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La Florida del Inca and the Florida of the Others:

The Multilingual Afterlives of Garcilaso's Florida

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Comparative Literature

Jennifer Marie Forsythe

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

La Florida del Inca and the Florida of the Others:

The Multilingual Afterlives of Garcilaso's Florida

by

Jennifer Marie Forsythe

Doctor of Philosophy in Comparative Literature

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This dissertation examines three centuries of French and English translations of Peruvian historian Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *La Florida del Inca* (1605), an account of the Hernando de Soto expedition (1539-1544) across present-day Cuba, the southeastern United States, and Mexico. Garcilaso's work stands out from that of other Renaissance and early modern Hispanophone historians because he devotes more than half his text to narrating the words and actions of the Indigenous people he imagines based on written and oral eyewitness accounts from Spanish soldiers. Early French and English translations of this work were printed at nearly four times the rate of Spanish editions, but they have been overlooked partly because they don't conform to contemporary translation conventions and because translators choose to present their recreations of Garcilaso's text as their own original writing. Analyzing the work of the translators, printers, booksellers, engravers, and other scholars and artisans who move

Garcilaso's text across spaces and audiences reveals that the Peruvian historian had a much greater role in shaping perceptions of American people, history, and space in Francophone and Anglophone traditions than has previously been imagined.

The dissertation begins with an overview of the geopolitical factors and print cultures that spurred the movement of *La Florida del Inca* and its translations across early modern and nineteenth-century Atlantic worlds. It also presents detailed case studies of the work of several important translators in the history of *La Florida del Inca*'s Francophone and Anglophone afterlives: Pierre Richelet (1626-1698), Jean-Frédéric Bernard (1680-1744), and Theodore Irving (1809-1880). Taken separately, their translations redefine the parameters of Florida and negotiate relationships of identification, antipathy, and forgetfulness with the European and Indigenous figures described in the source text. Taken together, their translations can help illuminate alternatives to the omissions and silences imposed on Garcilaso's text during its long reception history and produce invigorated, engaged readings of *La Florida del Inca*.

The dissertation of Jennifer Marie Forsythe is approved.

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2019

For my mom, Catherine Schober Forsythe,

who taught me to tell stories in rhizomes.

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In some ways, this dissertation began at the University of Iowa, where my brilliant professors Ozzie F. Díaz-Duque, Angelique Dwyer, and Laura G. Gutiérrez nurtured my love of the Spanish language with kindness and generosity. My teachers and mentors at the University of Alabama at Birmingham Barbara Morgan, Carlos J. Orihuela, and Sheri Spaine Long gave wings to my dream of pursuing graduate studies. UNAM professors María Águeda Méndez Herrera, Ignacio Díaz Ruiz, Manuel S. Garrido Valenzuela, Juan Antonio Rosado, and Friedhelm Schmidt-Welle taught me to read Latin American Literature from the center of the universe. It has been my very good fortune to find still more mentors and interlocutors in Anna Brickhouse,

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2015 "From Don Quixote to Doña Marina: Inter-imperial Translation in Early Modern Europe," *Transitions: A Journal of Franco-Iberian Studies*, 11 (2015): 9-37.

2015 "'The Books of the Office in my Charge': A Case Study on the English Translation of a New Orleans Spanish Colonial Judicial Record," *Collections: A Journal for Museum and Archive Professionals*, 11:3 (2015): 229-242.

2015 "'The Most Wonderful Collection of Original Documents in the United States': Notes on the Lives and Work of Two New Orleans Translators," with Susan Tucker, *Collections: A Journal for Museum and Archive Professionals*, 11:3 (2015): 213-228.

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2018 "Illustration as Immediacy: The Francophone Afterlives of *La Florida del Inca* in the Golden Age of Engraving," American Comparative Literature Association Annual Meeting, April 2018

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2017 “Seventeenth-Century French Translations of *Don Quixote* as Supplement and Improvement,” Renaissance Society of America Annual Meeting, April 2017

2016 “Sixteen Sapphos in the Comp Lit Classroom: Teaching Close Reading through Translation and Performance,” UCLA Comparative Literature Graduate Student Pedagogy Conference, May 2016

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2015 “Contested Space in Translation: Visions and Revisions of Florida in Early Modern Europe”, Inauguration du Pôle Californie de l’Institut des Ameriques en Partenariat avec UCLA, Conférence U.S.-Mexico Border: Migration, Translationalism, and Sovereignty

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PREFACE

In the third book of *La Florida del Inca*, at the end of Chapter XXIII, Garcilaso offers his work up to readers who live in a distant and uncertain future. He narrates an agreement that the cacique of Coza made with a Black man called Robles in 1541, somewhere in what is now central Alabama. Robles was enslaved by a Spanish person when he entered Florida, but he abandoned the expedition and stayed in Florida under the care of the cacique, who committed to cure him and care for him with his full love and will. Garcilaso writes:

> Olvidádosenos ha de decir cómo en el mismo pueblo Coza quedó un negro enfermo que no podía caminar, llamado Robles, el cual era muy buen cristiano y buen esclavo. Quedó encomendado al cacique y él tomó a su cargo el regalarle y curarle con mucho amor y voluntad. Hecimos [*sic*] caudal de estas menudencias para dar cuenta de ellas para que, cuando Dios Nuestro Señor sea servido que aquella tierra se conquiste y gane, se advierta a ver si quedó algún rastro o memoria de los que así se quedaron entre los naturales de este gran reino.

For Garcilaso, “los que así se quedaron” are men like Robles who decide to liberate themselves from slavery or reject the Spanish militarization of Florida and instead to build relationships with “los naturales de este gran reino,” the Indigenous people of this great realm, based on mutual love and respect. Garcilaso indicates that his aim in remembering the story of Robles and the cacique of Coza is to contribute to the collective memory of future inhabitants of this place. Who does Garcilaso imagine when he thinks into the future about the “naturales” who live there after the conquest is over? How do Indigenous people today, and people born in the great realm Garcilaso describes, remember Robles and others like him who received shelter and care from Indigenous people in the sixteenth century?

I grew up in central Alabama, and my only memory of Robles comes from Garcilaso’s history. In the nineteenth century, U.S. soldiers violently expelled some but not all Muscogee, Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, Yuchi, Chicasaw, and other Indigenous people from the southeast and expanded a system of plantation slavery on their land. My ancestors came to the United

States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from England, Scotland, and Eastern Europe, and they squatted in Alabama on the traditional lands of Muscogee people. My relatives farmed, mined, did laundry and cooked for other families, worked in factories, had babies, and enlisted in the U.S. military. Eventually, some of them purchased plots from the land that was taken from Indigenous people before they arrived. Wealth from such properties helped me become part of the first generation in my maternal family to go to college. At first, I wanted to use that opportunity to get as far away from Alabama as possible, and I studied Spanish and Latin American Literature in college and in graduate school in Iowa, Buenos Aires, Mexico, California, and France. When I took a graduate seminar on Inca Garcilaso de la Vega with Prof. Carmela Zanelli at UCLA in 2012, I read a book written by a Peruvian historian about a Spanish expedition across the U.S. southeast hundreds of years before there was such a thing as the United States. I saw *La Florida del Inca* as proof that the place where I grew up and the places in Latin America I read about and travelled across for many years as a student were not so far apart.

I began writing this dissertation hoping that by studying early French and English translations of *La Florida* I could reconstruct a version of the U.S. southeast where multilingual accounts of its history would become part of Antonio Cornejo Polar's famous totality made of contradictions. Following the paper trails of Garcilaso's translators astonished me with material I never could have imagined or expected to find. In 2013, I worked hard in the Réserve de livres rares at the Bibliothèque nationale de France to convince the very exacting librarians that I did in fact need to personally consult material in Jean-Frédéric Bernard's 1737 edition of *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride* rather than one of the earlier, less rare editions of this text. With their permission, I stood aghast over an image in this edition that directly contradicted the text's description of Indigenous religious practices in Florida, and I read the footnote the book's editor

added to comment on the contradiction he created there. In 2016, on a Metrolink train from Riverside to Los Angeles, I combed through the Huntington Library's catalog on my cell phone and identified a book published by Grace King in 1898, *De Soto and His Men in the Land of Florida*, as a covert translation of sections of *La Florida del Inca* that she presented (and that library catalogues still present) as her own original work. In 2018, in the Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, I lost my breath when I realized that Hoffman Atkinson had typed his unpublished 1896 translation of *La Florida del Inca* onto the back side of Anniston Land Company stationery. During the first decades of the Jim Crow era in the south, Atkinson worked for this land company selling off parcels that were previously intended to make reparations to formerly enslaved people to white buyers instead. He rewrote Garcilaso's account of the sixteenth-century Spanish invasion on company stationery that featured a picture of the grid staked onto that land.

The course of my research has shown me that many of Garcilaso's translators have taken much more from him and from the Florida he wrote about than they have offered in return. They have participated overtly and covertly in the enslavement, dispossession, and genocide of the Indigenous people Garcilaso remembers. They have manipulated his history to serve their own interests, patrons, and projects. By studying their work, I've learned to acknowledge and interrogate my own scholarly motivations and to recognize myself as another in a long succession of translators of *La Florida*. I hope that this dissertation might bring to light some of the histories that were occluded when people appropriated and adapted *La Florida del Inca* in the past and that it might bring renewed attention to the histories of the translators who left remarkably rich and detailed records of their interpretations of Garcilaso in the books and texts they created. I also hope that carefully unravelling the work of some of Garcilaso's translators

might contribute to defining innovative forms of translation informed by new archives and relationships with Native communities. I hope that such approaches to translation can help us better care for and account for the many histories Garcilaso presents in this work. Finally, I hope that this project might represent a small step towards making engaged translations of *La Florida del Inca* ubiquitous in K-12 and college curricula across the United States, and especially in the southeast.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation introduces a new corpus for studying the reception history of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *La Florida del Inca* (1605), an account of the Hernando de Soto expedition (1539-1544) across present-day Cuba, the southeast United States, and Mexico. It examines the work of several important translators in the history of *La Florida del Inca*'s Francophone and Anglophone afterlives: Pierre Richelet (1626-1698), who worked in Paris in the seventeenth century; Jean-Frédéric Bernard (1680-1744), who worked in the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century, and Theodore Irving (1809-1890), who worked in New York and Spain in the nineteenth century. Analyzing the work of the translators, printers, booksellers, engravers, and other scholars and artisans who move Garcilaso's text across spaces and audiences reveals that Garcilaso had a much greater role in shaping perceptions of American history and space in Francophone and Anglophone traditions than has previously been imagined.

Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616) is "el primer Americano que dio a las prensas un libro" and the first American-born historian to publish a history of the Americas (Durand 28). Garcilaso was born in Cuzco in the same year that De Soto left Spain for an expedition to Florida he financed with the wealth he accumulated during the capture and execution of Atahualpa in Cajamarca (1532-33). Garcilaso's mother was Isabel Chimpu Ocllo (1523-1571), a cousin of Atahualpa and granddaughter of Inca ruler Túpac Yupanqui (1441-1493). His father was Sebastián Garcilaso de la Vega y Vargas (1507-1559), a Spanish conquistador. Garcilaso learned Quechua and Inca history from his mother's family and Spanish and Latin in the mestizo schools of Cuzco. After his father died, he emigrated to Spain, fought in the Alpujarras against the Moors, and spent time in Madrid seeking Felipe II's recognition for his father's service to the

crown. Eventually he retired to Andalusia without receiving this recognition, and he went on to publish *La traducción del indio de los tres Diálogos de Amor* (1590), a translation of León Hebreo's *Dialoghi d'amore* (1535), *La Florida del Inca* (1605), and *Comentarios reales de los Incas* (1609) and *Historia General del Perú* (1617), a two-part history of Peru before and after the Spanish invasion.

La Florida del Inca (1605) chronicles the sixteenth-century Hernando de Soto expedition across a vast area inland of the Florida peninsula that was largely unmapped by Europeans. Garcilaso draws information from oral and written accounts of the expedition by three surviving Spanish soldiers, from contemporary Spanish historians, and from his own lived experiences. He also amplifies and expands these sources to give equal space and attention to European soldiers and Indigenous people in his representations of the violent encounters and uncertain alliances that took place in the expedition's path. Like many other Renaissance historians who wrote in Spanish, Garcilaso used his work to attempt to edify readers by describing examples from history that illuminated moral or even religious principles. But unlike the vast majority of Renaissance and early modern Spanish historians of the Americas, Garcilaso strove to show his reader that "los indios también iluminan," that is, Indigenous people are also capable of serving as enlightening models for European readers (Serna Arnaiz 129). Early modern Spanish readers, censors, and printers preferred histories that cast the invasion of the Americas in a light that glorified its Spanish actors and exonerated them of the violent acts they committed. But *La Florida del Inca* has no heroes. Rather, it depicts Indigenous and European actors as psychologically and morally complex individuals struggling to adapt to rapidly changing circumstances.

