from the isolation of his "païs perdut" (701), assuming that, as proverbial wisdom dictates of inhabitants of Brittany, he would be poorly informed: "Ye pensois qu'aussi vien que les Vretons, bous ne seussiez noubelle du marriage des Rois qu'au vatesme de leurs enfans." Enay makes reference to "l'incredulité des Rochelois" (705), and Faeneste later alludes to the trickery of Normans: "Ye recevois tousjours quauque affront abec ces Nourmans" (716). Numerous anecdotes contain or rely on regional dialects for humor. Several employ the dialect of Poitou, such as the story of the trickster who feigns the sale of his land to a rich lawyer, cunningly selling him the local cemetery ("o l'é le cemetere quel bous a vendu," 734), or the tale of the runaway mule in a solemn Catholic procession, during which the peasants mutter skeptically: "M'arme o l'é qu'o n'i a pu de devotion depeu qu'on vet à chevo" (737). A gentleman from Nérac heeds his son's advice to wear hose on his wedding day, only to find himself in dire straits later, imploring in his patois: "Oste mé d'aquiou, Hillot, iou n'en podi maye!" (780). A nobleman from Gascony demands an interpreter at a jewelry shop in Paris, unable to make himself understood "parce qu'il venoit tout bourru de Gascogne" (787). Dialects such as "Xainctongeois" (783) appear in the same vein as regional languages, such as Italian and Spanish. While appearances are untrustworthy, linguistic traits and certain idiosyncratic regional character traits are hard to conceal.

Additionally, there is a strong sense of division between city and country life. Paris is the nexus of courtly intrigue, and as such foments duplicity and thievery. Faeneste proclaims his

assessment, previously cited, that whoever is not in Paris is not in the world, and Enay thus abides in a "païs perdut" far from court. Faeneste's servant reveals that Paris is a world of opportunism: "Quand nous sommes à Paris, chacun pour soi et Dieu pour tous" (728). Enay affirms that "les coupeurs de bourse viennent plus de Paris que d'autre lieu" (753), and reminds Faeneste that Paris has been the cause of his troubles: "vos voluptez de Paris vous ont donné des maladies" (726). Faeneste's time in Paris is a slapstick progression of misfortunes, starting with his entry on foot where he was mercilessly mocked by pages and lackeys when he asks for directions to the Count's residence, continuing with an episode in which he lights himself on fire while holding a candle for the Prince. By contrast, Enay exemplifies sage conduct that is associated with his life in the country; he replies to Faeneste's nonsense with "simples raisons du village" (692). His distance from courtly life enables him to perceive the truth more clearly: "Le trop prés esbloüit au lieu d'esclairer; nous autres aux villages, à la juste proportion et rencontre des lignes visuelles, voyons quelquesfois plus à clair" (758). One of Enay's defining characteristics is discretion: he admonishes Faeneste not to gossip about his superiors, to which Faeneste replies: "Nous ne sommes poent si sages à la Cour, nous parlons de tout le monde" (691). When Faeneste finally learns Enay's identity, he is flabbergasted that Enay does not flaunt the honors accrued through years of service:

> Comment, Monsur, bous ne me disiez pas qui bous estes. Tout lou monde bous connoist: bous avez de si vonnes places, tant fait de serbices; on bous a osté bos bieilles et noubelles pensions, bos garnisons n'ont esté paiees il y a dux ans, on bous pille, bous qui sauriez bien piller les autres, et bous ne Boulez pas que nous parlions de l'Estat. (727)

Enay, who is well-schooled in society's hypocrisy, has chosen to observe it from a distance, and to refrain from active participation in a ruptured state.

Ultimately, burned by his loyalty to a fickle crown, choosing *être* over *paraître*, Enay has elected to live as a non-person, unidentifiable (a "faux Poitevin") in a non-place, far from the court, where people from the outside world tend to get lost. He has spurned the trappings of nobility for a life of quiet isolation, and a life of the mind. Faeneste inquires about swords, hunting dogs, and birds, and Enay alludes to the influence of Thomas More's *Utopia*, in which hunting is only for butchers, and not for noblemen. Faeneste protests: "Oy, mais où est la nouvlesse?" (686), but demonstrates an incapacity for spatial navigation that belies the frequency and frenzy with which he moves. In France's early period, nobility was question of place and of past. Faeneste's blundering quests, contrasted with Enay's immobile elegance, suggests a problem with the chivalric ideal of relentless action: civil war had invalidated the Manichean worldview of the knights who fought unremittingly for God and King. D'Aubigné seems to suggest that the nature of noble movement would need to change in accordance with the new social and political climate in turn-of-the-century France, and seems dubious regarding the prospect of France as a unified whole.

France in Flux and the Evolving Elite

French noblemen during the Renaissance were in a unique position with respect to movement. Unlike many of their non-noble peers, they had the time, the financial means, the information and the social networks necessary to travel with a minimum of constraints. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the noblemen of France were also in a tenuous position. Their status was destabilized by the proliferation of noble appointments, which caused friction between the *noblesse d'épée* and *the noblesse de robe*, and by animosity between noble families that was a byproduct (some would argue the cause) of the Wars of Religion. Furthermore, increased mobility made it harder to identify noblemen in a system where nobility had previously

been defined by lineage and ownership of land. Far from his estate, a nobleman could not count on being recognized, let alone esteemed as such. How noblemen traveled is linked to the question of how noblemen were supposed to behave, and how they could identify themselves and each other. These issues clearly had significance for the authors of the *Amant Resuscité*, the *Journal de Voyage*, and the *Aventures du Baron de Faeneste*.

All three of these works betray a latent preoccupation with the question of what makes people different, and what makes places different. How is a nobleman fundamentally different from a *roturier*, especially when an increasing population of Frenchmen claims to be noble? How is France essentially different from the nations that surround it, and what creates the distinction, when borderlines are traversable and fluctuating? Just as France as a nation was suffering from the throes of internal discord in the latter half of the sixteenth century, so too was the noble population suffering from an identity crisis of its own. The noble claim to a military profession, which Montaigne notably upheld[133], was shaken by the participation of commoners in battle who sometimes replaced noblemen shirking their military duty. Noblemen increasingly struggled with debt, which allowed non-nobles to gain control over noble lands.[134] Furthermore, anti-noble sentiment resulted in acts of violence against the nobility in regions such as Dauphiné, Brittany, and Perigord.[135]

Denisot's *Amant Resuscité* anticipates a growing interest among sixteenth century nobility to save their class. Movement is linked with the cultivation of good judgment. The narrator Valentinian and his interlocutors expound upon the importance of education, which for Valentinian takes place by traveling. Their discourse prefigures a burgeoning publication of treatises detailing the ideal means of reforming the nobility through education. One notable

[133] Supple, *op. cit.* 8.
[134] David Bitton, *French Nobility in Crisis, 1560-1640* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969) 2.
[135] *ibid*., 6.

work, Pierre D'Origny's *Le Hérault de la noblesse de France* from 1578, urges noblemen to pursue an education in languages so that they might become ambassadors to foreign countries. In Denisot's novel, nobility is a universal quality that can be found anywhere. The traveling nobleman is at home with other noblemen, wherever they may be, because his conduct resembles theirs, and they share the same values. Noblemen refine their judgment by navigating space, and the quality of moderation helps maintain a steady course on the path towards virtue. Denisot's protagonist embraces a cosmopolitan worldview, where nationality is secondary to humanity, and the humanity of the noble class is exalted. He professes particular allegiance, however, to France and to the wellbeing of his homeland. Valentinian's mannerisms, language, and dress all identify his regional provenance, which he makes no attempt to obfuscate. When French practices are decried by foreigners, however, he is quick to come to his nation's defense. It is worth remembering that Denisot was not an ambassador for the French crown, but a spy.

For Montaigne, much like for the fictive traveler Valentinian, noble movement is facilitated by participation in a universal network of nobility. Like Valentinian, Montaigne maintains commerce with noblemen wherever he travels. In addition to seeking out noblemen and receiving their hospitality, Montaigne reads the traces of their presence in the landscape that he traverses, and endeavors to leave his mark in a similar fashion. Like Valentinian, Montaigne demonstrates a capacity and a desire for understanding his surroundings, and sagacity with regards to spatial navigation. Rather than broadcasting his regional provenance, however, Montaigne endeavors to adopt local customs and to blend in, going so far as to write in Italian and to petition for Roman citizenship. While Montaigne demonstrates readiness to forego distinctions based on nationality, and to become, like Socrates, a citizen of the world,[136] he is not

[136] Huppert, *op. cit.* 170.

so patently willing to gloss distinctions based on class. To the contrary, he seems quite anxious to be perceived and remembered as a nobleman.

In the *Journal*, France is the standard against which Montaigne gauges foreign places and customs, because it is familiar to him. There is no sense that France is a superior country (although the napkins are larger), but only that France is known to Montaigne, like his own body whose vicissitudes he similarly observes and measures. Montaigne manifests interest in the attitudes towards France held by foreigners, but does not, as Valentinian does, come to her defense where she is regarded with animosity. Montaigne measures his own "mépris de son pays" against the sentiments he perceives abroad, creating distance between himself and his homeland, but also acknowledges that regional provenance shapes the lens through which foreign places are perceived.

The question of education acquired through travel is not explicitly referred to in the *Journal*, as it is in the *Amant Resuscité*. It does figure into Montaigne's *Essais*, particularly the essay "De l'institution des enfants," where Montaigne encourages "la visite des pays estrangers" to be practiced by young men. James Supple calls attention to the value placed on active personal judgment in the *Essais*, a quality that is honed by the act of "frotter et limer nostre cervelle contre celle d'autruy."[137] In "De l'institution des enfants," Montaigne participates in a dialogue with his contemporaries about how best to elevate the nobility from decadence, and adheres to the point of view that noble minds are best suited for education. In the *Journal*, however, he does not act as an ambassador of French pre-eminence, as Denisot's hero did. The ostensible goal of Montaigne's travels is the edification and improvement of the self, not of the nation. He does not venture abroad as a Frenchman, but as Montaigne.

[137] Montaigne, *Essais,* I, xxvi "De l'institution des enfants"153.

Montaigne's travels through Germany and Italy have been upheld by Frank Lestringant as a benign voyage that can be compared to the travels of Pantagruel and his crew in the *Quart Livre*, who were not bent on achieving conquest, salvation, or fortune abroad, but were motivated by the "studieux désir de voir, apprendre, connaître."[138] This style of movement, Lestringant notes, is in line with the Erasmian condemnation of pilgrimage. The equitable eye with which Montaigne contemplates his foreign surroundings is singularly resonant during an era when regional identification was strongly felt and manifested, and territorial disputes were a quotidian political reality. The care with which he enumerates the chorographical details of his surroundings is in keeping with an interest that burgeoned in the 1570's in *ars apodemica*, the art of traveling, represented by such authors as Hieronymus Turler and Theodor Zwinger.[139] These authors, influenced by the French humanist Pierre de la Ramée, responded to a sixteenth century preoccupation with the codification of empirical knowledge, particularly the knowledge that was amassed through traveling.[140] Montaigne's systematic remarks on dress, lodging, religious practices, food, and historical points of interest in each place he visits are in line with this new brand of observational travel writing. He does not, however, refrain from subjectivity in his observations. For Montaigne, the observer is necessarily at the center of his own universe. That center, however, is not necessarily a better place. Through his mélange of interest and detachment, Montaigne bears a notable resemblance to our contemporary conception of a tourist.

In the *Amant Resuscité* and Montaigne's *Journal*, traveling is a constructive, positively portrayed endeavor. D'Aubigné's *Aventures du Baron de Faeneste* provides a sharp contrast by portraying movement in a distinctly negative light. Where Denisot's hero broadcasts his

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[138] Lestringant, *op. cit*. 136.
[139] Thomas Frangenberg, "Chorographies of Florence. The Use of City Views and Plans in the 16th Century", *Imago Mundi*, 46 (1994) 49.
[140] Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Chur: Harwood, 1995) 57.

nationality and his nobility, Montaigne is content to display primarily the latter. D'Aubigné's wise protagonist Enay, however, advertises neither his regional provenance nor his social status. Furthermore, he stays put. In d'Aubigné's satire, the nobleman who espouses action without judgment is a buffoon and a simpleton. Faeneste's movement does not edify him or glorify his country, but only underscores his hubris, his stupidity, and his immorality. Faeneste is prejudiced rather than cosmopolitan, and bears traces of his regional provenance all over his person. Rather than seeking to be a citizen of the world, Faeneste's foil Enay opts to remove himself from it, spurning the royal court in favor of the countryside, anticipating Rousseau by almost 150 years by praising the humble "raison du village," and adopting a more cosmopolitan worldview as a function of his removal from the superficial world of the French court. Allusions to Enay's past affirm that this choice was preceded by a career of service to his country, followed by disillusionment. All the same, on more than one occasion he admonishes the loose-tongued Faeneste to respect government officials and to avoid insolence when speaking of his country. Prudence is Enay's most salient trait.

D'Aubigné depicts a nobility that is more preoccupied with saving its own appearance than with resolving the discord that afflicts France, unrest that all three of the aforementioned authors were cognizant of and referred to in their respective works. Denisot's hero defends France. Montaigne, with a measure of distaste, uses France as a frame of reference for his own personal observations, though he still places value on serving his homeland, as evinced by his service as mayor of Bordeaux, and as negotiator for the King. In stark contrast with these authors, D'Aubigné paints France as a fractured, war-ravaged country, where honor is a farce, fidelity is an illusion, and opportunism is a way of life. In spite of the comical bent of d'Aubigné's novel, his literary avatar professes an attitude of patent despair regarding his

homeland. Nobility is not its savior, but the instrument of its upending. D'Aubigné likewise repudiates the rapport between nobility and virtue. There is still, however, a sense that a virtuous man is learned, and that this learning involves a cognizance of space and how to navigate it correctly.

Noblemen in motion during the Early Modern period were obliged to confront the question of what made them, as noblemen, better than other people – and likewise, what made them French, and where nationality ranks with respect to distinctions based on class and religion. In Denisot's narration, Valentinian's delight in international commerce is somewhat at odds with his manifest chauvinism. Montaigne's sense of patriotic duty, which is evident in the *Essais* as well as from his career of government service, does not hinder his appreciation and integration in foreign lands, or his allowance that some of them are superior to France. It is clear that Montaigne badly wants to be seen as noble, wherever he goes, but not that he particularly cares to be seen as French. D'Aubigné's Enay, entirely insouciant of outside perception, questions the practice of seeking wisdom beyond one's own backyard, and suggests that impulsive movement is a sign of superficiality, even stupidity. A sense of French identity is least present in d'Aubigné's work. Faeneste accuses Enay of being a "Francimant", whereas Enay has fully withdrawn himself from the French court and the skirmishes that dominate French politics, and has essentially achieved geographical anonymity. D'Aubigné's portrait of France is marked by divisions based on religion, comportment, class and dialect. The concept of France as a unified place is an underlying uncertainty in all four books of the *Baron de Faeneste*, and remains unresolved at its conclusion in the early part of the seventeenth century.

Chapter Four: The Sojourning Scholar

A law student from Toulouse, lagging behind his peers and determined to improve his prospects, retires to a tiny French village outside of Cahors called Saint Antonin to study and improve his legal competence. A local apothecary greets him, "comme en ces petites villes on est incontinent vue et remarqué"[141], and upon hearing the young man spout medical jargon ("ainsi qu'un homme d'estude et de jugement ha tousjours quelque chose à dire en toutes professions"), he initially mistakes the young man for a doctor. The apothecary is no fool, "car il avoit esté par les bonnes villes de France, pour apprendre son estat", and helps the young man to feign the medical profession for the duration of his stay in Saint Antonin. The ruse is carried off without a hitch owing to the young man's readiness to play doctor: "Voicy un pays escarté," he thinks, "Il n'y ha homme qui me congnoisse". He makes a fortune at the expense of his naïve patients.

A student from Brittany, having spent a short time at university in Paris, deems himself ready to return home and make his fortune. He has high hopes for the future, for in Paris he had been told that "un personage docte et experimenté aux sept artz liberaux ne pouvoit endurer necessité."[142] Inflated with this opinion, he asks a passerby for money and is paid in derision. The local scoffs: "Comment mon amy à ce que je voy je sçay plus que toy, et m'est plus profitable mon sçavoir que le tien: d'autant que de ce seul mestier que tu voys je nourris ma femme et sept enfans, et toy acompagné de tes sept artz liberaux, ne peux vivre seul." Irate, "despit comme un maistre en ars", the cocksure student continues on to his native village, where he is such an able trickster that he obtains the position of vicar with no credentials to his name: "sceut si bien contrefaire l'habille homme… qu'il fut esleu du cure pour son principal vicaire". In spite of his manifest ignorance, he maintains the position, simultaneously enjoys and bungles

[141] Bonaventure Des Périers, Nouvelle 59 from the *Nouvelles récréations et joyeux devis*, ed. Krystyna Kasprzyk (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1980) 216-222.
[142] A.D.S.D., Nouvelle 12 from *Les Comptes du monde adventureux*, ed. Félix Frank (Geneva: Slatkine, 1969) 72.

his ecclesiastical authority, and "s'employa à la lecture des bons vins" rather than studying the Gospel. His disappointed parishioners are powerless to displace him.

These two anecdotes, taken from the *Nouvelles Récréations et Joyeux Devis* by Bonaventure des Périers and the *Comptes du monde adventureux* by the unknown author A.D.S.D., are representative of an enduring trend in French popular fiction that portrays the student as a trickster and a troublemaker. Dating from the mid-sixteenth century (1558 and 1555, respectively), borrowing the literary *topoi* established by preceding works of fiction, they highlight some of the student's most suspicious and troublesome characteristics: he is arrogant, ignorant in spite of his schooling, opportunistic, corrupt, and duplicitous. In all of his literary escapades, the student's elemental ruse is to falsify his identity, duping townspeople wherever he goes. This ploy is facilitated by the fact that university education from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance implied spatial displacement: young men would routinely travel to three or four universities in order to complete their degrees.

The problems caused by student migration are understandable in a modern context, as nations grapple with the problem of how to receive foreigners. People worry that outsiders will steal from them, take advantage of them, infect them with strange diseases and ideas, and overtax limited local resources. However, sixteenth century student migration merits special consideration in light of the new value placed on literary and humanist education by Renaissance intellectuals, and the epistemological debates taking place at the time in a network of scholarly exchange that spanned Europe, and was facilitated by student movement. Most canonical texts of the sixteenth century were produced by former university students. It follows that the figure of the student in Renaissance literature is portrayed with more nuance by authors who are familiar with his experiences. In the works of Noel du Faïl, the brothers Platter, and Bénigne Poissenot,

the figure of the student overtly or implicitly illustrates Renaissance preoccupations with the status of different kinds of knowledge, the issues of contamination and exchange, cultural resemblance and dissonance within the French city, and questions of identity that resulted from the evolving spatial organization of France. Hailing from different literary traditions, these works are alike in their integration of autobiographical in addition to literary elements, and in their identification of the problems with student itinerancy in addition to its potential benefits. Ultimately, these works illustrate the momentum of student movement over the course of the sixteenth century in France, affirming its inevitability in shaping the nation that hosted it.

The Young and the Restless in Noël du Fail's *Propos Rustiques*

In 1547, Noël du Fail first published the *Propos Rustiques*, an ostensible homage to rural life that takes place on his native soil near Rennes in Brittany. Adopting a popular format for collections of short narrative prose, du Fail's compilation of twelve anecdotes is attributed to a circle of venerable storytellers, whose interjections and commentaries formulate a lively *histoire cadre*. Rather than noblemen, however, the raconteurs in du Fail's narrative framework are four old men who, on the occasion of a village holiday, have positioned themselves under an oak tree to recount yarns from village lore. From this vantage point, they observe local youths frolic and gambol, occasioning their reminiscence on bygone times. The initial opposition between static old men and active adolescents is the first of many that give the *Propos Rustiques* a polemical tone: age and maturity are superior to "inconstante jeunesse",[143] the countryside is valued over the city, and staying where providence puts you is better than any kind of displacement. The *Propos Rustiques* can thus be read as a condemnation of movement, and an attempt to persuade young people to spurn the corruptive influences of urban society by rejecting the urge to travel

[143] Noel du Faïl, *Les Propos Rustiques*. Gabriel A. Pérouse and Roger Dubois, eds. (Geneva: Droz, 1994) 48. Further citations refer to this edition.

for education or other fantasies of self-improvement. Paradoxically, this work was published at the end of du Fail's own academic peregrination, which included periods of study in Paris, Poitiers, Angers, and Bourges, in addition to his participation in the final iteration of the Italian Wars. Furthermore, although Noël du Fail's exact birth date is unknown, the earliest attributed year is 1520,[144] which means that he was less than thirty when he composed this apparent tribute to old age and inertia. Although du Fail affects a negative attitude towards movement in the *Propos Rustiques*, biographical details and other indications suggest that his purported message should not be taken at face value.

Du Fail integrates topographical details into his text that demonstrate his familiarity with Brittany and his desire to craft a realistic portrait of a rural milieu. Local markets figure into the context of the old men's discussion ("combien avoit valu le Bled à Loheac, Fleaux au Liege" 52), and the men allude to a great rivalry between the inhabitants of Flameaux and the inhabitants of Vindelles, villages near Rennes (106). Du Fail likewise integrates historical events into his narration, with the mention of the "grands jours" in Riom that took place in 1546 (133), consisting in the displacement of the Parliament of Paris to its provincial seat. Du Fail similarly mentions the election of "francs archers" in local parishes (135). The specificity of these spatial and historical particulars supports du Fail's position as an expert on rural existence as he brings to life a cast of characters exemplifying quotidian reality in the countryside. Du Fail's geographical knowledge of the region grants him license to speak knowledgeably about the local lifestyle, an indication that knowledge of place conveys a privileged understanding of the people who inhabit it.

Du Fail's four *devisants* are members of the local high society, relatively speaking. An omnispective narrator is present, having journeyed to the countryside on business, and observes

[144] Emmanuel Philipot, *La Vie et l'oeuvre littéraire de Noël du Fail, gentilhomme breton* (Paris: Champion, 1914) 4.

the festive youths and their aged counterparts on a "jour de feste". This narrator, who naturally becomes conflated with the author, asks an acquaintance ("quelcun de ma congnoissance") for the old men's names. This conspicuous indication that the narrator has a friend in the crowd confirms his status as an outsider who is nevertheless acquainted with the environs, qualifying him as a trustworthy observer and interpreter. The discussants are identified as Anselme, "l'un des riches de ce village, bon Laboureur et assez bon petit notaire pour le plat païs" (49), Pasquier, "l'un des grands gaudisseurs qui soit d'icy à la journée d'un cheval", Huguet, a schoolteacher turned vintner and a "Roger bon temps", and Lubin, "un autre gros riche Pitaut de ce village, assez bon villain" (50). While the elders are described in humble terms, they are not without some erudition, indicated by the fact that they carry books. Pasquier comes equipped with "des Lunettes et une paire de vieilles heures". Huguet is described as a lover of old books, regaling his companions with "un *Kalendrier des Berges*, les *fables de Esope*, le *romant de la Rose*". In the opening scene, Lubin peers over Huguet's shoulder into the tome that he holds. Education is implicitly underscored as a narrative focus.

The collection's first three anecdotes establish the tone of the *Propos Rustiques*. In "De la diversité des Temps", Anselme expresses his nostalgia for the past ("Ô temps heureux! ô siecles fortunés!"), when fathers tended to their families "en liberté et tranquilité louable, peu se soucians des affaires estrangeres" (52). In "Banquet Rustique", Huguet describes a festive dinner among country folk, magnificent in its simplicity, "car leur estoient incongnuz Poivre, Safran, Gingembre, Canelle, Myrabolans à la Cornithiace, Muscade, Girofle et autres semblables resveries, tranferées des Villes en noz Villages" (54). This marked absence of exotic condiments signifies the insular nature of village life in the past, before the transmission of New World products into cities and subsequently into villages. For Du Fail's protagonists, the term "nouveau

monde" has a distinctly pejorative sense. As they speak of contemporary evils and marvel at the decadence of modern times, Pasquier laments: "vous dites toute verité, et me semble proprement estre en un nouveau monde" (53). The elderly discussants evoke a time when pertinent knowledge was generated, maintained and disseminated within the village, not obtained by venturing to foreign lands. The next anecdote, "Harengue Rustique", details the advice given by elders to the youths at the banquet. The salient implication of this harangue is to be content where providence has placed you, and not to aspire for more:

> Car demandez ou souhaitez-vous plus salutaire ou plus liberale vie que la nostre, moyennant que nous gardions de aspirer à trop hauts estats, veu mesmement que, si sommes diligens à labourer les terres à nous laissées par noz bons peres, sera beaucoup, ne tachans par grands heritages à les amplifier (64-5).

Being satisfied with your lot in life is described on equal terms with accepting the parcel of land allotted to you. Territorial expansion is decried as a corruptive force, as is movement towards the exterior. The youths are encouraged to cultivate their gardens in both an allegorical and a literal sense, one that Voltaire would surely have approved of. In this context, educational travel would appear to be presumptuous, neglectful, and even greedy.

The hazards of movement are elaborated upon in the parallel accounts of two father-son pairs. The first consists in Thenot du Coin and his son Tailleboudin. Pasquier describes Thenot, a man from his hamlet, whose most striking characteristic is his lack of movement: "Ainsi appelé du Coin pource que jamais ne sortit hors sa maisonnette, ou (pour ne mentir) les limites ou bords de sa Paroisse" (91). Thenot takes pleasure in tending to his hearth, cooking turnips, studying Aesop's fables and observing the jays that eat his peas and the mole that digs up his beans. Thenot would trap the birds were it not for the simple pleasure to be gleaned by watching them. A passing admirer marks his door with a poem lauding Thenot's simple lifestyle:

Suyve qui voudra des Seigneurs

Les honneurs,
Pompes et banquets de ville!
Ne sont en moy telz labeurs,
Et ailleurs
Passe le temps plus tranquile. (95)

Thenot embodies the values of old age, sedentary behavior, rustic life, and peasant erudition. His son Tailleboudin, by contrast, spurns all of these by gallivanting off to Paris to become a thief. His story is recounted by Anselme under the title "De Tailleboudin, filz de Thenot du Coin, qui devint bon et savant Gueux." Upon Thenot's death, Tailleboudin sells his inherited land, spends the money, and adopts the life of a professional miscreant. This transition is enabled by the fact that nobody knows him outside of his village: "personne ne le congoissoit, aussi que la faim commença luy allonger les dents" (98). Tailleboudin describes his dishonest lifestyle in ironic terms, as if he were a member of an exclusive and worthy professional association that spans the nation: "Il faut que tu entendes que, entre nous tous (qui sommes en nombre presque inestimable), y ha trafiques, chapitres, monopoles, changes, banques, parlemens, jurisdictions, frairies, mots de guet et offices pour gouverner, uns en une Province et autres en l'autre" (99). His "profession" takes on a noble veneer as he boasts of the gains made without working for them: "entre tous j'ay eslu le mien, comme le plus lucratif et de meilleur revenu, et sans main mettre" (98). Tailleboudin refers to his geographically widespread network of thieves as a "fraternelle communauté" (102) and "nostre Religion" (100), adding en ecclesiastical timbre to the suggestion of nobility.

Editors Gabriel-André Pérouse and Roger Dubuis have indicated the similarity between Tailleboudin's brotherhood of bandits and a religious order (notes: 100, 103) and Keith Cameron reads the description of Tailleboudin's trade as a parody of the judicial system in sixteenth

century France, with which Du Fail was familiar.[145] Tailleboudin's mendacious mendicancy also bears resemblance to the life of a traveling student. The organization of thieves into "trafiques, chapitres, monopoles… et offices pour gouverner" recalls the institution of student "nations" at French universities and their organization into governing bodies that deliberated on matters affecting their constituents.[146] Tailleboudin's description includes references to Bourges and to Angers as well as to Paris, all three towns that were renowned for their universities. Tailleboudin's pursuit of his duplicitous vocation necessitates an apprenticeship that in turn requires geographical displacement: beggars who feign illness are "voyageurs", "et ceux là envoyons pour voir le monde, pour apprendre. Par lesquelz de ville en ville mandons… ce que savons de nouveau, mesme ce qui concerne nostre fait: comme de quelque maniere de faire, de nouveau inventée, pour attraper monnoye" (103). The propagation of thievery depends on the movement of these malevolent scholars and instructors, who share innovations in fraudulence with their colleagues throughout France.

This negative vision of itinerant scholarship is furthered by another father-son anecdote told by Huguet about Gobemouche and his son Guillaume. Gobemouche is a farmer by trade, "un terrible Senaut et bon villain" (148), a "discret et honneste homme" (149), who dreams of being rich and a "gros Seigneur". Gobemouche's idea of the lifestyle of "puissans Gentilshommes" consists primarily in reflections on the delicious food that he could eat if he were wealthy: "il me suffiroit seulement de menger de ce beau lard jaune, à celle fin que les Chiens me regardassent". Victuals inspiring canine envy hardly qualify as trappings of nobility,

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[145] Keith Cameron, "Noël du Fail et 'L'Aage doré'" in *Noel du Fail écrivain*, Ed. C. Magnien-Simonin (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1991) 164.

[146] Natalie Zemon Davis discusses the proliferation of male youth groups in France from the twelfth century onwards and their organization into mock governments with officers and trials, a notable sixteenth century example being the Basoche, an organization of law clerks in several French cities, who elected Abbots, Kings and Princes. Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Reasons of Misrule" in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975) 111.

and this misguided reverie prefigures Gobemouche's mistake in deciding to send his son Guillaume away to school. Gobemouche experiences his decision as a revelation as he harnesses his cows one day in preparation to plow. His motivation is to save Guillaume from the influence of old wives' tales that he hears from his mother: "le y envoya pource que sa mere le gastoit à luy apprendre mille sottes façons de dire et manieres de faire fort estranges, comme ne pisser contre le vent; ne dire 'chat' la nuict," et cetera (150). When the time comes for Guillaume to return home and to demonstrate his erudition, "pour rendre raison et du temps et de l'argent" (151), the prodigal son is puffed up with unwarranted pride and useless knowledge, shamelessly bragging to anyone who will listen about his meager exploits, which consist in stealing chestnuts, quarrelling with peasant ladies, and getting drunk. Nevertheless, he succeeds in impressing the villagers back home. Upon being duly interrogated by a local preacher, Guillaume "fut trouvé bon Grammarien positif et bon petit Sophiste" (153), and he stupefies everyone, including his mother, with his wisdom, "les avoir mis tous sur le cul et rendu Quinauds" (154).[147]

The ostensible message to be gleaned from the *Propos Rustiques* is that movement has a corruptive influence on youth, and should be discouraged. However, there are a number of indications that suggest that du Fail did not intend for this point to be taken entirely seriously. For one, there is the fact that du Fail himself had an important tenure as a student, an education that led to his prestigious parliamentary career. Furthermore, while the portraits of wandering youths Tailleboudin and Guillaume are unappealing, the portrait of their fathers is hardly more compelling. It is hard to imagine the reader who would yearn to sit dumbly in a corner watching birds eat his peas, or who would dream of eating lard to make his dogs jealous. If knowledge

[147] Guillaume's performance bears an inescapable resemblance to the behavior of the *écolier limousin* in Rabelais's *Pantagruel*, and is but one of several instances where du Fail imitates Rabelais. The echoes of Rabelais in the *Propos Rustiques* have been commented by several critics including du Fail's biographer Emmanuel Philipot, the editors of the *Propos Rustiques* (Pérouse and Dubois), and Andrée Comparot in his essay "La réception de Rabelais dans les *Propos Rustiques*" in Cameron, *op. cit.*

from the city is at best useless and at worse immoral, knowledge from the countryside is regarded with a substantial measure of derision: Guillaume's mother, for example, admonishes him not to trim his nails on a Sunday, and to cure warts by touching a cuckold's jacket, among other superstitious parables. If the portrait of the four aged discussants is affectionate, it is also mocking. They interrupt each other, quibble, and obsess over the minutiae of bygone days. If the portrait of the student is designed to be a caution, the life of a rustic country gentleman is not presented as an appealing or realistic alternative.

Du Fail creates an opposition between itinerant scholarship and humble rusticity in the *Propos Rustiques*, but depicts both with a measure of contempt. The ideal of a pastoral utopia is certainly present in du Fail's work. By upholding the countryside as the cadre for a singular brand of terrestrial wisdom, du Fail joins his humanist contemporaries in waxing nostalgic for a simpler, more peaceful (albeit imaginary) past. The *Propos Rustiques* is not, however, Rousseau urging urbanites back to the land, nor does it constitute a Call to Plows. Marie-Claire Bichard-Thomine refers to du Fail's construction of a rural *locus amoenus* as "un rêve qu'il nourrit… en se moquant de lui-même", noting his desire to create an opposition between learned and popular culture while maintaining complicity with the learned reader.[148]

The author's sympathy with learned readers of the *Propos Rustiques* is apparent in the narrator's introduction, magisterially titled "Maistre Leon Ladulfi au lecteur salut" (38). Editors Pérouse and Dubois point out that "Ladulfi" is an anagram for du Fail, and that the title "Maistre" connotes a university distinction. Master Ladulfi goes on to preface his collection of "Propos d'aucuns Rustiques (que je nomme Païsans, Vilains ou Ignobles)" with a treatise on the origins of nobility, a description *a contrario* of the "Rustiques" that he is about to depict. According to Ladulfi, in the earliest days, there were no hierarchical distinctions: "en ce bon

[148] Marie-Claire Bichard-Thomine, *Noël Du Fail: conteur* (Paris: Champion, 2001) 24, 30-31.

vieux temps, que aucuns appellent l'Aage Doré, n'y avoit difference aucune entre les hommes en preeminence, hautesse ou autre point d'honneur; ains estoyent egaux" (39). Everyone lived peacefully together in a big cave until quarrels and discord forced them to separate. The weaker members of society banded together to supplicate the strongest and wisest to counsel and protect them, and chose one to be their leader: "eslurent un d'entre eux, par commune voix plus robuste, plus sage et haut à la main, pour leur conducteur" (41). Everyone paid dues to this sage, save for the hardiest and most valorous in combat. Thus, the noble class was born:

> Ceste exemption ilz appellerent Noblesse… à cause que, par leur hardiesse et brusque adresse aux armes (postposans toute crainte de mort), ils acqueroient ce que aux autres, qui avoient tourné le dos, gaigné le haut, ne s'estants mis au hazard, esoit vilainement denié. (42)

Ladulfi/Du Fail subscribes to the traditional view of nobility as an essentially military profession, whereas non-nobles are weaker and less intelligent, if not flagrant cowards. The esteem for rusticity broadcast in the *Propos Rustiques* is qualified by a fundamental and irreconcilable distinction between the author and his ignoble subjects. Even in his admiration for rural culture, Du Fail maintains an ethnographer's distance: he is not attempting, nor is he encouraging his learned readership, to live the life of a peasant.

Praise of rustic life was a commonplace of sixteenth-century prose. Du Fail was almost certainly familiar with Spanish moralist and chronicler Antonio de Guevara's *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea*, which decries courtly mores and upholds the virtues of rustic life, published in 1539 and translated into French as *Mespris de la Cour avec la vie rustique* in 1542. Several other intertexts, however, suggest that du Fail did not share Guevara's polemical intentions. Aline Leclerq-Magnien points to du Fail's relative youth and recent scholarship leading up to the publication of *Propos Rustiques*, qualifying this early work as an "exercice d'école" and an "oeuvre de potache" rather than a manifesto seriously urging a return to the

countryside.[149] To support this contention, Leclerq-Magnien refers to the influence of Erasmus on du Fail and the echoes of *In Praise of Folly* in the *Propos Rustiques*. In "Au lecteur salut", du Fail outlines his project of illustrating a phenomenon by describing its opposite:

> puisque les Propos d'aucuns Rustiques… nous sont en main, il ne sera, me semble, hors de propos, faire un brief et sommaire Discours du nom et imposition d'iceluy, ce que je feray à beaucoup moindre difficulté, prenant ce que luy est (comme l'on dit) en diametre contraire, qui est Noblesse (38)

Leclerq-Magnien likewise alludes to du Fail's familiarity with the work of theologian and magician Corneille Agrippa, whose *De incertitudine et Vanitate Scienitarum*, published in 1530, is a refutation of the utility and value of all knowledge. Agrippa himself was influenced by Erasmus, and in his *Apologia*, a response to virulent attacks on *De incertitudine*, Agrippa maintains his work's status as a *declamatio,* a text designed to stimulate useful discussion by articulating a controversial point of view. Agrippa's academic career evidences his own real interest in learned culture, even if he did intend to question the privileged status given to knowledge acquired by reason.[150]

Leclercq-Magnien cites the techniques used by Erasmus and Corneille Agrippa in *In Praise of Folly* and *De incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum* to suggest that du Fail was seeking to achieve something similar with the *Propos Rustiques*; namely, to motivate a discourse on the advantages and drawbacks of learned versus popular culture by ostensibly espousing the latter. Leclercq-Magnien argues that the *Propos* were written in a spirit of irony, noting that the peasant discussants are themselves not very appealing, and thus unlikely models for emulation. In a work that allegedly praises the naïve wisdom of the countryside over shallow, corruptive knowledge

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[149] Aline Leclerq-Magnien, "Paroles Rustiques: caractérisation des devisants et statu du texte" in Magnien-Simonin, op. cit. 55-6.

[150] Nauert, Charles, "Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2011 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/agrippa-nettesheim.

obtained in urban areas, it is nevertheless the most learned peasant, the former schoolteacher "maistre Huguet", who has the most substantial interventions.

It is unlikely that du Fail realistically envisioned a world in which people stay home, embrace humble origins, and spurn social aspirations. Given his personal history, this would be quite hypocritical. Du Fail does, however, suggest potential problems created by increased mobility in mid-sixteenth century France, and exposes a concern that was likely to have preoccupied his humanist peers. The *Propos Rustiques* create a strong binary opposition between rural and urban space at a time when French cities and the French countryside were undergoing a transformation. Denis Baril affirms the impact of increased agricultural exchange on the rural milieu.[151] Cities were getting bigger, and villages were getting richer as a result. Du Fail, Baril asserts, was painting peasant life not as he saw it, but as it would exist in an ideal world, where people were rewarded for harkening to the dictates of their geographical and social provenance. Du Fail decries the corruption of the city even while manifesting an obvious although jovial disdain for those who receive their education from the *Evangiles de quenouilles* and Aesop's fables. The *Propos Rustiques* announce the inevitable deterioration of the distinction between city and country, and subsequently between bumbling peasant and savvy but corrupt urbanite. Du Fail himself is evidence that youth will not be content to sit and spin yarns while there is knowledge and fortune to be gained elsewhere.

The author's own experience as a student was fresh in his mind as he drafted the *Propos Rustiques*, and was still present in his memory almost 40 years later, as evidenced by his references to student life in the *Contes et Discours d'Eutrapel*. Published in Rennes in 1585, Du Fail's *Contes* are a contribution to the late sixteenth century fad of the *discours bigarré*, which

[151] Denis Baril, "La peur de la ville chez les paysans des contes de Noël du Fail" in *La Nouvelle française à la Renaissance*, Ed. Lionello Sozzi (Genève: Slatkine, 1981) 515.

borrows from a host of models to cobble together a multifaceted rhetorical ensemble.[152] Du Fail's biographer Emmanuel Philipot has interpreted the *Contes et Discours* as a reordering and elaboration of du Fail's life story, and posits that the anecdotes about student life in the *Contes* are based on du Fail's personal experiences, recounted under the guise of his avatar Eutrapel.[153] An anecdote about young Eutrapel coming home from school in Chapter 26, "Disputes entre Lupolde et Eutrapel", bears a notable resemblance to the episode of Guillaume's homecoming in the *Propos Rustiques*: Eutrapel as a young man is at once patently anxious to show off his sophistication and fumbling to flaunt the trappings of his new lifestyle.

Even as an old man with a successful judicial career, du Fail uses the *Contes et discours* to question the utility of university education in gaining useful knowledge and in cultivating ethical behavior. He wryly observes that "seroit un merveilleux deluge si tous ceux qu'on envoye aux escholes en revenoient doctes et savans"[154] and "tel y a esté qui ne sait pas decliner *Paris*, tel en a veu les murs qui ne sait pas decliner *domus*" (71). Chapter 25, "Des Escholiers et des Messiers", recounts a violent confrontation between students and vintners resulting from the gluttonous incursions of the former into the vineyards of the latter. The students are led into the fields by their teacher, who admonishes them to enjoy themselves without offending their neighbors, "ce que vous ferez vous jettans en leurs vignes, desrobans leurs raisins, faisans plusieurs degasts, debausches et outrages, comme les enfans mal instituez et nourris ont accoustumé faire" (64). The students, he implies, because of their education, know better than to take wanton advantage of their neighbors. He pursues his point thus:

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[152] For more on Noël du Fail and the *discours bigarré*, see *Contes et discours bigarrés*, Frank Lestringant, Ed. (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2011).
[153] Philipot, *op. cit.* 35.
[154] Noel du Faïl, *Contes et discours d'Eutrapel*. C. Hippeau and D. Jouaust, eds. (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875). 67. Further citations refer to this edition.

> Vos estudes sont là resolus et arrestez: pour autre chose n'estes icy envoyez, et ne vous aporte autre profit la lecture des livres que pour aprendre n'estre mal-faisans, hair le peché et informer vos ames et esprits d'une bonne et sainte pasture d'actes genereux et de vertu (65)

The teacher equates learned culture with the inculcation of good moral behavior, a position which his students are soon to refute by ignoring his advice and yielding to the temptation of "beaux et meurs raisans", for which they are duly apprehended. Their punishment, however, is mitigated by the intervention of municipal officers, "qui bien savoient de quel bois on se chauffoit en ce païs scholastic" (66).

Du Fail harbors clemency for these students just as the officers do, but clearly expresses his doubts as to the efficacy of university education. It is noteworthy that the problems posed by itinerant students are related in terms of space. The initial anecdote describing the confrontation between students and vintners is followed by two others that subsequently revolve around territorial disputes. Eutrapel's companion Polygame relates a similar encounter in which the trespassing students argue that the vintners' land actually belongs to the university: "par nos chartres et titres estans aux Mathurins, tous les vignobles et païs adjacens de Vaubert fussent à nous et propres à l'Université" (67-8). The students' behavior is described in unsavory terms, however, underscoring their lack of moral scruples: "prenans et pillans comme estourneaux des raisons outre ce que l'Escriture saincte en permet, qui est honnestement et discretement" (67). Eutrapel's companion Lupolde narrates a third anecdote about a chough ("un corbin") who reasserts his territorial dominance over a flock of crows ("une infinite de corneilles"), concluding: "Et ainsi fut reintegré ce pauvre spolié en ses premiers grades et libertez, aussi bien que vous autres, messieurs les escholiers" (70). Surprisingly, and perhaps ironically, the students are assimilated with the venerable *corbin*, rather than the pillaging *corneilles*.

As an educated nobleman and former student, du Fail demonstrates a keen understanding of why student itinerancy poses problems. Roving youth brings the opposing entities of village and city into direct confrontation. For the rural population, material gains are the fruit of honest labor, and wisdom is limited by quotidian practical realities. While villagers lack exposure to other places and ways of life, they are well acquainted with the rites and rituals by which locals minimize discord in a shared space. The urban population, by contrast, is fluid and less intimate, allowing the less scrupulous members of society to achieve material gains through dishonest opportunism. The student in particular cuts a dubious figure: his educational achievements are immaterial and thus suspect, and his itinerancy renders it difficult to hold him accountable for his indiscretions. In the urban milieu, there is less of a precedent dictating how to occupy space. The strongest and savviest take advantage of the weaker and less clever, as demonstrated by the students' forceful vindication of their right to the vintners' land. Uncontrolled movement turns neighbors into enemies.

In du Fail's ideal world, everyday people are content with their lot in life and achieve happiness by honest means, without being tempted or forced beyond their own backyards. Scholarship inspires moral conduct and aids in the cultivation of peaceful bonds between neighbors. The reality, as du Fail clearly realizes, is that movement is inevitable as long as young people seek to improve their lot in life, and that no amount of nostalgia for an imaginary golden era of peaceful coexistence will incite people to renounce the éclat of urban society and learned culture. Although the portrayal of student movement in du Fail's oeuvre is disparaging, he casts a friendly (albeit disapproving) eye on students. Du Fail's biography and his literary models imply that he was not so opposed to academic peregrination as his oeuvre suggests. Nevertheless, the *Propos Rustiques* read as a caution to those who overestimate the benefits of movement and

scholarship. Academic wisdom does not hold the key to peaceful coexistence, and relentless movement can deprive even the most erudite scholar of the capacity to appreciate and to understand place.

Foreign Students' Forays in France: The Brothers Platter

The phenomenon of the *peregrinatio academica* existed and flourished well before the sixteenth century, as did the French university system. Jacques Le Goff upholds the example of philosopher and theologian Pierre Abelard, a noteworthy wandering student and teacher, as the harbinger of a *prise de conscience* that took place in the early twelfth century of scholarship as a vocation in its own right.[155] By the first half of the sixteenth century, 14 important universities existed in France. However, it was not uncommon for students to begin their scholarship at home and to complete it abroad: the *iter italicum*, for example, had a wide appeal amongst French university students desiring to complete their scholastic formation on foreign soil. With the advent of Renaissance humanism, the *peregrinatio academica* remained popular and evolved to encompass a new valorization of travel for learning, for personal development, and for its own sake. Movement across Europe, especially for young men of limited means, was a realizable although essentially hazardous endeavor. The number of scholars who undertook foreign travel in order to complete their degrees through a tour of three, four, or more universities is testimony to their esteem for movement, which belied the risks that movement entailed.

Just as French students were setting their sights on foreign destinations in order to enhance their academic pedigrees, so too were foreign students flocking towards French universities to benefit from the excellent training afforded by some of the longest-standing and most prestigious faculties in existence. The University of Montpellier, renowned for its faculty of

[155] Jacques Le Goff, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. *Pour un autre Moyen Age: entretien avec Jacques Le Goff* (Paris: Arehess, 1993) 186.

medicine, began to accrue an international character in the fourteenth century through the recruitment of international doctors, to a point where students from France and the Languedoc were in the minority.[156] Hilde de Ridder-Symoens attests to the mounting popularity of academic travel throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, which she designates as the "golden age of wandering scholars."[157] As was inevitably the case with many institutions, the religious turmoil of the latter half of the sixteenth century impacted the academic climate in Montpellier. However, even after the city became a center of Protestant resistance, Montpellier was one of several universities with a tolerant attitude towards students on either side of the confessional divide, and likewise (perhaps as a result) towards foreigners.

The journals of Felix and Thomas Platter straddle Montpellier's transformation from a Catholic city to a Protestant stronghold. Within the context of examining movement and space during the Renaissance, the autobiographies of these brothers, both medical students from Basel, give a detailed impression of a foreign student's experience in sixteenth-century France, specifically the experience of Protestant students both before and after the Wars of Religion. Felix's journal, which covers the period from 1552 to 1559, and Thomas's journal, which begins in 1595 and continues long after the completion of his medical training in the environs of Montpellier, have distinctly different tones. Felix's account is a revised version of the journal he kept as a medical student. At Felix's behest, his younger brother Thomas kept a similar journal, and his father, Thomas the elder, wrote a memoir of his youth spent largely in penury as a goatherd and later as an accomplished student. The last Platter descendant died in 1711. Felix's journal, along with scrupulously preserved letters and documents from his library, was not published until 1840, indicating that early readership of the Platter journals was mostly likely

[156] Gérard Cholvy. *Histoire de Montpellier* (Toulouse: Privat, 1984) 118.
[157] Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, Volume 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 418.

limited to family members before a period of obscurity.[158] Felix Platter's account expresses a naiveté and guilelessness that befit the tender age at which he sallied forth to medical school (he was sixteen), and bears witness to the slim financial means that constrained his trajectories. The younger Platter's journal has a pedantic timbre that betrays the influence of humanist thinkers and travel apologists Justus Lipsius and Theodor Zwinger, Felix's colleague at the University of Basel. Both journals, however, testify to a disposition and a determination to travel in spite of possible and probable hindrances to mobility. The experience of these two scholars provides a snapshot of life in France amongst mobile student populations in the latter half of the sixteenth century, in addition to shedding light on Renaissance perceptions of the relationship between travel and knowledge. In spite of the popularity of scholarly travel, wariness of foreigners and fear of contamination were prevalent attitudes in sixteenth-century France, and not without reason.

Young Felix's departure from his family's home in Basel bears scant resemblance to the modern teenager's exodus to college, and the similarities are easily outweighed by the differences. Felix speaks of his childhood dream of becoming a doctor, and of his father's encouragement to attend medical school. While Basel had a university, no school surpassed Montpellier in medicine. Rather than moving into a dorm, Felix was to be a pensioner in the apothecary Catalan's house, taking the place of a student who had moved on to Paris. This initial specification precedes an onslaught of logistical details concerning the lodging of boys in various university cities, who participated in a system of exchange orchestrated by their families. Upon Felix's arrival in Montpellier, he precipitously makes arrangements for his host's sons to find lodging in another city so that he can stay, which proves to be a delicate endeavor. When the

[158] Sean Jennett in the Introduction to his English translation of Felix Platter's autobiography *Beloved Son Felix: The Journal of Felix Platter, a Medical Student in Montpellier in the 16th Century*. (London: F. Muller, 1962).

arrangement eventually comes to a serendipitous conclusion and both of Catalan's sons have long-term pensions, Felix rejoices that his future is assured until he obtains his doctorate.

The question of lodging is only one facet of the network of human exchange that shaped the lifestyle of a student in motion. Felix coordinates his departure from Basel with the autumn fair in Frankfort so that he can join a company of merchants heading towards Lyon. Their arrival is delayed by an outbreak of the plague. When Felix arrives in Geneva, he presents a letter of recommendation from his father to Calvin, whose *Institutio Christianae religionis* his father had published in 1536, the year of Felix's birth. Calvin assigns him his next traveling companion; a celebrated surgeon from Montpellier named Michel Héroard. In Avignon, the two are briefly separated, and Felix narrates a heartrending scene in which he embraces his horse and cries disconsolately, hopelessly homesick.

> Le lendemain 28 octobre, je me levai de grand matin; j'étais dans un abatement complet, ne connaissant personne, ne sachant où retrouver mon compagnon de route, et ne voyant autour de moi que des gens rudes et grossiers. Je fus pris d'une si irresistible envie de retourner chez moi dans ma patrie, que je m'en allai à l'écurie trouver mon petit cheval, et lui jetai les bras autour du cou en éclatant en sanglots. (21)[159]

Héroard successfully conducts Felix to Montpellier and Felix finds Catalan, greets him in Latin because he doesn't speak French, presents a letter of recommendation and is ushered into the house. The voyage from Basel to Montpellier, a day's drive today, had taken Felix a total of 20 days, 15 days of continuous travel.

Bodies, beyond the question of shelter and transportation, were an essential preoccupation for young aspiring doctors such as Felix. The omnipresent specter of death is a prominent element of the initial stages of Felix's journey, and a presence during the rest of his

[159] Felix Platter's autobiography, which was written in a Germanic dialect of his native Basel, will henceforth be cited using the French translation by M. Kieffer titled *Felix et Thomas Platter à Montpellier (1552-1557 et 1595-1599)* (Montpellier: Coulet, 1892), from the reprinted edition (Marseille: Laffitte Reprints, 1979).

experience abroad. Felix's vulnerability as he undertakes his academic peregrination is underscored by the quotidian aspect of morbid encounters. Tales of people drowning or falling to their deaths are ubiquitous in his autobiography, as are anecdotes that emphasize his own fragility. Felix leaves the plague behind in Basel, only to enter perilous forests en route from Lausanne, where his party is lost in the rain and narrowly escapes having their throats cut by murderous vagabonds. Between Geneva and Lyon, the travelers traverse a forest where cadavers hang from trees. Felix almost collides with one when night surprises the travelers on the open road. They stay in a hotel near the border where "le maître venait de se noyer" (15), which Felix mentions as an offhand aside. Approaching Montpellier, the travelers observe quartered men hanging from olive trees. The servant who welcomes Felix, he notes with a detached air, is later executed for the murder of her illegitimate newborn.

Felix's narrative illustrates matter-of-factly the tremendous risks undertaken by students traveling abroad in the sixteenth century. Starkly confronted with the reality of their own mortality, students such as Felix willingly imperiled themselves by traveling long distances to attend school. Boys were exchanged and transported like goods in a fallible network of transport. The relaying of news, both personal and national, also relied on bodies in motion, whose fate was largely a function of chance: as Felix strives to arrange lodging, he is aware that his letters may not reach their intended recipients, and letters from his father reach him out of order when they get to him at all. Bodies are likewise a funereal preoccupation of the young would-be doctor, who sneaks into cemeteries to disinter cadavers for secret autopsies. On more than one occasion, the deceased is a student of Felix's acquaintance.

With death around every corner, Felix's determination to pursue his academic career outweighs the most daunting travel conditions. His movement is likewise hampered by lack of

experience. Leaving Basel, he almost falls off his horse, unaccustomed to spurs. He is cheated out of money since he doesn't speak French. Roads are dangerous, Charles V is on the offensive, and his father has spent an exorbitant sum to procure Felix's horse and cannot spare any more for his upkeep. Felix suffers homesickness, cultural dissonance, and well-justified fear. The townspeople in Lausanne make fun of his hair, and he hastily has it cut off, only to fall sick with a cold. In addition to all this, Felix is a Protestant venturing into Catholic territory.

Given these hurdles, and considering the fact that there was a reputable university in his own hometown, Felix's determination to travel to France for school is remarkable. He was far from alone, however, as his autobiography contains a veritable catalogue of students who are, like him, traveling abroad to obtain their diplomas, then moving on to other French and European destinations in order to practice their trade: "Myconius était à Avignon pour passer son doctorat, après quoi il retournerait à Bâle… Hugwald était à Montélimar, comme précepteur de jeunes gens, et Tell le pharmacien de Bâle, s'y trouvait avec lui… Théophile était à Paris" (130). Felix demonstrates an unflagging determination to heed his father's admonishments and return to Basel, marry his betrothed, and practice medicine. Many of his compatriots, however, remain in France, establishing themselves in towns such as Avignon, Marseille, and Paris. Montpellier hosted a transient population of foreign students, and Felix was exposed to a host of cultural practices. Catholic rites inevitably shaped his existence, particularly during Lent, when he was denied meat. He cooked eggs, a forbidden indulgence, over a candle in his room. Felix was exposed to the mores of the Marranos with whom he lived, whose secret circumcision of their son he noted in his autobiography. Felix in turn revealed his Protestant understanding of the Bible to Catalan, finding common ground in their shared distaste for the worship of images and idols.

> Après souper, quand nous nous chauffions près de l'âtre, M. Catalan me donnait une vieille bible latine où manquait le Nouveau Testament. Je lui faisais une lecture accompagnée parfois de commentaires. Quand je lui lisais le prophète Baruch, qui s'élève contre les image et les idoles, il était dans l'enchantement. En sa qualité de Maran, il ne les aimait pas plus que ne font les Juifs; mais il n'osait le declarer ouvertement. (34-5)

Felix notes that a Spanish student received special permission to study in Montpellier, in spite of the general interdiction against Spaniards in France. The university community, with its ties to the crown, fostered international exchange when other political and social structures fomented intolerance.

For all the cultural variety around him, Felix surrounds himself almost exclusively with fellow countrymen and Germanophones:

> Je trouvai à Montpellier plusieurs Allemands: Jacques Baldenberg de Saint-Gall, qui avait commencé ses etudes à Bâle; Pierre Lotichius, le poète distingué, qui fut précepteur des Stibare, parents de l'évêque de Wurtzbourg; Georges Stetus de Leipzig; Jean Vogelsang, un Flamand (27)

Movement is a regular feature of his life as a student, even after his arrival in Montpellier. He travels to collect plant specimens and to see the ocean. He moves in a pack of "Teutschen"[160], who are numerous in Montpellier and succor each other throughout their academic careers. *Teutsche* leaving town are customarily accompanied by peers to the closest neighboring town and further, and this sendoff occurs at intervals throughout Felix's time in Montpellier. The phenomenon of students "nations" was a ubiquitous facet of university life in the Renaissance: students banded together into associations based on geographical provenance.[161] Felix makes reference to these nations in his relation of a student protest in winter of 1556, when students in Montpellier united to demand more course offerings. Felix's journal depicts geographical association as a survival tactic and a result of his confessional status rather than a conscientious

[160] "Teutsche" is the original word that Kieffer translates as "Allemands"; *Felix Platter: Tagebuch (Lebensbeschreibung) 1536-1567*, ed. Valentin Lötscher (Basel: Schwabe & Co., 1976).
[161] Arlette Jouanna et al, *La France de la Renaissance, Histoire et dictionnaire* (Paris: R. Laffont, 2001) 1112.

expression of regional belonging or pride: his use of the descriptor "Teutsche" conveys an alliance based on linguistic rather than national common ground. On his first Christmas in Montpellier, Felix is left alone and frightened in an empty house as his Catholic bedmates go to midnight mass. However, he joins a group of *Teutschen* for the celebration of Twelfth Night. It is the *Teutschen* who teach him how to cook eggs by candlelight during Lent. When young men from Basel pass through Montpellier on their way from the war in Piedmont, hungry and in rags, their countrymen feed and clothe them, and give them money. On this and several other occasions, *Teutsche* facilitate each other's movement through solidarity that is founded on cultural similitude.

For *Teutsche*, professing regional provenance was sometimes a risk, as Montpellier still harbored hostile sentiments towards Reformers. Within a few days of his arrival, Felix witnesses the burning of Bibles that Reformers had printed: "on avait brûlé publiquement dans les rues une grande quantité de bibles et de livres religieux que les nôtres avaient fait imprimer, et qu'on avait trouvés chez un libraire" (28). A former priest is imprisoned and has two fingers cut off for bringing Reformist books back from Geneva: "on lui racla la tonsure et deux doigts de la main" (62), and is subsequently hanged. On March 23rd of 1554, a commissioner from Toulouse comes looking for Lutherans, demanding their public denunciation. Felix and his friends, however, benefit from a clement attitude towards students. On August 26th, a group of *Teutschen* students is stopped in the street, and the captain of the night watch demands that they surrender their weapons. This infringement is ultimately decried, and the captain is punished. Felix's father expresses relief in a letter from December of 1555 that Felix is not harassed for his beliefs: "Il était heureux de voir qu'on n'inquiétait pas les Allemands pour cause de religion" (123).

Felix likewise keeps company with fellow *Teutschen* during travels throughout the south of France. The frequency of these excursions is further evidence of the value placed on movement by students. Travel was dangerous, Felix was restricted by financial limitations, and his professional ambitions required rigorous academic application. Nevertheless, he completed several trips that had touristic as well as educational pretentions. In February of 1553 Felix and his friends make a daytrip to Pérols to see the sea. In addition to bathing and burying themselves in the sand, the students collect specimens of local flora and fauna (shells and crabs) that Felix sends home to Basel. Several of these trips are for the express purpose of collecting plants ("hérboriser"), but they are usually mixed with pleasant activities. In June of 1554, Felix and the *Teutschen* accompany a friend en route to Strasbourg via Lunel, from whence they travel to Nîmes to see the antiquities and "autres curiosités" such as the Pont du Gard, which Felix, a true scientist, sketches and measures. A spirit of scientific observation permeates Felix's travels, however far removed they may be from the domain of medicine. Trips to Maguelone and Aiguesmortes lead to observations on churches, fortifications, and views from the town's highest points. A desire to network with other doctors is discernible in the students' itinerary. In September of 1555, the *Teutschen* leave Montpellier astride horses and mules to visit Marseilles and its environs. They stop in Arles to visit the famous doctor François Valleriola, and another doctor of their acquaintance in Marseilles.

Statistics on foreign students studying in France during the sixteenth century, in addition to Felix's references to the coming and going of students in Montpellier, suggest that his experience was typical. Youths roaming the country, brimming with youthful curiosity, ambition, and mischief, inevitably made an impression on their hosts. Wandering scholars were capable of causing problems in addition to stimulating intellectual and cultural exchange. Felix

himself made a favorable impression on his hosts, staying up late studying and diligently sending news of his progress to his anxious father in Basel. Catalan's sons, however, were not so studious, nor were all of Felix's compatriots. Felix's father warns him not to get caught up with the other students from Basel, but to focus on his work ("de ne pas me laisser circonvenir par les Bâlois, mais de ne songer qu'à mon travail" 50-1). Three students from Basel arrive in October of 1555 in "costume allemand" who are more interested in mischief than in studying. In addition to eating eggs during Lent and stealing bodies from the graveyard, Felix makes references to other "folies de jeunesse" (88) committed by himself and his cronies that generally involve a surfeit of wine and resulting youthful hijinks. Felix's youth must be taken into account as a full-fledged medical student at 16. However, his conduct was exemplary with respect to his peers, whose naughtiness recalls the *topos* of the mischievous student traveler in popular fiction. One particularly novelesque anecdote details the exploits of a schoolfellow Bett Haler, who was banished from Basel for marrying a prostitute and abandoning her with two children, impregnating and abandoning another woman in a neighboring town, fleeing to Lorraine, and carrying off a nun. From his early days of drinking sweet wine and playing the lute in the streets, it was clear that Bett would come to a bad end. The mobility, inconsistency, and lack of accountability of the student lifestyle could facilitate harmful pranks.