La Florida del Inca is divided into six books, and each book corresponds to one year in the De Soto expedition. The narrative follows the expedition's course and focuses on the experiences of Spanish soldiers (with special attention to Gonzalo Silvestre, who is Garcilaso's main oral informant) as well as on the words and deeds of Indigenous leaders and warriors. Garcilaso constructs narrative episodes that gesture toward the conventions of Spanish chivalric romances and epic poetry. He includes accounts of the feats of heroic soldiers, artful speeches by Indigenous figures who express nuanced critiques of the Spanish invasion, and explorations into the interior moral and political dilemmas of Spanish and Indigenous men. Garcilaso's artful prose stands out against his descriptions of violence and death on a massive scale. As the reader progresses through each year of the expedition, Garcilaso unfurls a string of elegies for brave men (as well as brave horses and dogs) who die unnecessary and avoidable deaths. For the author, greed and moral turpitude prevent the Spanish from recognizing the material bounty and political possibilities Florida represents. They lose the tangible and intangible riches they glimpse there when they decide to leave Florida instead of staying to become contributing members of peaceful Indigenous communities whose leaders have welcomed them. In the end, the soldiers who survive reach Mexico City with nothing of value besides their lives and their stories.

Garcilaso invents a category, "indios de la Florida," to refer to Indigenous people who are native to and care for a place called Florida by Europeans in the sixteenth century. Garcilaso scholars like Mercedes Serna Arnaiz point out that his depiction of Indigenous people conforms to Renaissance European rhetorical topics and historiographic models; they are idealized abstractions (131). At the same time, the figures that Garcilaso describes and imagines from a distance refer to living historical figures. Some anthropological accounts of the history of this

region assert that the Spanish invasion and subsequent enslavement and missionization of Indigenous people, as well as the spread of epidemic diseases caused a demographic collapse there, and that the survivors of this collapse reorganized into entirely new social, political, and economic groups (Milanich 64-65). These catastrophes changed but did not destroy the Indigenous communities Garcilaso's work references. It is important to note that Indigenous people today inhabit and maintain active connections with the space described in *La Florida*. For example, Patricia Galloway has noted that modern Yuchi elders in Oklahoma teach Yuchi children the traditions of their people, including a lacrosse-like ball game. To explain the provenance of this game, elders "tell a story to the effect that the traditional Yuchi game was played in order to honor Hernando de Soto's visit and struck him as extraordinarily violent and impressive" (89). That is, modern Yuchi people trace back their ancestry to people who lived in the place Garcilaso called Florida during the time of the De Soto expedition. While this dissertation does not adequately understand or account for the ways contemporary Indigenous peoples and communities with connections to this place conceptualize kinship relationships with the people Garcilaso describes, future work on this topic is necessary in order to adequately address the implications of translating Garcilaso's term "indios de la Florida." Here, I use another generalized term, Indigenous people, to approximate this idea in English.

Garcilaso used his narrative to criticize the De Soto expedition as a failed attempt at mapping space, converting souls, appropriating resources, and establishing settlements. Garcilaso did not oppose Spanish imperialism; he viewed the Indies as a space already inexorably changed by Spanish invasion. Rather, he drew from Neoplatonic ideals to imagine De Soto's attempt to conquer Florida not as a violent contest between enemies but rather as a space of possibility for creating a more perfect mestizo world, a world that surpassed and improved

upon both of its constituent parts (Chang-Rodríguez, "Introduction" 36). Garcilaso criticized the greed, short-sightedness, excesses, and passions of De Soto, his soldiers, and Indigenous leaders and warriors alike. But he also depicted people from each of these groups as models of exemplary speech and action, and used his own voice in the narrative to suggest paths to building more harmonious relationships between Spanish missionaries and settlers and the Indigenous people of the Americas. In addition to being a chronicle, *La Florida del Inca* is a meditation on possibilities left unfulfilled.

Over the past two decades, literary scholars have increasingly framed *La Florida del Inca* as a foundational text for multiple literary traditions. For example, Carmen de Mora and Antonio Garrido Aranda assert that *La Florida* is "un libro más complejo de lo a veces se ha juzgado" and that it should be studied from interdisciplinary and global perspectives as a canonical Latin American colonial text (7). Raquel Chang-Rodríguez insists that *La Florida* has a central place in colonial and transatlantic studies and that it can illuminate the "shared history of the Americas" ("Traversing" 134). For their part, Susan Castillo and Ivy Schweitzer explain that including translated excerpts from *La Florida* in Colonial U.S. American reading lists can introduce Anglophone readers to an "other" colonial America and complicate generalizations about colonial writing by Anglo-Saxon Puritans (112). Additionally, the editors of *The Norton Anthology of Latino Literature* (2011) include English translations of *Florida* in their "portable library of Latino collective memory" and frame Garcilaso as a proto-Latino writer who illustrates that the history of writing by authors of Hispanic ancestry in or about the United States predates the formation of the United States by almost two centuries. And the sixth edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* claims that Garcilaso "might well be seen as the first distinctively American writer" (qtd. in Brickhouse 98). Finally, Jace Weaver includes Garcilaso

as a key figure in his formulation of "the Red Atlantic," an Atlantic world with Native Americans at the center (100).

Studying *La Florida del Inca*'s seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth-century Francophone and Anglophone translators and critics brings depth, nuance, and complexity to this recent work to reframe and recontextualize Garcilaso for new generations of readers. This corpus of translations reveals a much longer history of the people who read and interpret *La Florida del Inca* as a way to negotiate their relationship to Garcilaso and to the space he describes. For hundreds of years after it first appeared, *La Florida* found a wider audience with Francophone and Anglophone readers than it did in Spain. Between 1605 and 1898, it was published four times more in French and English translation than it was in the original Spanish (**Figure 1**). The work of the translators who produced these editions is overlooked in scholarship on Garcilaso and on the history and literature of what we now know as the United States for several reasons. Some translators do not follow contemporary translation conventions, and so their work is less legible as such to contemporary readers. Other translators choose to present passages taken directly from Garcilaso's text as their original writing. Because these translators replaced Garcilaso's name with their own in the books they published, their translations are disguised in library catalogs. Still other translators reframe translated texts with prefaces, images, maps, essays, footnotes, and other paratexts and their work is not immediately recognizable as a form of translation.

While early translations of *La Florida del Inca* may seem incomplete or unrecognizable by contemporary standards, they are agents of significant cultural work. The translators who recreated Garcilaso's work for new audiences reshaped his narrative to cohere with commercial and political imperatives of the moments in which they lived and worked. At the same time, the

translators were also transformed in the process of translating Garcilaso. They used *La Florida del Inca* to negotiate their roles and identities as translators, lexicographers, ethnographers, encyclopedists, historians, and authors. Consequently, fragments of *La Florida del Inca* persist today in the *Dictionnaire françois* (1680), the first-ever monolingual French dictionary, in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (1723-1743), a foundational work of early modern comparative religious studies, in a corpus of antebellum histories of the U.S. south that includes Albert J. Pickett's *History of Alabama, and Incidentally of Georgia and*

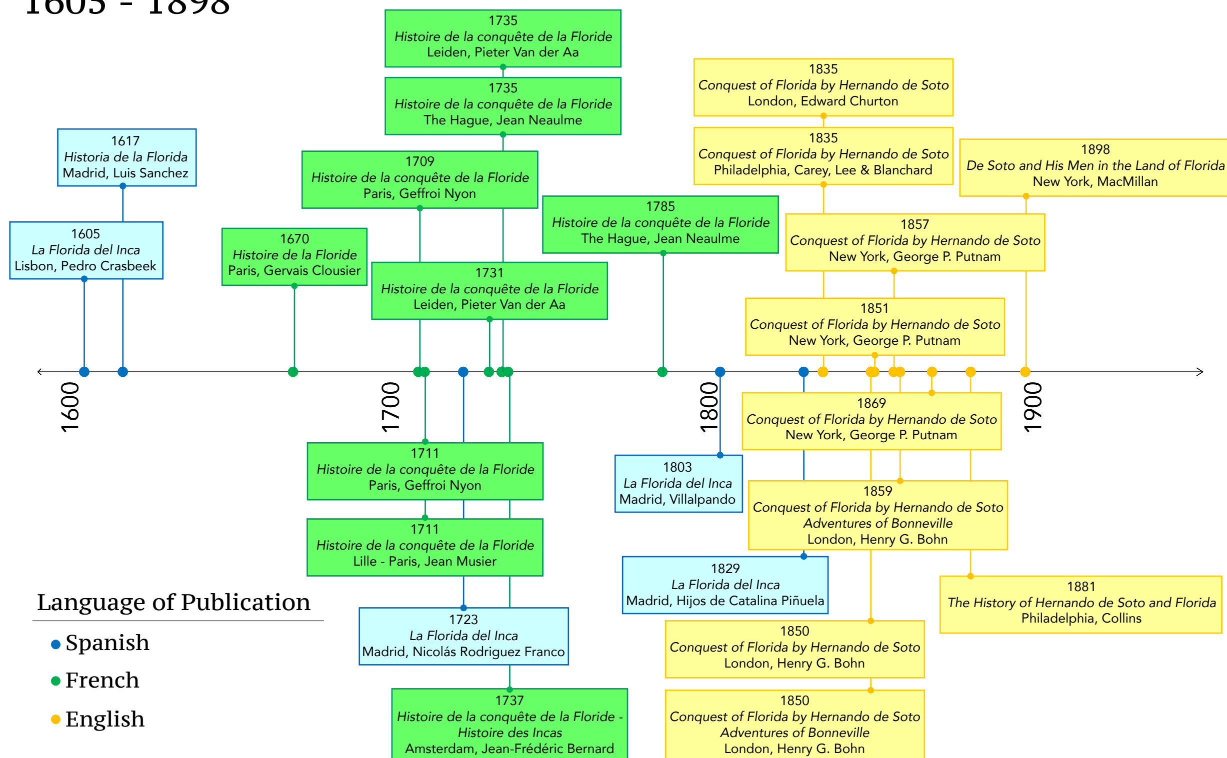

Figure 1. Editions of *La Florida del Inca* published in Spanish, French, and English (1605-1898)

Mississippi (1851), in Buckingham Smith's translation of *The Narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeça de Vaca* (1851), and in many more texts, maps, inventories, and images.

The methods I use to study the work of Garcilaso's translators grow from Walter Benjamin's conception of the afterlives texts acquire in translation. Benjamin asserts that in translation "the original's life achieves its constantly renewed, latest and most comprehensive development […] for in its continuing life, which could not be so called if it were not the transformation and renewal of a living thing, the original is changed" (77). This dissertation expands on Benjamin's pathbreaking conception of the afterlife of a text to consider images, prefaces, maps, and other paratexts published alongside translations of Garcilaso's text. Such an expansive view of a text's afterlives is necessary to account for the multiple modes translators used to communicate their interpretations of Garcilaso's text.

My methods are also profoundly shaped both by physical encounters with the material details of rare editions of translations of *La Florida* and by relatively new forms of engagement with this corpus made possible through digitization efforts by Google, the Getty Research Institute, and the HaithiTrust Digital Library. I began assembling the corpus studied here while doing research in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Getty Research Institute Special Collections, UCLA Young Research Library's Special Collections and the Huntington Library's rare book holdings in 2013 and 2014. In subsequent years, many (but not all) early editions of *La Florida* in Spanish, French, and English have been digitized and made freely available online. Careful study of the material and visual components in physical exemplars of these editions housed in rare book collections have made it possible for me to track small details that do not appear in digital reproductions and thus to index evidence of minute decisions individuals and groups in print shops made as they assembled these works. Conversely, access to digital copies

of the translations and contemporary secondary materials has made it possible for me to perform a range of inquiries through what one could term "low-fi digital humanities" practices. These include rudimentary corpus analyses using word count functions, manually transcribing different versions of translated passages then juxtaposing them and color-coding their salient features in Microsoft Word tables, and generally accessing secondary materials from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries such as dictionaries and treatises with relative ease.

In what follows, I have adopted what we might call a "bifocal approach" to translation history to account for the vicissitudes in the ways translation is defined and practiced over more than two centuries. First, I aim to examine the practice of translation in terms of the historical and literary context in which translators performed it. Second, I consider translations as more broadly defined interpretive practices that may take place across a variety of media. All of the translators whose work I analyze fit Peter Burke's description of "cultural translators." In Burke's terms, inter-lingual translators and cultural translators are both agents of "a double process of decontextualization and recontextualization, first reaching out to appropriate something alien and then domesticating it" (10). For Burke, interlingual translation is both an instance of cultural translation and "a kind of litmus paper that makes it unusually visible – or audible" (10). The term cultural translation provides a framework for reading both texts (the series of words written in the source language and rewritten in the target language) and books (the materials and objects that surround and supplement these texts) as part of this double process.

Over the course of Garcilaso's over four-hundred-year reception history, the terms "translator" and "translation" are necessarily multiple and ambiguous. Theories and practices of translation differ enormously from one interpretive community to another and from one time

period to another. Peter Burke has pointed out that the borderline between translation and imitation in early modern European contexts was not fixed, but varied widely according to when, where, and by whom the line was drawn. Burke points out that what sixteenth-century French poet Joaquim Du Bellay called 'imitation' became translation a hundred years later for Nicolas d'Ablancourt and his English contemporaries (30-31). Similarly, as this dissertation will discuss in detail, what French translator Pierre Richelet deemed a "paraphrase," or a paraphrastic translation of *La Florida del Inca* in the seventeenth century resembles in many ways what U.S. American translator Theodore Irving called a historical digest in the nineteenth century.