In addition to death, the idea of contagion stands out as a resonant preoccupation in Felix's autobiography. There was not only the risk of pestilential contagion, which occasionally obstructed travel at city limits and caused the death of Felix's sisters, as related in his father's autobiography. There was also a fear of religious contamination, apparent in the attempts of Catholic authorities in Montpellier to prevent books from Geneva from circulating. Philippe II of Spain's 1559 decree that Spanish students should not travel has been perceived as a measure of

ideological protection.[162] Catalan's son Gilbert suspects that his father wants him to leave his pension Basel for fear that he'll become a Protestant ("Gilbert ne voulait pas partir, croyant que son père le rappelait dans la crainte de le voir devenir protestant", 51). There was fear that students traveling abroad would be contaminated with fondness for their host country, and not want to return home. Felix's father is afraid that Felix will marry a French woman, even though his betrothed is in Basel, and repeatedly exhorts him to come home. As Felix rationalizes, "Il devait se tranquilliser sur ma conduite, ne pas craindre de me voir épouser une française, comme avait fait le docteur Henri Rihener, puisque mes pensées étaient fixées à Bâle" (96). His father's fears are not unfounded, however: Gilbert Catalan's true motivation for staying in Switzerland is his affection for a girl from Geneva.

In spite of his father's misgivings, Felix maintains his "Teutsche" identity, and surrounds himself with other Germanophones. Though he interacts with teachers and townspeople of various nationalities, he travels and maintains social commerce almost exclusively with *Teutschen*. Felix's assimilation is limited, and he never alters his project of returning to Basel to share the fruit of his labor. His segregation is a question of shared social conventions rather than national pride. In only one episode does Felix affirm his Swiss ("Schwizer") nationality: in Narbonne, he is interrogated by the governor as he attempts to enter town with his compatriots. Felix shows a letter from Basel to affirm his Swiss provenance. As he is aware, Switzerland shared treaties with France that made his presence less problematic. He uses his influence to pass his German-speaking friends off as Swiss, thus facilitating their entry:

> Il fallut decliner nos noms et qualités avant d'entrer; nous nous donnames pour Suisses, parce qu'en France, cette nation jouit de plus de privileges que les autres Allemands, à cause de nos traits d'alliance… mes compagnons bénéficièrent ainsi de ma nationalité" (152)

[162] Pierre Civil, "Etudiants espagnols dans l'Europe du XVIe siècle" in *Les Echanges entre les universités européennes à la Renaissance* (Genève: Droz, 2003) 104.

It is clear that Felix's Swiss identity is not fully developed, and is less resonant than his identification with those who share his geographical and linguistic background.

Felix's excursions during the course of his studies affirm his view of travel and learning as complementary activities. His journey to Paris upon the completion of his degree suggests the perception that travel has value in its own right. This final trip does not have a discernable objective other than to see things worth seeing. In Toulouse, Felix and his companions visit ramparts and churches, where Felix comments on the relics of the 12 Apostles, although his sect distains the worship of such items. He visits a pagan temple, and deems the windmills of the Garonne "une curiosité bien digne encore d'être visité" (157). Felix's subsequent travels are conducted in a similar manner: the students stop in Bordeaux to see the parliament building and a Roman amphitheater, in Poitiers to visit the city and its castle, in Tours to see its fountains and its castle, and they rejoice to find more *Teutsche* in Orléans with whom they can share a giant meal after the privations of Lent in Catholic territory. In Paris, Felix visits the Louvre, several *collèges*, many churches (including Notre Dame), and the sepulchers of French kings in Saint Denis, along with numerous relics. His enumeration of the treasures of the Catholic Church is dispassionate, bearing minimal traces of subjective value judgments. Felix's itinerary underscores an uncomplicated willingness to see things and to learn from them. As dangerous as travel could prove, he covers a striking amount of territory in his post-academic peregrination, in part from his ability to rely on other *Teutschen* who are conducting the same kind of movement.

The Younger Platter: Movement with Method

Felix's half-brother Thomas, his junior by 38 years, also produced a record of his student travels. His account bears witness to the years that separate them, both in age and in history. Thomas's studies in Montpellier began in 1595, more than 40 years after his older brother's

freshman year. Thomas benefitted from Felix's professional success, and subsequently did not suffer the same financial restrictions that marked Felix's academic career. As a result, Thomas was able to travel more: the younger Platter's travels took him through Spain and France and to England before his eventual return to Basel. He makes liberal use of "lettres de change", a credit system by which he can obtain money even while abroad. Thomas left for school at the relatively mature age of 21, when Montpellier was a Protestant haven. The most striking difference between the two brothers, beyond the details of their respective experiences, is their narrative style and focus. Felix's journal evokes the travails of an artless youth making his way in a strange land, bracing against the shock of cultural dissonance and the frightening realities of travel. He provides a psychological self-portrait, revealing intimate instances where he burned with shame, laughed uproariously or shed lonely tears. Thomas's account, by contrast, gives less of an impression of the observer himself, but pays more scrupulous attention to the details of the places he visits.

Thomas treats places as specimens to be measured and studied, like the plants he takes samples of on his excursions to "hérborise" in the environs. His account of Montpellier is more analytical than personal, and consequently has a different timbre than Felix's. Thomas's exhaustive observations on Montpellier's history, inhabitants ("les habitants de Montpellier se distinguent par l'élégance et la recherché de leurs vêtements, de leurs danses, de leurs fêtes et de leur nourriture", 197) climate ("il est rare qu'il pleuve pendant les mois de juin, juillet, et août", 200) economy ("les moulins à huile travaillent jour et nuit", 203), chorography ("les rues sont étroites, ce qui les garantit contre les ardeurs du soleil", 183), etymology ("la ville est placée sur une eminence; de là son nom *Monspessulanus*, *Monspelium* ou Montpellier"), plumbing ("il y a du reste beaucoup d'excellents puits, soit dans les rues, soit dans les maisons"), ethnography ("il

y a dans ce pays énormément de Juifs; elles sont venues de Mauritanie", 198), and system of security ("elle a la forme ovale, et n'est pas très-forte, malgré le mur d'enceinte en Pierres de taille et le fosse à revêtement qui l'entourent") are recorded in the spirit of one who seeks to form a comprehensive dossier on the city, not to form a relationship with it. He creates inventories, not literary descriptions. For the duration of his stay, Montpellier remains a curiosity to be observed rather than a place to be inhabited. He brings his lengthy initial description to a close by promising to relate more of the worthy and curious aspects of the city over the course of his narrative ("choses curieuses" and "ce que j'ai remarqué d'extraordinaire" 207).

Thomas's autobiography atones for its lack of personal detail with an abundance of empirical information. His approach demonstrates less concern with how he personally interacts with place, and more of an interest in the method favored by travel theorist Theodor Zwinger in his *Methodus Apodemica*. Zwinger was, not coincidently, a citizen of Basel and a student of Thomas's father. Thomas employs similar descriptive tactics in each town he visits, giving the town's history, a description of its layout, botany, noteworthy monuments and principal sources of income and commerce. He climbs to the highest point and reports on the view. In Balaruc-les-Bains, he climbs the "Cap de Sète" (210). In Nîmes, he climbs up to the Tour Magne, part of the ancient ramparts (227). In Marseille, he climbs the hill of Notre Dame de la Garde, and comments on the structure of the port city (299). After visiting Petrarch's house in Vaucluse, Thomas makes his own ascent of Mont Ventoux (355). While Felix states that the Pont du Gard is the length of 1,300 of his own steps, Thomas gives a full page of precisions and measurements ("Ce pont pavé a 112 pas de long et 8 pas de large; il porte sur six arches… chaque arche mesure 58 pieds d'ouverture, et chaque pile a 18 pieds d'épaisseur; la largeur du courant est donc de 456 pieds"; et cetera, 287). He makes assiduous efforts to obtain a viewpoint from above, as a

cartographer might do, to enhance his understanding of place and to improve his ability to report on it.

The quality and multifariousness of Thomas's city descriptions indicate that he considers chorographical information to be a significant acquisition culled from his experiences abroad. His writing has a didactic quality that is absent in his older brother's narration. For Felix, education was at once the motivation and the byproduct of movement. A child at the beginning of his studies, Felix's travels transformed him into a doctor and an adult, and his autobiography is the story of that transformation. Thomas, unlike Felix, displays a self-conscious initiative to participate in the empiricization of knowledge about places. In his account, there is less tension between the pleasure of travel and its utility for his education. Felix's autobiography shows attempts to justify his travel, and to show how, despite the appearance of pleasure seeking, his movement had merit for his personal development and eventual success. He is continually compelled to reaffirm his loyalty to his place of origin, and to guard himself against being too taken in by new surroundings. Thomas is less inclined to vindicate the utility of his movement, or the principle that visiting places goes hand-in-hand with learning things. He travels as a receptacle for information, without giving evidence of being transformed by his spatial experiences. Felix's narration describes place in terms of his interaction with it, and its impact on him. He cries arriving in Montpellier, and cries to leave it. As such, his autobiography is a more literary text, illustrating a character and eliciting suspense with regards to his personal tribulations. Thomas's narration, by contrast, could be used as a reference for another traveler hoping to borrow from his itinerary, and is more pedagogical than literary. He describes places as objectively and dispassionately as his older brother describes exhumed cadavers.

Thomas's account was written in 1605, several years after his days as a medical student had drawn to a close. Francine-Dominique Liechtenhan points to the hierarchy of information in Thomas's city descriptions (from geographical to cultural) and the lack of personal information in his autobiography as evidence of his adherence to a new attitude towards travel generated by Zwinger in Basel and Justus Lipsius, whom Thomas visited in Anvers in 1598.[163] For Lipsius, travel was a means of sloughing off harmful prejudices. Both Felix and Thomas showed a readiness to tolerate the practices of Catholics around them, in spite of their own confessional status. Thomas was so anxious to emulate his predecessors that he relied heavily on preexisting travel guides to a point of plagiarizing: Liechtenhan lists Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terraruonsm*, Botero's *Relationi universali* and Münster's *Cosmographey* as just a few of the tomes from which Thomas borrowed practically verbatim.

Despite Thomas's erudite perspective on traveling, he nevertheless upholds several examples of students behaving badly. He relates a series of anecdotes concerning the University of Toulouse, the same illustrious institution where the giant prince Pantagruel allegedly learned the arts of dance and swordplay, but left when he saw that the students set fire to their regents.[164] Thomas's stories are hardly less macabre, detailing incidents of seductions perpetrated by students and the massacres they entailed at the hands of angry fathers. Several of the anecdotes in Thomas's repertoire contain novelesque elements reminiscent of Boccaccio, such as a student hidden in a chest by his comrades in order to conduct a stealth nighttime robbery, or a student dressed as a woman in order to be delivered from an irate magistrate seeking vengeance for his

[163] Francine-Dominique Liechtenhan, "Le voyage de Thomas Platter II ou le pèlerinage encyclopédique" in *L'Europe de Thomas Platter: France, Angleterre, Pays-Bas, 1599-1600*, text presented, introduced and commented by E. Le Roy Ladurie (Paris: Fayard, 2006) 513-524.
[164] François Rabelais, *Pantagruel*. Gérard Defaux ed. (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1994).

daughter's compromised chastity. Even at the end of the sixteenth century, the student was a colorful and untrustworthy character in the popular imagination.

Not only was the life of a traveling student dangerous, there was clearly something dangerous about the figure of the traveling student himself. Fear of contamination is a palpable element of both narratives. In Felix's generation, there is the fear that the travelers will integrate too much, and forget their allegiances, a fear that appears unfounded based on the Platters' experiences. Overall, the Platters dealt with relatively little antagonism as a result of their outsider status. Notably, both adhered to groups of their own "nation," moving in pods dictated by regional provenance and linguistic similitude, indicating the limited extent of their assimilation.

Domestic Discoverers: Scholarship as Patriotism in Poissenot's *L'Esté*

Bénigne Poissenot's *L'Esté*, published in 1583, narrates a fictional excursion in the Languedocien countryside. Poissenot's oeuvre encompasses the summer vacation of three schoolmates gamboling alongside the saltwater marshes in Narbonne, a description that recalls the Platter brothers' seaside excursions during their student tenures in Montpellier. Poissenot's protagonists hail from the University of Toulouse, an institution that Felix and Thomas visited. Just as literary elements color the Platter autobiographies, Poissenot's fictional narrative contains autobiographical material based on his own itinerancy between the Midi and Paris, where he himself was a student. Editors Gabriel Pérouse and Michel Simonin affirm that *L'Esté* is based on Poissenot's sojourn to Narbonne during the summer of 1580.[165] Poissenot was about 22 years old that summer, and published his fictionalized account a mere three years afterwards. The protagonist Prefouché is Poissenot's avatar in this collection of narrative prose that borrows from

[165] Gabriel-A. Pérouse and Michel Simonin, Indroduction to Bénigne Poissenot's *L'Esté* (Genève: Droz, 1987) 11. Further citations will refer to this edition.

the popular structure made famous by Boccaccio and copied by legions of authors of French popular fiction over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Prefouché and his companions, Desroches and Chasteaubrun, each tell three stories, but the work's *histoire cadre* surpasses the stories themselves in both interest and originality.

Poissenot's model for *L'Este* was another well-known collection of prose dating from roughly a decade earlier: Jacques Yver's *Printemps* (1572). Unlike Yver, however, who situates his genteel narrators in an idyllic setting, echoing the Boccaccian *locus amoenus* and assigning them names like "Bel Accueil", "Fleur d'Amour" and "Ferme-foi" that bring to mind the heroes of the *Roman de la Rose*, Poissenot places his students in a real location with a resonant verisimilitude owing to the addition of place names and other *realia*. Rather than staying in one place, Prefouché and his friends are in constant movement. On the first day, at the beginning of June, they walk to the sea and tell their stories aboard a boat, overnight, within earshot of a group of fishermen. The second day of storytelling occurs weeks later on the Fête de la Madeleine (July 22nd), and finds the youths in the garden of a "notable bourgeois de la ville nommé monsieur de Malvoisin" (131), an acquaintance of Prefouché. The third day is a Sunday in August, and the raconteurs, recently recovered from a bout of whooping cough, venture to the saltwater marshes near Narbonne ("les Salins") and plant themselves in a shelter typically used by salt makers. The nine stories that constitute Poissenot's collection are woven into the fabric of quotidian life in the Midi. Unlike the *devisants* in Boccaccio and Yver's models, Poissenot's protagonists are not sheltered from the harsh realities of peasant life in the countryside, and although they do not quite participate in it, they are immersed in it.

Poissenot acknowledges his debt to Boccaccio and Yver while simultaneously underscoring the fundamental dissimilarity between his histoire cadre and theirs. On the second

day of storytelling, editors Pérouse and Simonin note Poissenot's subtle stance with regards to the models he emulates, which are evoked in his description of Malvoisin's garden:

> Nous ne particularisons par le menu les choses plus singulieres de ce jardin, d'autant qu'il estoit plus copieux en toutes sortes de fruits et herbages, qu'excellent en beaux parterres et arbres compassez et beaucoup d'autres raritez que j'a veu en autres lieux, elaborez seulement pour servir au contentement de la veue, ausquels les ingenieuses descriptions de Bocace ou de Jacques Yver sont deues, et non à ce lieu plus util que plaisant. (132)

Boccaccio and Yver's gardens were pretty to look at, but the garden inhabited by Prefouché and his scholarly companions was useful, providing fruit rather than flowers. Within this allusion is the idea of reaping a lasting benefit from interactions with spatial surroundings, although this benefit comes at a cost. Poissenot's narrators rub shoulders with everyday people, sleep in the open, and tramp around in a rustic milieu. When an epidemic of whooping cough sweeps through the region, as actually happened in the summer of 1580, they get sick. They are not noblemen, nor do they behave like typical *roturiers*. Their occupation is useful and productive, without resembling the ignoble drudgery of laborers. The students are a new category of narrator, and the minutiae in their presentation testifies to Poissenot's desire to present students in a predominantly positive light.

Rather than deriding youthful aimlessness, Poissenot seeks to attribute value to the errant student lifestyle. Much of his *histoire cadre* reads as an apology for academic peregrination. Youth is the most fruitful time of life, and students are the best representatives of a well-spent youth:

> Or entre toutes les sortes d'hommes qui jouissent des biens et commoditez que la jeunesse apporte avec soi, je n'en estime aucuns plus heureux, et qui (comme l'on dit) à pleins voiles passent mieux à gogo ceste printaniere saison, que les escoliers. (58)

Poissenot is quick to recognize that not all students have good intentions, however, and that some attempt to corrupt the scholarly pursuits of others with their evil influence. He recognizes the existence of these naughty students as well as the detriment of their behavior:

> ces vautneants qui se paissent de dix mille insolences le jour, ayans faict banqueroute à toute honnesteté, (qui) souillent de telle sorte par leur intemperance et teste mal cuite ce nom honorable

Poissenot goes on to articulate his desire to see a city established on the border of France where mischief-makers could be kept in isolation, and where they would be incapable of inciting their fellow students to debauchery and indolence. He credits the influx of wayward youths at the University of Toulouse to its renown as a premier institution ("voire à meilleur tiltre que les Italiens ne font leur Boulogne", 59) that draws students from all over Europe, suggesting that foreign students are more inclined to play than to work:

> en la grande affluence d'Escoliers qui de tous les endroicts de l'Europe s'y transportent, le nombre est bien plus grand de ceux qui se donnent du bon temps, que non des autres s'emburelucoquans le cerveau après les cas et gloses des digestes et du code.

This suspicion of foreign students and the explicit desire to banish bad students from France smacks of xenophobia, which was a problem in sixteenth-century Toulouse. The city harbored an atmosphere of religious intolerance that hindered its development as a nexus of Renaissance humanism. Although its position at the crossroads of Spain and Italy had attracted an impressive repertoire of humanist thinkers, being close to the border also lead to considerable tension with neighboring powers. A distrust of outsiders colored the local consciousness.[166]

Further tension is evoked between the dual concepts of "useful" and "pleasant." Poissenot's protagonists are a far cry from the "vautneants" and "meschans garsons" who prefer

[166] See Patrick Ferté's article "Toulouse et son Université, relais de la Renaissance entre Espagne et Italie (1430-1550)" in *Les Echanges entre les universités européennes à la Renaissance* eds. Michel Bideaux and Marie-Madeleine Fragonard (Genève: Droz, 2003) 217-230.

mischief-making to studying, and he is careful to frame their carefree summer vacation as a necessary complement to their scholarship. Going to the countryside is a way for prudent students ("ceux qui sont soigneux de leur profit et avancement") to reap a benefit that is two-fold: "goustans les plaisirs de la vie rurale, jouir de double bien, sçavoir est vacquer soigneusement à leurs estudes et, aux heures de relasche, s'esbatre à tous les passetemps que la saison peut permettre" (59). In fact, Desroches and Chasteaubrun's intention had been to go to the countryside to study, "estimerent que changeans d'air ils pourroient changer d'afection et embrasser de telle ardeur les estudes legalles qu'il en rapporteroient fruict" (60). The three students happen upon Narbonne and decide to stay, finding it an eminently agreeable locale. They abandon their project to study because of the summer heat, which cools their zeal for lessons. Poissenot is careful to note, however, that this behavior is fully in line with their laudable intention to "vaquer soigneusement", as intense study in such heat would prove hazardous to their health: "estant la santé en telle recommendation à un chacun que, la perdant, on ne pouvoit acquerir bien de si grand pris qu'il deust venir en contrepoids de ce thresor inestimable" (63). They quote and heed the sage words of the Latin poet Martial: *Aestate pueri si valent, satis discunt* – if boys are healthy during the summer, they learn enough.

Poissenot further extols the student lifestyle by emphasizing his protagonists' erudition. Their nine stories are borrowed from ancient historical sources, and are laced with references to Greek and Roman philosophers. Although the three youths stay put while telling their stories, they are constantly mulling over anecdotes as they wander about, supplementing and ornamenting their discussions with references from recent history, from Antiquity, and from the Bible. Their movement stimulates their exchange of knowledge, and they rejoice in these discussions as they revel in their pleasant environs. Walking and talking becomes the mechanism

for blending “plaire” with “instruire”. The students tell stories in between their stories; each anecdote engenders a score of similar but unrelated ones, stimulating a rhizomatic frenzy of discourse. Sharing stories shapes their experience of space, making the journey go by faster and more pleasurably (“En tels et semblables devis tompans l’ennui du chemin”, 66; “Parmy ces gratieux devis leur chemin s’accourcissant”, 69).

These students exemplify a constructive mode of movement, and are depicted as heroes by their sympathetic narrator. Their summer holiday is described in terms of an intrepid voyage of discovery in the French countryside. Editors Pérouse and Simonin note that the coastal marshes in Narbonne were typically spurned by travelers and eventually drained under Henri IV and Louis XIII (note, 106); the students’ itinerary thus constitutes an exploration of sorts. The typical trappings of youth: hotheadedness, appetite for food and drink, and a penchant for roughhousing are glorified as chivalric rather than simply cavalier. At the opening of the second day of storytelling, the students liken themselves to Knights of the Round Table: “disoient leur adventure bien meriter d’estre enregistrée entre les comptes des chevaliers de la table ronde” (111). They likewise compare themselves to soldiers: “repetans souvent que le proverbe militaire, qui dict celui n’estre soldat qui ne sçait apprester son disné, a aussi bien lieu entre les Escoliers qu’entre les soldats, et que la vie de l’un n’est de guere eslogné de celle de l’autre” (107). At the beginning of the third day, Poissenot suggests that the student *devisants* are like new members of a Platonic banquet, their “soupé scolastique” (198) producing a “volupté d’esprit” that rivaled the suppers given by Socrates’ illustrious student. In between their “gratieux devis” and “exercise honneste” the roving scholars are prone to spontaneous displays of youthful strength and vigor, which at one juncture consists in a swim in the sea followed by “force gambades en l’air”, given that they are “adextres et dispos de leurs personnes” (69).

The students are not immune to the risks of traveling, and several misfortunes befall them over the course of their adventures that are not always unprovoked. During the first day of storytelling, Desroches taunts some sailors, almost causing a brawl. Rather than underscoring the gratuitousness of such pugnacity, Poissenot emphasizes the student's linguistic facility:

> voici six ou sept mariniers qui vinrent se coucher à l'autre costé de la barque, lesquels Desroches commença a attaquer de paroles piquantes, gaussant assez plaisamment et aiant le mot à propos: et ce qui donnoit la grace estoit qu'il parloit à eux le langage du pays, qu'il taschoit exprimer le mieux qu'il lui estoit possible (69)

Desroches moves fluidly between the erudite language of his scholastic milieu and the rural dialect of his environs. His rhetorical virtuosity is a complement to his itinerant exploits. On the second day, Chasteaubrun provokes a fight by mocking other student nations, namely those from Gascony and Rouergue, who choose a propitious moment to attack him one evening, "l'assaillirent et navrerent griefvement en la teste lorsque moins y pensoit" (115). Chasteaubrun and his friends plot vengeance, but their enemies skip town, "redoutans la fureur de nos François."[167] The friends' "cholere scholastique" takes a month to subside. The third day of storytelling sees the students sick with whooping cough, and Poissenot likewise alludes to the Civil War skirmishes that infect the region, most recently at the Siege of Cahors. Even Poissenot's audacious students are prudent enough to deliberate on a safe route to take through the countryside, "d'autant que les Huguenots battoient l'estrade aux environs, et ne faisoit guere bon tomber en leurs grifffes" (200).

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[167] Student "nations" or organizations based on geographical provenance, while in decline during the sixteenth century, were still a prominent facet of university life. The University of Toulouse was home to three alliances: the Alliance d'Espagne, the Alliance de Languedoc, and the Alliance de France of which Prefouché and his friends were members. The "nation de Gascogne" was a part of the Languedoc alliance, and Marie-Madeleine Mouflard posits that students from Rouergue allied with Languedoc in 1574. Poissenot's protagonists were part of the Alliance de France, hence "Nos François". See Marie-Madeleine Mouflard, *Liber Nationis Provinciae Provinciarum: Journal des étudiants provençaux à l'université de Toulouse (1558-1630)* (La Roche-sur-Yon: Imprimerie Centrale de l'Ouest, 1965) 21-25.

Poissenot's students are above all patriots, and staunchly Catholic ones, at that. At several points, Poissenot lambasts Reformers through the words of his protagonists. Huguenots in *L'Esté* are enemies both of God and of the state. Prefouché scolds his vengeful friends after the altercation between student nations: "voulez vous imiter ces deformez (je pensois dire reformez) qui se font un Dieu à leur poste, et tordent le nez aux escritures pour les faire servir à leur desreglée volonté"? (118). Chateaubrun sings Ronsard's praises, while decrying the "vilenie" of protestant authors such as Théodore de Bèze, whose writings are "plein de l'eau trouble que lui et ses semblables hument en leurs cisternes trouées" (214). The students extol loyalty to their Prince as a characteristically French virtue, and disparage those who take up arms against the monarch's righteous cause: "encore que le Prince soit l'image de Dieux et son esleu en terre (auquel, quelle qu'il soit, faut obeir pour plaire à Dieu de la main duquel il est donné), qu'il s'en est trouvé de si forcenez et malheureux que d'oser… jetter leurs mains sacrileges sur l'oingt du seigneur" (125-6). Prefouché references Castiglione's *Cortegiano* (228), and Chateaubrun creates a parallel between students and courtiers ("qui osteroit du monde les discours d'amour, on priveroit les Courtisans, et nous autres Escoliers, de tous scoulas et liesse", 216) suggesting that students are a new brand of courtiers whose erudition and learned discourse augments the prestige of their prince and their nation. Prefouché rebukes his friends for neglecting to include tales of France in their repertoire of anecdotes, and laments the French tendency of neglecting her own glory for the sake of admiring other nations: "Il n'y a nation soubs le ciel qui admire plus la vertu des estrangers et se soucie moins de la sienne que la Françoise" (185). The students are thoroughly French, "totalement de complexion françoise" (186), and as such are worthy representatives of their nation.

At a time when explorers were heroically venturing into the New World to acquire glory and new territories, Poissenot's students are presented as equally intrepid adventurers in the interior of France, whose laudable energy and aptitude complement their quest for knowledge. Rather than claiming new territories for France abroad, they are founding a new France within France, founded on loyalty to the prince, Catholic values, and commendable erudition. The parallel between students and explorers is affirmed in their discussion of the ethics of curiosity, a commonplace among sixteenth-century humanists. The patristic tradition condemned curiosity as the pursuit of useless knowledge: "useless" in the sense that it had no bearing on spiritual salvation. The censure of curiosity was expressed by Saint Augustine in *De civitate Dei*, and perpetuated into the Middle Ages in works such as Saint Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*. As Gérard Defaux notes, however, their conceptions differed: Saint Augustine equated curiosity with worldliness and enslavement by the senses, whereas Saint Thomas Aquinas did not condemn the desire for knowledge as long as it was not based on presumption.[168] The sixteenth-century humanist Erasmus, as noted by André Godin, maintained the possibility of a positive, "pious" curiosity for knowledge, to be contrasted with the "impious" curiosity that characterized most religious pilgrims who sought to understand divine mysteries.[169] Erasmus did not exclude the love of letters from his conception of positive curiosity – quite the contrary. Scholarly peregrination, by Erasmian standards, was not in itself a reprehensible activity.

Erasmus, while influential, did not have the final word in the centuries-long debate on whether curiosity was to be shunned or embraced: the work of Neil Kenny demonstrates that in spite of the volume of early modern literature dealing with the subject, there was no discernable

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[168] Gérard Defaux, *Le Curieux, le glorieux et la sagesse du monde* (French Forum: Lexington, Kentucky; 1982) 76-80.

[169] André Godin, "Erasme: 'pia/impia curiositas'" in Jean Céard, *La Curiosité à la Renaissance: actes réunis* (Paris: C.D.U. et SEDES, 1986).

consensus on what curiosity actually was. Rather, he deems the "curiosity" family of terms to be a kind of "discursive glue" by which the debate was perpetuated.[170] Poissenot's work appeared at a unique historical moment during which attitudes towards travel and curiosity were evolving to reflect a sense of the positive ends to be achieved by combining them. Kenny confirms that by the mid-seventeenth century, travel writing had greatly increased in popularity, and travel discourse had attained a certain prestige. Already in the sixteenth century, noteworthy thinkers and writers were associating travel with a brand of curiosity that lead to improvement of both self and society.[171]

In true humanist fashion, Préfouché and his friends participate in the debate on curiosity and travel that their forefathers had initiated:

> les uns blasmans la curiosité, l'autre la defendant et louant, pour estre d'opinion que par son moyen les arts avoient recue leur perfection. "Car, disoit il, la medecine ne fust jamais venue à la splendeur en laquelle on la voit reluire par l'univers, et n'eust esté en si grande estime qu'elle est pour le jourd'huy, si la curiosité d'Hippocrate n'y eust beaucoup aydé... Les autres n'apelloient curiosité ce qu'Hippocrate, Chrysyppe et beaucoup d'autres braves hommes avoient faict pour parvenir à une entiere cognoissance des choses, mais disoient que c'estoit un louable desir d'apprendre, qui à bon droict devoit estre attribué à grande louange à ceux qui, pour avoir par ce moyen descouvert beaucoup de choses rares, avoient obligé la poserité à leur en sçavoir gré. Sur quoy arresterent que la curiosité estoit un desir d'apprendre et cognoistre ce qui ne profitoit rien estant sceu (88-9)

Poissenot's students conclude that curiosity consists in the desire to learn vain things, and is reprehensible. They contrast the "louable desir d'apprendre" with curiosity, the "desir d'apprendre et cognoistre ce qui ne profitoit rien estant sceu". To support this conclusion, they refer to Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, which refers to the ancient Gallic custom of stopping foreign travelers to ask them for news, which often proved to be false. Curiosity is thus

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[170] Neil Kenny, *The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 2, 11.