In the pages that follow, the terms "translation" and "translator" are used to refer to a wide range of practices and materials that challenge the basic assumption that translation is "the rewriting of a sequence of words with another sequence of words" (Kristal 29). Indeed, it is important to question whether translation itself is translatable, since translation does not look or act the same across different languages, times, traditions, and fields (Young 52). Restricting our attention only to translations of *La Florida del Inca* that adhere to a contemporary scholarly "translation manual" would fall short of accounting for the truly astonishing breadth of the impact of Garcilaso's work across cultural and linguistic communities (Kristal 38). The translators of Garcilaso studied here defined themselves in their own terms as translators, historians, professors, *paraphrastes*, booksellers, reproductive engravers, lexicographers, editors, *érudits*, digesters, biographers, cosmographers, and critics. The umbrella term "translator" gives us a way to understand the diversity of their approaches as well as their common connection to Garcilaso and his work.

Scholarly attention to Garcilaso's translators has focused almost exclusively on those who translated *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (1609). In a 2006 essay, María Antonia Garcés

argues that early French and English translations of Garcilaso were a form of cultural capital among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century traders who valued travel narratives above romances. For Garcés, these translations appealed to those who sought to first acquire dominion over a place through knowledge so that they could then seek material dominion. She links translations of the *Comentarios* to the European fascination with Peru and to the legends of fabulous wealth associated with it. In her 2009 *Incas Ilustrados. Reconstrucciones imperiales en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII,* Fernanda Macchi uses editions of the *Comentarios* in Spanish and French to study the French fascination with the Inca Empire between the Baroque period and the Enlightenment. She argues that translators and booksellers focused on an idealized version of Inca government to highlight the tyrannical cruelty of the Spanish. In a 2010 essay, Sonia Rose reads French translations of the *Comentarios* in relation to French imperial projects in the Americas and to a period of hispanomania, which inundated the French book trade with Spanish literature. All of these studies are rich and rigorous explorations of Garcilaso's reception history, but the absence of translations of *La Florida del Inca* is surprising in this corpus because this work was also widely translated and read in French in the eighteenth century and in English in the nineteenth century.

The material records of translators' adaptations and appropriations of *La Florida del Inca* are inflected by a centuries-long contest across Indigenous, Spanish, French, British, and U.S. American communities to shape Florida's histories and boundaries. Although *La Florida del Inca* was also translated into German several times before 1900, this dissertation focuses exclusively on translators working in French and English, the official languages of two of the imperialist states that sought to control places and people that were once claimed by Spain in North America. Francophone and Anglophone translators interpreted *La Florida del Inca* as part

of a Spanish imperial archive. These translators made significant additions and omissions to the source text. They regularly omitted aspects of *La Florida del Inca* that presented Indigenous people with complexity and detail, and they regularly amplified and adapted aspects of the source text that celebrated European people. Through these processes of omission and addition, they negotiated relationships of identification, sympathy, and forgetfulness with European and Indigenous figures described in the source text.

Many of the works in this corpus are explicitly and emphatically preoccupied with translation as a kind of conquest: booksellers change the titles of translations to foreground the word conquest, editors add material that describes European and U.S. American imperialist projects to translated texts, translators make explicit comparisons between De Soto's soldiers and U.S. American colonizing armies. Their work is consistent with Friedrich Nietzsche's description of the translator who conquers through translation "not only because history was left out; no, allusions to the present were added and, above all, the name of the original poet was rubbed out and replaced by one's own— there was no sense of thieving in this, but rather the best conscience of the *imperium Romanum*" (96). Translators of Garcilaso act out *translatio imperii*, the greek myth that empire was transferred westward, as they translate *La Florida* from their locations to the west of Spain. The translators studied here retroactively configure the source text as part of the same Spanish imperial archive Garcilaso was writing to discredit, and they deploy translation to signal French or Anglo-U.S. takeovers of Spanish claims in the Americas, which Garcilaso explicitly attempted to prevent.

That being said, I take seriously Barbara Fuchs's important point that emphasizing political rivalry in histories of literary translation and influence can "run the risk of occluding the significant literary and cultural contacts between nations" (5). Indeed, the creations of

Garcilaso's translators are consistent with Fuchs's findings with respect to early modern Anglo-Hispanic literary exchange, because while translators sometimes reproduce hegemonic religious or political convictions, they also sometimes "exhibit a certain independence from what ideology might seem to mandate" and leave evidence in their translations that they have become "seduced by Spainish imagery, language, or plots" (6). Thinking beyond the political rivalries translators project in their work reveals that translations are also sites of stylistic exploration, personal transformation, and pleasure at the same time that they are operative, giving a rival nation information and space to make competing imperialist claims on the Americas.

If the meaning of translation changes across time and space, so does the meaning of the word Florida ("la Florida," "la Floride"), and references to Florida in the pages that follow are often multiple, ambiguous, and necessarily indeterminate. José Rabasa points out that the first part of the title *La Florida del Inca* underscores the subjectivity of knowledge (99). The Spanish-language source text is Inca Garcilaso's version of Florida. But each time this text is translated, it is recreated to reflect someone else's version of Florida, as the space it describes is reconfigured and presented to new audiences in new ways. Translators used a variety of strategies to transform this space to reflect their own desires and allegiances: Florida sometimes reached the Great Lakes, or formed part of a space that curled around the entire Gulf of Mexico, or lapped over French Louisiana, or found its center in Andrew Jackson's wars against the Seminole and Miccosukee people. More than referring to any discernible space, Florida is a kind of abstraction that reveals the imperialist projections and fantasies of translators. I believe that Florida's parameters are also created and defined through the physical and material space of the books, texts, images, and other paratexts translators create.

For Garcilaso, Florida was a vast space that had not yet been mapped by Europeans when he published his history in 1605. The second chapter of the first book of *Florida*, "Descripción de la Florida, y quién fue el primer descubridor della y el segundo y el tercero," explains that "La descripción de la gran Tierra Florida será cosa dificultosa poderla pintar tan cumplida como la quisiéramos dar pintada, porque como ella por todas partes sea tan ancha y larga, y no esté ganada, ni aún descubierta del todo, no se sabe qué confines tenga" (752). Garcilaso plots Florida in four directions according to what he knows, starting from the south at "el mar Oceano, y la gran isla de Cuba" and moving to the north where "no se sabe dónde vaya a parar, si confine con la mar, o con otras tierras," and from the eastern "tierra que llaman de los Bacallaos" to the western "provincias de las siete ciudades, que llamaron así sus descubridores de aquellas tierras […] [y] la Prouincia de los Chichimecas gente valientísima, que cae a los términos de las tierras de México" (752). While Garcilaso's description of Florida relies on a series of names given to it by European invaders, it also exceeds those names to extend into the unknown. Over time, Garcilaso's translators give additional names to these coordinates, which include "la Virginie," "le Golfe du Mexique," "la mer Oceane qui regarde l'Afrique," "le nouveau Mexique," "le Canada, ou la Nouvelle France," "la Louisiane," "the wildernesses of Florida, Georgia, and Alabama," "the prairies of the Far West," and the land of "the native tribes of Florida."

The changing definitions of Florida found in these translations reflect changes in the ways Florida was mapped and measured well into the nineteenth century. Diderot's 1751 *Enyclopédie* cites numbered lines of latitude and longitude to define "FLORIDE, (Géog.) grand pays de l'Amérique septentrionale, renfermée entre le 25 & le 40d de latit. Nord. & entre le 270 & le 297 de longitude. Elle comprend la Loüisiane, la *Floride* espagnole, le nouvelle Géorgie, & une partie de la Caroline" (Web). In other words, for Diderot, d'Alambert, and their readers,

Florida included territories claimed by three European powers even as it formed its own "grand pays". In the nineteenth century, after the United States purchased Spain's claim to West Florida and East Florida (which included parts of what is now Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana) in 1819, the Florida Territory's boundaries with bordering states remained unclear, and its interior was swampy, difficult to navigate, and populated by Seminole and Miccosukee people who resisted and fought against U.S. settler colonialism into the second half of the century. Much of Florida's interior remained unmapped by U.S. Federal land surveyors until the end of the nineteenth century.

While French and U.S. American cartographers, ethnographers, historians and anthropologists have mined Garcilaso's text for centuries in an enduring fascination with establishing equivalencies between textual records of De Soto's route and contemporary place names, Latin American and Latin Americanist critics tend to read Garcilaso's Florida as idealized space. For example, Raquel Chang-Rodríguez argues that *La Florida* uses textual mechanisms to connect Peru, Cuba, Mexico, and Florida in crisscrossed neoplatonic geographies that "otorgan a […] *La Florida* una tensión e inestabilidad que llevan al lector de una geografía a otra y lo fuerzan a pensar en América como una totalidad, a reflexionar sobre la historia compartida" ("Vínculos" 80-1). Others associate Florida with idealized future spaces. José Anadón calls Garcilaso "the first writer to envision the future of Latin America as a multiethnic continent where many races could and would live together in harmony" (viii). José Rabasa argues that Garcilaso's text constructs the ideal of a tolerant society from the standpoint of a member of a marginalized group discriminated against by Western societies (102). And Rolena Adorno posits that Garcilaso describes an "utopía indiana" in Florida in Guancané, a place where the Spanish soldiers passed by without stopping and left its inhabitants undisturbed (173).

These idealized visions of Florida are abstractions that in some ways resemble the spaces in literary canons that scholars enlist Garcilaso in diversifying. Texts like *La Florida del Inca* and its translations exercise a tangible influence in the social worlds in which they are produced, and they give rise to real material consequences, as this dissertation will demonstrate. However, texts cannot act alone to bring about social and political change. Including Garcilaso's text or a translation of it in contemporary publications or curricula to signal the multiethnic and multilingual histories of the American continent, while a powerful gesture, remains a gesture if not accompanied by broader structural transformations towards, for example, abolishing the United States Immigrations and Customs Enforcement Agency or funding Indigenous language revitalization efforts. Furthermore, reading Florida as a space of hemispheric harmony or Garcilaso as the voice of a multiethnic utopia can run the risk of discounting the centuries of work that translators of *La Florida del Inca* accomplished to promote European and U.S. colonization of the Americas and to erase the Indigenous voices in this text, including Garcilaso's own.

The four chapters of this dissertation bring together case studies on generations of translators who appropriate and adapt Garcilaso's work for circulation across early modern and nineteenth-century Francophone and Anglophone Atlantic worlds. By analyzing these versions of *La Florida del Inca* as sites of significant cultural work, we uncover shifting perceptions of Garcilaso, of the space he described, and of the role of translation in negotiating a colonial past. If we approach these translations as end points or finished products, they work to omit, condense, and conceal parts of the source text. But by bringing different versions of *La Florida* together they form what Kirsten Silva Gruez and Susan Gillman have termed a "hemispheric text network," a space of collective creation that resists privileging the role of an author or defining a

single text as an original. Here, translation is "both a material practice and a metaphor for the constant and multidirectional movement of texts through channels that are often not officially sanctioned or legitimated with an acknowledgment, like so many unnamed translators" (233). Taken together, the work of Garcilaso's early translators can help illuminate alternatives to the omissions and silences they imposed on his text. By placing translations side-by-side with their source texts, we can throw new light on information translators attempted to obscure. Locating and describing these patterns in translations across languages and contexts can help produce invigorated, engaged readings of *La Florida del Inca* that use comparative analysis across media to reconsider translators' omissions.

The first chapter of this dissertation, "*Y sé que anduvo por muchas manos*: Tracing Early Versions of *La Florida del Inca* across Print Cultures," introduces a corpus of editions of *La Florida del Inca* published in Spanish, French, and English from 1605 to 1835. It focuses on the people who played significant roles in producing, reproducing, and circulating these editions and on their changing forms. By studying the materiality of these editions and by situating them in relationship to the print cultures that produced them, we can locate the strategies translators, publishers, printers, engravers, and other scholars and artisans used to adapt *La Florida del Inca* for new communities of readers. These strategies make up a record of early interpretations of *La Florida del Inca* across Francophone and Anglophone Atlantic worlds.

The second chapter, "*D'avoir dômpté la bête*: The Conquest of Florida and the Consolidation of Pierre Richelet's French Lexicon," presents a philological and comparative analysis of Richelet's paraphrastic translation of *La Florida del Inca*. When Richelet (1626-1698) published *Histoire de la Floride* in 1670, he recreated his source text in conformance with French neo-classicist criteria of brevity, clarity, and efficacity. This chapter situates Richelet's

subjectivity as a translator in the context of early modern debates about imitation, word-for-word translation, and paraphrase. It examines the contrasting lexicographical projects in Garcilaso's text and in Richelet's translation. While Garcilaso aims to expand the Spanish language by introducing words in other languages to his lexicon, Richelet aims to purify the French language by expelling foreign words from his dictionary and his translation. Garcilaso's work leaves lasting traces in Richelet's dictionary in the translator's claims to distinguish between civilized and barbarous language, in references from *La Florida* that appear in the dictionary, and even in the dictionary's conspicuous silences.

The third chapter, "Competing Images in Colliding Archives: Translation and Materiality in the Golden Age of Dutch Engraving," examines one particularly rich and representative eighteenth-century reprint of *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride*, the edition printed in Amsterdam in 1737 by Jean-Frédéric Bernard. This edition is a site of multiple forms of cultural translation. Bernard uses "material rhetoric" (Jacob Soll) to assemble paratexts that create a new and predominantly visual frame around the text. In this process, his edition of *Floride* becomes an archive of Protestant exile and French colonial history, a space for experimentation with methods of reproductive and ethnographic engraving, and a memorial to his late collaborator, engraver Bernard Picart.

Chapter Four, "Digesting Pages, Retracing Routes: Theodore Irving's *Conquest of Florida* in the Time of the Florida Wars," examines the first English translation of *La Florida del Inca*. While Theodore Irving began a project to translate *La Florida del Inca* in the late 1820s, he eventually presented his *Conquest of Florida by Hernando de Soto* (1835) to readers as the product of his own historical research into multiple sources. Nevertheless, his *Conquest* includes extensive passages translated directly from *La Florida del Inca* without indicating their source.

In Irving's transition from translation to digestion, he authorizes himself to "play Indian" (Phillip J. Deloria) by appropriating passages from Garcilaso's history and presenting them as the product of his own historiographic voice. At the same time, Irving retroactively projects tropes and concepts from the literature of the early U.S. Republic into his retelling of the Spanish invasion to create a frontier narrative that conflates Spanish soldiers of the sixteenth century with U.S. soldiers who forcibly removed Indigenous people from the southeast in the early nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER ONE

Y sé que anduvo por muchas manos: Tracing Early Translations and Editions of *La Florida del Inca* across Print Cultures

I. Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of editions of *La Florida del Inca* published in Spanish, French, and English from 1605 to 1835. It focuses particularly on the people who played significant roles in producing, reproducing, and putting into motion several representative editions and on the material qualities of those editions. Robert Darnton describes the life cycle of a book as a "communication circuit that runs from the author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader" (67). I argue that the intermediaries in this circuit also act as readers and interpreters when they construct a book to frame the printed text and when they move those books from one place to another.

For example, Geffroi Nyon (or someone working in his print shop) decided to change the title of the first French translation of *La Florida* when they reprinted it in 1709. Dutch publishers and people working in print shops created visual interpretations of *La Florida* when they selected the images they included in new editions. And the publishers of the first English translation of *La Florida* framed it as a frontier travelogue when they published it alongside nineteenth-century examples of this genre. These readers—translators, publishers, printers, engravers, promoters, and other scholars and artisans—left records of their interpretations of Garcilaso's history in the choices they made while constructing books around the texts they printed and reprinted. Focusing closely on the material details of these editions and on their movement across a network of early print cultures uncovers how people experienced and interpreted Garcilaso's work across languages and cultures.

José Durand and Carmen de Mora have both constructed detailed bibliographies of *La Florida del Inca* in translation. Their work makes it possible to track the extent to which *La Florida del Inca* travelled across Portuguese, French, Spanish, Dutch, German, British, U.S. American, and Flemish presses. However, their pioneering studies do not yet provide a detailed analysis of the material composition of these books or of the workers who were central to their creation and circulation. This chapter expands on the work of Durand and De Mora to examine closely representative editions of French and English translations produced in the first three centuries after Garcilaso began writing *La Florida.* By examining particular editions of French and English translation in detail, we gain a fuller, more complex picture of the role of *La Florida del Inca* in building a body of knowledge about a contested space.

This chapter is not an attempt to give an account of every edition produced in every language up until the present. Rather, it focuses on a limited but illuminating corpus created in the official languages of the states that attempted to claim spaces and resources in North America that were formerly claimed by Spain during and shortly after the time when those contests took place. This chapter focuses on the editions that show evidence of significant transformations in the way *La Florida del Inca* was presented to Francophone and Anglophone audiences during this period because the transformations that occur outside of the translated text also constitute interpretations of Garcilaso's history. This chapter also offers an overview of the agents of cultural translation, that is, the people and groups of people who produced editions of the translations, and an overview of the broader geopolitical and cultural factors that influenced their decisions.

Examining both the political histories that conditioned a community's perception of Florida and the cultural histories that shaped trends and patterns in print culture allows for a

more nuanced understanding of the range of factors that influenced the multilingual production and reproduction of *La Florida del Inca*. In fact, the print cultures that drive interest in reprinting translations of *La Florida del Inca* do not always align with the geopolitical factors that drive European interest in Florida. While in some cases the popularity of *La Florida del Inca* and its translations can be linked to French- and U.S. state-sponsored efforts to expand settlements in North America, in others the decision to print or reprint translations is more directly connected to trends and patterns particular to local print cultures.

Our understanding of the history of a text is incomplete without also understanding the material forms that texts took and that connected them to readers. Roger Chartier writes against a purely semantic definition of a text to argue "que les formes produisent du sens et qu'un texte, stable en sa lettre, est investi d'une signification et d'un statu inédits lorque changent les dispositifs qui le proposent à l'interprétation" (15). Each edition of *La Florida* has a different material form; each edition has a life as an object. And each object contains records of the ways the people who produced it interpreted its contents.

Garcilaso and his translators often demonstrate an acute awareness of the materiality of written history by crafting sensual descriptions of the lives of books and manuscripts. In a 1605 preface, Garcilaso describes physically touching decaying pages of handwritten eyewitness accounts of the expedition (744). In a 1709 preface to a French translation, historian Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy remarked that early editions of French translations of Garcilaso's work were "sacrifiez aux épiciers," or sacrificed to shopkeepers, who presumably used them to wrap merchandise until the scarcity of the book made it valuable again (xxii). In his 1835 preface, Theodore Irving referred to an early Spanish edition of *La Florida* as "an old chronicle […] placed in [his] hands" by an unnamed figure in Madrid (1). In these descriptions, print and

manuscript pages are objects that move from hand to hand. These records of the experiences of translators, scholars, and Garcilaso himself laying their hands on rare versions of Florida's early history demonstrate an ongoing awareness of the materiality of *La Florida del Inca*. Studying the work of translators, printers, booksellers, engravers and others who created and circulated translations of Garcilaso affords a keener understanding of the vast and complex lives of *La Florida del Inca* as it was recreated across Europe and the Americas from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

II. *Comidas las medias de polilla y ratones*: Florida from Manuscript to Gift

Pedro Craesbeeck's 1605 edition of *La Florida* secured Garcilaso's reputation as the first American-born historian to print a history of the Americas, and it preserved Garcilaso's text so that it could become source material for translators who would later rewrite it in French and English. However, the history of appropriations and adaptations of *La Florida* began long before this work was first printed. Garcilaso's prefaces reveal his strong desire to achieve renown through writing and, at the same time, a conception of authorship that also allowed for the simultaneous presence of multiple authorial voices (Anadón 150). Garcilaso's text itself represented an effort to give disintegrating written and oral source material a more stable format. Early manuscripts of *La Florida* travelled across Spain, where his words were intercepted and printed in the work of another historian. After 1605, copies of the first edition found their way back to Garcilaso's library. They became part of his collection of books and he later used some of those editions as gifts intended to cross the Atlantic into Florida with Franciscan missionaries. When people used the manuscripts and books that constituted early versions of *La Florida del Inca* in different ways, they created multiple interpretive frames around this work.

The first version of Garcilaso's history transformed the memories of Gonzalo Silvestre, a survivor of the De Soto expedition, into manuscript pages. Garcilaso likely knew Silvestre during his childhood in Cuzco, and then encountered him again in Madrid while both men petitioned the crown for recognition of their military services. In his "Proemio," Garcilaso identifies Silvestre, or "un caballero, grande amigo mío," as the party in possession of a "relación" in oral form that would be lost if it were not committed to writing. Garcilaso gives some indication of the value of this "relación" by explaining that he was willing to travel from his uncle's house in Montilla to Las Posadas, where Silvestre resided, and to physically endure the "estorbos y dilaciones" of the road he travelled (741). Garcilaso explains that his "preguntas y repreguntas" and willingness to act as scribe or "escribiente" to record Silvestre's "relación" was the necessary catalyst that gave lasting shape to Silvestre's memories and saved them from "perpetuo olvido" (741). Through a triple process of travelling, interviewing, and recording, Garcilaso claimed to give a lasting form to a "relación" that would otherwise die with Silvestre.

By 1587, Garcilaso had composed at least two manuscripts largely based on his conversations with Silvestre. Miguel Maticorena Estrada explains that Garcilaso sent at least two different manuscript versions of his work to readers across Spain. The first manuscript was a "more than one-fourth" part of a book which Garcilaso sent to Ambrosio de Morales, the Royal Chronicler, and the second was a manuscript in forty folios titled *Historia de los Sucesos de la Florida del Adelantado Hernando de Soto* (144). (In 2015, Miguel Maticorena Estrada published a facsimile version of this manuscript.) In the same year that Garcilaso sent his first manuscript to Morales, he found two additional written sources from survivors of the expedition. One was a written account from Alonso de Carmona, another survivor of the De Soto Expedition, who sent Garcilaso the pages he wrote "por el gusto que recibía por la recordación de sus trabajos

pasados" (743). Another was a written account from Juan Coles, who ostensibly composed this text at the request of a Franciscan friar named Pedro Aguado, in a Córdoba print shop. Neither of these manuscripts are extant (Rabasa 97).

Garcilaso's description of the Coles manuscript builds on his description of Silvestre's "relación" as a rare entity in need of his protection and promotion. In his "Proemio," Garcilaso describes himself as an eyewitness to the fragility of Coles's decaying manuscript. He describes a sensory encounter with the pages that highlights their materiality: "yo las vide, y estaban muy maltratadas, comidas las medias de polilla y ratones" (744). It is worth noting that this personal encounter with a mistreated manuscript is consistent with recurrent descriptions of material disintegration and loss that appear in the *Comentarios reales*. The Coles manuscript is not unlike a painting of two condors that Inca Viracocha ordered painted on a rock outside of Cuzco. In 1595, seven years after finding Coles's half-eaten manuscript in Córdoba, Garcilaso met a creole priest who came to Spain from Cuzco, and he asked him if the painting was still visible. Garcilaso reports that the priest answered in his own words: "estaba muy gastada, que casi no se divisaba nada de ella porque el tiempo con sus aguas y el descuido de la perpetuidad de aquella y otras semejantes antiguallas, la habían arruinado" (348). The painting and the manuscript are both subject to the destructive effects of time and neglect. In his preface to *Florida*, Garcilaso uses the figure of the physically decaying manuscript to highlight the importance of writing and printing as a kind of preservation work.

But while a new manuscript was better than an old manuscript, a book was a much more stable form for a history to take. Pedro M. Guibovich Pérez finds evidence in the *Relación de Garcí Pérez de Vargas* (1596), a genealogical work Garcilaso initially intended to include with *La Florida*, that the author considered the print shop "the medium that makes possible the

preservation of memory" (149). In the *Relación*, Garcilaso wrote about his aims to reissue the work of Andalusian poet Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz after its censorship by the Inquisition in 1535 and 1540. According to Garcilaso, reprinting this work would prevent the author's memory from being lost. Additionally, printing the work would make it harder for other authors to find "esta obra vedada y desamparada [y] la hurten a pedazos para ylustrar sus poesías engastándolas en ella como yo los he visto en las de algunos poetas hechos famosos y ricos con tesoro ageno" (qtd. in Guibovich Pérez 149-50). In this description, the manuscript pages of Garcilaso's distant relative, like pages of the Coles manuscript, are a deserted and disintegrating object that Garcilaso wishes to protect against further decay by ensuring that they are committed to the more durable printed form.

Even while Garcilaso was aware of the vulnerability of manuscripts to decomposition, neglect, or theft, he also must have understood that sending a manuscript out into the world to be printed involved taking this necessary risk. At some point between 1592 (when Garcilaso incorporated the accounts of Carmona and Coles into a new manuscript) and 1601, Antonio de Herrera intercepted Garcilaso's work and included parts of it in his *Décadas* without accounting for the work's provenance. Herrera was official chronicler of the Indies and reviewer for the Royal Council of Castile. Maticorena Estrada asserts that textual comparisons of *La Florida* and of Herrera's *Décadas* provide irrefutable proof that a version of Garcilaso's manuscript was the source of some of Herrera's writing on Florida (145). Rachel Stein even suggests that Herrera may have acted as *La Florida's* first censor and used that position to intercept the manuscript for his own use (126). But instead of acknowledging the source of his information, Herrera denied his connection to Garcilaso. He claimed instead that "the material about Florida was sent by the

Viceroy of Mexico," and that it was written by a member of the Hernando de Soto expedition whose name he did not mention (Maticorena Estrada 145).

Herrera's use of purloined fragments of an early manuscript of *La Florida del Inca* points toward an alternative starting point for tracing Garcilaso's reception history and influence across early modern Europe. Portions of Herrera's *Décadas* made their way into Richard Hakluyt's *Virginia richly valued* (1609), into *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America*, an English version of the *Décadas* published between 1725 and 1726 by Captain John Stevens, and very possibly into other translations and adaptations. Future work on these and other texts may continue to uncover the scope of Garcilaso's hidden influence in circulating information and ideas about Florida across the early modern world.

While Garcilaso initially aimed to publish *La Florida* in Spain, his fear of seeing his work plagiarized and losing his claims to authorship likely motivated his decision to find a publisher who would print his work quickly. In the preface to his *Comentarios Reales*, published in 1609 but possibly written at the same time as *La Florida*'s "Proemio," he acknowledges the long and precarious path his manuscripts travelled: "lo que aora temo es, no me las aya Hurtado algun historiador porque aquel libro, por mi ocupacion fue sin mi a pedir su calificacion, y se que anduvo por muchas manos" (79). In this passage, Garcilaso also acknowledges the instability of the manuscript form of his history and its vulnerability to intervention or theft by anonymous hands.