[171] Guadenzio Boccazzi refers to the travel and curiosity of Rabelais, Montaigne, and the Marquis d'Alincourt in "La curiosité du voyageur au seizième siècle" in Céard, *op. cit.*

illustrated as a typically French trait. One student attests that a similar custom persists in Champagne, where he was once caught traveling and harassed for idle news: "ayant dict qu'il venoit de loing, soudain fut entouré de ceux qui estoient de porte, le questionnans de plus belle que c'est qu'on disoit de nouveau au pays d'où il venoit" (89-90). The implication is that news from elsewhere, when reported by a stranger, has no value. In the same discussion, the students discuss the topic of New World discovery:

> Sur ce point de curiosité, fut debatu pour la fin si les navigations des François, Espagnols et Portugais en la Fleuride et Canadas, au Peru et en Cusco, devoient estre appelées curiosité ou non, et fut tenue la resolution devant dicte (90)

Their verdict is ambiguous: "la resolution devant dicte" can only refer to affirmation that curiosity is bad, but the quest for useful knowledge is good. Poissenot omits to specify which category New World discoveries fall into. However, the students' earlier anecdotal references attest to the dubious nature of second-hand knowledge gained from foreign travelers. Poissenot's apology for student movement implicitly endorses the Aristotelian notion that certain knowledge should be attained first-hand: in this case, knowledge of place. The status of New World exploration is as uncertain as the knowledge that overseas travelers profess to impart. Travel within France, by contrast, is portrayed as a patriotic initiative to gain knowledge of the homeland by engaging with it first-hand, and the only real way to know France.

Poissenot's students are characterized by their innate and typically French curiosity, admittedly a vice, but also by their laudable desire for knowledge. Poissenot describes the youths as driven by inquisitiveness: "la curiosité familiere aux François plus qu'à nuls autres attisoit en eux un honneste desir de remarquer ce qu'ils y voioient de plus singulier" (61). The penchant towards curiosity paradoxically breeds in these young men an "honneste desir" to see new things. Student travel is a way to funnel idle curiosity into the active cultivation of useful

erudition. Youth is marked by a penchant for self-gratification, and Poissenot's students walk a fine line between pleasure and utility. Desroches, who proposes the idea of telling stories to pass the time, admits that he prefers pleasure to utility, as his companions do: "car je vous cognoi de telle humeur que preferez avec moi le delectable à l'utile" (72). Storytelling thus becomes a way to turn the desire for pleasure into a useful pastime.

Poissenot's affection and esteem for his student protagonists is resoundingly apparent, but their portrayal is marked by a pertinent duality: "curiosité" and "honnête désir"; "delectable" and "utile". Poissenot's apology for student life and scholarly peregrination includes the inevitable reality that boys will be boys. While his student protagonists are Catholic patriots who quote Herodotus, Plutarch, and Lucien, they also pick fights, roughhouse, and admittedly choose to spend the summer enjoying themselves rather than studying. Their explorations and discussions, however, have an ameliorative property. It is the student's volatility that makes him an attractive literary subject, to which the plethora of medieval and early Renaissance *nouvelles* containing students attests. On the journey of life, youth is the most unpredictable territory to traverse:

> S'il y a voie incognue, et où les plus subtils et advisez phisiognomes sont trompez, c'est le chemin de l'adolescent, d'autant plus incertain que ses conseils sont variables, et les changements qu'on voit aux jeunes gens si subits et estranges que de vouloir asseoir jugement infaillible sur ses premieres actions seroit pure folie (229)

Youth is fickle and prone to error. Academic itinerancy, however, turns youthful energy and inconsistency into an endeavor that can eventually bear fruit, like the trees in Malvoisin's garden. Just as overseas exploration requires resilient and hardy characters, so too does immersion in the French countryside, applying lessons of the past gleaned from years of patient study to quotidian realities that define the peculiar habitats of France's remotest regions. Even Poissenot cannot

resist the stereotype of the student mischief-maker, as evidenced by the third story of the third day, borrowed from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, in which a "clerc" (the medieval designation for a scholar) in "une ville de ce païs que je ne veux nommer" (248) cuckolds a local doctor and incurs his justifiable wrath. The dishonored doctor avenges himself on his hapless wife, disfiguring her permanently and discouraging her would-be beau. Rather than ruminating on the inconsistency of youth or the cruelty of the doctor's punishment, Chasteaubrun and his listeners conclude the day of storytelling with a misogynistic discussion on the insatiability of women. Their implicit acceptance of the clerk's conduct implies that his behavior was not remarkable in the cadre of anecdotes about scholars' antics.

As the portrayal of student life in *L'Esté* establishes a relationship between itinerancy and the acquisition of useful knowledge, it might reasonably be posited that students' exposure to different places and ways of life cultivates a spirit of tolerance and open-mindedness. This is notably not the case for Poissenot's protagonists, however. Rather than embracing France's diversity, the youths' scholastic adventures seem to fit into a larger cultural program bent on realizing a specific vision of France. A notion of spatial partitioning is evoked at the very beginning of *L'Esté* with Poissenot's previously cited desire to quarantine all "meschans garsons" in a special city situated on France's border, so that "les bons estudians" could pursue their "propos serieux et d'edification" in peace. Poissenot seems to blame the plethora of naughty students on the fact that the University of Toulouse attracts so many foreigners, as it has previously been noted. The threat of plague, which follows the reference to "meschans garsons", is a primary reason why the students leave the Toulouse during the summer: "Ces pestes occasionnent le plus souvent ceux qui sont soigneux de leur profit et avancement d'abandonner les Universitez" (59). The notion of contagion is likewise evoked by the episode of whooping

cough at the beginning of the third day, and conspicuously linked with the Huguenot menace, referred to by Poissenot as "la reprise des armes par les schismatiques perturbateurs du repos public" (198). The students, musing over the causes of the disease, go so far as to speculate that the marauding Huguenots had unleashed it.

The safety of these good students, who are also good Catholics and good Frenchmen, is jeopardized by a plague of both outsiders and insiders. This perhaps explains their lack of philanthropic benevolence with respect to their fellow countrymen. On day one, the scholars' dispute with local fishermen is provoked by Desroches, who verbally attacks them ("commença à attaquer de paroles piquantes") for no apparent reason. Poissenot portrays this instance as evidence of Desroches rhetorical agility, as he mimics the sailors' dialect. However, the students' treatment of these "maroufles" betrays a high level of intellectual snobbery, rather than an attitude embracing equality and fraternity with their fellow countrymen. In a similar vein, the skirmish with student nations is incited by Chasteaubrun, who flagrantly scoffs at students from Gascony and Rouergue "qu'il trouva de si maigre discours que depuis ne parloit d'eux qu'avec mespris" (113). Chasteaubrun even derides the doctor who had requested information about a Gascon student, who chastises him for his condescension: "lui faisant une reprimende, demandoit s'il tenoit sa personne si pretieuse qu'elle peust estre prophanée conversant avec les hommes." The doctor, whose reprimand is well-founded, hardly seems to merit the mean-spirited mockery that he is subjected to as a result.

One might subsequently be tempted to read these particular episodes, where student arrogance and insolence is palpable, as a criticism of student movement. Poissenot frames these clashes, however, as catalysts for the students' personal development: for instance, the incident with the fishermen precedes a day of storytelling on the value of discretion. Additionally,

Poissenot's strongly pro-intellectual stance seems to endorse the virulence with which the students deride their feeble-minded compatriots. The aforementioned episodes both have a strong linguistic component. Desroches's teasing of the fishermen is an elegant verbal foray, described using the expressions "assez plaisamment", "le mot à propos", "grace", "exprimer le mieux qu'il lui estoit possible" (69). The fishermen are initially amused, but become angry because they are unable to respond: "n'ayans de quoi parer aux coups… le feu leur monta en la teste." These hot-headed "rustres" are unable to spar, and do not even understand French: "entendoient autant le françois que le haut allemand" (69-70). Their stasis has condemned them to the obscurity of their regional patois. The discussion with the doctor leading to the skirmish between student nations also stems from a criticism of ignorance. Desroches explains to him, "'Monsieur, ce que nous en faisons est pour fuir une Museagnomachie'" (114), which, as the editors specify, is a reference to a 1550 text by Joachim Du Bellay about a battle between the Muses and ignorance. The doctor does not understand the reference, and the students gaily assail him with a volley of similarly abstruse scholarly jargon, which he vainly scribbles in his notebook "se faisant croire qu'il les trouveroit en son Calepin" – the "Calepin", as the editors note, was a multi-lingual dictionary compiled by Ambrosio Calepino. Poissenot's rendering of the flummoxed doctor makes him the butt of the joke, meriting censure for not having mastered the level of linguistic erudition demonstrated by the youths: "Jamais homme ne se montra plus estonné qu'il faisoit, pour n'entendre ces grands mots d'une lieue". The doctor is ultimately guilty of inciting violence: ashamed of his comeuppance at the hands of these cheeky lads, he decries their slander to those whose "maigre discours" had initially inspired their contempt. As indicated by this epithet, the genesis of the confrontation was a criticism of linguistic insufficiency.

The question of language and learning were essential to Poissenot's conception of civilization. Poissenot's vision of France depends on the vigorous and dynamic scholarly efforts of its youth. As the students acquaint themselves with Narbonne, they visit the city's stone fortifications "desquels elle est mieux munie qu'autre que j'aie veu, pour estre sur les marches d'Espagne" (61). They marvel that so little exists to testify to the Gallic metropolis that used to exist, and upon further examination, become aware of the inscriptions in the stones used to build the walls, stones that had previously comprised the buildings of antiquity:

> rememorans en eux l'estime en laquelle autrefois elle avoit esté, comme metropolitaine d'une des grandes parties de la Gaulle, s'esbahissoient d'y voir si peu d'antiquité qu'ils y trouvoient, pour n'y cognoistre autre antiquaille que quelques pierres ausquelles estoient engravez caracteres anciens: lesquels considerans attentivement furent advertis que, lorsqu'on fouissoit aux reparations que depuis peu de temps on y a faictes, on trouva aux fondement beaucoup de telles pierres que depuis on mit aux lieux plus eminens des murs (62)

France is fortified by ancient literature, as the border city's fortifications are literally founded on textual engravings from antiquity. The evocation of Gaul implies an enduring cultural patrimony that persists in the French landscape. The students proceed to muse over attempts by the Goths to eradicate all traces of Rome, "ne pardonnans mesme aux lettres: desquelles voulans priver le monde, firent brusler et réduire à neant tous les livres et doctes escrits qui tomberent entre leurs mains" (63). Evidently, the Goths failed in their attempt to extinguish good letters – but the menace of such anti-intellectual "barbarie" (62) coming from the outside is an omnipresent motif in Poissenot's work. His students may be pugnacious and prone to curiosity, but more importantly, they are robust combatants in the effort to fortify France through scholarship. They are engaged both with texts and with territories, and their physical knowledge of France is an essential part of their education.

In his assessment of Poissenot's *Nouvelles Histoires Tragiques* from 1586 and of *L'Esté*, Gabriel Pérouse notes the undercurrent of intolerance in Poissenot's work, which is linked to a preoccupation with France's wellbeing as a nation:

> Souffrant depuis trop longtemps, la France que peint Bénigne Poissenot apparaît amère et crispée. Le signe le plus évident en est une xénophobie outrée.[172]

But it is not just the fear of outsiders that colors Poissenot's work; he is likewise preoccupied with internal divisions, and not just those based on confessional status. Made all the more salient by his manifest acquaintance with the region and its particularities, Poissenot's work harbors a thinly veiled distain for the rugged inhabitants of the French countryside, qualified by Pérouse as "ce menu peuple, masse immense et pourtant 'en marge' de la France moderne en train de naître."[173] The population of the Languedoc is portrayed in *L'Esté* as a naïve, indigenous population, such as an explorer might find in Florida, Canada, or Peru. Itinerant students are heralds of good letters, penetrating these hitherto isolated and ignorant regions. The students are set apart by their mobility and by their erudition, and valued for these qualities by their creator and champion Poissenot. Pérouse likewise underscores Poissenot's preoccupation with the education of the French nobility. All the more important to the future of the nation, therefore, are the heroic efforts of his student protagonists, explorers of the homeland whose labors mirror or surpass the travails of overseas explorers, whose vocation is born of patriotism, and whose superiority to their uncultivated interlocutors is palpable.

Pantagruelian Propaedeutics: Revisiting the Limousin Student

A survey of literary portrayals of student movement in the Renaissance would be incomplete without an evocation of Rabelais's Pantagruel and his tenure as a wandering scholar. It is worth reaffirming the monumental failure of the giant prince's tour of French universities.

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[172] Gabriel-A. Pérouse, *Nouvelles françaises du XVI^e siècle: images de la vie du temps* (Genève: Droz, 1977) 293.
[173] *ibid.*, 284.

Instead of erudition, he encountered ignorance and laziness, which, as Edwin Duval has shown, was a criticism of the scholastic, gothic learning espoused by the medieval university.[174] Gargantua's letter to his son illustrates a new program of study that reads as a humanist manifesto, where languages, eloquence and history take an essential role in mitigating the outmoded scholastic adherence to sophistry. Gargantua's program of study was, as Duval affirms, "the *anticurriculum* of an *anti-University*".[175] Although the *peregrinatio academica* is a vestige of the medieval university system, its persistence into the sixteenth century bears witness to the changes wrought by new attitudes towards learning and movement, and the perceived relationship between them. Does a humanist move differently than a sophist?

Gargantua's famous letter to his son is prefigured by the encounter with the Limousin student on the outskirts of Paris. Popular fiction documents ways in which itinerant students had a nefarious impact on their host communities: cuckolding, pilfering, trespassing and duping local inhabitants as they traveled. Pantagruel's encounter with the Limousin student, by contrast, catalogues the objections that a humanist might have to an itinerant scholar. The "écolier tout jolliet" (135), smug and simpering, speaks bad Latin and bad French, and attempts to conceal his regional origins by suppressing his patois. He is vainglorious, acquiring knowledge in order to show off. He is hypocritical, showing religious devotion only to atone for ribald behavior. The Limousin student's bad learning is associated with bad movement. His French-Latin speech is full of verbs that convey motion: "transfrétons", "déambulons", "invisons", "dimittons", "démigre" – but his speech, like his movement, is all a performance, and a bad one at that.

The problem of curiosity is likewise at play in this episode, as it has been noted by Gérard Defaux. Defaux underscores the parallels between the encounter with the Limousin

[174] Edwin Duval, *The Design of Rabelais's* Pantagruel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991) 43.
[175] *ibid*., 51.

student and with Panurge, the paradigm of worldly curiosity and vainglory: "soif du regard".[176] Pantagruel's university itinerary marks a period of worldliness that he abandons in order to become a Christian humanist prince. The giant prince's success depends on his ability to reconcile knowledge with devotion, and to renounce "cuyder" in favor of humble piety, recognizing that he is not capable of knowing or doing anything without God's grace and intervention. The Limousin student embodies undesirable curiosity, born of pride.

Pantagruel is so confounded by the Limousin student's speech that he suspects some kind of blasphemy: "Quel diable de langage est ceci? Par dieu tu es quelque hérétique"; "Je crois qu'il nous forge ici quelque langage diabolique, et qu'il nous cherme comme enchanteur" (137-9). Pantagruel suspects that the Limousin student might be dabbling in *curiosas artes*, demonic arts.[177] The student likewise displays curiosity in the Augustinian sense of knowledge gained for vanity's sake. He wears his erudition like his fancy clothes, promenading "tout jolliet". The student claims to hail from "l'alme, l'inclite et célèbre académie que l'on vocite Lutèce" rather than simply stating that he is a student of the University of Paris, which, as Defaux points out in a note, did not benefit from a particularly prestigious reputation in the sixteenth century. This bravado is perpetuated with equally incoherent linguistic excess: "captons la benevolence de l'omnijuge, omniforme et omnigène sexe feminine" for chasing women; "extase Venereique" for lust, and "vénère latrialement le supernal astripotent" is a mangled reference to prayer for absolution. Obliquely persisting in this boastfulness, the Limousin student illustriously proclaims his origins: "L'origine primève de me saves et ataves fut indigene des regions Lémovicques". Pantagruel quashes his vanity by making the student soil himself, at which point the braggart finally abandons linguistic airs in favor of his regional patois.

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[176] Defaux, *op. cit.* 26, 42.
[177] For Erasmus's interpretation of "curiosas artes" in the New Testament as "arts magiques", see Godin in Céard, *op. cit.* 27.

In Tom Conley's interpretation, the encounter with the Limousin student "signals a program that, like Tory's *Champfleury* and the *Table de Cèbes*, advocates speaking and writing in the vernacular language."[178] Timothy Hampton's analysis of this episode also hinges on the emerging use of the vernacular, affirming that the Limousin student is "the embodiment of an alterity that already inhabits France, and that must somehow be controlled."[179] However, Pantagruel wants the student to "parler naturellement", not necessarily to speak French or Latin. His linguistic choice is far less important than his attitude, which requires a healthy dose of humility and genuine veneration of God. Pantagruel is angry because the student attempts to "contrefaire le Parisian": his language and behavior consist in vain mimicry, void of the desire for self-improvement or divine contemplation. The fundamental problem is that, in word and in deed, the student is boastful, traveling to Paris out of "curiosité" rather than "honnête désir".

Humanist prince *par excellence*, it is interesting to consider how Pantagruel might have reacted towards the students portrayed by du Fail, the Platters, and Poissenot. As it has previously been noted, du Fail was noticeably influenced by Rabelais. Du Fail's portait of Guillaume, the "bon petit sophiste", bears a strong resemblance to chapter six of *Pantagruel*, but without the punitive element. Guillaume traces a parallel trajectory to the Limousin student, from home to school and back again, and displays the same vices: vainglory and ignorance. Upon his return, he crows: "Morbieu, qu'ilz seront esbahis de me voir à ceste heure! je suis seur qu'ilz me descongnoitront, car je n'estois pas un tel gallant quand je y allay" (151). He proceeds to feign humility and to simultaneously brag about his exploits: "*Per diem* (disoit Guillaume), je ne di pas pour me vanter: car vanterie, comme dit l'autre… Mais quand il sera question d'arguer, je ne di

[178] Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) 136.
[179] Timothy Hampton, *Literature and Nation in the Sixteenth Century: Inventing Renaissance France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001) 25.

mot, et gage qu'on verra beau jeu. Demandez un peu à…!" (152). The ellipses are part of the original text, suggesting that Guillaume does not actually know the names of anyone who condemned vanity or could attest to his own rhetorical ability. The villagers are so impressed, however, that "on parloit de luy jusques à Becherel, à son bien grand avantage" (154), a confirmation that Guillaume's renown was not, in the grand scheme of things, anything worth boasting about. For all his feigned worldliness, his scope is still severely restricted, both figuratively and geographically. It can reasonably be concluded that Guillaume would be subjected to the same treatment as the unfortunate Limousin student at the hands of Pantagruel, and that du Faïl would probably not object.

By contrast, Felix Platter's trajectory would merit Pantagruel's approval. Felix, like Pantagruel, was a foreign student studying in France, preparing for the day when he could return home and succor the inhabitants of his native country. Felix is in constant contact with his father, who, like Gargantua, urges his son towards piety and studious application: "Mon père m'engageait derechef au travail et à la piété, puisque pour réuissir à Bâle, au milieu de tant de médecins jeunes et vieux, il fallait un savoir hors ligne" (63); "Il me recommandait la crainte de Dieu, l'honnêteté, la piété, le travail, et me conseillait de m'appliquer particulièrement à la chirurgie" (72). Father Platter admonishes his son to spurn the example set by Gilbert Catalan, "un franc vaurien: plein de suffisance à cause de son titre de bachelier, dépourvu de toute espèce de savoir, dépensier, orgueilleux, tel était son portrait" (103) which recalls Gargantua's similar warning to Pantagruel: "Fuis les compagnies des gens esquels tu ne veux point ressembler" (165), and also warns Felix to steer clear of vanity.

Felix heeds his father's council by working hard and distinguishing himself as a student of medicine. He is likewise an avid scholar of natural science. His trips to the countryside to

collect specimens recall Gargantua's encouragement to Pantagruel: "Et quant à la connaissance des faits de nature, je veux que tu te y adonnes curieusement;[180] qu'il n'y ait mer, rivière, ni fontaine, dont tu ne connaisses les poisons; tous les oiseaux de l'air, tous les arbres, arbustes et fructices des forêts, toutes les herbes de la terre," et cetera (163). Felix speaks good Latin, the lingua franca of his time, which facilitated his movement. He recounts an incident in which Peter Lotich, who unbeknownst to him was a renowned Latin poet, asks for instruction in composing Latin verses. Felix obliges, only to be ribbed by his *Teutschen* friends for "teaching" a master. Felix, ashamed, confronts Lotich: "'Vous vous êtes joliment gaussé de moi,' lui dis-je. 'Comment gaussé?' répondit-il. 'Oui, compère,' repris-je alors, dans le langage Bâlois. 'Compère, non pas,' reprit-il, 'mais beau-frère, j'y consens'; et depuis il ne m'appela plus autrement." (84) This encounter is noteworthy on several counts: firstly, because Felix was composing Latin verses for his own edification, which attests to his serious scholarship and commitment to erudition outside his targeted discipline. Secondly, Felix was manifestly unhappy to be accused of pedantry, affirming that his motivation was self-improvement rather than conceit. Ultimately, Felix was not ashamed to address the learned poet in his own regional dialect, which shows that unlike the Limousin student, Felix was not intent on obfuscating his regional provenance out of pride.

Felix's outlook on travel and learning is enhanced by another quality that would endear him to Rabelaisian monarchs: that of *caritas*. The benevolence with which he behaves towards others is reflected in their attitude towards him, as in the case of Lotich, who makes a favorable report to Felix's father. In addition to his piety and commendable dedication to his father and fellow *Teutschen*, Felix displays tolerance towards foreigners and those who espouse different

[180] Here "curieusement" is meant to imply "soigneux, attentive, souvent avec une nuance de zèle et même de passion". Charpentier, Céard, and Mathieu-Castellani, "Préliminaires" in Céard, *op. cit.* 7.

religious beliefs, like Catalan, “un excellent homme, qui me tenait en grande affection” (109). Felix makes this remark after recounting how Catalan asked him if Lutherans believe in Jesus, upon which Felix courteously explained the basic tenants of his religion. In spite of significant religious and ethnic differences, there is a notable lack of cynicism or denigration in his remarks, but rather a persistent kindness.

Kindness is not the trademark of Poissenot’s three students. While Poissenot makes excuses for them, it is unclear whether Pantagruel would: overall, they are relatively idle, frankly belligerent, and unabashedly prideful. For Poissenot, youth is naturally suspended between two impulses: pleasant and useful, “curiosité” and “honnête désir”. Poissenot posits scholarship as a means of keeping naturally volatile young men on the path towards virtue. However, his protagonists falter by Christian humanist standards. Their devotion to France and to Catholicism is redolent of intolerance. According to Gargantua’s venerable letter, “science sans conscience n’est que ruine de l’âme” (165), and Poissenot’s students behave in resolute contrast to the recommendation “sois serviable à tous tes prochains, et les aime comme toi-même.”

In their movement, Poissenot’s students display a strong measure of dilettantism, which is likewise a characteristic of their knowledge. They flit from place to place as caprice dictates, evoking anecdotes from a variety of literary sources in a similarly haphazard way. According to Robert Mandrou, the value placed by humanists on philology in the first half of the fifteenth century accounted for the itinerancy of university scholars: their desire to master ancient languages impelled them to seek out the most distinguished masters and to follow them. In the second half of the sixteenth century, there was markedly less urgency with regards to philological pursuits, and scholars had a stronger tendency towards variety in their inquiries,

following the dictates of their interests (Mandrou employs the verb "butiner").[181] This lack of a concrete objective purpose, which colors the portrayal of Poissenot's students, renders their movement suspect. As the ambiguity of Poissenot's description sometimes signals, it is not always clear whether they are motivated by an "honnête désir" or by "curiosité".

Timothy Hampton's remarks assessing the encounter with the Limousin student in *Pantagruel* are more aptly suited, it would seem, to the student encounters in *L'Esté*. Pantagruel, as a budding Christian humanist, was ultimately opposed to imperialism: linguistic, religious, or otherwise. By contrast, his alter-ego Panurge participated in the crusades.[182] Poissenot and his student avatars envision a France that is free from contagion, ignorance, and other impurities that are essentially the product of difference. Their understanding of France as a unified nation space is predicated on language: they sneer at fishermen in Narbonne who do not understand French, and their conflict with other student nations stems from a question of discursive aptitude. They deplore Huguenots and proclaim loyalty to the prince as God's incarnation on earth. Their battle against ignorance takes the form of a battle against alterity, and gains a spatial dimension from their itinerancy in the remote reaches of France near the Spanish border.

If Pantagruel had met Desroches, Prefouché and Chasteaubrun, he would have smelled a rat. Sophists they are not, but their essential flaw was the same as the one committed by the Limousin student: they pursue knowledge for reasons of pride, although here national pride is conflated with personal pride. Furthermore, they champion a notion of Frenchness that aims to banish difference under the guise of expelling ignorance. Poissenot's students espouse a spirit of divisiveness that was far from exceptional in France of the late sixteenth century. They are a testimony in fiction to the failed humanist dream of a utopian harmony founded on classical

[181] Robert Mandrou, *Histoire de la pensée européene Vol. 3, Des humanistes aux hommes de science, seizième et dix-septième siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973) 32-3, 107-8.
[182] Duval, *op. cit.* 85, 88.

learning, a failure with formidable ramifications for the French nation in particular. The humanists dreamed of a world where a shared investment in the lessons of antiquity, combined with a cooperative philological project to revive these lessons, would foster a society of shared values across national borders. Learning is what distinguishes men from animals, as Guillaume Budé's famous letter to François I attests. For Erasmus and others, humanist values were necessarily shared Christian values. The bloody Religious Wars in France in the second half of the sixteenth century proved that love of letters was not enough to unite the French through bonds of brotherhood – indeed, as Poissenot's work demonstrates, academia could also be used as a pretense for solidifying and intensifying regional and confessional rifts. If the status of student movement in Renaissance France was at best ambiguous, it is even less evident whether mobility and scholarship necessarily engender tolerance.

Wandering Scholars and the Spatial Reorganization of France

Sixteenth-century intellectuals harbored a dream of revolutionizing the world through humanistic studies. Arlette Jouanna speaks of the new value placed on study of the humanities over medieval scholasticism in terms of a "combat culturel", underscoring the involvement of scholars such as Erasmus, Guillaume Budé, and Etienne Dolet in urging the renewal of literary studies to galvanize political renovation.[183] This combat, fueled and enabled by erudite exchanges between members of the *res publica literaria*, found its essential battles waged in the domain of education. Budé and Dolet believed that humanistic studies would breed a new generation of sage young statesmen and citizens, whose values would be refined by exposure to great literature. As a result, *collèges* and universities flourished and multiplied over the course of the sixteenth century.

[183] Arlette Jouanna, "La Renaissance des années 1470 aux années 1560: aspects et portée d'un combat culturel" in *La Renaisance: Actes du colloque de 2002* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003).

The latter half of the century, however, was defined by violent political upheavals. This tumultuous period led to disillusionment over the utopic dream of education as the catalyst to a peaceful civil society. Yet in spite of the carnage and hostility that accompanied the Wars of Religion, students continued to move throughout France, generating unprecedented opportunities for cultural and intellectual exchange between cities and nations. Young men, even those of limited means, had a socially acceptable option for leaving home and improving their fortune, sculpting an identity for themselves as they moved throughout France and Europe, and taking part in the development of a French national identity.

The question of identity is a fundamental aspect of the literary portrayal of the student in early modern literature. The ability to craft one's identity at a time when rigid social hierarchy dictated the majority's lot in life was extraordinary, and naturally presents itself as a positive facet of student movement. However, the ability to take on a new identity allows for misrepresentation and duplicity, particularly for one who is quick-witted and clever; hence the predominantly negative representation of the traveling student in popular early modern fiction.

Many prominent authors of the sixteenth century had been students themselves, and enjoyed the benefits of mobile scholarship. As such, their depictions of students are more nuanced than those to be found in early collections of short narrative prose. The authors in this chapter were all students and incorporated material drawn from personal experience into their works. They shed light on aspects of student movement that render the personage complex, particularly with respect to the one-dimensional representation of students encountered in the novella or *nouvelle*. Through the works of du Fail, the brothers Platter and Poissenot, the student gains depth and becomes a vessel for sixteenth-century preoccupations with space: namely, how

to establish and maintain territorial and national distinctions in an increasingly mobile and accessible world.

In spite of the risks and dangers associated with travel in the sixteenth century, the student enjoyed a great deal of mobility. All of the texts addressed in this chapter emphasize young men's youthful vigor. Students such as Felix Platter started university very young, which may account for the boisterous portrayal of the student in popular anecdotes - boys will be boys. In general, the end of a young man's period of scholarship was associated with the end of his youth, which was considered to last until the age of 25.[184] Professional and familial obligations came afterwards, meaning that students were typically free from the yoke of standard quotidian responsibilities, a liberty that complemented their mobility. Students were not necessarily noble or rich, although the laicization of the educational system meant that fewer poor students could depend on support from their institutions.[185] Still, over a third were from mercantile families, approximately a fifth were from artisanal backgrounds and a sixth were peasants.[186] Students found safety in numbers, maintaining solidarity based on regional provenance during their *peregrinatio academica*, which, as a long-standing tradition, furnished them with a motive and a method for movement.