Scholars posit that Garcilaso decided to print his book in Portugal because the print infrastructure there offered him a swifter path to publication and allayed his fears of losing claim to his work in its transit across "muchas manos." In 1599, Garcilaso legally authorized Juan de Morales to help him publish his book, but Morales was unsuccessful likely for a number of

reasons (Stein 226). First, unlike many other European countries at the time, Spain did not have a strong or well-financed publication industry, and Spanish printers preferred safe investments to taking risks. Secondly, Spain's system for approving and granting privileges to books was complicated and time-consuming (Guibovich Pérez 150). Manuscripts had first to be granted approval by the Royal Council of Castile, then printed and brought back to the Royal Council so that an official could compare the printed book to the manuscript and give another approval, then the price had to be fixed and a royal privilege requested. Books about the Spanish Indies required another special approval from the Royal Council (Stein 70-71). In contrast, the process of acquiring approval from the Portuguese Inquisition was generally much faster, and the Flemish printer Pedro Craesbeeck had a well-equipped press that enabled him to publish multiple works at once (Stein 72). Furthermore, the Portuguese Inquisition was less attuned to critiques of Spain's overseas empire than was the Royal Council in Madrid (Stein 75).

It is also worth considering the possibility that Spanish printers were not interested in investing in a work about a place that was, at the start of the seventeenth century, seen as a site of consistent failure of Spanish colonizing efforts and a drain on Spain's resources. By the second half of the sixteenth century, the Council of Indies had been debating shutting down the Florida enterprise for decades. In the 1570s, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés combined his personal resources with financial support from the crown to found seven coastal bases across Florida, including St. Augustine and Sta. Elena. Menéndez aimed to create a Spanish stronghold on the route from Florida to the silver mines of New Spain. However, Indigenous people resisted and destroyed five of the seven forts, and Francis Drake led a disastrous attack on Florida in 1587. After that, only one Spanish settlement in Florida remained (Weber 75). In 1595, Franciscan missionaries began a large-scale program to build missions around Florida, but in 1600 the crown ordered an

investigation into the garrison's continuing viability and barely decided to keep the post for its strategic value (Weber 100). Spain's tepid relationship to Florida also may have contributed to the lag in acquiring approval to print a work about an early expedition to Florida which failed to produce permanent settlements and resulted in significant loss of lives.

Once it became a book in Portugal, copies of *La Florida del Inca* made their way back to Garcilaso's library in Córdoba, where they functioned as a testament to the stability of Garcilaso's authorial identity and became objects that the author could confidently launch into circulation. José Durand recalls that Luis Jerónimo de Oré, a Peruvian-born Franciscan friar and author of *Relación de los mártires de la Florida* (1605), visited Garcilaso in 1612 and received several books from him as a gift. Garcilaso describes this episode in the *Historia General* as follows: "Mandóme, que le diese algún Libro de nuestra Historia de la Florida, que llevasen aquellos Religiosos, para saber, y tener noticia de las Provincias, y costumbres de aquella gentilidad. Yo le serví con siete libros, los tres fueron de la Florida, y los cuatro de nuestros Comentarios, de que su paternidad se dió por muy servido" (460). After two decades spent striving to give a more durable form first to decaying manuscripts and unspoken memories, and then to a series of manuscripts subject to interception by anonymous hands, Garcilaso could hold his history in his own hands and even present it as a gift to a fellow author without fearing that his work would be lost or stolen.

For Renaissance men of letters like Garcilaso, the printing press was an instrument of power, and a printed book was a powerful tool for shaping an author's public image. When Garcilaso legally authorized Juan de Morales to help him publish the book in 1599, he assigned it its definitive title, *La Florida del Inca* (Maticorena Estrada 145). Craesbeeck's Lisbon edition bore this title on its frontispiece and named its author "Inca Garcilaso de la Vega." While

Garcilaso had published his name as Garcilaso Inca de la Vega in his *Diálogos*, he used his second pass through a European printing press to refine his authorial identity further. For Christian Fernández, this iteration of Garcilaso's name that placed Inca first "refleja su deseo de poner por delante su identidad india" (92). At the same time, attaching the name "Inca" to Florida joins the northern and southern reaches of the Spanish Indies in an expanse that stretches beyond even Menéndez's plans for a connected Florida. Garcilaso used his connection to print networks and his deep engagement with oral and manuscript eye-witness accounts to build an authorial identity that both acknowledged the multiple voices that contributed to recording and preserving a history of the De Soto expedition and ensured his name, country, and labor would be recognized and preserved in print.

A little more than a century after Garcilaso shared copies of his book with Oré, historian and editor Andrés González de Barcia described *La Florida del Inca* as a rare object that had become extremely difficult to find in Spain. In the preface he wrote for the 1723 second edition of this work, Barcia complained that "aun adquirirle, para copiarle, era difícil" (5). Barcia's comment suggests that readers used copying to convert *La Florida* from book form back into hand-written manuscripts. Due to its rarity, and thanks to the work of these anonymous copyists, *La Florida del Inca* likely travelled across Spain again as a series of manuscripts. Otherwise, Barcia noted, the work circulated outside of Spain where people in foreign lands "ansiosos de saber nuestras conquistas" worked to "resum[ir] en varias Lenguajes su contexto" (5). However, before *La Florida* took on new forms in foreign languages, it existed as an assemblage of precarious written and spoken source material, as a series of manuscripts that travelled across Spain and Portugal, as a group of purloined fragments that were printed with Herrera's work

(and in translations and adaptations of Herrera), and as a physical object stamped with proof of Garcilaso's authorship.

III. *À l'Enseigne du Voyageur*: Florida from Cabinet of Curiosity to Paper Conquest

By the time Barcia expressed his frustrations at the anxious foreigners who took Garcilaso's work outside of Spain, Pierre Richelet had produced a French translation printed four times in France from 1670 to 1711. Barcia may have been making a veiled reference to these French translations if he had seen them or heard about them by 1723, or he may have been using this reference to foreign readers as a rhetorical strategy to spur interest in acquiring *La Florida del Inca* among Spanish book collectors. If foreigners were indeed anxious to take *La Florida* out of Spain, then Spanish readers might ward off their advances by purchasing the second edition of *La Florida* and giving it a permanent place in their libraries.

Whether or not Barcia was aware of Richelet's translation, the appearance of this work and its reprints indicates that French publishers anticipated an audience for Garcilaso's history. Richelet, the translator who created *Histoire de la Floride*, the booksellers who financed its printing, and the people who created and reproduced new paratexts around the translation all worked to transform *La Florida* to appeal to the audiences they imagined. When they added, omitted, and changed material in the texts and books they created, they left records of their own interpretations of *La Florida* and shaped the meaning readers and book collectors might attach to the book and to the text it contained. As *La Florida del Inca* and *Histoire de la Floride* moved across early modern French print shops, Garcilaso's work functioned as a curious object from a distant land, as a *relation de voyage*, as a pedagogical tool, and as a practical guide to colonization.

Although Pierre Richelet is cited today as *La Florida del Inca*'s first and only French translator, he was not the first person to attempt this translation project. The royal privilege that appears in the first edition of Richelet's *Histoire de la Floride* (1670) indicates that P. L. C. C. first acquired the right to translate the work and to print it "par tel Libraire ou Imprimeur qu'il luy plaira" on December 17, 1667. But P. L. C. C. relinquished their privilege and transferred it to the printer and bookseller Gervais Clousier exactly six months later "à cause d'autres plus importantes affaires qui luy estoient survenues." It is likely that *La Florida's* first frustrated French translator was François le Compte. In the 1660s, the printer Gervais Clousier printed work translated by a Celestine friar with this name, which appears as P. L. C. in earlier editions. P. L. C. C. probably stands for Père le Compte, Celestin. The privilege reveals that le Compte read and attempted to translate *La Florida del Inca* as early as 1667, more than half a century after it was first printed in Spain. What version of *La Florida del Inca* might le Compte have created if he had finished his translation?

In seventeenth-century France, a book by Garcilaso de la Vega was likely seen in some circles as an exotic object fit for a cabinet of curiosity. Garcilaso made his first appearance in French translation when Augustin Courbé published Jean Baudoin's translation of *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* in 1633. The frontispiece of *Le Commentaire Royal, ou l'Histoire des Yncas* described it as an "oeuvre curieuse" and falsely claimed that Garcilaso's source text was written "en langue Peruuienne," or in an Indigenous Peruvian language, and later translated to Spanish. Sonia Rose has argued that by framing this translation as a curious object that offered a rare look into an otherwise closed and distant world, the book appealed to individuals who sought glory and fame through the construction of private libraries. For such collectors, Garcilaso offered "la llave para entrar en un mundo cerrado, al cual nadie hasta ahora ha tenido acceso, un mundo que

Baudoin hará accesible a un público culto" (Rose 140). The translator Baudoin and the printer Courbé helped give Garcilaso a reputation in France as an author who wrote in an Indigenous Peruvian language and who came from a place that translator Baudoin referred to as "le pays de l'or." It is quite possible that some seventeenth-century French collectors treated books that bore Garcilaso's name as exotic objects to be collected.

At the same time, Clousier's interest in *La Florida* connects this work to another textual tradition, the production of *relations de voyage* in seventeenth-century France. *Relations de voyage* are narrative descriptions of travels to places outside of France and of the practices of their inhabitants. At the end of the seventeenth century, these works were more popular in France than novels. Sara Melzer notes that travel relations were bestsellers, to the extent that printers began producing anthologized compendia of relations and that Furetière's 1690 dictionary reported that more than 1,300 relations in print (223). For the bookseller Clousier, a translation of *La Florida* would supply a well-tested audience with a source of entertainment in its description of foreign places and peoples.

Gervais and his brother, François Clousier, were both printers who produced predominantly Catholic texts, and Gervais was particularly well known for publishing *relations de voyage* (Werdet 179). In fact, Gervais Clousier identified his print shop on his frontispiece by its location "au Palais, sur les degrez montant à la Sainte Chappelle, à la seconde Boutique, *à l'Enseigne du Voyageur*" (my italics). The printer worked under a sign that depicted a traveler, and the publications he produced were consistent with this emblem. Between 1660 and 1670, Clousier published *Les fameux voyages de Pietro Della Valle* (1661-5), a translation of an Italian narrative that described travels across "la Turquie, l'Egypte, la Palestine, la Perse & les Indes Orientales," *Relation nouvelle et curieuse des royaumes de Tunquin et de Lao* (1666), another

translation from the work of Italian Jesuit Giovanni Filippo De Marini, and *Cosmographie et pelerinage du monde universel* (1669) by P. Jourdain, which Clousier edited in collaboration with two other printers. Clousier's ease in obtaining a royal privilege from le Compte and his steady output of Catholic catechisms suggests that he had a relatively harmonious relationship with French royal censors, and his frequent efforts to print *relations de voyage* suggests that he cultivated an audience among a growing leisure class that enthusiastically consumed travel narratives.

At the same time that a French version of *La Florida* appealed to readers in search of entertainment and novelty, it also described Spanish claims to land in North America that the French crown actively sought to colonize. In the preface to his 1685 *Histoire de la conqueste de la Floride*, a translation of the Gentleman of Elvas's Portuguese account of the De Soto expedition, translator Samuel de Broë pointed out that histories like the one he translated were "meslé de beaucoup d'instruction puisque c'est sur ces modeles que l'on doit se régler pour des pareilles entreprises" ("Preface"). Like Broë here, Clousier may have also anticipated serving readers with stakes in such enterprises. Just as Garcilaso instructed Jerónimo de Oré to use *La Florida del Inca* to educate missionaries who planned to travel to Florida and interact with people there, so Clousier may have imagined passing the book along to readers interested in pursuing commercial or evangelical colonial projects at the frontiers of New France.

In the 1660s, when Clousier acquired the rights to publish *La Florida*, Louis XIV had increased his support for efforts to populate the Saint Lawrence River Valley and the Mississippi River Valley and Delta with French settlers. French control of the two major waterways would greatly enhance France's ability to compete with England and Spain and enable Louis XIV and his ministers to build France's economy by exploiting people and resources in North America. In

1663, the crown took control of New France away from the Company of New France to make it a royal province (Eccles 6). In the years that followed, Jean Talon, the first Intendant of New France, urged Louis XIV's minister Colbert to support French colonization as far south as Florida or Mexico in efforts to expand the fur trade across North America and secure access to the Mississippi River and its estuaries (Eccles 63). Some French readers may have recognized the toponym "Floride" as the site of potential French settlements or commercial interests and approached a translation of *La Florida del Inca* as a source of practical information.

In any case, Clousier must have imagined many possible interests that would motivate people to buy and read a history about Florida when he acquired the privilege to print the book from le Compte. And at some point after June of 1668, Clousier found a new translator in Pierre Richelet. Richelet had recently gained recognition while working to revise and retouch a translation by the late Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt. In the early 1640s, Richelet worked as a secretary to the Ablancourt, a member of the French academy made famous for his "belles infidèles," translations of classical works adapted to the tastes of contemporary readers. Ablancourt retired to his native Champagne to devote himself entirely to translation. There, he employed Richelet, also a native Champenois, as his secretary for nearly ten years and became one of his most powerful allies.

Richelet began his career as a translator with an inherited manuscript. When d'Ablancourt died in 1664, he left written instructions that his unfinished translation of Luis de Mármol Carvajal's *Descripción general de África* (1573) "soit mise entre les mains de M. Richelet qui la reverra et tirera de mes libraires les cent pistolles et vignt-cinq exemplaires qu'ils sont obligés de me fournir" (qtd. in Bray 224). Eventually, after the manuscript passed through several other hands and multiple appeals were addressed to Colbert, Richelet finally acquired it

and began his revisions at the beginning of 1665 (Bray 224-5). During that time, he collaborated with Frémont d'Ablancourt, the nephew of the translator, in a project to revise a dictionary of rhymes, and with Nicolas Sanson, the royal geographer, in a project to produce maps to illustrate *L'Afrique*. It is possible that Clousier learned of Richelet through his work with Frémont or Sanson, or through Louis Billaine, who published Ablancourt's *Afrique* after Richelet retouched it.

Richelet did not seem to have any intention of pursuing translation seriously. Rather, he likely accepted translation projects because he benefitted financially and socially from this activity. In 1668, Richelet's name appeared on the frontispiece of *L'Afrique* as P. R. A., or Pierre Richelet, Avocat. Though Richelet had completed his legal studies, he never advanced to practice law, and in 1668, his main employment was giving language courses "aux étrangers de passage à Paris" (Bray 234). It is not difficult to imagine why Richelet might have welcomed the idea of completing a translation project on his own: it would make his name more recognizable in Parisian society. His *Histoire de la Floride, ou relation de ce qui s'est passé au voyage de Ferdinand de Soto, pour la conqueste de ce pays* was printed on March 22, 1670. Clousier's frontispiece announced that the work was "Composée en Espagnol par l'In- / ca Garcilasso de la Vega, / *Et traduite en François par* / P. RICHELET." Garcilaso and Richelet are credited equally for the work in the visual economy of the *mise en page*, though Richelet spent less than two years producing his translation, one tenth of the time Garcilaso worked to produce the source text.

His work on *Histoire de la Floride* may have laid the groundwork for Richelet's short candidacy as a royal tutor. The connections he made while working on translations led to Richelet's only invitation to Louis XIV's court. An acquaintance he met through Ablancourt's

nephew secured Richelet an interview with Octave de Périgny, the *précepteur*, or official tutor, to the Dauphin in 1669. Périgny was looking for someone to help him educate the young Louis of France. Living at the court would have granted Pierre an unprecedented degree of social recognition and financial comfort. However, Jean Doujat, a member of the Académie française and fellow lexicographer, secured this charge in Richelet's place (Bray 229-31). Incidentally, more than two decades later, one of Richelet's intellectual rivals, the translator Amelot de la Houssaye, remembered this incident and remarked that Richelet's failure to become the Dauphin's *précepteur* was due to the difference in rank between the Richelet and Périgny. He called the two men "infiniment inégaux en naissance, en fortune, en probité, en politesse, et en sufisance" and judged it impossible that they could have worked together (qtd. in Bray 331). In any case, this brief excursion to Versailles suggests that Richelet's work with translations likely enhanced his reputation as an expert in languages.

While it is possible to speculate with some degree of confidence that French readers might have understood *Histoire de la Floride* as a *relation de voyage*, an exotic object, or an instruction manual, Richelet's translation also provides an extremely detailed, concrete record of the translator's interpretation of the source text. His translation is remarkably brief and sparse. He simplified chapter titles and consolidated chapters, removed Garcilaso's dedication and prologue along with the autobiographical information Garcilaso interspersed in the body of the text, and reduced the word count of his text by approximately half. In addition to removing much of the information on the text's author, Richelet left few visible traces of his intervention in this text apart from his name, an epigraph, and a scattering of margin notes. Richelet naturalized this work and presented it as French by imposing classicist criteria of brevity, clarity, and efficacity on the text. His translation functioned as an extended linguistic exercise, similar to one he might

have given one of his foreign French students (Zuilli 94). I read his translation as an attempt to demonstrate the capacity of the French language to express ideas clearly and succinctly and of the translator's ability to synthesize information according to the preferred aesthetic criteria of his time. The second chapter discusses the relationship between Richelet's work as a translator and as a lexicographer in more detail.

While *la Floride* was only printed once in Richelet's lifetime, it was reprinted three times in rapid succession between 1709 and 1711, a period that coincided with the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) and, consequently, with renewed French interest in Florida and other Spanish land claims in the Americas. In his 1709 edition, Parisian printer Geffroi Nyon gave the work a new title, *Histoire de la conquete de la Floride*, included a lengthy preface by historian Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy, and added footnotes. Nyon's edition also included a privilege dated May 21, 1708 that gave him the exclusive right to print this work in Paris as many times as he wished for six years. Nyon printed *Floride* again in 1711, and so did Jean Musier, whose frontispiece claimed that his book was printed in Lille to be sold in Paris. The spike in reprints of *la Floride* is connected to a shift in the reading public's taste and to France's involvement in a contest for control over space and resources in Spain's colonies.

In the "Avertissement" that appears in each one of these early eighteenth-century editions, theologian and historian Fresnoy offered one possible interpretation of the public interest in *Floride*. Fresnoy recalled that the first French translation of Garcilaso, the *Histoire des Yncas*, did not interest readers until "les exemplaires en furent sacrifiez aux épiciers." Once the pages of this work were used to wrap groceries, "elle de vint [*sic*] rare. Sa rareté fut cause qu'on la rechercha & qu'on l'estima" (xxii). Fresnoy's remarks support Sonia Rose's argument that Garcilaso's French audience was interested in acquiring his work because a book that bore his

name was a rare and curious object. By tracing the abrupt and paradoxical journey of the translated pages from the grocer's counter to the shelves of private libraries, Fresnoy's remarks also foregrounded the changeable nature of readers' taste. At the end of his preface, Fresnoy points to the public's growing interest in foreign places and events. He calls the time in which he writes "un siècle où l'on veut savoir tout ce qui s'est passé dans d'autres pays que le sien propre" (xxii). At the start of the eighteenth century, a collective interest in histories of places outside of Europe coincided with the frustratingly impossible desire of many French readers to construct exhaustive, universal libraries (Chartier 94). Fresnoy suggests that a history of Florida might satisfy both interests, if only briefly.

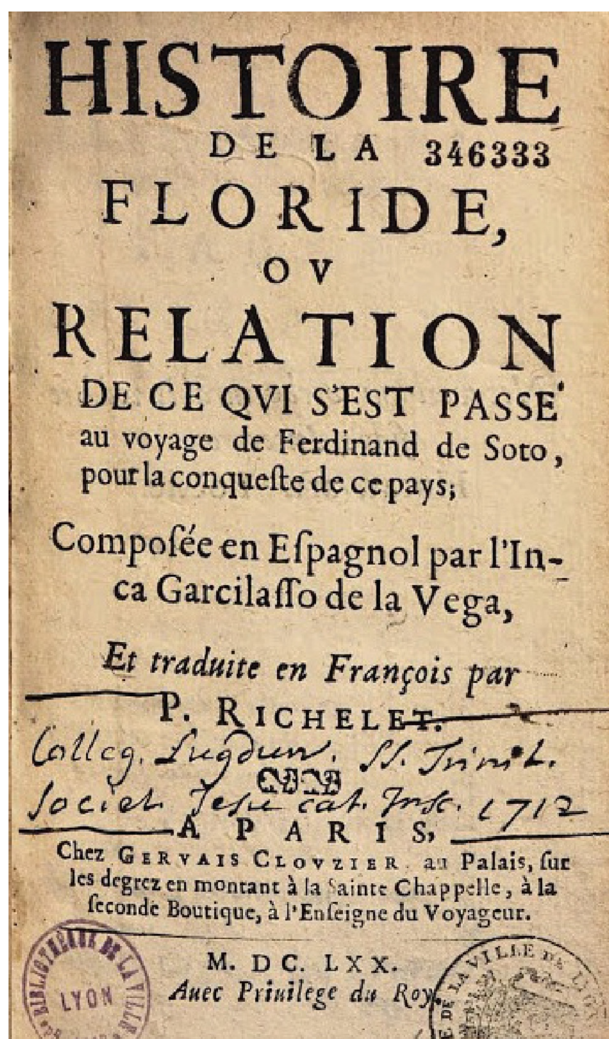
At the same time, the War of the Spanish Succession opened up the possibility that France might gain control of land and resources formerly claimed by Spain. The Spanish Succession crisis was fundamentally linked to the issues of partitioning the Spanish empire (Olivas 151). When the Bourbon successor Phillip of Anjou ascended to the throne in 1700, Louis XIV gained coveted access to trade relationships and stood to gain more territories in the Americas. Just a few years prior, the Peace of Ryswick in 1697 stipulated that Spain cede Haiti to France. And in 1699 and 1702 respectively, French colonists founded Fort Maurepas (now Biloxi) and Fort Louis de la Louisiane (now Mobile) along the northern Gulf of Mexico (Weber 158). By the time Nyon decided to suggest conquering Florida in his title, the French crown regularly dispatched troops to protect Spanish colonies from British and Dutch military and commercial incursions and to maintain control of the mineral and commercial wealth in the Americas (Olivas 160).

Broader trends in French print and translation cultures indicate that the early eighteenth century was a period of prolonged interest in producing and reprinting French translations of

Spanish imperial histories. For examples, Baudoin's translation of Garcilaso's second history, *Histoire des Incas*, was reprinted in 1704 and 1715 in Amsterdam. *Histoire de la découverte et de la conquête du Pérou*, a translation of Augustin de Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú* (1555), was printed first in Amsterdam in 1700 and then reprinted in Paris five times between 1706 and 1716. *Histoire de la conquête du Mexique ou de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, a translation of Antonio de Solís's *Historia de la Conquista de México* (1684), was printed eight times between 1691 and 1714, once in the Hague but otherwise in Paris. While histories of Peru and New Spain seem to have been more popular than histories of Florida, the dates during which *La Floride* was reprinted are consistent with this broader spike of interest in accessing Spanish colonies through translations.

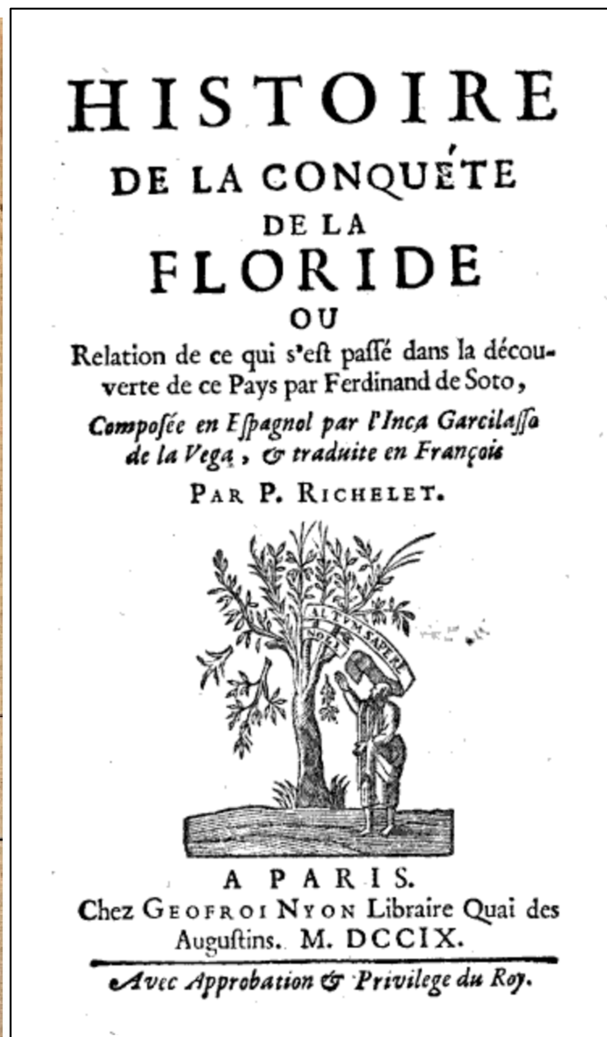
The changing titles assigned to the French version of *La Florida del Inca* also indicate that early eighteenth-century printers associated their work, on some level, with contiguous French efforts to usurp Spain's colonial power. Nicolas le Compte's 1667 privilege referred to Garcilaso's history as *La Floride de Garcilasso de la Vega*. With this, either Le Compte or the royal censor replaced Garcilaso's reference to his Inca ancestry with a Spanish name. However, in the 1668 amendment to the privilege, the book was referred to only as *La Floride*, and when it was published, its main title became *Histoire de la Floride.* Remarkably, Garcilaso's name disappeared from the first part of the title, and the space his text described acquired new prominence. Then in 1709, Geffroi Nyon printed the title as *Histoire de la Conquéte* [sic] *de la Floride*, a title which stayed with the work through all its subsequent editions. In the evolution of this title, traces of the source text disappear to make way for a word, "conquête," that gestures to French imperial ambitions for the work's geographic referent (**Figure 2**).

The details uncovered in the uses and reuses of *La Florida del Inca* and of Richelet's *Histoire de la Floride* in early modern France outline a range of meanings translators and printers imagined their readers would assign to the texts and books they produced. From Clousier's search for a translator under the sign of the voyager hanging above his print shop to the rush to supply booksellers with material describing contested space during the succession crisis, printers moved Garcilaso's history toward audiences with multiple interests. *Histoire de la Floride* extends beyond the words that Richelet wrote when he translated. This work is also interpreted by the printers and writers who set its type alongside *relations de voyages* and under images of travelers, who change its title, and who reprint it with new dates and paratexts.