The difference between city and country resonates strongly in all of the works discussed in this chapter. The dissonance between rural and urban milieus is one of the focal points of Noel du Faïl's *Propos Rustiques*, a schism that is thrown into relief by the passage of young men between the two spaces. A similar contrast is perceptible in the Platter biographies, where the cultural wonders of the city are contrasted with the natural marvels of the countryside. The city

[184] Willem Frijhoff, "Graduation and careers" in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, *op. cit.* 355.
[185] Rainer A. Müller, "Student education, student life" in *ibid.*, 327, 336.
[186] D. Julia, "Les Institutions et les hommes" in Jacques Verger, L.W. Brockliss, *Histoire des universités en France* (Toulouse: Privat, 1986) 181.

serves as a nexus for intercultural exchange, and the node in a series of island-hopping student excursions to urban centers throughout the south of France. Trips to the countryside in the Platter biographies are the occasion to gather botanical specimens and to frolic, and are unmarked by the interpersonal exchange that fosters interconnectedness or alterity. The breach in continuity between urban and rural space is also insisted upon in Poissenot's *L'Esté*, where the student protagonists merit implied heroism from their adventurous forays into the rural environs of Toulouse. Poissenot's students come face to face with alterity in rural French populations, with whom occasional encounters generate friction. Students in *L'Esté* are portrayed as adventurers in remote, little-known territories, with the related implication that uneducated rural populations are uncivilized, even barbaric, in the sense of the word evoked by Erasmus in the *Antibarbarorum liber*[187] and Du Bellay in the *Défense et illustration de la langue françoyse*.[188]

These works by du Faïl, the Platters, and Poissenot likewise all address the theme of territorial incursions and disagreements. Given the relative facility with which students moved, and their ability to construct or misrepresent their identity, students complicated life in both urban and rural communities with their comings and goings. Du Faïl's students pillaged grapes, Platter ransacked graveyards; Poissenot's protagonists hurled insults at unsuspecting fishermen and gorged themselves on fruit in a private garden. Students transgressed spatial boundaries in a way that contributed to the intellectual exchange in sixteenth-century France, but that also made

[187] The hero of the *Antibarbarorum liber* is Erasmus's friend Jacob Batt, who rails against the pitfalls of education in his day, which neglects classical learning. Batt is described to be "as much an enemy of the barbarians as they were hostile to letters". *Collected Works of Erasmus* Volume 23, ed. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1978) 26-7.

[188] In Chapter Two of the *Deffence* entitled "Que la Langue Françoyse ne doit estre nommée barbare", Du Bellay bristles at the epithet "barbare" attributed to the Gauls by the Romans, thus protesting: "Et quand la barbarie des meurs de notz Ancéstres eust deu les mouvoir à nous apeller Barbares, si est ce, que je ne voy point, pourquoy on nous doive maintenant estimer telz: veu qu'en civilté de meurs, equité de loix, magnanimité de couraiges, bref en toutes formes, et manieres de vivre non moins louables, que profitables, nous ne sommes rien moins qu'eux: mais bien plus, veu qu'ilz sont telz maintenant, que nous les pouvons justement apeller par le nom, qu'ilz ont donné aux autres." Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse*, ed. Jean-Charles Monferran (Geneva: Droz, 2001) 77.

them undesirable neighbors, tenants, pensioners and guests. The gains amassed by learning are intangible; the student must have seemed a veritable parasite to the majority of the French population who relied on the concrete profits amassed by traditional labor in order to survive. Community life is simpler when people stay put: du Faïl's thesis in the *Propos Rustiques* is facetious, but also rings true. There is an unmistakable element of nostalgia for the self-sufficient village with its stable, insular population, a phenomenon Daniel Roche refers to as *l'esprit de clocher*: "la paroisse avec ses écarts reste une unité de vie, le territoire du quotidian… C'est l'espace élémentaire où les paysans vivent entre eux, mais dans un isolement qui n'est jamais total."[189] The insular village is a place where neighbors know each other and must answer for their conduct. The mobile student population complicated insular communities in Renaissance France by moving between them, crossing lines both social and physical.

Students troubled the order in both urban and rural spaces, and their literary representation brings to light the problem of porous and unfixed spatial boundaries in France and Europe during the sixteenth century. While the insularity and self-sufficiency of the village may have been threatened by the movement of young men, cities were also concerned with how to control who came and went. The fear of pestilential and ideological contamination was well-founded, given the continued outbreaks of plague and the political ramifications of siding with a particular religious faction. The siege was still a critical battle tactic during the Wars of Religion, further evidence of how important the distinctions of "inside" and "outside" were during the latter half of the sixteenth century. By contrast, boundaries between nations were still somewhat fluid. P. J. Usher evokes the 1594 map of France created by Maurice Bouguereau, the *Théâtre François*, with its vague depiction of territorial limits between France and Spain, to explain that

[189] Daniel Roche, *Humeurs vagabondes: De la circulation des hommes et de l'utilié des voyages* (Paris: Fayard, 2003) 190-1.

the French nation at the end of the sixteenth century was still perceived as an assembly of its parts, rather than a unified whole.[190] Furthermore, the university system of Medieval and Renaissance Europe saw itself as existing outside of the limitations established by regional boundaries. Jacques Verger establishes three main reasons why the early modern university surpassed the confines of its urban emplacement: firstly, universities claimed to promote a universal culture that superseded the local culture of their host cities; secondly, from their inception, universities espoused a practice of international recruitment, and lastly, universities were not under local control, but were under the jurisdiction of sovereigns or the Church.[191] At a time when urban centers were struggling to control the permeability of their established boundaries, universities were upholding a fluid sense of territorial belonging that threatened the unity of the city and the insularity of the village. The literary portrayal of the student testifies to anxiety concerning problems of identification and belonging: when strangers move freely, it is hard to identify friend or foe. The blurring of boundaries likewise produces a sense of anxiety with respect to sense of self: if everyday people have the ability to circulate freely between cities and nations, what are the criteria for belonging?

As Verger posits, early modern universities were promoting a culture that surpassed the limits of city walls and other political boundaries. One might expect that the student who benefitted from a university education and the accompanying practice of academic peregrination would glean an open-minded worldview from his worldly experiences. Surprisingly, however, the students portrayed in the works of du Faïl, Platter, and Poissenot espouse a spirit of divisiveness rather than inclusion, distinguishing themselves based on geographical criteria amongst the mobile populations they encounter. Du Faïl's biographer Philipot observes that the

[190] P.J. Usher, *Errance et Cohérence* (Paris: Garnier, 2010) 15.
[191] Jacques Verger in the Conclusion to *Les universités et la ville au Moyen Âge: Cohabitation et tension* (Leiden: Brill, 2007) 357-8.

student portrait in the *Contes et discours d'Eutrapel* is accompanied by "un sentiment national très vif"[192]; however, this spirit of national pride pertains primarily to Eutrapel/Du Fail's student "nation" of Brittany, rather than France as a whole. Chapter 33 details a rock-throwing contest on the Quai du Louvre in Paris, with three or four thousand people in attendance: a "multitude d'étrangers, qui n'étaient pas des pires et moindres de leurs provinces", in addition to "grand nombre de François, comme à Paris il ne faut qu'un regardeur pour amuser le reste" (219). The foreigners, Swiss guards, German, and English students among them, are winning the contest. A student from Brittany, Eutrapel's friend, "ému, car le sang de cette nation meurt plutôt que fléchir et ployer sous une audacieuse risee", steps up to the challenge and wins the contest "en quoi nos François… reprirent leur beau teint". The student from Brittany is dubbed "restaurateur de l'honneur parisien." The exploit is even narrated at the King's supper that evening, where a captain from Brittany, "pour faire épaule et soutenir sa nation, dit: Sire il y a trois choses signalées et remarquables en votre Bretagne, et qui, par aventure, ne sont ailleurs en la chretienté: car là sont les plus forts hommes, les plus forts chiens, et les plus forts vins qu'on puisse voir."

Ambiguity between allegiance to one's nation as opposed to one's region is brought to the fore in du Faïl's work by interactions between students of different regional backgrounds. Is the winner of this conflict France, or the "nation" of Brittany? A similar ambiguity is present in the pages of the Platter autobiographies, where the students continually refer to themselves as "Teutsch" rather than "Schwizer", even though Basel had been a member of the Swiss Confederation since 1501. Promoting a sense of national superiority was not a part of the Platter agenda, as it is conveyed in the brothers' autobiographies: however, this interpersonal association based on language and provenance was clearly a vital element of their movement and

[192] Philipot, *op. cit.* 52.

of their overall experience abroad. The Platters' relative lack of assimilation is indicative of the interpersonal boundaries erected between students based on language and culture; it also is the result of an increasingly scientific approach towards travel whose developments are perceptible in the differences between the brothers' accounts. The Platters themselves moved with a spirit of nearly objective open-mindedness as they traversed primarily Catholic foreign terrain; however, their movement clearly elicited a measure of wariness on the part of their French hosts.

Poissenot's students are the most overtly jingoistic of the student personages considered. They are depicted as ideal Frenchmen, loyal to their king and staunchly Catholic. They tell stories borrowed from Jean Lemaire de Belges's *Illustrations de Gaule*, vindicating a sense of French superiority, and take on the status of discoverers in the homeland, uncovering theretofore unexposed portraits of France's regional singularities. Poissenot suggests foreign students as a scapegoat for the general problems caused by student itinerancy. His protagonists mock the patois of coastal village dwellers, and deplore the carnage inflicted by *reîtres* and protestant factions. There is a sense that these vigorous lads are reclaiming France for the French: studying classical letters, as Budé had advocated, speaking pure French, as Du Bellay had admonished, channeling their natural curiosity into a laudable love of letters, which Erasmus would have approved, defending Catholicism, and exercising their minds and bodies in preparation for practicing law. However, these young men persist in maintaining prejudices based on regional provenance, picking fights with students of the Rouergue and Gascon nations. They see themselves as patriots, but their status as students increases their divisiveness: they scorn uneducated rural folk, and spar with other student groups. *L'Esté* ends hastily, on a similarly discordant note where interpersonal cleavage is underscored by spatial division: Prefouché

returns to Toulouse to finish his studies, while Desroches goes to Italy, and Chasteaubrun goes to Spain.

Of the three authors examined, Noël du Fail wrote over the longest period of time, maintaining skepticism with regards to the profits gained from education. His *Propos Rustiques* and *Contes et discours d'Eutrapel* are separated by a period of almost forty years, over which time the Wars of Religion had left their indelible mark on the French landscape and public consciousness. Without relinquishing his perception that movement is inevitable and education is necessary, du Faïl nevertheless questions the implications of mobility for community, and casts serious doubt on the notion that education makes people better at living together. While the dissemination of knowledge through scholarly movement contributed to the development of French culture and the evolving conception of a French nation-space, the dream of a Europe governed by educated humanists, a *res publica literaria* with universally concordant ideals, was regrettably not to be achieved through academic peregrination. The instinct to gravitate towards distinctions: linguistic, regional, and ideological, was apparently too strong.

The literary portrayals of students examined in this chapter testify to a tension between regional and national identification in France, and a sense that this question was becoming more relevant as people moved freely throughout the country and the continent, striving to identify one other as friend or foe. As P.J. Usher states of territorial distinctions in the latter half of the century: "dire la France est l'opposer à ses amis et ennemis"[193] The legions of young men who traveled for education, fortune and adventure were forced to confront the question of national versus regional versus universal identity, thereby participating in the crystallization of a sense of what it meant to be French, a question that was far from resolved by the end of the Renaissance.

[193] Usher, *op. cit*. 12.

Chapter Five: Mobility and Cosmopolitanism in Sixteenth-Century France

Mobility's impact on society is a modern preoccupation. Disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, political science, human geography, and economics are adapting their approaches to address a world that is more mobile than it has ever been. We wonder what our responsibilities are to others on a constantly shrinking planet, where the obstacles constituted by distance and boundaries are increasingly inconsequential to our ability to know and interact with peoples and places. The question of identity is complicated by migration and the plurality of cultural influences that exist in any given place, a phenomenon that fosters compound and subsequently complex loyalties and allegiances. Increased communication and improved means of transportation have done little, however, to combat the scourges of racism, religious extremism, ultranationalism, and other forms of intolerance. Our contemporary discussion on globalization considers whether exposure to other peoples and cultures alters worldviews, inspiring toleration if not appreciation of difference, and inciting sympathy for those beyond one's immediate circle of belonging.

We are more mobile than ever. This observation is at the crux of numerous modern inquiries into mobility's impact on society. Contemporary scholars point to the unparalleled speed and ease of modern transport - trains, planes, and automobiles – in addition to the facility with which knowledge can be transmitted thanks to modern technology – satellites, cell phones, and Internet. In an afternoon, we can travel to destinations that would have taken early modern travelers months of planning and hazardous wayfaring. Where they risked death, we risk delays and misplaced luggage. Even food travels far and fast: we eat bananas from Ecuador, grapes from Chile, and beef from New Zealand. Citizens of the Republic of Letters could scarcely have imagined the mundane reality of placing a telephone call via Skype and talking to someone across the ocean as if they were in the same room. The volume of information that we have at

our disposal has multiplied at a formidable rate even in the past decade: less than a generation ago, scholars conducted painstaking word searches by hand whereas we now use the "find" function in word processing software. Precious ancient manuscripts are accessible online. The certainty that these resources will improve exponentially in the near future makes us uncomfortable to write about them now, knowing how quickly technology becomes obsolete. There is hardly any need to write a letter anymore. There are too many specialists in any given discipline to become personally acquainted with more than a fraction of them; however, their findings are widely available to almost all interested parties. More people get better information, faster.

Much of the current literature that deals with mobility's impact on society makes the claim that the twenty-first century is defined by its singular, unparalleled relationship with movement. Sociologists and political scientists justify the urgency of their call for a new perspective on global belonging by touting our era as the epitome of a mobile, global society, and subsequently claiming that our political and social discourse is outmoded with respect to new structures of mobile social interaction. It seems, however, that Renaissance sociologists (or their equivalent) could easily have made a similar claim. The printing press had just been invented, revolutionizing the ways in which knowledge was circulated and acquired. Travel was difficult, but in the process of getting easier – the use of maps was increasing, travel guides existed for laymen, and movement was systematically becoming more institutionalized through documents like passports and *billets de change*. Significant numbers of everyday people traveled in the cadre of activities like pilgrimages and regional mercantile fairs. Volumes of correspondence attest to the active networks of communication that existed between learned people of various nationalities and professions, through whom scholarly pursuits proliferated and

contacts were established. Certainly, the method of transmission matters - one wonders how different the *Essais* would have been if Montaigne had been a blogger – nevertheless, had the early moderns been asked if they were more mobile than any society before them, they would probably have said yes. One has but to consider the impact of trans-Atlantic navigation to affirm that inhabitants of sixteenth century Europe must have considered themselves exceptionally mobile, at least based on the criteria of farther, faster, and more.

A new branch of the social sciences is designed to address movement as a phenomenon that shapes and is shaped by society. "Mobility studies" is the result of a burgeoning initiative to address how mobility constructs contemporary society, and vice versa. The very existence of this field testifies to a current preoccupation with the way movement enriches and complicates the way we live together and differentiate ourselves. Geographers Ola Söderström and Laurence Crot have catalogued the main social theories that comprise the field of mobility studies in order to highlight potential lacunae. Söderström and Crot affirm that most sociological approaches have been crafted in reaction to "deep transformations associated with the current phase of globalization" and "the idea that present times are epitomized by increasing mobility."[194] These theories share a vision of society as a series of people and things in motion, rather than a sequence of discrete, fixed entities. Proposed models for a new approach to social scientific inquiry include terms like "flows", "networks", and "assemblages". Mobility studies as a discipline strives to look beyond the distinctions wrought by national boundaries, institutions, and other static features.

While the seminal works in mobility studies are chiefly concerned with defining a new ontological approach in social science that accounts for mobility, some of its proponents have

[194] Ola Söderström and Laurence Crot, "The Mobile Constitution of Society: Rethinking the Mobility-Society Network", MAPS – Maison d'analyse des processus sociaux: Working Paper 7 (2010).

honed theoretical stances that are as pertinent to early modern times as they are today. Although mobility studies generally addresses the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, its applicability to the early modern period reveals ways in which the Renaissance was itself fundamentally modern. Sociologists Mimi Sheller and John Urry discuss the "new mobilities paradigm" in the social sciences, citing the centrality of issues of movement in contemporary society.[195] The points that they raise are equally essential to understanding the role of movement in the sixteenth century. Sheller and Urry underscore tenets that are essential to mobility studies as a discipline, including the importance of identifying networks of connection that surpass the boundaries of the nation-state. They insist on examining not just bodies in motion, but also their relationships with fixed institutions. They encourage scholars to consider different kinds of mobility, such as the movement of knowledge and ideas, alongside traditional mobility (bodies in motion). Sheller and Urry likewise acknowledge that physical mobility can be the symptom or catalyst of social mobility, both upward and downward.

These principles are equally important to consider when examining early modern movement, in order to appreciate the modernity of Renaissance mobility. Networks were clearly existent in Renaissance Europe, notably amongst the men of letters who formed the *Res Publica Literarum*, which enjoyed its golden age from 1550-1750.[196] The nodes of this network were the famous scholars who participated in it, deemed by Peter Burke to be "living monuments" who inspired their erudite contemporaries to enact a "secular pilgrimage" to engage in intellectual cooperation.[197] Burke calls attention to the early modern propensity for considering Christianity to be a vast network capable of transgressing national boundaries, a conception that is manifest

[195] Mimi Sheller and John Urry, "The New Mobilities Paradigm" in *Environment and Planning*, 38.2 (2006): 207-226.
[196] Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet, *La République des Lettres* (Paris: Belin, 1997) 29.
[197] Peter Burke, "Erasmus and the Republic of Letters", *European Review*, 7 (1999): 5-17.

in Erasmus's references to the "*orbis christianus*" and the "*respublica christiana*". Divisions within the Christian world lead to the formation of new international networks, such as the Evangelical network described by Jonathan Reid, made up of political and scholarly personages under the protection of Queen Marguerite de Navarre.[198] The correspondence of the Circle of Meaux, including French Evangelical sympathizers Guillaume Briçonnet, Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples, Gérard Roussel and Marguerite herself, attests to the broad geographical scope of this network, which reached sympathizers in Germanic states and Swiss cantons. Furthermore, improvement in spatial visualization and perception was largely the result of network collaboration: in order to complete his seminal *Cosmographia*, Sebastian Münster relied on the contributions of colleagues and friends. Jean-Marc Besse underscores Münster's collaboration in networking terms: "La *Cosmographia* est l'oeuvre d'un réseau de savants et d'érudits que Münster a soin d'entretenir de façon répétée, et dont il ne cesse de dresser la cartographie dans les diverses éditions de l'ouvrage."[199] Münster's magnum opus epitomizes the interdependent relationship between mobility and spatial perception.

Sheller and Urry's new mobilities paradigm likewise recommends that inquiries into mobility consider both bodies in motion and their relationship with fixed institutions. This stipulation is pertinent to the consideration of itinerant students in the early modern period. An examination of student movement is necessarily enriched by an analysis of the university as an institution. In tandem, these inquiries shed light on the evolving character of the city in Renaissance Europe. Patrick Gilli emphasizes the cultural impact of the university as an institution that was transformed by its international composition, and which in turn transformed European urban landscapes. Gilli hails the university as "une insertion dans l'espace urbain

[198] Jonathan Reid, *King's Sister – Queen of Dissent*, (Leiden: Brill, 2009) 13.
[199] Jean-Marc Besse, *Les grandeurs de la terre: Aspects du savoir géographique à la Renaissance* (Lyon: ENS Editions, 2003) 200.

d'une institution culturelle", which must employ a "politique de communication" in order to attract students in an increasingly competitive academic climate. The provision of *licentia ubique docendi*, which makes a license to teach valid in any institution, enhanced the international character of the university, stimulating increased student movement. As a result, by the end of the Middle Ages, the bond between city and university was becoming less firm.[200] Jacques Verger highlights how the university ultimately evolved from being an integral part of the city to an establishment that exceeded city limits and national borders, part of an implicit project to impart a universal (or at least European) culture.[201]

The importance of scrutinizing mobile agents with respect to fixed institutions is also relevant to the question of identity – regional, national, and personal. Even as communication between men of different cultural backgrounds flourished through the phenomenon of *translatio studii*, the mobile personages that we have examined all maintain a firm if complex relationship to their geographical home, be it France, the imaginary nation of Utopia, the recently Swiss city of Basel, or the province of Gascony. The shape and perception of geographical places, which dictated in part how their inhabitants moved, was also affected by the movement of those inhabitants. King Louis XII sought to vindicate territorial possessions in Italy to make France conform to its cartographic representation. The giant prince Pantagruel literally alters the landscape of France as he clamors through it. While Montaigne travels to obtain distance from France and its troubled politics, d'Aubigné's protagonist chooses immobility to achieve similar ends. Felix Platter changes his identity from "*Teutschen*" to "*Schwiezer*" when it becomes a question of eliciting trust while traveling in France. Scholars such as Colette Beaune, Myriam Yardeni, and Timothy Hampton have discussed the emergence of French nationhood, examining

[200] Patrick Gilli, Introduction to *Les Universités et la ville au moyen âge: cohabitation et tension*, Patrick Gilli, Jacques Verger, and Daniel Le Blévec (Leiden: Brill, 2007) 2-4.
[201] Jacques Verger, Conclusion, *ibid*. 357.

ways in which France as a country and an identity became more coherent over the course of the sixteenth century. From a mobility studies perspective, the analysis of France as an increasingly fixed institution cannot be separated from the question of movement within and around it.

In accordance with Sheller and Urry's recommendation that mobility studies ought to consider all kinds of mobility, and not just bodies in motion, an analysis of Renaissance mobility necessarily entails a discussion of the movement of ideas. Correspondence between learned men, such as Erasmus's correspondence with Guillaume Budé, was essential to the birth of humanism, and to the transmission through time of ideas from Classical Antiquity to the Renaissance. Correspondence was essential to the dissemination of Protestant ideals that sparked the Reformation, and owed much to the extensive letter writing of John Calvin and his sympathizers. The way that ideas moved was likewise evolving: Erasmus wrote in Latin, the lingua franca of the educated elite at the dawn of the sixteenth century. Martin Luther, by contrast, relied on the vernacular in his communication, and thereby reached a wider sector of the general public.[202] The language question is a pivotal concern in the examination of how ideas move: those who understood and spoke regional patois had limited access to mobile ideas, which may in turn have limited their physical mobility. Felix Platter is able to attend school in France because he speaks Latin. Montaigne's mastery of Italian facilitates immersion while abroad so that he may attain the desired distance from his sick body and troubled state. Poissenot's student protagonists mock those who demonstrate bad French and bad rhetoric, emphasizing an association between verbal and physical dexterity. For Rabelais and Du Fail, students with a poor mastery of Latin and French are not motivated by love of *logos*, by rather by vanity, and their movement is subsequently a sham.

[202] Burke, *op. cit.* 6.

Sheller and Urry's caution that mobility can confer elevated or depressed social status has been echoed by sociologist Vincent Kaufman, who maintains that spatial mobility does not equal social mobility. Movement can be an inhibiting constraint as often as it can be a liberating possibility. A person is not necessarily more mobile because they move far and fast, nor do they necessarily move far and fast if they are free.[203] This was certainly as true during the early modern period as it is today: soldiers, merchants, and friars were constrained by their vocations to move continually, whereas noblemen and rulers had the option of traveling or staying put, if they chose to. To address ways in which mobility may be linked to status or privilege, Kaufman coins the term "motility", which he defines as "la manière dont un individu ou un groupe fait sien le champ du possible en matière de mobilité et en fait usage pour développer des projets".[204] Kaufmann uses "motility" to designate the mobility potential of an individual, which includes the individual's capacity for exercising (or not exercising) this potential. In Kaufmann's assessment, motility is capital. Agents with abundant motility may use it to their advantage in achieving goals; socially, financially, and personally. Motility includes spatial and social mobility, the conscientious renunciation of mobility, or the definition of a new kind of mobility.

The concept of motility is useful in determining what distinguishes the Renaissance figures of the prince, the noblemen, and the student with respect to their traveling peers. As we have established, there was a considerable population of people in motion during the Renaissance and earlier. Mobility was changing scope, but it was hardly a new phenomenon. What changed with the advent of cartographic science, the rediscovery of Ptolemy, and the increased efficiency of transportation was that certain people had more mobility potential – to

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[203] Vincent Kaufmann, "La mobilité comme capital" in Bertrand Montulet and Vincent Kaufmann, *Mobilités, fluidités… libertés?* (Brussels: Publications des facultés universitaires Saint-Louis, 2004) 36; Vincent Kaufmann, *Les Paradoxes de la mobilité*: bouger, s'enraciner (Lausanne: Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes, 2008).

[204] Kaufmann 2004, 33.

employ Kaufmann's term, they possessed high "motility". Increased motility was a factor not only in expanding the range of available mobilities, it was also an agent in reshaping the perception of travel and travelers, which itself affected mobility. While mobility by itself does not necessarily attribute status or power, motility, as Kaufmann conceives it, is an asset that can be applied towards the accomplishment of specific ends. A salient literary example is d'Aubigné's *Baron du Faeneste*, in which the flippant baron's flashy mobility is devalued with respect to his interlocutor's conscientious motility. The prince, the nobleman, and the student used motility as capital. For the literary personages that we have examined, the idea of mobility (or immobility) dictated by choice rather than necessity is a unifying characteristic that distinguishes their modern movement.

The choice to move for movement's sake has been scrutinized by John Urry, author of the new mobilities paradigm, who employs the Foucauldian notion of *regard* or "gaze" to classify a particular perspective that he calls "the tourist gaze." According to Urry, tourism, meaning travel for pleasure, is a defining characteristic of being modern.[205] Tourism is movement through space that takes place outside of one's habitual environs, outside of the normal range of everyday experiences. It is completed for pleasure as opposed to work. Urry cites instances of pre-modern travel such as the pilgrimage and scholastic peregrinations, but insists that "to be a tourist is one of the characteristics of the 'modern experience'." This "modern" phenomenon is also an element that distinguishes the sixteenth century literary figures of the prince, the nobleman, and the scholar. Although some of their displacement is work related, as in the case of Louis XII going to war, there are numerous instances where these personages travel for the sole purpose of moving, seeing something new, or for pure enjoyment. Montaigne speaks of movement for its own sake in "De la vanité": "Je ne l'entreprends ni pour

[205] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 2002) 2-3.

en revenir, ni pour le parfaire. J'entreprends seulement de me branler, pendant que le branle me plait. Et me promène pour me promener…. Mon dessein est divisible partout – il n'est pas fondé en grandes espérances: chaque journée en fait le bout" (III, ix, 977-8). By Urry's criteria, Montaigne's movement is thoroughly modern.

A further line of inquiry that preoccupies adherents of mobility studies is the notion of cosmopolitanism. One of the effects of increased mobility is a greater sense of connectedness to a larger number of people. This sense of connectedness leads to an obfuscation of the distinctions between "us" and "them." In today's "global society" we have access to information about human suffering in other parts of the world, and struggle with our responsibilities with respect to foreign strangers. Conversely, many bemoan the fate of cultural diversity in an era when almost anywhere on the planet, we can eat the same fast food, drink the same blended coffee beverages, sleep in the same hotel and buy the same brand-name sportswear as we can at home. Contemporary philosopher Kwame Appiah states that the essence of cosmopolitanism is in recognizing responsibility for every human, and that every person you know about is someone that you are responsible for.[206] Accordingly, if we read about a famine in Africa over breakfast, and then go about our day as usual, are we less cosmopolitan? Can we be cosmopolitan and still put our families, neighbors, and fellow citizens before strangers? Our capacity to reach other parts of the world makes us question the imperative to do so, as we struggle to justify the application of armed engagement and humanitarian assistance abroad with unresolved problems closer to home. As access to elsewhere is facilitated by improved transportation and technological resources, nations are tightening their borders in response to a perceived threat

[206] Kwame Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2006) xiii, 7-8.

from the outside. In a truly global society, what constitutes local or national identity? Do these things matter?

Our era is not the first to encounter the effects of globalization. "Notre monde vient d'en trouver un autre", Montaigne attests in "Des coches" (III, vi, 909). In the wake of New World discoveries and encounters with theretofore-unknown populations, Renaissance thinkers were confronted with some of the same questions we currently face. In a monograph examining representations of flight in Renaissance literature, Thibaut Maus de Rolley cites the *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* by Jean Bodin (1566) and *De la vicissitude ou variété des choses de l'univers* by Louis Le Roy (1562) as evidence of a Renaissance perception that "le temps de la 'république mondaine' (*republica mundana*) est venu."[207] The question of responsibility to foreign peoples was a pertinent topic in early modern Europe, which made contact with alterity through the Christianizing missions of medieval crusades. The School of Salamanca in Spain sought to define a theological perspective by which all men are tributaries of an inalienable natural law, and strove to craft an approach to indigenous peoples of the Americas that accounted for their natural rights according to the law of nature (*ius naturae*), a law of nations (*ius gentium*) that superseded local laws and practices.[208] In many ways, our current preoccupation with globalization echoes a moment that took place in the sixteenth century, which had broad ramifications for the entire planet, and specific consequences for France in particular. New methods of spatial visualization compounded the impression that the world was getting more accessible, even smaller, as it could be fit into the pages of an atlas.[209] The literary personages of the prince, the nobleman, and the student are noteworthy because they reflect a propensity for cosmopolitan thought and behavior in their movement within France and the

[207] Thibaut Maus de Rolley, *Élévations: L'écriture du voyage aérien à la Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 2011) 380.
[208] Garrett Brown and David Held, Introduction to *The Cosmopolitan Reader* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010) 6.
[209] Besse, *op. cit.* 274-5.

continent. Their movement occurs in tandem with a patent awareness of France as a place and as an identity, but not as the only possible identity. These personages enact a mobility which sociologist Ulrich Beck attributes to the "cosmopolitanization of places", in that "they practice an active relationship to space and place without losing social and cultural contact and identity", exemplifying "a cosmopolitan identity of 'roots and wings.'"[210]

The idea of cosmopolitanism predates the Renaissance by roughly 2,000 years, dating back to the Cynics and Stoics of Greek and Roman antiquity. The Greek Stoic philosopher Hierocles proposed a theory of circles of belonging, in which every human being is circumscribed by concentric circles, the innermost constituted by family, the outermost constituted by the entire human race. The Hierocletian conception has been upheld by those who maintain that cosmopolitanism is not at odds with patriotism.[211] The Greek Cynic Diogenes is known for rejecting his ties to any particular city (Greek *polis*) by declaring himself a "kosmopolitês", or world citizen.[212] The writings of cynic philosophers had a large audience in Renaissance France, where the years 1530-1550 were "l'apogée du diogénisme" according to Michèle Clément.[213] Renaissance humanists would likewise have been familiar with Cicero's *De Officiis*, in which Cicero draws inspiration from the Roman Stoic philosopher Zeno to ascribe the possession of reason to all mankind, and *De la République*, where he refers to the earth as a universal house.[214] Cicero did not see a contradiction between a sense of kinship to all mankind

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[210] Ulrich Beck, "Mobility and the Cosmopolitan Perspective" in *Tracing Mobilities: Towards a Cosmopolitan Perspective*, Weert Canzler, Vincent Kaufmann, Sven Kesselring, eds. 33.
[211] Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism" in *The Cosmopolitanism Reader*, Garrett Brown and David Held, ed.'s (Cambridge: Polity, 2010) 158.
[212] Kleingeld, Pauline and Brown, Eric, "Cosmopolitanism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2011 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2011/entries/cosmopolitanism/>.
[213] Michèle Clément, *Le Cynisme à la Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 2005) 13.
[214] Robert Fine and Robin Cohen, "Four Cosmopolitan Moments" in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*, Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) 138; De Rolley *op. cit.* 380.

and a particular relationship to one's own city. Ciceronian cosmopolitanism accommodates patriotism.[215]

Cosmopolitanism is attributed to Christian thinkers who had a crucial influence on Renaissance theology. From Saint Augustine in the first century BCE to Saint Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century, cosmopolitan rhetoric also colored the writings of Martin Luther in the early sixteenth century.[216] Erasmus described himself as "*civis mundi*" in letters to Guillaume Budé[217] and Ulrich Zwingli.[218] The Prince of Humanism believed that all mankind was equally entitled to inhabit the world, and bound by fraternal bonds:

> this world, the whole of the planet called earth, is the common country of all who live and breathe upon it, if the title of one's country is allowed to be a sufficient reason for unity among fellow-country-men; and let them also remember, that all men, however distinguished by political or accidental causes, are sprung from the same parents[219]

Erasmus conflated the common country of all mankind with the *respublica Christiana*. However, his dream of seeing a world united in Christian charity proved a vain one, as the Religious Wars confirmed several decades after his death. Nevertheless, his influential oeuvre is evidence of an early modern worldview where shared humanity supersedes the limits of national boundaries.