HISTOIRE
DE LA
FLORIDE,
OV
RELATION
DE CE QVI S'EST PASSÉ
au voyage de Ferdinand de Soto,
pour la conqueſte de ce pays;
Compoſée en Eſpagnol par l'Inca Garcilaſſo de la Vega,
Et traduite en François par
P. RICHELET.
A PARIS,
Chez GERVAIS CLOVZIER au Palais, ſur les degrez en montant à la Sainte Chappelle, à la ſeconde Boutique, à l'Enſeigne du Voyageur.
M. DC. LXX.
Auec Priuilege du Roy.

346333



HISTOIRE
DE LA CONQUÊTE
DE LA
FLORIDE
OU
Relation de ce qui s'eſt paſſé dans la découverte de ce Pays par Ferdinand de Soto,
Compoſée en Eſpagnol par l'Inca Garcilaſſo de la Vega, & traduite en François
PAR P. RICHELET.
A PARIS.
Chez GEOFROI NYON Libraire Quai des Auguſtins. M. DCCIX.
Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roy.

Figure 2. Frontispieces of *Histoire de la Floride*, published by Gervais Clouzier in Paris in 1670, and of *Histoire de la Conquête de la Floride*, published by Geffroi Nyon in Paris in 1709. The first printer foregrounds the words *Histoire, Floride, and Relation* in the title of the work, while the second printer changes the title and foregrounds the words *Histoire*, *Conquête*, and *Floride.*

Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca. *Histoire de la Floride, ou, Relation de ce qui s'est passé au voyage de Ferdinand de Soto, pour la conqueste de ce pays*. Translated by Pierre Richelet. Paris, Gervais Clouzier, 1670. Digitized by Google Play. https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=w11uKjA15KcC&pg=GBS.PP5

Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca. *Histoire de la Conqéte de la Floride ou Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la découverte de ce Pays par Ferdinand de Soto*. Translated by Pierre Richelet. Geffroi Nyon, Paris. 1709. Digitized by Google Play. https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=CDdiAAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PP8

IV. *Grand Pays de l'Amerique Septentional*: Florida from Text to Gallery

In his 1709 Avertissement at the start of *Histoire de la Conquête de la Floride*, Fresnoy explains that "les Libraires d'*Hollande* plus industrieux & plus attentifs que ceux des autres nations" have already begun reproducing Garcilaso's work outside of France (xv). Like Barcia's 1723 Spanish preface, which noted the popularity of *La Florida* outside of Spain, Fresnoy's 1709 preface notes the popularity of the translation outside of France. French translations of Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales* and his *Historia general* were printed in Amsterdam in 1704 and 1706, but Dutch printers did not reproduce Richelet's translation until much later. From 1731 to 1785, three printers in the Dutch Republic produced five editions of *Floride.* Two of these printers, Pieter Van der Aa and Jean-Frédéric Bernard, added value and appeal to Richelet's text by inserting different sets of intaglio engravings into the pages of the translation. Although both sets of images were originally created to accompany different texts, their inclusion in these editions creates new possibilities for interpreting and experiencing Richelet's translation. By juxtaposing a visual narrative with a textual narrative at a time when readers increasingly sought to consume information visually, Van der Aa and Bernard offered their readers an experience of *Floride* in which the images framed the text as a gateway to an exotic world and as a means to learn about global religious practices.

The Dutch printing industry grew as the industry in France declined. At the end of the seventeenth century, growing religious extremism in France slowed down presses and made privileges harder to obtain, and the 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes sent waves of Francophone Huguenots into exile in the Dutch Republic. Around 150,000 Protestants left France, and approximately 50,000-70,000 of these exiles settled in the Dutch Republic. This wave of exiles transformed the character of Amsterdam in particular, where almost one-fifth of

its population was of French-language origin after 1685 (Hunt et al. 31). These new arrivals from France contributed to the growth of Dutch cities as safe havens for radical ideas and helped turn Amsterdam into the main hub of early modern information society. Dutch printers enjoyed relaxed printing laws and favorable guild regulations, and they had access to more printing presses per capita than in any other place in Europe. They used an innovative model for printing that funded new works by encouraging prepublication subscription. Furthermore, the ready availability of paper, presses, information from merchant ships, and well-trained typesetters and engravers enabled printers to produce large-format books with lavish illustrations (Schmidt 99-100).

In the early eighteenth century, Dutch booksellers took advantage of the availability of skilled workers and the supply infrastructure created by merchant companies to become the leading producers of in "picture-rich exotic geographies" (Schmidt 104). Bookmakers took note of the fact that "early modern science placed a premium on sight" and produced highly illustrated volumes to present their audiences with "opportunities for *autopsia*—'self-seeing'—as so many of these volumes posited in their prefatory remarks" (101). Engraved images played a central role in circulating ideas. Daniela Bleichmar explains that in the eighteenth century, consuming and producing images was a vital way of knowing, a "visual epistemology." The eighteenth-century naturalists she studies "thought visually, worked visually, and posed visual questions to which they offered visual answers" (8). The printers who combined Pierre Richelet's translated text with intaglio engravings interpreted *la Floride* visually. By selecting engraved copper plates from their existing stock and combining them with new text in a process Lisa Voigt has called "recycling," printers and bookmakers left records of their visual interpretation of written material (Voigt 366). At the same time, by reframing a text with images,

they created a visual shorthand for consuming the information in a book. Their work to decontextualize the images in their shops and recontextualize them between the pages of the translated text is a form of cultural translation.

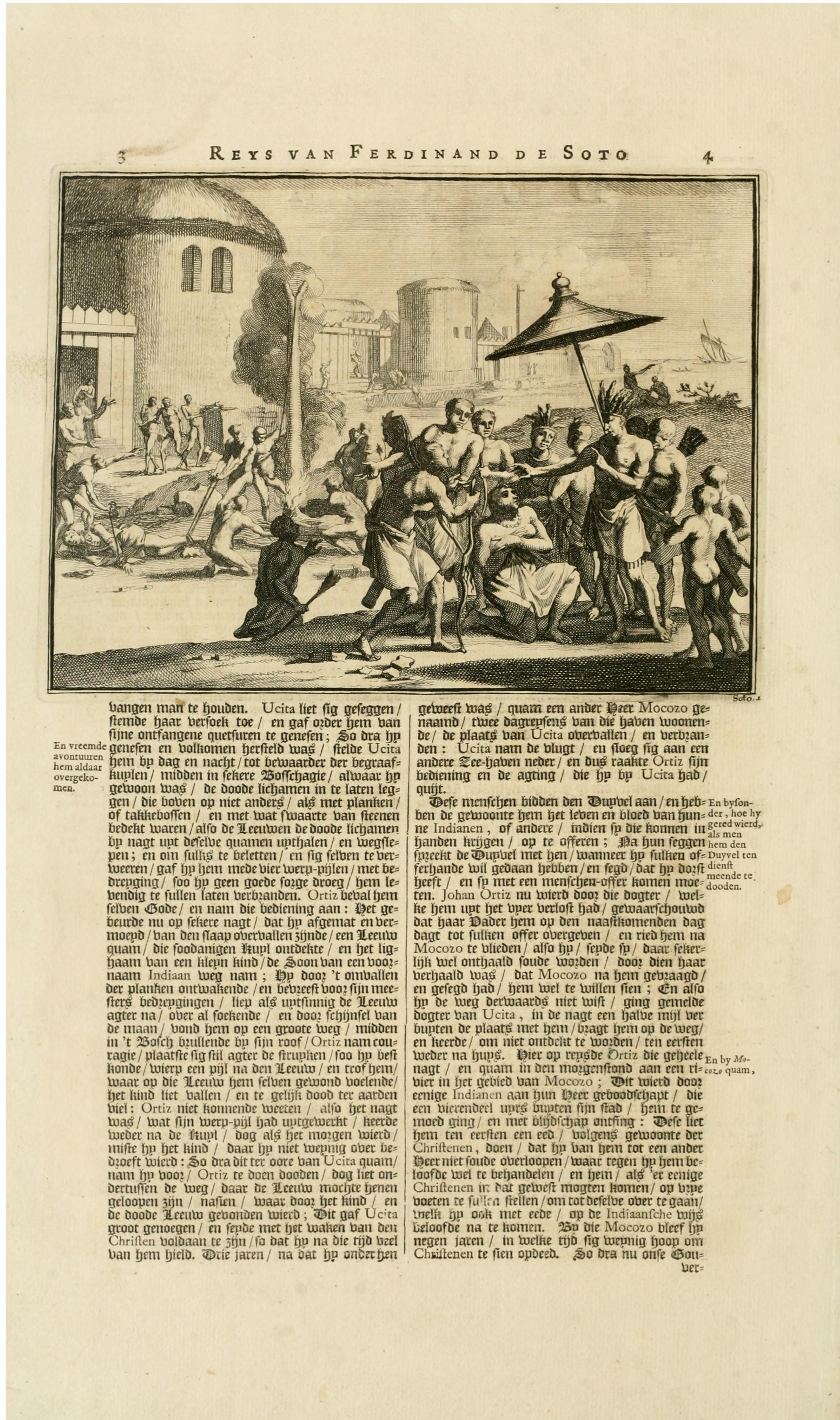
In 1731, Pieter Van der Aa added a set of nine intaglio prints to the first edition of Richelet's translation to appear in twenty years. Van der Aa began working as a printer's apprentice when he was nine, and in 1715 he was appointed as the printer of the city of Leiden and as the university printer. By around 1720, he had become "the grand old man of the Leiden book trade" and enjoyed a wide international reputation (Hoftijzer 178). His Leiden edition of *Floride* was based on one of the editions that appeared in France between 1709 and 1711; it reproduced the new title and included Fresnoy's 1709 preface. Van der Aa also included a map of Florida with the caption "*La* Floride*, Grand Pays de l'*Amerique Septentionale*, plus avant decouverte et presque toute conquise par* Ferdinand de Soto *en 1534. tirée de ses Memoires, et de tous ceux qui ont paru jusqu'à present, nouvellement rendue publique par* Pierre vander Aa*, à* Leide*, Avec Privilege*." The map labels Florida a space that is bounded on four corners by Canada, Virginia, Cuba, and Panuco and the phrase "presque toute conquise" suggests an ongoing process of colonization and discovery. Furthermore, by framing the text with the map and its caption, the printer erroneously suggests that the text he printed included first-person writing from de Soto. The idea that *La Florida del Inca* was De Soto's memoir gives insight into the way Van der Aa or the printer who wrote the caption handled the text. They did not undertake a sustained, close reading of the text they reprinted, but rather made a quick connection between the title of the text and the copper engravings of maps that were already part of the print shop's supply.

Van der Aa also included nine intaglio prints depicting scenes of encounter between figures dressed in European doublets and ruffs and figures wearing loose cloths around their bodies and feather headpieces. The images are folded twice into the octavo pages of the book. When unfolded, they expand beyond the pages of the book. Most of the images depict a different series of actions across the foreground, middle ground, and background that align with actions narrated in the text. For example, the first image in this series appears after the chapter titled "*Mort de trois* Efpagnols*, & les tourmens que / souffrit* Jean Ortis" [Figure 1.2]. In the foreground, a female figure appears crouching under the outstretched hand of a male figure who wears six feathers on his head and a tasseled cloth around his waist. A shaded figure behind him extends a parasol above his body, marking his high rank. In the middle ground, two unclothed figures tie together the wrists and ankles of a figure wearing European clothes, while other figures observe a fire that sends clouds of smoke upward. In the background, two figures sit at the edge of a body of water, and one extends a hand toward a caravel on the horizon. Taken together, the scenes that unfold in this image align with the text's narration of the captivity of Juan Ortiz under the cacique Hirrihigua, and of the cacique's daughter's efforts to plead for Ortiz's life and facilitate his eventual escape (Garcilaso 796-815).

The images in Van der Aa's edition create a series of visual narratives that fold in and out of the pages of the octavo volume, and that seem to correspond to Richelet's chapter headings. However, while they function as illustrations of the translation, they were not initially created for that purpose. In 1706, Van der Aa printed a Dutch translation of the Gentleman of Elvas's account of the De Soto expedition, *De Gedenk Vaardige Voyagie van Don Ferdinand de Soto, na Florida*. The Dutch translation of Elvas includes the same series of engravings, and each engraving is printed on the same page as the text. It is likely that the text and the images were

designed to complement each other (**Figure 3**). Many years after the Dutch translation of Elvas was printed with these images, Van der Aa (or someone working in his print shop) must have decided to recycle them to illustrate *Histoire de la Conquête de la Floride*. By matching this set of images to a new text, the printer or printers performed a visual comparative exercise that linked the two accounts of the De Soto expedition. By comparing and matching chapter titles with images, the printer indicated continuities between the visual and textual narratives. At the same time, including intaglio engravings in the edition meant that its reader had the option to experience the text by perusing its gallery of images, in addition to or even instead of reading the text. If the printer interpreted the text by creating a visual narrative, so could the reader.