From a mobility studies perspective, there is a difference between the cosmopolitanism just described, which seeks to establish peaceful methods of coexistence, and cosmopolitanism

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[215] "Here it may be well to trace back the social relations of men to their principles in nature. The first of these principles is that which is seen in the social union of the entire race of man. Its bond is reason as expressed in language, which by teaching, learning, imparting, discussing, deciding, conciliates mutual regard, and unites men by a certain natural fellowship"; "But there are several degrees of relationship among men. To take our departure from the tie of common humanity, of which I have spoken, there is a nearer relation of race, nation, and language, which brings men into very close community of feeling. It is a still more intimate bond to belong to the same city; for the inhabitants of a city have in common among themselves forum, temples, public walks, streets, laws, rights, courts, modes and places of voting, beside companionships and intimacies, engagements and contracts, of many with many." Cicerco *De Officiis,* Book 1, 16-17.

[216] Brown and Held, *op. cit.* 6.

[217] Bots and Waquet, *op. cit.* 32.

[218] "Ego mundi civis esse cupio" – "I would like to be a citizen of the world", Burke, *op. cit.* 7

[219] Erasmus, *The Complaint of Peace translated from the* Querela pacis *(A.D. 1521)* (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1917) 60.

as a secondary phenomenon, which results from changes in the construction of society that are the inevitable consequences of mobility. Ulrich Beck is best known for his theory of a "risk society" as a defining facet of modernity. Beck maintains that now, for the first time, humanity is confronted with problems that affect us as a planet (HIV, flu pandemics, terrorism and global warming, among others) and that it behooves us to react accordingly.[220] Beck defines a "cosmopolitical perspective," which he contrasts with traditional "normative cosmopolitanism" or "philosophical cosmopolitanism."[221] The latter is the type of cosmopolitanism defined by Enlightenment philosopher Kant in his oft-cited "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose". In this essay, Kant delineates his vision of history as progress, where antagonism between men plays a role in the ultimate achievement of a perfect civil society: "after many reformative revolutions, a universal cosmopolitan condition, which Nature has as her ultimate purpose, will come into being as the womb wherein all the original capacities of the human race can develop."[222] Kwame Appiah's more recently articulated stance also qualifies as normative or philosophical cosmopolitanism. For Appiah, cosmopolitanism is challenge to the belief that some people matter less than others. True cosmopolitans believe in the universal truth that everybody matters, and maintain a concomitant dedication to pluralism. Appiah proposes a formula wherein cosmopolitanism = universality + difference.[223]

For Beck, from a social science perspective, it is important to make a distinction between cosmopolitanism as a stance, as defined by Kant and Appiah, and a more analytical "cosmopolitical perspective"

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[220] Ulrich Beck, *World Risk Society* (Translated from German: *Risikogesellschaft)* (Malden: Polity Press, 1999).
[221] Ulrich Beck, *Der Kosmopolitische Blick oder: Krieg ist Frieden*, translated into French by Aurélie Duthoo: *Qu'est-ce que le cosmopolitisme*? (Paris: Flammarion, 2006) 38.
[222] Immanuel Kant, "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose" in Brown and Held, *op. cit.* 24.
[223] Appiah, *op. cit.* 151, 153.

> dans laquelle on peut observer l'accroissement de l'interdépendance des acteurs sociaux par-delà les frontières nationales, avec cette particularité que cette "cosmopolitisation" est le fruit de conséquences secondaires non voulues et non perçues d'actions qui n'étaient pas censées être "cosmopolitiques" au sens normatif.[224]

The cosmopolitical perspective abandons either/or distinctions, defined by Beck as "l'optique nationale", an outmoded vestige of the first modernity, in favor of a vision that looks beyond national borders, "un regard dialogique capable de percevoir des ambivalences au milieu de distinctions qui s'évanouissent et de contradictions culturelles."[225] The nationalist perspective, Beck maintains, is not longer applicable in our current era of "flows" and "networks," as it reduces culture (and cultural plurality) to a territorially specific concept. The cosmopolitical perspective, by contrast, accommodates the idea of national and territorial distinctions without reducing societal phenomena to the simplistic duality of "native" or "foreign."[226]

Philosophical cosmopolitanism, as it has evolved since its inception in Ancient Greece, is marked by a subjectivity that makes it hard to gauge. For philosophers such as Hierocles, Cicero, Kant and Appiah, cosmopolitanism is essentially a question of empathy or duty, although they differ in their modes of expression. Beck strives to outline a quantifiable understanding of cosmopolitanism in order to enhance social scientific dialogue in the face of real changes to society's structure, particularly given the increasing relevance of international exchange in a modern, mobile "risk society." Furthermore, Beck sees cosmopolitanism as the unintended consequence of globalization and not its motivating force, an unconscious choice, as opposed to the active stance of Kantian cosmopolitanism.[227]

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[224] Beck 2006, 38-39.
[225] *ibid.* 13-14.
[226] *ibid*., 55-62.
[227] *ibid*., 42

In the context of our examination of the prince, the nobleman, and the scholar in Renaissance literature, the social scientific perspective is relevant in two essential ways. Firstly, it allows us to establish that our contemporary preoccupation with issues of mobility and globalization is not new, but echoes a similarly transformative moment that occurred during the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the social scientific perspective outlines criteria for measuring cosmopolitan behavior, providing a more objective means of evaluating the cosmopolitanism of the literary figures portrayed in our corpus. In a monograph on early modern cosmopolitanism, Margaret Jacob confirms that the term held a variety of meanings during the sixteenth century, including the ability to transgress boundaries, to think past national identities, and to accept foreigners both at home and abroad.[228] In imposing a modern understanding of cosmopolitanism onto the literature of the sixteenth century, we can refine our analysis by borrowing the criteria established by sociologists Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry, as summarized by Beck, in their attempt to determine "whether a 'culture of cosmopolitanism' is currently emerging out of massively wide-ranging 'global' processes."[229] Theses terms are:

- extensive mobility, by which real or imaginary/virtual voyages are made possible and effectuated by a wide variety of people
- the ability to 'consume' from many places and environments
- a curiosity for other people, places, and cultures, in addition the basic ability to situate them historically, geographically and anthropologically
- the ability to sketch a basic map of one's own society and to make aesthetic distinctions between different places and societies and to form judgments based on these distinctions
- the semiotic competence to interpret the signs used in other cultures, to understand what they imply, and to understand when they are ironic

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[228] Margaret Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006) 5.
[229] Bronislaw Szerszynski and John Urry, "Cultures of Cosmopolitanism" in *The Sociological Review* 50(4), 2002, 461.

- an openness to other peoples and cultures, and the capacity to experience their language and culture as an enrichment

By measuring these standards through a series of empirical observations in present-day northwest England, Szerszynski and Urry have drawn the conclusion that "there is some evidence of a 'cosmopolitan civil society.' There is an awareness of a 'shrinking world' of global transportation and communications, together with an ethics of care based upon various proximate groundings."[230] Our observation of these six characteristics of cosmopolitan behavior in Renaissance literary figures justifies a similar inference. Mobility, diverse consumerism, curiosity, cartographic consciousness, semiotic competence, and openness to others – these six characteristics can be applied, to varying extents, to the princes, noblemen, and students who traveled through France in Renaissance literature. Certain personages exemplify each particular cosmopolitan characteristic better than others, as shall be demonstrated in the discussion that follows.

Extensive Mobility: The Brothers Platter

The Platter biographies substantiate the abundant mobility of a broad range of people in sixteenth-century France. In addition to details of their own comings and goings, these Swiss students testify to the mobility of scores of their peers and other interlopers in France. Their accounts allude to networks of intellectual and commercial exchange that spanned Europe. The prevalence of French universities served as a premise for pan-European student travel, facilitating the conveyance of news and ideas. Felix's autobiography documents categories of movement that complemented, complicated and coincided with academic peregrination: mercantile and military movement, for example, and religious pilgrimage. Travel, though fraught with risks, was an omnipresent element of quotidian reality, particularly in French cities. The

[230] *ibid*., 477-78.

possibility for "virtual" travel was in turn driven by print culture and enabled by people like Felix's father, a schoolteacher who owned a printing press in Basel.

Felix's world was at once very large and very small with respect to the way we experience space today. Large, because it takes Felix and his contemporaries drastically more time to enact physical displacement than it takes the modern traveler. Felix commissions his host's gardener Antoine to carry letters to and from Basel, a journey that typically takes a month, causing a considerable delay in the delivery of news both personal and political. While news and people travel faster today, we are not commonly privileged with the number of small world encounters that Felix enjoys as a matter of course. At 15, he rubs shoulders with the most celebrated medical minds of his day, and by association is only a degree removed from their royal patients. Felix's mentor ("*pater*") at the University of Montpellier is Dean Antoine Saporta, a friend of Rabelais. Felix likewise takes classes from Guillaume Rondelet, who appears in Rabelais's *Tiers livre* under the name *Rondibilis*. Saporta spends three months each year employed by the King of Navarre, and the famed physician Honoré Du Chastel, for whom Felix plays the lute, goes on to serve as Catherine de' Medici's personal physician. Felix's early travel companion Michel Héroard was the father of Louis XIII's personal physician, Jean Héroard. Thanks to his father, Felix meets John Calvin in Geneva. He compares Du Chastel's lecture style to that of prominent humanist Theodor Zwinger, a former pensioner in his father's house, who Montaigne also met and whose works he cited. For all these brushes with the eminent and the erudite, Felix is a youth of humble origins and feeble economic means, whose father never ceases to remind him that he is a "fils d'un pauvre maître d'école, alors que les autres

appartenaient à des familles riches et bien apparentées" (72). Felix's autobiography proves that movement and access to ideas was not the sole privilege of the social elite.[231]

Felix sees a steady stream of familiar faces as students from his native region arrive to study at a university of such renown, redoubling the impression that his world is indeed quite small. Heinrich Pantaleon, the vicar of a parish near Basel, arrives in Catalan's pharmacy one day having renounced theology in favor of medicine after a professional snub at home. Another friend, Jean Zonion, is a former schoolteacher from the environs of Basel. His marriage to a 70-year-old woman endows him with the funds necessary to pursue a medical degree in Montpellier. These and other anecdotal references bear witness to the professional mobility rendered possible by scholarship, affording young men the chance to embark on a potentially lucrative alternative career path. Felix bemusedly comments on the bravado of a braggart named Le Beau, who broadcasts his nobility by swaggering about wearing a sword. Le Beau's airs cause rancor amongst his fellow students, none of whom wear swords, including an Italian named Flaminius who has the misfortune of finding himself on the fighting end of one. There are more tales of mutual aid and friendly camaraderie than of ill will and elitism amongst students, however, and the closeness of the student community is manifest in the way that Felix documents the movement of his comrades. Even while traveling, Felix experiences the world's relative smallness. On the road to Toulouse, he meets an unkempt traveler singing a German song, the son of a doctor from Lucerne who knows his father: "dès qu'il sut que j'étais de Bâle, il me demanda si je connaissais le maître d'école Thomas Platter. 'Je suis son fils,' lui dis-je. 'Comment, s'écrie-t-il, tu es le petit Félix, que je voyais chez lui! comme te voilà grandi!'" (155). Encounters like these show that even for foreigners of modest origins traveling in

[231] For more on Felix's illustrious teachers and acquaintances see Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Le Mendiant et le professeur* (Paris: Fayard, 1995).

sixteenth century France, connections established through scholarship and letters made for a small world, after all.

Felix was traveling at a particularly interesting moment in the history of spatial conceptions of Europe. His interactions with noted scholars occasioned glimpses into the lives and work of great men in other European cities, making him a true citizen of the Republic of Letters, who later merits a visit from none other than Montaigne. Felix's autobiography describes vestigial traces of a world where educated men understood Latin, bridging differences in nationality with linguistic common ground. Although Montpellier was officially a Catholic city during Felix's time there, he is exposed to the syncretism of his Marrano hosts, who kept kosher but prayed to the Holy Virgin. Even while maintaining a certain level of religious stringency, Montpellier was, by sixteenth-century standards, a melting pot. For all the hazards incurred by travel, the Platter autobiographies abound with references to seemingly serendipitous encounters abroad. They depict a world in movement, with porous boundaries and flexible identities.

At the same time, Felix observes the decadence of a cosmopolitan ideal. Linguistic divisions were becoming pronounced. Felix's entourage is germanophone, and his father laments that no one in Basel will undertake the printing of a noteworthy medical text "parce qu'il était moitié latin, moitié français" (102) and not in German. Felix's aforementioned friend Pantaleon "parlait latin à tout le monde, croyant que tous les français entendaient cette langue" (59), which would have escaped notice had the would-be Latinist's convictions been correct. Another friend is reduced to "Frenchisizing" Latin to be understood: "s'imaginait qu'il suffisait d'abréger les mots latins pour se faire comprendre en France" (158) – evidently, Latin alone would not suffice. Felix's friend Hummel, a pharmacist in Basel, complains that medicine is not taken seriously

there, giving as an example that "on ne savait pas estimer les praticiens sérieux; les prescriptions se faisaient en allemand plutôt qu'en latin" (111).

Felix suffers some difficulty entering cities, and the situation does not improve much by the time his younger brother Thomas takes to the road in 1595. Thomas attentively notes the walls and doors of the cities he visits, and on more than one occasion finds himself locked outside of Montpellier after nightfall. He is asked at the gates of Nimes for proof of an acquaintance in town, and resorts to entering by another door. In Avignon, Thomas scrupulously conceals that he is from reformist Basel, in a reversal of Felix's entry to Narbonne 40 years earlier when he vindicated his Swiss identity and passed his "*Teutschen*" friends off as Swiss. Thomas must obtain a passport to enter Marseille, and to explain the reason for his voyage. He procures a *laissez-passer* to travel to Mont Ventoux and other regions that fear pestilential contamination. Nevertheless, Thomas sees even more of Europe than his older brother did, having means at his disposal, and continually remarks on the confluence of peoples and cultural influences in the cities that he visits.

The Platter autobiographies show that many were moving in sixteenth century France. They suggest ways in which the experience of movement evolved over time, as two budding imagined communities came into confrontation with one another. Benedict Anderson coined the term "imagined community" to theorize nationalism, defining an imagined community as one whose members will never all meet and know each other, but who are aware of each others' contemporaneous existence.[232] The Platter brothers bear witness to the emergence of national languages and the territorialization of faith, both of which Anderson points to as signs of emerging nationalism. At the same time, both brothers participated in the increasingly robust

[232] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006). For the definition of an imagined community, see p 6; for territorialization of faith: p 17, for questions of language: p 40-45, 143-145.

imagined community of the Republic of Letters, a pan-European network of savants united by intellectual curiosity, a community rendered singular by its relative indifference to confessional, national and linguistic associations.[233] Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet identify the rise of nationalism and vernacular languages to be key elements in the eventual decline of the Republic of Letters.[234] Nevertheless, the mid-sixteenth century marks the inception of this learned community that spurns geographical specificity, whose influence burgeoned and persisted well into the Age of Enlightenment.

Through their interactions with an international academic elite, the Platters testify to the real and virtual movement that was enacted by a wide variety of people in sixteenth century France. Through their social adhesion to a group of peers based on shared vernacular and religious convictions, they participated in the division that was to eventually limit the free exchange of people and ideas as the imagined community of France gradually took precedence over the imagined community of the Republic of Letters. Nevertheless, the relative facility with which these brothers conducted their voyages and the astounding variety of encounters their movement entailed confirms that with respect to mobility, Renaissance France did indeed cultivate a cosmopolitan climate.

The Commodification of Experience: Montaigne's Diverse Consumerism

Montaigne's *Journal de Voyage* is a catalog of the products and practices he essayed over a year and a half of traveling through Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. For those familiar with the *Essais*, the *Journal* is perhaps most remarkable in its banality. Details of meals, hygiene, and quotidian accoutrements are meticulously recorded alongside ruminations on the relative merits

[233] For the classification of the Republic of Letters as an imagined community, see Burke, *op. cit*. 8, and Robert Mayhew, "British Geography's Republic of Letters: Mapping an Imagined Community, 1600-1800", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 65, No. 2, April 2004, 251-276.
[234] Bots and Waquet, *op. cit.* 54, 62.

of different thermal waters, specifics which at times dwarf descriptions of the natural and man-made settings that house them. The exactitude in the level of detail is characteristic of a "regard rapproché", the "myopie déliberée" that Frank Lestringant emphasizes as a crucial element of Montaigne's worldview, particularly in the quest to demonstrate that universal knowledge is beyond man's grasp, and that man can only comprehend what he sees up close and intimately.[235] Montaigne's efforts to evaluate and record the particulars of places he visits verify his prolific consumerism, which modern sociology deems to be an integral cosmopolitan characteristic.

The *Journal de Voyage* contains a host of culinary references. The city of Lindau proves to be a gastronomical revelation:

> ils sont si abondans en vivres, et diversifient leur service en tant de sortes de potages, de sauces, de salades, comme hors de nostre usage; ils nous ont presenté des potages faits de coings, d'autres de pommes cuites taillées à rouelles sur la soupe, et des salades de choux cabus. Ils ont aussi des brouets sans pain, de diverses sortes, comme de riz, où chacun pesche en commun, (car il n'y a nul service particulier), et cela d'un si bon goust, aux bons logis, qu'à peine nos cuisines de la noblesse Françoise luy sembloient comparables (31)

Far from stopping after the soup course, the description goes on to enumerate fish, game, fowl, fruit, pies, nuts, cheese, bread, and spices. It precedes an allusion to Montaigne's lament, already cited, at not having brought a chef along to master the local cuisine. There are mentions of cakes in Constance (29), eggs in Schongau (38) and Koenigsdorf (48), mustard in Sterzing (54), escargots and truffles in Rovereto (61), artichokes in Rome (117), and wine everywhere, notably in Italy, where Montaigne initially finds the women unattractive, the meat badly prepared, the lodging uncomfortable and "les vins communement pires" (81). Anna Bettoni demonstrates how the singular attention paid to silverware at the homes of Italian noblemen testifies to the evolution of table manners across Europe during the Renaissance, with transformations taking

[235] Frank Lestringant, "Montaigne topographe et la description de l'Italie" in *Montaigne e l'Italia, Atti del congresso internazionale di studi di Milano-Lecco, 26-30 ottobre, 1988* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1991) 628.

place in the realm of food preparation and rites of consumption. Montaigne's discovery of olive oil is a savory example.[236] Bettoni goes on to illustrate how Montaigne's inventory of the produce he received as gifts in Italian cities constitutes a culinary map of Italy ("mappa del commestibile italiano"), also serving to subtly underscore the passage of time through the mention of fruits that were in season. For Bettoni, references to food in the *Journal* bear witness to a subject in search of himself, striving to be liberated from constraints imposed by taste and custom: "la ricostruzione dell'identità di un io che, alle prese con i propri gusti, dunque con la propria natura più istintiva, forse ricercava, nei diversi laboratori culinari, se stesso" (484).

Montaigne's travels were an adventure in diversity, both cultural and personal. The record of Montaigne's movement mirrors the mobility inherent in nature. He is cognizant of the perpetual shifting that defines him and all other terrestrial bodies:

> Le monde n'est qu'une branloire perenne. Toutes choses y branlent sans cesse: la terre, les rochers du Caucase, les pyramides d'Aegypte, et du branle public et du leur. La constance mesme n'est autre chose qu'un branle plus languissant. Je ne puis asseurer mon object. (III, ii, 804-5)

In "De l'expérience", written after the *Journal*, Montaigne evokes movement with respect to the infinite diversity of experience, which is manifested in eternal variations of tastes, health, custom, and opinion: "Nostre vie n'est que mouvement" (III, xiii, 1095). The very structure of the essay suggests an unbounded variety of iterations of the human condition, even within the same person from one hour to the next:

> il est impossible de voir deux opinions semblables exactement, non seulement en divers hommes, mais en mesme homme à diverses heures" (*ibid*., 1067).

Throughout "De l'expérience", Montaigne continually reinforces the idea of movement and diversity as nature's imperative. If we are inflexible in certain respects, it is due to the combined effects of custom and natural inclinations. Montaigne, even while boasting of his adaptability,

[236] Anna Bettoni, "Le 'nourritures' italiane di Montaigne" in *Montaigne et l'Italia*, 469-485.

being “flexible et peu opiniastre” (1083), possesses a slew of tendencies that he proceeds to enumerate:

> sans m’essaier, ne puis ny dormir sur jour, ny faire collation entre les repas, ny desjeuner, ny m’aller coucher sans grand intervalle, comme de trois bonnes heures, apres le soupper, ny faire des enfans qu’avant le sommeil, ny les faire debout,… (1084)

…et cetera. These firm infirmities are inevitably accrued over time: “Je dois plusieurs telles mollesses à l’usage. Nature m’a aussi, d’autre part, apporté les siennes” (1084). Paradoxically, nature imposes both diversity and proclivities, the inclinations that lead to persistent habits. Montaigne preaches not to resist these impulses, but rather to avoid stringent adherence to a regimen that alienates pleasure. The *Journal* documents Montaigne’s efforts to heed nature’s dictates with the application of foreign products. This intersection comes about through the act of consuming: satisfying nature’s exigencies with unfamiliar commodities, mimicking nature’s intrinsic tendency towards movement and variation by traveling.

One of the benefits of travel, therefore, is in staving off sedentary habits, both internally and externally, to cultivate an outlook that complements nature’s diversity. Montaigne accomplishes this in part by consuming foreign products, subjecting himself to experiences that contradict his acquired and innate penchants, thereby garnering new and agreeable sensations (in addition to disagreeable ones). “De l’experience” is laden with reflections on this experiment. Montaigne reminisces on the incommodities of his sleeping situation in Germany to emphasize the inevitable effects of habit, in addition to the diversity of opinion produced by dissimilar experiences: “Vous faites malade un Aleman de le coucher sur un matelas, comme un Italien sur la plume, et un François sans rideau et sans feu.” Montaigne’s is a kind of reverse climate theory: rather than place defining practice, practice is what distinguishes place: “l’usage publiq donne loy” (1104). Travel reveals ways in which we can be pliable in our intransigence. “Poêles” or

ceramic stoves that heat houses in Germany are mentioned in the *Journal* and subsequently find their place in the *Essais*, where Montaigne admits to seeing advantages with respect to French heating systems:

> Mais au demeurant, estant cette challeur eguale, constante et universelle, sans lueur, sans fumée, sans le vent que l'ouverture de nos cheminées nous apporte, elle a bien par ailleurs dequoi se comparer à la nostre (III, xiii, 1080).

Montaigne may not have appreciated Italian wine, but Bettoni points to the pseudo-sacred moment in the *Journal* when he first tastes a melon. Melons take on an almost Proustian significance in "De l'experience" as part of the quintessence of terrestrial existence, along with breathing, wine, and sex. Corporal experiences like eating, drinking, and traveling allow us to experience, even to enjoy the mind's essential connectedness to the body: "Je hay qu'on nous ordonne avoir l'esprit aus nues pendant que nous avons le corps à table" (1107). Even while vindicating the wisdom of "receiving" one's natural tendencies ("Il ne les faut ny suyvre, ny fuir, ils les faut recevoir" 1106), Montaigne spurns rigidity: "Qui veut qu'une forme lui serve fuye à la continuer" (1103). Above all, one must not cultivate inflexibility that prohibits pleasure or sociability. The idea of interpersonal exchange, so present in the *Journal*, is associated in the *Essais* with the idea of consumption: "Il n'est point de si doux apprest pour moy, de sauce si appetissante, que celle qui se tire de la société." Adaptability is a cornerstone of sociability: "Il y a honte de laisser à faire par impuissance ou de n'oser ce qu'on voit faire à ses compaignons" (1083). Hence Montaigne's approbation for military culture: it provides at once "la liberté de cette conversation sans art" and "la varieté de mille actions diverses" (1096). We should not seek to distinguish ourselves through our quotidian rituals: "la forme de vivre plus usitée et commune est la plus belle" (1104).

Montaigne was not just a diverse consumer of food and culture, but also of people and ideas. Not only did he consume from a wide variety of places, he culled those experiences to create the prose for which he is famous. Part of Montaigne's strength as a consumer consists in the ability to treat various models on an equal footing: "j'allegue aussi volontiers un mien amy que Aulugele et que Macrobe, et ce que j'ay veu que ce qu'ils ont escrit" (1081). He draws from experience, word of mouth, and from books written by contemporaries, juxtaposing them with writings by the ancients. Along with the tomes in his famous circular library, Montaigne kept a cabinet of curios from the Americas, which according to Frank Lestringant provided him the "occasion de méditer sur la relativité des coutumes et sur les limites du savoir humain".[237] Montaigne's record of what he consumed over the course of his travels did not fall into temporary obscurity like the *Journal*, but was repackaged and put forward in the *Essais* to be consumed by future generations of readers. The discourse that Montaigne's ruminations continue to provoke, in addition to ascertaining his basic premise about the infinite variety of opinion and the ephemeral nature of truth, is evidence of his successful commodification of the act of consuming. His ability to consider other people and cultures on an equal footing with his own is evidence of his cosmopolitanism.[238] Even while acknowledging the inevitability of personal bias, Montaigne valued the physical experience of diversity, and applied scientific rigor to recording the effects of diversity on his person. Montaigne demonstrated that looking inward entails looking outward: the *Journal* records the complementary acquisition of self-knowledge and knowledge of the world, with the five senses as conduits for information. Acceptance of variety and esteem for social commerce, at the forefront of his quest for new ways to experience

[237] Frank Lestringant, Introduction to *Le Brésil de Montaigne: Le Nouveau Monde des* Essais (1580-1592) (Paris: Chandeigne, 2005) 12.
[238] "j'estime tous les hommes mes compatriots, et embrasse un Polonois comme un François, postposant cette liaison nationale à l'universelle et commune." (III, ix, 973).

otherness, are the catalysts for Montaigne's cosmopolitanism. Through his commodified consumerism, Montaigne continues participating, centuries after his death, in the social exchange he so cherished.

Cosmopolitan Curiosity or Compromised Cosmopolitanism? Poissenot's "désir de voir"

Curiosity, as has previously been discussed, was controversial during the Renaissance. Modern readers know that curiosity killed the proverbial cat, but it is hard for us to imagine the anxiety that galvanized sixteenth century authors to justify their quest for knowledge. Terence Cave highlights this problem as it pertains specifically to Renaissance travel: " à cette époque… le désir de voyager s'associe volontiers à une curiosité coupable."[239] Montaigne, Cave posits, justifies his travel by emphasizing its lack of *telos*, creating an opposition between himself and the traditional model of the traveling pilgrim or hero. In a similar manner, Bénigne Poissenot defends the curiosity for history and for place that constitutes a "studieux désir de voir", which recalls the curiosity that motivated Pantagruel in the *Quart Livre*. The student is an ideal subject for exploring these facets of curiosity as he is engaged by profession in the mobile pursuit of erudition. Poissenot's bias in favor of mobile scholarship, suggested in *L'Esté*, is echoed in his subsequent work, the *Nouvelles Histoires Tragiques*, published three years later in 1586.

While the character Chasteaubrun represents the author in the semi-autobiographical *L'Esté*, Poissenot adopts no pseudonym for his narrative presence in the *Nouvelles Histoires Tragiques*. In the tradition of French authors François de Belleforest and Pierre Boaistuau and the Italian author Matteo Bandello, all credited in the Prologue, Poissenot undertakes to compose his own collection of *histoires tragiques* with the explicit goal of diverting and edifying his readership. The *Nouvelles Histoires Tragiques* contains many of the same themes found in *L'Esté*: the fruitful association of pleasant and useful, the value of academic learning, and, even

[239] Terence Cave, *Pré-histoires: Textes troublés au seuil de la modernité* (Geneva: Droz, 1999) 167.

more explicitly, the value of movement. The *Nouvelles Histoires Tragiques* came about, Poissenot explains, as a digression from a scholarly task:

> A quoi voulant mettre la main, je consideray que je n'avois les nerfs assez forts pour marcher par ce chemin raboteux… parquoy prenant le sentier de la prairie, et tiré de mon inclination, qui se plaist à choses recreatives et delectables, je parvins en fin en un plaisant verger où me veautrant sur l'herbe drue, et cueillant romarins, oeillets, marjolaine, marguerites et autres fleurs, je n'en eu plustost ma main pleine que j'en façonnay un chapeau et guirlande, tissue de la façon que cy après la verras[240]

This passage recalls the pleasure-seeking ways of the protagonists of *L'Esté*, of whom Poissenot (alias Chasteaubrun) was a member. Far from censorial, however, Poissenot allows the fruit of his indolence to speak for the value of pursuing pleasure over drudgery. He continues by admonishing students to privilege the study of history, explaining his predilection:

> je n'en trouve aucune qui me semble plus delectable à chacun en particulier, utile et profitable, et par consequant necessaire à tous en general, à ceux principalement qui doyvent estre admis au maniement des affaires publiques et tenir le gouvernail de la Republique, qu'est l'histoire.

This advice would seem paradoxical in the wake of Poissenot's avowed shiftlessness were it not for his emphasis on the union of "delectable" with "utile and profitable" associated with the study of history. Poissenot goes on to extol the benefits of history, echoing the perspective evoked in *L'Esté*, also held by humanists Erasmus and Budé, that classical learning has a humanizing influence, capable of reforming even "les plus revesches, cruels et barbares, et qui se sont despouillez de toute humanité" (55).

Curiosity, like the pursuit of pleasure, is not always laudable in itself. However, good things (like the *Histoires Tragiques* born of Poissenot's procrastination) can result from it. As Chasteaubrun and his cronies decided in *L'Esté*, curiosity is only good when it is useful. During the second half of the sixteenth century, authors were anxious to justify their curiosity about

[240] Bénigne Poissenot, *Nouvelles Histoires Tragiques*. Jean-Claude Arnould and Richard A. Carr, eds. (Geneva: Droz, 1996) 53-54. Further citations refer to this edition.

origins. Claude-Gilbert Dubois addresses this preoccupation with respect to the sixteenth-century orientalist and traveler Guillaume Postel, whose curiosity ("le désir éperdu que manifeste Postel de connaître la naissance des choses") was facilitated by a sense that primacy ensures not only legitimacy, but supremacy.[241] His quests for knowledge about antiquity were founded on establishment of "raison" that upheld the preeminence of the French monarchy and the Catholic (Gallican) Church, such as those expressed in his 1551 treatise "Les Raisons de la Monarchie". Specifically, Postel, the self-styled "cosmopolite Gaulois", illustrates the long-standing preeminence of Gaul as an axis of religious and political authority by tracing Gallic roots back to the primordial family of Noah and his sons.[242] Postel uses historical, theological, and astrological interpretations to reveal France's prerogative for universal governance in establishing a new, peaceful world order. By virtue of this evidence, Postel argues that France's King is duty-bound to check the power of the papacy in Rome, and the power of the Holy Roman Emperor. Curiosity about origins becomes acceptable (that is, useful) when it supports the worldview of the institution to which one bears loyalty. Dubois sees Postel's voluminous prose in favor of French supremacy to be an effect of increasing nationalism in the latter half of the sixteenth century, through which writers like Postel turned nationalistic desires into dogmas: "La pensée de Postel, par son caractère démonstratif, tend à transformer en droits des désirs diffus engendrés par le developpement du nationalisme".[243]

A similar tendency for using history in a "useful" manner to bolster a nationalistic worldview can be observed in *La Galliade* by Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, first published in 1578, which seeks, as editor François Roudaut confirms, "par le souvenir du passé, donner gloire

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[241] Claude-Gilbert Dubois, "La Curiosité des origines: speculations de Guillaume Postel autour 'de ce qui est premier'" in *La Curiosité à la Renaissance*, *op. cit*. 47.
[242] Claude-Gilbert Dubois, *Celtes et Gaulois au XVIe siècle: Le développement littéraire d'un mythe nationaliste* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1972) 69, 77.
[243] *ibid*., 84.

et honneur à sa patrie et à son roi".[244] In the "Advertissement aux lecteurs", Le Fèvre de la Boderie insists on distancing his work from fables such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, "et contes plaisants, et qui se propose plustost pour son but et fin la delectation, et la vraysemblance, que non pas l'utilité et la verité" (153). His purpose is rather to cull authentic testimonials from history, giving a "useful" bent to his storytelling:

> recueillir les honorables tesmoignages et marques de l'Antiquité, que tous les bons Autheurs presque de toutes langues et nations donnent aux anciens Gaulois noz majeurs et devanciers: ausquels ils attribuent l'invention des Arts, disciplines, et escholes publiques incontinent apres le Deluge universel (154).

In so doing, Le Fèvre de la Boderie attains his tandem goals of "utilité" et "verité" – a study of history which is "useful" in its support of France and Catholicism.

Like Postel and Le Fèvre de la Boderie, Poissenot embraces the study of antiquity because it is useful in supporting his partisan vision of a Catholic France. For Poissenot, history is "la messagere de l'antiquité… en laquelle on trouve la maniere et façon de vivre honnestement en ce monde" (*NHT* 54-55). Poissenot takes an interest in Gallic France and his Druid forebears, ruminating on "leur maniere de vivre et combattre, l'ardent zele qu'ils ont tousjours fait paroistre avoir à la conservation de leur liberté, et bref leur impetuosité et gaillardise à brusquement charger l'ennemy" (70-71) in the introduction to his first *histoire tragique*, regretting the lack of written records that attest to Gallic prowess. *L'Esté* contains a similar allusion to France's Gallic origins, in vogue at the time, as the students sagaciously agree not to neglect France in their storytelling. Like Postel, Poissenot's view of history favors France and Catholicism. The purpose of scholarship, particularly of studying origins, is to strengthen France: "Di-moy, je te prie, tous les autres arts que nous appellons liberaux, quel profit apporteront-ils à la Republique si nous

[244] François Roudaut in the "Situation" of his critical edition of *La Galliade* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1993) 26.

n'avons cognoissance des choses qui ont esté faictes avant et depuis que sommes au monde?" (55).

In addition to the desire for historical knowledge, Poissenot commends curiosity for place, or the "désir de voir". In the *Nouvelles Histoires Tragiques*, he associates a penchant for travel with the "louable désir de voir":

> Un qui est poussé d'un ardent desir de veoir, conversant avec tant de sortes de gens de differentes complections et humeurs, n'apprendra il à vivre avec les vivans, et ne se façonnera il, bien que ce soit à ses despens, le plus souvent? … C'est un des principaux poincts pour rendre l'homme sage que d'avoir beaucoup veu (174)

Furthermore, those who do not travel are chastised, even branded as ignorant:

> ceux qui blasment les voiageurs sont ordinairement quelques touasses, nourris seulement derriere le poil des vaches, qui n'ont garde d'aller voir que c'est que l'on fait hors de dessus leur lieu pour autant qu'ils sont tant niaiz, mal propres et impertinens qu'il faudroit qu'ils mourussent sur un fumier, n'y ayant que les honnestes hommes qui soient espoinçonnez d'un louable desir de voir.(175)

Poissenot's vehement distain recalls the derision with which the students in *L'Esté* mocked their uneducated interlocutors, associating sedentary life with a blameworthy lack of learning. This contempt seems to target humbler classes: peasants ("ceux qui n'on veu le pays sinon par la fenestre d'un grenier") and merchants ("ces gros raminagrobis de marchans, qui ne font autre chose le jour que d'estre assis en une boutique", 176). This reflection on travel constitutes the preamble to a story about a clerk who impregnates his master's daughter and is cast into the Durance as a result. The clerk's fate, Poissenot affirms, serves as a warning to travelers: "Il doit servir d'exemple à ceux qui, poussez d'un honneste desir de veoir, esprouvent les avantures estranges du monde adventureux, pour ne chopper et faire un faux pas" (199). The *faux pas* is blameworthy; the "honneste desir de veoir" is not.

For all Poissenot's curiosity for people, places, and their history, he is bent on maintaining rigid regional distinctions and hierarchies. His apology for travel is predicated on the notion that different places produce different people, echoing the climate theory put forward by Jean Bodin in his *Méthode de l'Histoire* that had precedents in ancient Greek medicine and philosophy[245]:

> Le mesme ciel, dis-tu, que nous verrons ailleurs, est celuy que nous voyons en nos quartiers. Je te respons qu'en quelques endroicts l'air est plus subtil et deslié qu'aux autres, et que les esprits sont en quelques contrées grossiers et nullement nays, aux autres gentils, gays, fretillans, et qu'on peut manier ainsi que l'on veut. (173)

This affirmation is noteworthy with respect to the quarrels between student nations in *L'Esté*, where petty pretexts rationalized what was essentially a glorified turf war. Rather than seeking substantiation for the ways in which shared humanity makes people similar, Poissenot's geographical curiosity strives to corroborate a sense that certain people and places are superior to others. To that end, the *Nouvelles Histoires Tragiques* betrays the same preoccupation as *L'Esté* with an interior menace that hails from the outside. Poissenot persists in associating pestilence with the Reform in describing the devastated city of Montpellier after the one-two punch of plague and Protestantism in the introduction to his fifth *histoire tragique*. The genesis of Poissenot's love of learning and animosity towards Protestants becomes apparent in the sixth story, which relates the martyrdom of his childhood *Regent* in Langres, killed by marauding reformers in the wake of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: "nos mutins qui, espouventez des Matines françoises, s'estoient retirez aux frontieres d'Allemagne" (246). Poissenot testifies to similar instances of Calvinist cruelty in other cities in France: "J'ay ouy le recit de tant de telles cruautez au Dauphiné, Vivarez, haut et bas Languedoc, Albigeois, Guascongne, et autres

[245] For climate theory in the French Renaissance, see Frank Lestringant, "Europe et théorie des climats dans la seconde moitié du XVI^{e} siècle" in *Ecrire le monde à la Renaissance : Quinze études sur Rabelais, Postel, Bodin et la littérature géographique* (Caen: Paradigme, 1993) 255-276.

contrées, que les cheveux en y songeant se dressent en ma teste" (255), cruelty that reaches even "aux terres neufves", where Protestant ships captured and massacred "vingt Jesuites qu'on menoit pour convertir ces Infidelles et Barbares à la religion Chrestienne" (254).

Overall, Poissenot professes a stalwartly favorable attitude towards "useful" curiosity consisting in the "désir de voir" people and places. He values travelers over sedentary people. Travel does not lead to tolerance in Poissenot's writing because his nationalism does not accommodate an objective view of otherness. If France is great, it is through favorable comparison with other, inferior places. If France is weak, it is the result of contamination by infidel or ignorant others. The autobiographical information provided in the *Nouvelles Histoires Tragiques* explains Poissenot's aversion for reformers, and suggests why he sees difference as a threat. It is troubling from a cosmopolitan perspective to perceive Poissenot's establishment of value judgments based on geography, his scorn for those who are immobile or uneducated, and his patent fear of infiltration by outsiders who are not French and Catholic. Poissenot's xenophobic tendencies, while they put his cosmopolitanism to question, are regrettably familiar in modern times. Nevertheless, his curiosity and favorable attitude towards travel are a striking indication of changing attitudes towards movement in sixteenth century France.

Cartographic Consciousness: Franc-Gal from Aneau's *Alector*

Alector ou le coq is the story of a prince's initiation to movement. In the tradition of the princely manual, which had important contributions from authors such as Erasmus, Machiavelli and Guillaume Budé, Aneau's work attests to a Renaissance preoccupation with how young sovereigns ought to behave. In this vein, *Alector* implicitly prescribes spatial awareness and an aptitude for movement as ideals for royal comportment. It follows that a good sovereign must possess the cosmopolitan trait of cartographic consciousness. Aneau's peculiar narrative

illustrates this value in Alector's father, Franc-Gal, a self-described cosmopolitan whose world tour doubles as a civilizing mission. Couched in a web of fantastical, fictional geography, chapters seventeen and eighteen harbor a volley of authentic geographical indices, borrowed if not overtly copied from a variety of classical and humanistic texts. Educated readers in the latter half of the sixteenth century would have been familiar with the probable sources identified by editor Marie Madeleine Fontaine: Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pomponius Mela for the ancients; André Thevet, Sebastian Münster, Nicolas Nicolay, Jean Lemaire de Belges, Benedetto Bordone, Martin Fumée (translator of López de Gómara) and Simon Grynaeus among the sixteenth century authors and geographical savants quoted by Aneau. The topographical information in three lengthy passages detailing Franc-Gal's airborne itinerary attests to the spatial savoir-faire that Aneau strove to attribute to his high-flying, hippo-riding hero.

Paradoxically, geographically rich descriptions of Franc-Gal's flight are visually opaque, remarkably unencumbered by the illustrative language and meticulous descriptions that distinguish Aneau's lengthy chorography of the city of Orbe. One such example from Franc-Gal's voyage is the following passage:

> en peu d'heures j'arrivay aux plages et ports de Dalmace et Sclavonnie, ès Illyriques. Puys, passant entre les insatiables gueulles de Scylle et Charybde, au Far de Messine & de Rhege, recogneu les Isles de Sicile, Sardaigne, Corse et toute la coste de Puille, Calabre, Naples, Italie; entray au bras de la furieuse Hadriatique, où n'estoit encore la riche ville sans terre; passay la coste Ligustique, prins les ports de Lune; rasay l'heureuse Gaule Narbonnoise; de là costoyay la maritime Hespaigne Occidentalle, jusques aux Colomnes des haulx mons Calpe et Abyle, où le grand Ocean faict pertuys pour s'espandre au milieu da la terre et la separer en la grande Asie, la riche Aphrique et la populeuse Europe (117).

In spite of numerous geographical allusions, Aneau's text provides minimal indications of how to visualize these places, alone or with respect to one another. It suffices to name these places to allude to a world that sixteenth century savants could only know through books, which must

have possessed a certain exoticism in popular imagination. Thibaut Maus de Rolley remarks on the "primauté du toponyme" in descriptions of Franc-Gal's flight, concluding that "lorsque le lieu possède un nom, celui-ci suffit à le décrire". With respect to Franc-Gal, "le monde parcouru par le voyageur est conçu avant tout comme un monde *lisible*... Tous ces voyageurs savent leur géographie, et celle-ci leur suffit amplement pour maîtriser le monde"[246]. The primary purpose of these passages is to affirm Franc-Gal's geographical sapience, not to impart it to the reader. Descriptive adjectives that are applied to toponyms ("furieuse", "heureuse", "grande", "riche", "populeuse") do not convey visual information; rather, their relative opacity serves to underscore the layman's virtual inability to cultivate first-hand knowledge of the universe. With his princely ability for multi-dimensional movement, Franc-Gal experiences what readers can only imagine based on two-dimensional representations, both textual and cartographic.

In a similarly cursory manner, Aneau affirms Franc-Gal's proficiency for making aesthetic distinctions between the places he visits, although visually descriptive elements are still relatively sparse:

> j'allay veoir les terres des Corterars, la terre Florie, le pays de Chamaho, Temistitan, Beragne, Parie abondante en or et en pierrerie precieuse, Cube, les terres où les gens sont noirs, les oyseaux vers et les arbres rouges, les isles des Geans et les pays des cruelz Canibales mangeurs d'hommes, sans oblier les autres isles gisantes en celle mer occidentale, comme les isles Fortunées, les Canarres et Madere; Zipangre et les 7448 isles de l'Archipelague occidental. (128)

Black people, green birds, red trees; islands populated by giants or eaters of men. As Franc-Gal traverses these milieus with their myriad of archipelagos, he is attentive to what distinguishes places from one another, collecting information to form judgments: "je traversoie le plus souvent sur chevaux terrestres dans les terres fermes, pour cognoistre les diverses villes, pays et meurs des hommes" (129), and imparting wisdom as he sees fit. The paucity of descriptive information

[246] Thibaut Maus de Rolley, *op. cit.* 386, 387.

in these passages betrays Aneau's limited exposure, in addition to emphasizing the omniscience he attributes to his hero. Aneau's hasty enumeration of faraway lands equivocates his own regrettable dearth of anthropological erudition. There are clearly some logistical hurdles to planting an imaginary hero into a real geographical setting, and Aneau, like his readers, is privy to less geographical knowledge than his royal protagonist, occasioning some of the narrative confusion that lends *Alector* its zany allure.

Aneau upholds cosmographical understanding of the world as a king's privilege, and Franc Gal's knowledge of place is notably more profound than even a geographer's. Aneau's descriptions, which echo inventories of toponyms evoked by Münster and Thevet, do not invite the reader to experience place. The accumulation of place names and the repetition of the verbs "passer", "entrer", "visiter", "voir" and "traverser" emphasize that Franc-Gal physically inventories what ordinary people are restricted to imagining based on lines on a page. Aneau's fictional sovereign participates in a cosmos that exists as mere textual allusion to his readers. The recurring verbs "raser" and "costoyer" emphasize Franc-Gal's capacity to sketch a *mappemonde* with his flight, outlining the borders of islands and continents as he soars over them. The rapid-fire articulation of proper nouns, which recalls Rabelais's comedic use of accumulation in the giant chronicles, has the similar effect of creating a heightened distinction between reader and protagonist: it insists on the king's superhuman capacity to investigate place in ways that an ordinary person cannot.

Aneau was aware that he was addressing an increasingly spatially knowledgeable reading public, with a maturing aptitude for spatial visualization. His "Prémonition", hastily added as a last minute preface in order to address the geographical discrepancies in *Alector*, serves to reaffirm the singularity of the sovereign's relationship to space:

> Si à quelqu'un en aucuns lieux de la peregrination de Franc-Gal, la Geographie des terres et mers semble estre inconsequente et non directement continuée, sache que ainsi est, et autrement ne povoit estre, pour l'errante et indirecte navigation dudict Franc-Gal et son Hippopotame allant et venant à l'aventure (8).

The naïve reader, expecting to find an orderly delineation of toponyms that resemble the ones encountered in books, is simply incapable of comprehending the complex realities of traversing the universe by flying hippo. Coming and going thus "à l'aventure", Franc-Gal gives no indication of a predetermined direction. If Franc-Gal's flight seems to contradict our preconceived notions of spatial order, it is due to our reliance on limited two-dimensional representations of space – or perhaps to the fact that we anticipate a teleological goal in his direction-less flight. With this glib assertion, Aneau turns geographical errors to his advantage, and in doing so, he reinforces the cartographic consciousness of mythical king Franc-Gal, whose ability to map the world is his crowning cosmopolitan quality.

Semiotic Competence: Prince Pantagruel

The cosmopolitan benefits of travel can be stymied by missed or misinterpreted cues, both aural and visual. While traveling abroad or endeavoring to converse with foreigners, we strive to establish communicative commonplaces that form the basis of mutual understanding. The extent to which we succeed is dependent on our skill in reading and interpreting signs employed by the other, and in integrating them into our own semiotic rhetoric. For centuries, linguists and philosophers have pondered the plausibility of a universal grammar, a code that all humans innately possess before being indoctrinated to the patterns and precepts of their native tongue. The question was a prevalent concern during the Renaissance, as humanist scholars sounded the possibility that Hebrew was the sole universal language before linguistic diversity was imposed by God during the biblical episode of the Tower of Babel. Rabelais treats this question playfully at several points in his giant chronicles, ultimately portraying signs as vessels

for the meaning attributed to them that is predicated on a common accord. His heroes' competence for interpretation and communication surpasses the simple mastery of language, relying on a profounder understanding of the role of signs in fruitful interpersonal exchange. This aptitude at once enhances their governance and testifies to their cosmopolitanism.

Renaissance humanists were preoccupied with the nature of signs, particularly in the relationship between a sign and what it signifies. Rabelais's oeuvre responds to this preoccupation. Signs, the role of language, and the omnipresence of linguistic ambiguity in Rabelais's texts have provided fodder for legions of literary critics. Notable contributions in recent years include Gérard Defaux's *L'écriture comme présence*, Marie-Luce Demonet's *Les Voix du signe*, Michel Jeanneret's *Le défi des signes*, André Tournon's "En sens Agile", and François Rigolot's *Les Langages de Rabelais*.[247] The enduring dialogue perpetuated by these and others, representing the kaleidoscopic range of semiotic interpretations of the Rabelaisian chronicles, constitutes a fitting tribute to the erudite and comedic wordplay of their author. Semiotic interpretation is paramount to Pantagruel's development and role as an ideal monarch. The giant prince possesses the interpretative skills to decipher semiological codes both at home and abroad. Most notably, he exemplifies the attitudes and predispositions necessary for intercultural receptivity, a quality that is thrown into relief by his linguistically adept but intractably egocentric sidekick Panurge.

In the Augustinian tradition, derived from *De doctrina Christiana*, signs do not represent things, but their absence, underscoring man's postlapsarian distance from God.[248] The sixteenth century generally considered that there was no contingent relationship between *verba* and *res*:

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[247] François Cornilliat problematizes the volume of criticism on language in Rabelais in his article "On Words and Meaning in Rabelais Criticism", *Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, Tome XXXV, pp. 7-28 (Geneva, Droz: 1998).

[248] Yves Delègue, *La Perte des mots : Essai sur la naissance de la "littérature" aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 1990) 20.

words, like metaphors, represent concepts, but the essence of a concept is not present in the word.[249] The interpretation of signs had practical implications in addition to a theological dimension during the Renaissance. The ability to decipher signs, whether verbal, pictorial, or gestural, is the cornerstone of communication, and the reflection on signs in Rabelais's oeuvre is quintessential humanist fare. Numerous comedic spectacles in Rabelais's chronicles depend on the ambiguous relationship between signs and what they signify, particularly in the *Tiers Livre*, which revolves around the (mis-)interpretation of a series of signs regarding Panurge's nuptial ambitions. Interpreting signs is important for good governance and diplomacy. *Pantagruel* recounts several episodes in the giant prince's journey to becoming an ideal Christian monarch that address his burgeoning semiological competence.

Signs are an important part of Pantagruel's life even before his birth, announced in messianic terms by miraculous signs during a period of drought: "visiblement furent vues de terre sortir grosses gouttes d'eau, comme quand quelque personne sue copieusement" (107). His name signifies "dominateur des altérés", and was revealed by yet another sign: "lui fut montré à celle heure même par autre signe plus evident" (109): before emerging from Badebec's womb, baby Pantagruel is preceded by camels pulling carts of salt, ham, smoked beef, and other savory delicacies, causing the midwives to proclaim: "ceci n'est que bon signe, ce sont aiguillons de vin." For all the auspicious signs accompanying his birth, the Utopian prince initially confronts some semiological hurdles. Pantagruel's first noteworthy confrontation with linguistic obscurity is the encounter with the Limousin student, whose hodgepodge of Latin and French renders the prince patently furious. Pantagruel's anger is aroused by the fact that the student uses language incorrectly, willfully hindering communication. Demonet emphasizes that Rabelais is not

[249] Anne-Elisabeth Spica, *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique : L'évolution et les genres (1580-1700)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1996) 52.

expressing opposition to linguistic diversity – quite the contrary – rather, Pantagruel voices a disinclination towards "écumeurs de latin" (a term coined by Geoffroy Tory in his *Champfleury*) whose indiscriminate appropriation of words renders communication impossible.[250] Pantagruel is equally linguistically discomfited during his first encounter with Panurge, who begs for mercy (and food) in a dozen different languages before the prince is finally able to understand him. Demonet demonstrates how the languages employed by Panurge are accompanied by stylistic variations according to their provenance, a nod to the linguistic diversity generated by human diversity. Panurge's plurilingualism is also a means of placing all modes of expression on an equal footing: all languages can be "des langues naturelles et originelles" provided that they are spoken from birth; their differences result from the manipulations that they undergo through use by different individuals.[251] The hilarity of the chapter is enhanced by the obviousness of the eventual solution: that Panurge should speak in his native tongue, French. The encounter with Panurge serves to emphasize how speech is a sign that can be misused, as the renegade crusader articulates in Greek, translated by Duval:

> All men of letters agree that speech and language are altogether superfluous when the thing itself is obvious to everyone. Speech is necessary only in situations in which the things we are discussing are not clearly apparent.

Semiotic competence does not necessarily involve knowing lots of languages, but intuiting which kind of signs to use, and when. Language knowledge in itself does not a cosmopolitan make: Panurge's display of linguistic virtuosity precedes a description of his escapades during the distinctly un-cosmopolitan crusades, where he recounts how he shit himself with joy while watching a Turkish village burn to the ground.

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[250] Demonet, Marie-Luce, *Les Voix du signe: Nature et origine du langage à la Renaissance (1480-1580)*. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1992) 121-123.
[251] Demonet, *op. cit.* 181-184.

Another comedic moment that hinges on the misinterpretation of signs is Pantagruel's encounter with Thaumaste, the "grand clerc de Angleterre", who comes seeking knowledge and engages in a *pro et contra* debate with Panurge.[252] Thaumaste insists on a debate using only gestures: "je veux disputer par signes seulement, sans parler: car les matières sont tant ardues, que les paroles humaines ne seraient suffisantes à les expliquer à mon plaisir" (275). Thaumaste is the epitome of a bad traveler: not only does he travel for knowledge that leads to personal glory, which constitutes condemnable curiosity; he also manifests a blatant inability to recognize when signs are ironic. In response to his kabalistic gesticulations, Panurge pantomimes rude bodily functions, which dazzle Thaumaste as signs of occult truth ("Ha, messieurs, le grand secret!" 291). For Demonet, this episode underscores the lacuna between corporal signs and their interpretation. Such signs are only interpretable when their meanings are established by consensus.[253] Thaumaste promises to write and publish an account of the debate, further perpetuating the cycle of misinterpretation and semiological obfuscation. However, as François Rigolot confirms, Rabelais offers hope to those who seek truth behind the gibberish of vain signs:

> il y a toujours chez Rabelais une parole rassurante ambiante, un Signe supérieur aux signes qu'échangent les acteurs ou que relate le narrateur…Rabelais sauve donc ses muets de l'enfer des signes en les ramenant dans l'univers signifiant des valeurs premières, physiques, organiques, vitales.[254]

Pantagruel's initiation involves a gradual understanding that the roots of communication are found in our shared humanity, and that we are most lucid when we speak and interpret in humble accordance with nature.

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[252] Edwin Duval illustrates how the visit from Thaumaste is designed to evoke the biblical episodes of the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon and the hypocritical Pharisees testing Jesus and subsequently marveling at him: Duval, *ibid.* 75-83. M.A. Screech likewise identifies biblical parallels to this episode in "The visit of Thaumaste: kabbalistic laughter" in *Rabelais* (London: Duckworth, 1979).
[253] Demonet, *op. cit.* 276-281.
[254] François Rigolot, *Les Langages de Rabelais* (Geneva: Droz, 2009) 50.

Thaumaste's over-interpretation of signs recalls a previous episode, the debate between Baisecul and Humevesne that is mediated by Pantagruel. The scatologically-surnamed lords, however, rather than over-attributing meaning to signs, neglect to attach the necessary meaning to words, placing them in illogical sequences. The episode begins with Pantagruel's harangue against legal glossists whose inadequate knowledge of Greek and Latin lead to insufficient interpretations of Roman law. Baisecul and Humevesne's subsequent testimonies are all but incomprehensible, painting a humorous picture of "words emptied of content, of *verba* divorced from *res*."[255] Pantagruel, however, is able to resolve their dispute and send them home as friends, demonstrating his semiotic competence and, more importantly, his integration of Christian humanist principles: "Destined to redeem the original sin of fratricide, to reconcile brother to brother, and to reestablish a prelapsarian reign of caritas, Pantagruel's function is that of the messianic Prince of Peace".[256] In order to fulfill this vocation, he must apply his semiological talents to decipher the defendants' absurd use of language: as Rigolot confirms, "avec un magnificque protectionnisme patriarcal, mais sans superbe, il affecte d'entrer dans leur jeu pour désamorcer les monstruosités lexicales."[257] Interpreting signs is not only a matter of assigning them the correct value in terms of meaning, but also in cultivating empathy for one's interlocutor, and likewise eliciting theirs. Communication is enhanced by the desire for conciliation.

After these notable encounters, the remainder of *Pantagruel* is conspicuously free from miscommunication and semiological opacity, save for the episode of the false diamond, transposed from a novella by Masuccio Salernitano. Before embarking to rescue Utopia from the invading Dipsodes, Pantagruel receives a letter from a jilted lover – a blank piece of paper and a

[255] Screech, *ibid*. 80.
[256] Duval, *op. cit.* 59.
[257] Rigolot, *op. cit.* 48.

ring with the Hebrew inscription "*Lamah hazabtani*" (325). Edwin Duval identifies these words as part of a Hebrew psalm, translated by Marot, interpreted as a prophecy of Christ's redemptive act, and highlights the significance of this reference in tandem with the evocation of Dido and Aeneas in confirming Pantagruel's dual status "as both an epic and a gospel hero".[258] Demonet notes the mimicry of Hebrew radicals in the letter's address, "PNTGRL", emphasizing that the use of Hebrew over Aramaic in the ring's inscription underscores the necessity of interpretation: just as Matthew translated Psalm 22:2 from Hebrew to Aramaic (Matthew 27:46), adapting the citation to a new context, so the learned Epistemon interprets the ring's inscription for Pantagruel.[259] Before locating the inscription, Panurge tries all manner of means to wring meaning from the blank piece of paper, rubbing it with oil, mother's milk, vinegar and earwax among other substances in an attempt to reveal its hidden text. After numerous travails, he remains stumped:

> Maître, par les vertus dieu, je n'y saurais que faire ni dire. Je ai employé, pour connaître si rien y a ici écrit, une partie de ce que en met Messire Francesco di Nianto le Thusacan, qui a écrit la manière de lire lettres non apparentes, et ce que écrit Zoroaster, peri grammaton acriton. Et Calphurnius Bassus, de litteris illegibilibus. Mais je n'y vois rien, et crois qu'il n'y a autre chose qu l'anneau. (325)

Editor Defaux points out that "Francesco di Nianto" is an invented author ("di Nianto" means "nothing"), and that Zoroaster and Calphurnius Bassus never wrote the texts that Panurge attributes to them. Panurge uses nonexistent texts by imaginary authors to search for signs on a blank page. Rigolot points to the absurdity of this exercise, which is at the heart of its comedy: "l'écriture au sujet d'une écriture absente, le discours narratif devient l'élément totalitaire de la farce; il la provoque et la résume".[260] Panurge commits the gaffe of searching for meaning where

[258] Duval, *op. cit.* 13-14.
[259] Demonet, *op. cit.* 29-30.
[260] Rigolot, *op. cit.* 54.

none is intended, and attributing meaning where none exists. Once he has deciphered the message, with the aid of an abler interpreter, the prince gleans the importance of assuming a leadership role and assuring the greater good of his people, aware of the axiom that actions speak louder than words. A good interpreter of signs knows when to abstain from relying on them. Rabelais's giant prince proves his cosmopolitan competence by honing a balanced relationship between information gleaned from signs and the common sense acquired from experience, study, and deference to a higher Christian authority. As Pantagruel ventures into the conquered Dipsodes, he protects his soldiers from a rainstorm not with language, but with his giant tongue (an equivocation of the French word *la langue*).

In the *Tiers Livre*, we learn of Pantagruel's colonization of the Dipsodes by ushering in "une colonie de Utopiens en nombre de 9876543210 hommes, sans les femmes et petitz enfans, artizans de tous mestiers, et professeurs de toutes sciences liberals",[261] a strategy which Duval deems to be "a kind of Renaissance Marshall Plan."[262] In Chapter One, Rabelais emphasizes how Pantagruel treats new subjects not with punitive measures, "les peuples pillant, forçant, angariant, ruinant, mal vexant et regissant avecques verges de fer," but rather like newborn babies or freshly planted trees: "Comme enfant nouvellement né les fault alaicter, berser, esjouir" (24). He effectively turns Dipsodes into Utopians. This mode of benevolent assimilation, which involves "pardonnant tout le passé, avecques oubliance sempiternelle de toutes offenses praecedentes" (25), is in keeping with the essential theme of the *Tiers Livre*, a primer for interpretation:

> not hermeneutic interpretation, which aims at uncovering hidden meanings in obscure signs, but rather something we might call 'moral interpretation', which

[261] Rabelais, *Le Tiers Livre*, M.A. Screech, ed. (Geneva, Droz: 1964) 22. Further citations refer to this edition.
[262] Edwin Duval, *The Design of Rabelais's* Tiers Livre de Pantagruel (Geneva, Droz: 1997) 31.

> judges intentions, motives, and character in the actions and behavior of fellow human beings.[263]

Cross-cultural encounters are necessarily influenced by preconceived notions. Interacting with foreign peoples would be difficult, even impossible, linguistic differences aside, if one elects to assume the worst (*in malum interpretari*) rather than the best (*in bonum interpretari*). Cultural openness is predicated on a sense that the other has something to offer. Semiotic competence requires empathy, attributing value to the message being transmitted, and likewise to its transmitter, starting with the assumption that good motives exist on both ends.

Were semiotic competence strictly reduced to the ability to speak foreign languages, Panurge would prove more cosmopolitan than Pantagruel, given that he confounds the giant prince with linguistic acrobatics during their first encounter. In another example, towards the end of the *Tiers Livre*, the companions plan the expedition to take place in the *Quart Livre*, movement that constitutes a "geste collectif de la quête du sens" according to Demonet.[264] Pantagruel predicts an auspicious voyage, but laments his shoddy mastery of "le courtisan languaige lanternoys": "seulement me desplaist que ne parle bon lanternoys" (315), to which Panurge replies: "Je… le parleray pour vous tous; je l'entends comme le maternel; il m'est usité comme le vulgaire", promising to compose a dictionary for Epistemon. It is worth noting that Panurge proclaims his expertise in a fictional language derived from the facetious word *lanterner*, which refers to telling tall tales or, more lubriciously, having sex.

Panurge is rarely at a loss for words. His deficiency, upheld throughout the duration of the *Tiers Livre*, is his unwillingness to hear and understand, *entendre*. Pantagruel may not have mastered as many foreign tongues, but his interpretive attitude exemplifies one who seeks to receive messages, and, importantly, to learn from them. As he admonishes his disciple:

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[263] Duval, *ibid.* 188.
[264] Demonet, *op. cit.* 535.

> Nature me semble non sans cause nous avoir formé aureilles ouvertes, n'y appousant porte ne clousture aulcune, comme a faict es oeilz, langue et aultres issues du corps. La cause je cuide estre affin que tousjours, toutes nuyctz, continuellement puissions ouyr et par ouye perpetuellement aprendre: car c'est le sens sus tous aultres plus apte es disciplines (125)

Pantagruel's reflection on language and good governance in the *Tiers Livre* includes an anecdote concerning King Tiridates of Armenia, who enlisted the help of a Roman actor to communicate with his subjects using gestures, "alleguant que soubs sa domination estoient peuples de divers languaiges, pour es quelz responder et parler luy convenoit user de plusieurs truchemens" (141). Pantagruel's treatment of the Dipsodes demonstrates a similar willingness to create communicative commonplaces rather than strengthen rifts. His reflections testify to an interpretative readiness that is not predicated on the sole desire to impart, or to hear only what he want to hear, as Panurge is guilty of doing in the *Tiers Livre*.

In the *Quart Livre*, there is no indication that linguistic barriers prevent Pantagruel from interpreting cultural cues. He speaks "en languaige Ionicque" (345) (Greek) to an old Macrobe on the Island of the Macraeons, parlays with the Queen of the Andouilles, chats with the potentate of the Island of Ruach, and scolds the Papimanes for whipping schoolchildren, all by virtue of his own communicative abilities. Panurge, by contrast, loses the power of speech whenever danger looms, betraying the erratic nature of his linguistic flamboyance. Pantagruel continues to acknowledge the value of listening, being the first to apprehend the chilling sound of the *paroles degelées* in Chapter 55, hearing the advice of his crewmembers in dubious situations, and restoring morale on calm seas with a joyous banquet, noting that "l'estomach affamé n'a point d'aureilles, il n'oyt goutte" (595). It is Pantagruel's "studieux desir de veoir, apprendre, congnoistre"(345) that sets the tone for his cross-cultural exchanges.

Openness to Others: Denisot's Ciceronian Cosmopolitanism

Denisot's narrative concerning a French nobleman's lovesick decline into death and subsequent miraculous recovery is the framework for a series of verbose tangents on love, life, and learning. The author's own inventions are obscured by a thicket of verbatim quotations that shed light on his philosophical sympathies, although their preponderance leads us to question his powers of invention. Of all the authors quoted over the course of *L'amant resuscité* who have been meticulously identified by editor Véronique Duché-Gavet, the most prominently featured is Cicero. In Cicero, Denisot found a classical authority whose philosophical worldview accommodates both patriotism and consideration for humanity without regards to nationality. Denisot was far from the only author in his day to be seduced by Ciceronian rhetoric: Robert Stillman has established that Cicero was one of the top three authors holding a place in sixteenth century English libraries, alongside Erasmus and Aristotle.[265] Martha Nussbaum cites *De Officiis* as "perhaps the most influential book in the Western tradition of political philosophy," whose influence resonates in the writings of prominent philosophers from Thomas Aquinas to Immanuel Kant.[266] The frequency with which Denisot cites the Roman orator is ample evidence of his Ciceronian sympathy. Denisot's mouthpiece Trebatio correspondingly declares: "Quant à la littérature en toutes sortes et sciences, esprit, memoire, eloquence, il n'y a personne qui doute, qu'il n'ayt esté bien l'un des plus parfaitz et grandz hommes qui fussent jamais sur terre" (221). Trebatio himself, Duché-Gavet informs us, is a character borrowed from Cicero: "E. Trebatius Testa, jurisconsulte et ami de Cicéron, est cité dans la correspondance *Ad familiares*" (note, 93).

[265] Robert E. Stillman, *Philip Sydney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008) 7.
[266] Martha C. Nussbaum, "Duties of Justice, Duties of Material Aid: Cicero's Problematic Legacy", *The Journal of Political Philosophy* (Vol. 8, No. 2, 2000) 178.

Denisot's patent enthusiasm for Cicero explains his heavy-handed insistence on the value of moderation, eloquence, and public service in *L'Amant resuscité*. All three have prominent places in *De Officiis*, with moderation as one the four cardinal virtues alongside justice, wisdom, and courage. The countess Marguerite's discourse on love owes many of its points to Cicero's treatise on friendship (*De Amicitia*), and to his treatise on oration (*Orator*; Duché-Gavet specifies that Denisot borrows a long swath of Cicero's prose replacing the word "eloquentia" – the subject of Cicero's discourse - with "parfaicte amour"; note, 108). The tedious interpretations of the lovesick patient's dreams are a reformulation of Cicero's *De Divinatione.* Denisot likewise uses Cicero to justify a cosmopolitan openness predicated on the notion that people are fundamentally linked by their common humanity, and that men are bound not only by the laws of their respective countries, but also by an inalienable natural law with universal implications for all mankind. Ciceronian cosmopolitanism is not bereft of the notion of hierarchy: when considering duty, we are bound to make certain distinctions based on prescribed degrees of obligation. Ranks are necessary to determining responsibilities.

This principle of hierarchisation is happily not at odds with Denisot's sensibility to social rank. Our analysis of *L'Amant resuscité* aims to sound the attitudes and ideals of a nobleman in motion during the sixteenth century. Denisot's narrator, while remarkably open, is also keenly attuned to the dictates of societal positioning. This punctiliousness is abundantly evident in his conduct at a banquet in England where the King and court are present. The narrator, upon being summoned to the King's table, pronounces the following discourse to excuse himself from his tablemates:

> "Messieurs, ce ne m'estoit peu d'honneur ne moindre plaisir de faire ce repas en vostre compaignye. Toutesfoys puisque ces seigneurs et dames qui ont pouvoir (comme sçaves) de commander m'appellent, il est necessaire (ce me semble) que pour le moins j'aille vers eux pour leur faire la reverence qu'ils meritent. Apres

> laquelle j'espere retourner à vous, sachant bien ne m'apertenir de tenir rang entre telz personages. Vous supliant neantmoins humblement de m'excuser, si je vous fause compagnye pour ceste foys, avenant que contre mon voloir ilz me retiennent" (80)

The English noblemen then invite him to dine with them, insisting: "vous estiez mal entre ces gens de ville, et en trop de presse". Presenting himself with reverence befitting their stature, the narrator humbly reiterates his conscientious deferral to class distinctions:

> "Messieurs, leur respondiz je, encores que le bien et la faveur que me fasoyent ces bons citadins me fut plus que trop sufisante, et que je sache fort bien ne m'apartenir tenir place entre telz seigneurs que vous estes, si est-ce que cestuy honneur m'estant par vous deferé de si grande liberalité, aussi qu'en toutes choses je voudrois prendre toutes voz paroles pour commendemens, je feray ce qu'il vous plaira."

Denisot's ever-considerate narrator acknowledges social gradation as a correct and legitimate order for worldly interactions. In his travels, his comportment takes into account the natural order of interpersonal exchange, which includes a societal order founded on rank, even while espousing an openness to peoples and cultures that is naturally founded on human affinity, Cicero's *leges naturae*.

Denisot's narrator, as has previously been observed, sets off not to see the world but to learn from its people and to hone his character through confrontation with worldly challenges and inconsistencies. He admits being "espris d'un desir incroyable, de connoistre les hommes à moy inconnuz, et d'aprendre leurs moeurs et façons de vivre" (66). He testifies to a remarkable openness and inquisitiveness regarding local culture: "Notant diligemment leur devis, sur la nature de la region, sur la qualité et condition des habitans, aussi sur les sciences esquelles je les trouvois versez" (70). He visits working class folk to glean better ethnographical understanding, even deigning to converse with women "ains afin de plus nayfvement entendre les meurs du pays, non seulement des hommes, mais aussi des femmes" (70). He insists upon the "humanité

incroyable es habitans" (78) in the village that hosts him after the disastrous shipwreck, derives tremendous gratification from the hospitality of "estrangers hommes et femmes" (70), and, as has previously been noted, takes solace in the fact that kind people can be found anywhere.

Nevertheless, the narrator feels a most intense connection with what is known and familiar to him, and what is home, driven by "un perpetual desir de nostre France, de ma maison, de mes amys" (71). This sentiment does not compromise his openness, and reflects Cicero's views on natural attachment:

> Then, too, there are a great many degrees of closeness or remoteness in human society. To proceed beyond the universal bond of our common humanity, there is the closer one of belonging to the same people, tribe, and tongue, by which men are very closely bound together; it is a still closer relation to be citizens of the same city-state; for fellow-citizens have much in common.[267]

Cicero goes on to illustrate even closer bonds of belonging: "Starting with that infinite bond of union of the human race in general, the conception is now confined to a small and narrow circle"[268]: husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, cousins, et cetera. Cicero identifies the strongest bond of human fellowship to be friendship. Denisot expresses a similar viewpoint concerning his lovesick protagonist: "Que si les estrangers luy sont comme vous voyez si affectionnez, de combien (je vous prie) luy doyvent estre amys, ceux qui avec luy sont de meme pays et royaume" (88). Denisot's narrator is bound to the patient firstly because of their shared humanity, and secondly because of shared provenance. He exercises the "reverence towards all men"[269] which as Cicero prescribes should be practiced with every person.

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[267] Marcus Tullius Cicero *De Officiis*, English translation by Walter Miller (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961) 57. "Gradus autem plures sunt societatis hominum. Ut enim ab illa infinita discedatur, propior est eiusdem gentis, nationis, linguae, qua maxime homines coniunguntur; interius etiam est eiusdem esse civitatis; multa enim sunt civibus inter se communia".
[268] "ab illa enim immense societate humani generis in exiguum angustumque concluditur", *ibid*.
[269] "quaedam reverentia adversus hominess", *ibid*. 100-101.

Denisot, who was evidently familiar with Cicero's oeuvre, found ample supporting material in *De Officiis* for a tolerant view of traveling and travelers. Cicero rails against those who seek to restrict access to their cities:

> They too, do wrong who would debar foreigners from enjoying the advantages of their city and would exclude them from its borders… to debar foreigners from enjoying the advantages of the city is altogether contrary to the laws of humanity.[270]

He likewise urges hospitality to be shown to outsiders:

> it is most proper that the homes of distinguished men should be open to distinguished guests. And it is to the credit of our country also that men from abroad do not fail to find hospitable entertainment of this kind in our city. It is, moreover, a very great advantage, too, for those who wish to obtain a powerful political influence by honourable means to be able through their social relations with their guests to enjoy popularity and to exert influence abroad.[271]

Lest we forget that Denisot himself, like his lovesick protagonist, was on a diplomatic mission not to "enjoy popularity and to exert influence" but rather to spy on England, we may note how Cicero advocates for a gentler, more humane distinction for enemies of the state, prone to considering them simply as foreigners, even guests:

> he who would properly have been called "a fighting enemy" (*perduellis*) was called "a guest" (*hostis*), thus relieving the ugliness of the fact by a softened expression; for "enemy" (*hostis*) meant to our ancestors what we now call "stranger" (*peregrinus*).[272]

This assertion seems to rationalize the manner in which the lovesick patient blithely admits before his English benefactors that he had been convoked by the French King to undertake a top-secret mission in England. Oddly, none of his English courtly interlocutors bat an eyelid at the moment in the patient's narrative where he refers to the clandestine political objective of his

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[270] "Male etiam, qui peregrinos urbibus uti prohibent eosque exterminant… usu vero urbis prohibere peregrinos sane inhumanum est." *ibid*, 314-315.

[271] "est valde decorum patere domus hominum illustrium hospitibus illustribus, idque etiam rei publicae est ornamento, homines externos hoc liberalitatis genere in urbe nostra non egere. Est autem etiam vehementer utile iis, qui honeste posse multum volunt, per hospites apud externos populos valere opibus et gratia." *ibid*., 236-240.

[272] "qui proprio nomine perduellis esset, is hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi rei tristitiam mitigatam. Hostis enim apud majores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc peregrinum dicimus." *ibid.*, 39-41

sojourn. To them, he is a merely an ailing fellow human in need of succoring, and they act according to the laws of nature, which command us to share what it costs nothing to give, as Cicero affirms in *De Officiis*.[273]

While *De Officiis* set a precedent for humane conduct even among political enemies, Cicero was certainly not opposed to the division of society based on degrees of closeness or, notably for our interest in Denisot, on social rank. Indeed, Cicero affirms that is important to reserve our highest marks of respect for civil authorities, and to honor our peers in accordance with their service to the nation. It is consequently important "to make a distinction between a fellow-citizen and a foreigner".[274] Cicero goes on to underscore the difference between professions that are suited for gentlemen ("*liberales*") and vulgar professions ("*sordidi*"), emphasizing a societal hierarchisation based on the measure of intelligence required for a profession and its relative benefit to society. This illustration is in accordance with Denisot's desire, as expressed by Trebatio, that France should benefit from the civil services of an educated nobility, and not suffer the indolence and decadence of its hereditary nobility.

In Denisot, we find the idea that all people matter, and that interactions with various iterations of human culture in different geographical locales are enriching. That his narrator manages to cultivate openness while maintaining a sense of rigid social hierarchy is less surprising when examining Denisot's oft-cited classical sources. Cicero makes it clear that respect is due to all people for to their status as people, but also acknowledges the necessity of adopting a principle of organization based on degrees of closeness, with the ultimate goal of maximizing social utility: we lack the resources to help others indiscriminately, and so there exists an order of duty ("*gradus officiorum*"), and a corresponding order of society. The lovesick

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[273] "ut quidquid sine detrimento commodari posit, id tribuatur vel ignoto*", ibid.*
[274] "habere dilectum civis et peregrini", *ibid*. 152-3

patient's status as a royal spy may be suspiciously more "*utile*" than "*honestum*", but this nuance is glossed by Denisot in his evocation of a mutually enriching human bond that disregards national differences.

Renaissance Cosmopolitanism and the Paradox of Belonging

Mobility is not the same thing as travel. The former can be achieved regardless of geographical belonging; the latter presupposes an a priori attachment to place. By examining the mobility of Renaissance literary travelers and travel apologists, it is possible to glean a keener understanding of how sixteenth century authors conceived of identity with respect to their geography. The evidence that we have established of Renaissance cosmopolitanism is not isolated from, or even necessarily at odds with, the ways in which literary personages identified with their native countries. If there is confirmation from a modern sociological standpoint of Renaissance cosmopolitanism in France, it is entirely at odds with the Cynic cosmopolitanism expressed by the Greek philosopher Diogenes. Cynic cosmopolitanism was a rejection of the bonds imposed by civic community. By contrast, the definition of cosmopolitanism crafted by contemporary social scientists contains as an implicit prerequisite the recognition of geographically-imposed alterity, with an understanding that people who live in different places will unavoidably speak, think, and behave differently.

In all of the sixteenth century texts that we have examined, there is evidence of a sense that being French or being in France leads to a unique set of experiences. Even those travelers who cultivated the cosmopolitan traits of mobility, diverse consumerism, curiosity, cartographic consciousness, semiotic competence, and openness to people and cultures did not deny the reality of geographical specificity – indeed, these qualities are all predicated on the inevitable truth that place makes a difference. Travel reinforces awareness of the things that all people have

in common – we all have to eat – as well as appreciation of the particularities wrought by geographical difference – we eat different things. Furthermore, the bigger and more mobile the world seems, the more important it is to establish priorities in order to regulate our behavior towards others. We cannot be equally responsible for all of the people we meet and know about, and the more people we know about, the more complex the algorithm for determining who to care for. More than just a vehicle for human interaction, movement is a way of measuring the scope of the world and determining one's place in it. The evolving perception of travel and travelers in Renaissance France developed in tandem with the idea that there are intangible benefits to be gained from acquiring a variety of experiences of place, and with this perception came more nuanced ideas of what those benefits are.

A common element in the cosmopolitanism of literary princes we have examined in the works of Jean Marot, Rabelais, and Barthélemy Aneau is a tendency for universalism under the guise of concern for others. These Renaissance monarchs acted on a belief that they could and should assume responsibility for a greater population of the world's inhabitants, if not all of them. In Marot's poems, Louis XII seeks to spread the boon of French superiority by turning Italy into France: Italy is rescued from her depravity to the extent that she is absorbed into French territory. Aneau's Franc-Gal adopts a similar tactic by spreading his civilizing influence throughout the world, an influence that is marked by Gallic symbolism to suggest a cosmopolitanism based on French values. Prince Pantagruel effectively turns Dipsodes into Utopians, by colonizing Dipsodia with his own loyal subjects and forgiving his enemies' past transgressions. Rabelais does not advocate for a universal French influence, and his depiction of Panurge suffices to affirm his disapproval of crusades – which, decades later, Rabelais's purportedly cosmopolitan compatriot Guillaume Postel was to advocate. Rabelais does suggest

the benefit of universal Christian influence, recalling the Erasmian notion of an *orbis christianus*.[275] These literary Renaissance kings are credited with a sense of responsibility not only to their respective countries, but also to the people of the world. They come dangerously close, however, to committing the error that Kwame Appiah attributes to false cosmopolitans: they try to impose their values on others, wanting everyone to want what they want.[276] Appiah uses the example of the French Wars of Religion to show that universalism without tolerance leads to warfare. The France envisioned by these monarchs is unquestionably a Christian France, and their princely, civilizing influence is synonymous with Christian influence. They operate on the assumption that foreign peoples will be better off under their tutelage, with little indication that their efforts to assimilate foreign populations accommodates cultural or religious difference. Pantagruel's treatment of the Dipsodes "comme enfant nouvellement né" anticipates Montaigne's assessment of the New World, "si nouveau et si enfant, qu'on lui apprend encore son a, b, c" (III, vi, 908). Rabelais and Montaigne evoke a similarly patronizing attitude towards foreign populations, but only Montaigne's essay describes the harsh, dystopian reality of what actually occurs in the course of foreign occupation. The fiction that we have examined fails to account for the occasions when a Christian prince's influence is unwanted and goes awry.

The establishment of difference is particularly important to the literary noblemen that we have examined. Without the idea that people are fundamentally different, there would be no noble class. Recognizing the fact that people are bound by their humanity but differentiated by geographical specificity is akin to the idea that people can be united by nationality but stratified by class. In the works of Denisot, Montaigne and d'Aubigné, nobility is depicted as a quality that

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[275] For Erasmus's influence on Rabelais, see Michael A. Screech, "Deux mondes qui s'attirent et se repoussent dans la Respublica Literaria de la première moitié du XVIe siècle: celui d'Érasme et celui de Rabelais" in *Les premiers siècles de la République européenne des Lettres: Actes du Colloque international, Paris, décembre 2001* (Paris: Alain Baudry, 2005) 183-196.

[276] Appiah, *op. cit*. 24, 141.

surpasses national distinctions: innate and not acquired, identifiable in and by those who possess it. Denisot's narrator and Montaigne share a sense of kinship with the noblemen that they interact with abroad, whose nationality they do not necessarily share. D'Aubigné shows the extent to which noble spirits exist in spite of their relationship to a given nation and its governing institutions. His antihero Faeneste, in addition to parodying ostentatious nobility, also parodies ostentatious movement by moving ceaselessly without actually acquiring any universal wisdom. True nobility, like true cosmopolitanism, is a quality that can be cultivated internally, and does not need to be broadcast to be authentic.

The scholars featured in works by Noël du Fail, the brothers Platter and Bénigne Poissenot show that academic movement in itself does not necessarily lead to an appreciation of difference. Although movement is integral to the acquisition of knowledge for these three authors, or at the very least inevitable, in the case of du Fail, their student protagonists cling more strongly to regional and national distinctions as a function of their displacement. Exposure to others strengthened fidelity to the place of origin. The prevalence of student "nations" is ample evidence of this phenomenon, as is the literary evidence we have gleaned of youths whose companions shared trappings of their regional provenance. By the same token, academic peregrination was a primordial contributor to the intellectual exchange that defined the Renaissance. It provided for a flexibility of identity that was occasioned by geographical flexibility, allowing young men of modest means to work towards fortune and renown by providing an institutionalized springboard that disregarded, by and large, nationality. The Republic of Letters, with its cosmopolitan goal of uniting men of learning in a cooperative transnational effort, owed its existence to men with university backgrounds.

The literary figures of the prince, the nobleman, and the student are united in their loyalty to imagined communities: France, the *orbis christianus*, the noble class and the Republic of Letters. At the heart of all definitions of cosmopolitanism is the notion of obligation to a community that is bigger than the one we see before our eyes. Mobility, real or virtual, is a critical means of expanding that imagined community. While the literary figures that we have examined had different conceptions of their responsibilities to others, none of them harbored the illusion that their sphere of influence stopped outside their front door or town wall. It may be argued that contemporary society is more mobile than Renaissance society, but it would be harder to establish that we are any more cosmopolitan, at least by the standards previously alluded to. In both the Renaissance and the present, mobility enlarges communities and complicates a sense of belonging. The question of how we are to live with each other in an increasingly global society is certainly not a new one, nor is it soon to be resolved.

Conclusion

We have established evidence of cosmopolitan thought in French Renaissance literature, and of a relationship between mobility and cosmopolitanism in the Renaissance. There is also ample proof of attitudes and beliefs that hindered cosmopolitanism, many of which are still problematic in modern times. It is now important to revisit some of the initial questions that motivated this inquiry, questions that are also pertinent today. We wonder whether exposure to other peoples and cultures through travel makes us more tolerant, or whether it reinforces identification with our place of origin. While one might reasonably postulate (and hope) that contact with alterity renders people more accepting of difference, the literary examples that we have examined largely imply that foreign travel leads to a closer personal association with one's geographical home, whether on a regional or a national level. This tendency manifests itself in the prince's desire to spread a civilizing French (or Utopian) influence, the nobleman's interest in France's image abroad and vindication of his own personal preferences for food, drink and dress, and the phenomenon of student "nations". Geographical association does not, however, preclude the possibility for appreciating diversity. A common theme in our corpus is the characters' valorization of travel for the purpose of seeing and experiencing otherness, even if they cleave more tightly to their home communities, as a result. These Renaissance literary travelers demonstrate that it is possible to be cosmopolitan and still prioritize one's local community, exhibiting patriotism or loyalty to their regional heritage in addition to an orientation towards the exterior and appreciation for what the world holds.

An epistemological question that motivated our inquiry concerns the extent to which movement helps generate a singular kind of knowledge, and whether an educated traveler is a better traveler, or a better person. The answer to this question varies across the populations of

travelers that we have examined. The prince's remarkably facility with space is a product of his quasi-divine superiority, and also a prerequisite, as he must learn to move in a way that befits his status and benefits his governance. There is an analogous relationship between the prince's ability to "see" foreign places and his role as a visionary. In the case of the nobleman, value is placed on first-hand knowledge accrued by travel: Montaigne had to experience cultural diversity in order to understand cultural diversity. There is a perceptible if not always explicit link between measured movement and a moderate temperament, in addition to a suggestion that worldliness is a noble quality, to be cultivated. Movement itself is not sufficient to hone a noble demeanor, however, as was amply demonstrated by the unfortunate Baron de Faeneste. Literary representations of itinerant students also question the notion that mobility in itself has a strong positive influence on character, casting uncertainty on the correlation between itinerancy, education and moral behavior. Our sources provide more instances of mobile students behaving wantonly than of students who applied themselves to capitalizing on the unique opportunities afforded by diverse academic destinations. It is unclear that the knowledge generated by movement is necessarily different or better than the knowledge that can be acquired by staying put. There is likewise an implication that travel fosters the aptitude for deception, which is the genesis for much of the roguish behavior attributed to itinerant students in Renaissance literature.

The question of whether the ability to visualize foreign places facilitates travel or spurs a desire for it varies from source to source. The Italian Wars documented in Marot's epic poems marked the first royal use of maps for warfare. Although the use of maps is not insisted upon in the *Voyages*, Louis XII's familiarity with the territory he strives to conquer seems to confirm his royal mandate. Maps are present in several sources: Pantagruel has a "universelle Hydrographie" aboard the Thalamège in the *Quart Livre*, Montaigne studies maps of Rome in order to guide

himself autonomously, and Faeneste's interlocutor Enay possesses a *mappemonde*. Several characters adopt a mapmaker's perspective during their travels: both Franc-Gal and Thomas Platter have a habit of ascending vertically in order to assess what they see below them. Notably, both *Alector* and the younger Platter's journal quote liberally from geographical sources of their day, sometimes almost verbatim. All of our sources feature geographical visualization to the extent that the locales within them can be plotted on a map. This is more feasible in some cases (the *Voyages*, *Pantagruel*, Montaigne's journal, the Platter journals) than it is in others (*Alector, Le Quart Livre*). Frequent references to place, however, are indicative of geographical awareness on the part of the authors, which suggests that the ability to visualize foreign places was a catalyst for narrative, if not the primary motivation for movement on the part of the characters themselves. Whether or not these literary travelers make use of tools for visualization, the desire to see leads to the desire for travel, and once having seen, the travelers are eager to see more. Curiosity is an impetus for movement in many of these works, whether or not their authors allude to it as such, and it is plausible that changes in the how's and why's of travel over the course of the sixteenth century had a hand in altering attitudes towards curiosity in its own right.

The literary travelers that we have examined refined their conceptions of France through movement. They achieved this by visiting and observing different parts of France or by comparing foreign strangeness with French familiarity. The narratives that account for the most significant personal development are those in which chauvinism does not obscure the traveler's ability to objectively observe and evaluate foreign difference, with the ability to refrain from treating personal preferences as dogmas. Pantagruel, Montaigne, and Felix Platter all manifested a capacity for reflection on the diversity spawned by geographical difference, and although they all felt a connection and obligation to their geographical home, they abstained from making

universal value judgments founded on this bias. It is not surprising that the Rabelaisian chronicles, Montaigne's journal and Felix's autobiography all recount an education of sorts, and testify to the development of the protagonist's maturing worldview.

Ultimately, while there is evidence of cosmopolitan thought in French literature of the Renaissance, it would be misleading to characterize the French Renaissance as a cosmopolitan era. Difference lead to divisons, often violent ones. In spite of the hopes and beliefs of Christian humanists and members of the Republic of Letters, religious conflict lead to decades of bloody warfare on French soil. In spite of burgeoning intellectual and mercantile exchange between European countries, a strong current of xenophobia towards Italy persisted in France long after the Italian Wars, bolstered by resentment at the Italian presence in the French court and Catherine de' Medici's perceived role in the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre.[277] Religious intolerance and xenophobia rank high among the list of impediments to modern cosmopolitanism. It would be difficult if not impossible to qualify one era as more or less cosmopolitan than the other.

Would-be cosmopolitans of the present would benefit from the example set by Renaissance travelers and cosmopolitans, considering that our era's complex relationship with mobility and geographical belonging has an early modern precedent. Movement in itself is not sufficient to nurture the qualities of open-mindedness and tolerance that are essential to cultivating sustainable and mutually beneficial relationships between the geographically diverse communities that are forced into contact with one another as a result of increased mobility, both real and virtual. However, we can be selective about the methods of our movement as we approach other cultures and assimilate them into our own. We can be mindful of the dangers of

[277] For more on anti-Italianism see Henry Heller, *Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

assuming cultural superiority, and aware of the pitfalls of a universalist perspective. We can likewise rest assured that personal preferences and loyalties do not contradict cosmopolitanism, as long as we avoid inflicting them on others for the sole purpose of asserting authority. The question of influence and intervention proves among the thorniest for cosmopolitans to negotiate, as world superpowers strive to uphold democracy as a preferable model of governance and grapple with issues such as asserting human rights in countries whose social structures differ radically from our own. Our hopes for making just decisions in complex global situations are vastly improved by our ability to observe and to communicate, not only with our contemporaries, but also with movers and thinkers of the past.

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