Like many of his contemporaries, Van der Aa recycled images to satisfy a public interested in consuming illustrated work that described distant places. Reusing copper plates from past works to illustrate new works also meant that Van der Aa saved money and resources. Copper plates with intaglio engravings were among the most valuable objects in print shops, and publishers exploited their places in as many ways as they could (Griffiths 189). In fact, several years before Van der Aa printed *Floride*, he oversaw a project that required him to reacquaint himself with the vast supply of copper plates in his print shop. In 1729, he began printing his *Galérie agréable du monde*, an encyclopedic work in 66 tomes that included over four thousand illustrations. To include such a staggering number of images in this work, Van der Aa drew from the plates he already stored in his shop. Two of the images he reproduced for *Galérie* appeared in the 1706 *Voyagie van Don Ferdinand de Soto* and would appear again in the 1731 *Floride*: the map of Florida and an image captioned "*Habits et Maisons des* Floridains *dans le Païs de* Yupaha." The centrality of images in Van der Aa's productions and his lucrative strategy of reusing old images to assemble novel products suggest that in his edition of *Floride*, the



REYS VAN FERDINAND DE SOTO 3 4

Soto. 1

vangen man te houden. Ucita liet sig gesеggen / stemde haar versoek toe / en gaf order hem van sijne ontfangene quetsuren te genesen; So dra hy genesen en volkomen hersteld was / stelde Ucita hem by dag en nacht / tot bewaarder der begraaf-kuylen / midden in sekere Bosschagie / alwaar hy gewoon was / de doode lichamen in te laten leggen / die boven op niet anders / als met planken / of takkebossen / en met wat swaarte van steenen bedekt waren / also de Leeuwen de doode lichamen by nagt uyt deselve quamen uythalen / en wegslepen; en om sulks te beletten / en sig selven te verweeren / gaf hy hem mede vier werp-pijlen / met bedreyging / soo hy geen goede sorge droeg / hem levendig te sullen laten verbranden. Ortiz beval hem selven Gode / en nam die bediening aan: Het gebeurde nu op sekere nagt / dat hy afgemat en vermoeyd / van den slaap overvallen zijnde / een Leeuw quam / die soodanigen Kuyl ontdekte / en het lighaam van een kleyn kind / de Soon van een voornaam Indiaan weg nam; Hy door 't omvallen der planken ontwakende / en bevreest voor sijn meesters bedreygingen / liep als uytsinnig de Leeuw agter na / over al soekende / en door schijnsel van de maan / vond hem op een groote weg / midden in 't Bosch brullende by sijn roof / Ortiz nam couragie / plaatste sig stil agter de struyken / soo hy best konde / wierp een pijl na den Leeuw / en trof hem / waar op die Leeuw hem selven gewond voelende / het kind liet vallen / en te gelijk dood ter aarden viel: Ortiz niet konnende weeten / also het nagt was / wat sijn werp-pijl had uytgewerkt / keerde weder na de Kuyl / dog als het morgen wierd / miste hy het kind / daar hy niet weynig over bedroeft wierd: So dra dit ter oore van Ucita quam / nam hy voor / Ortiz te doen dooden / dog liet ondertussen de weg / daar de Leeuw mochte henen geloopen zijn / nasien / waar door het kind / en de doode Leeuw gevonden wierd; Dit gaf Ucita groot genoegen / en seyde met het waken van den Christen voldaan te zijn / so dat hy na die tijd veel van hem hield. Drie jaren / na dat hy onder hen

En vreemde avontuuren hem aldaar overgekomen.

geweest was / quam een ander Heer Mocozo genaamd / twee dagreysens van die haven woonende / de plaats van Ucita overvallen / en verbranden: Ucita nam de vlugt / en sloeg sig aan een andere Zee-haven neder / en dus raakte Ortiz sijn bediening en de agting / die hy by Ucita had / quijt.

Dese menschen bidden den Duyvel aan / en hebben de gewoonte hem het leven en bloed van hunne Indianen, of andere / indien sy die konnen in handen krijgen / op te offeren; Na hun seggen spreekt de Duyvel met hen / wanneer hy sulken offerhande wil gedaan hebben / en segd / dat hy dorst heeft / en sy met een menschen-offer komen moeten. Johan Ortiz nu wierd door die dogter / welke hem uyt het vyer verlost had / gewaarschouwd dat haar Vader hem op den naastkomenden dag dagt tot sulken offer overgeven / en ried hem na Mocozo te vlieden / also hy / seyde sy / daar sekerlijk wel onthaald soude worden / door dien haar verhaald was / dat Mocozo na hem gevraagd / en gesegd had / hem wel te willen sien; En also hy de weg derwaards niet wist / ging gemelde dogter van Ucita, in de nagt een halve mijl ver buyten de plaats met hem / bragt hem op de weg / en keerde / om niet ontdekt te worden / ten eersten weder na huys. Hier op reysde Ortiz die geheele nagt / en quam in den morgenstond aan een rivier in het gebied van Mocozo; Dit wierd door eenige Indianen aan hun Heer geboodschapt / die een vierendeel uyrs buyten sijn stad / hem te gemoed ging / en met blijdschap ontfing: Dese liet hem ten eersten een eed / volgens gewoonte der Christenen, doen / dat hy van hem tot een ander Heer niet soude overloopen / waar tegen hy hem beloofde wel te behandelen / en hem / als 'er eenige Christenen in dat gewest mogten komen / op vrye voeten te sullen stellen / om tot deselve over te gaan / welk hy ook met eede / op de Indiaansche wijs beloofde na te komen. By die Mocozo bleef hy negen jaren / in welke tijd sig weynig hoop om Christenen te sien opdeed. So dra nu onse Gouver-

En bysonder, hoe hy gered wierd, als men hem den Duyvel ten dienst meende te dooden.

En by Mocozo quam,

Figure 3. Copper plate engraving of Juan Ortiz episode in 1706 Dutch translation of the Gentleman of Elvas. This image also appears in two later Dutch editions of *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride*.

Gentleman of Elvas, *De gedenkwaardige voyagie van don Ferdinand de Soto na Florida*. Translator unknown. Leiden, Van der Aa, 1706. 4. Getty Research Institute Special Collections, Los Angeles

engraved images played an important role in influencing his decision to reprint the text. Consequently, it is possible to read the images Van der Aa includes in *Floride* not as decorative illustrations, but as primary source material. For the print shop workers and the readers who privileged images, the text itself became a secondary image, a series of words that attested to the validity and verisimilitude of the images.

In 1737, Jean-Frédéric Bernard also included four engraved images that had previously appeared in an earlier work in his edition of *Histoire de la Conquête de la* Floride. However, these were not recycled plates but rather reproductive engravings of other engravings. The images that appear with *Floride* were created by Bernard Picart, one of the most famous engravers of his time, to illustrate Bernard's *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (1723-43). This series of illustrated folio volumes brought together Bernard's textual compilations of descriptions of religious practices from around the world and Picart's engraved images that depicted people performing religious customs. Like Van der Aa's *Galérie agreable du monde*, *Cérémonies* was a multi-volume illustrated set that aimed to create and circulate visual representations of the globe, to appeal to readers with a broad spectrum of interests, to be funded by subscription, and to generate a profit. But unlike the *Galérie*, which offered readers a vicarious experience of global travel, *Cérémonies* used images to argue for understanding and accepting religious differences. By depicting people from every possible part of the globe engaging in similar religious practices, Bernard and Picart made a visual argument in favor of universal religious tolerance. Images were vital for this purpose, because the printer and engraver believed that images could communicate truths with an impact and immediacy that words could not achieve (Hunt et al. 126).

Jean-Frédéric Bernard was a Huguenot exile who left France when he was five, after his minister father lost his church in the aftermath of the 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Bernard began his career in the Amsterdam book trade by printing and reprinting rationalist critiques of religion, but he also produced travel accounts. With works like *Recueil de voyages au nord* (1717)—an illustrated compendium of travel narratives spanning the Arctic Circle, Japan, the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers, and California—he responded to and fueled commercial speculation in the Americas. He profited from the climate of speculation his own books encouraged: records suggest that in summer 1720, Bernard began investing large sums in Dutch and French merchant companies (Mijnhardt 27). While many others lost money when the bubble broke the next year, Bernard seems to have pulled his money out in time to buy his intellectual freedom and become "the founder of a dynasty of gentleman-publishers that gave the world much of its radical enlightenment" (Mijnhardt 27). With the capital he gained as a result of speculation in overseas colonies, Bernard produced visual depictions of the world to satisfy a European public's interest in those colonies.

Bernard claims to have printed *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride* almost as an afterthought in a folio edition of *Histoire des Yncas*, Baudoin's translation of the *Comentarios Reales*. He also appended Louis Hennepin's *Nouvelle découverte d'un très grand pays situé dans l'Amérique entre le Nouveau-Mexiaue et la mer glaciale* to this edition. Bernard explained these choices in a new preface he wrote for his edition of *Floride*. He included it after reprinting Fresnoy's 1709 preface and used it to explain that "Je n'ai rien à ajouter à l'Avertissement précedent, sinon que je n'ai réimprimé cette *Histoire de la Floride*, qu'à cause qu'elle appartient à l'Auteur de celle *des Yncas*" (ix). While Bernard disparaged this work in his preface, it is noteworthy that this was the only text of the three he printed about which he chose to compose

his own remarks. He also included a map and four engraved images which were reproduced by Charles Duflos, a former student of Bernard Picart, after images by Picart that first appeared in *Cérémonies*. Bernard's decision to include supplementary paratexts to accompahy *Floride* suggests that this work struck his imagination. Furthermore, his decision to spend time and resources on reproductions of Picart's engravings indicate that in addition to functioning as a supplement to *Histoires des Yncas*, *Floride* may also have functioned as a supplement to the intaglio prints. For Bernard as for Van der Aa, the text was likely a pretext for the images.

The four images Bernard included with his edition of *Floride* frame the text to suggest that its most meaningful content described religious practices and ceremonies. They were previously printed in the third volume of *Cérémonies*, which aimed to describe "idolatrous" people in the Americas. But unlike Van der Aa, Richelet did not use the same plates to print these images. Rather, he printed rescaled reproductions of the images made by Charles Duflos, Picart's former apprentice, in *Floride*. Chapter three discusses these images and Bernard's edition in more detail.

While the spike in reproductions of French editions of *Floride* at the start of the eighteenth century corresponded to geopolitical events that affected imperial claims to Florida, the spike in reproductions of Dutch editions of *Floride* seems more influenced by the trend in production, consumption, and reuse of images in picture-rich works of exotic geography. Van der Aa and Bernard both printed *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride* after incorporating images of Florida from their stock of copper plates into projects that aimed to give readers a visual experience of the globe. As contributors to the early eighteenth-century rise in Dutch exotic geographies, they compiled and arranged material for audiences and collectors across Europe, and they became "conduits, go-betweens, and translators of printed, public, circulated materials

focused on the non-European world" (Schmidt 89). Including images of Florida in their visual projects was a means to signal the global breadth of those projects. Combining Richelet's text with some of these images enabled them to use their existing stock of images to generate more profit and to reinforce the legitimacy of the images in their print shops as part of a visual archive of ethnographic images.

V. *An old chronicle was placed in my hands:* From Translation to Historiography

After the eighteenth century, Richelet's French translation was never printed again. But by the start of the nineteenth century, Anglo-American readers and writers turned to Spanish and French colonial histories as a means to explore their relationship to expanding United States geographies. Theodore Irving (1809-1880) published the first English translation of *La Florida del Inca* in 1835. *Conquest of Florida by Hernando de Soto* consists largely of passages translated directly from Garcilaso's history and of simplified, condensed accounts of the same action that Garcilaso narrated. Nevertheless, categorizing this work as a translation is complicated because on one hand, Irving acknowledges in his preface that his *Conquest of Florida* began as a free, literary translation of Garcilaso but on the other hand, he presents *Conquest of Florida* as the product of his own labor as a historian. I argue that Irving's *Conquest* functioned both as a translation of *La Florida del Inca* and as a history of U.S. territorial expansion at different moments in the history of its creation and of its reception.

Today, copies of eight different editions of *Conquest of Florida* remain in circulation across the Anglophone world, but because Theodore Irving is listed as the author, Garcilaso's role is disguised in library catalogs. Patricia Galloway has noted that Irving's history is based on only two sources, *La Florida del Inca* and an English translation of Elvas, and Carmen de Mora

has called *Conquest of Florida* a "translation into English […] based on an early Spanish edition [of *La Florida del Inca*]" which omits parts of this text and interpolates some material from other sources (413, 165). However, their discoveries have not yet been integrated into records of Irving's work or into broader scholarship on Garcilaso. Examining the changing relationship Theodore describes with his source text in his preface reveals that he understood *La Florida del Inca* first as a rare antiquarian object, then as a literary text, and finally as a primary archival source. Examining the movement of *Conquest of Florida* across publishing houses in London, Philadelphia, and New York from 1835-1869 uncovers another series of transformations as publishers presented this work to readers as a frontier travelogue and as a western tale.

Theodore Irving first experienced *La Florida del Inca* as an antique object. In the preface to his *Conquest of Florida*, he reports that while he was abroad studying Spanish in Madrid, "an old chronicle was placed in my hands, relating to the early discoveries and achievements of the Spaniards in America" (1). The anonymous body on the other end of this tactile experience may have been Bostonian hispanist and collector Obadiah Rich (1777-1850). Rich held diplomatic posts in Spain from 1807 to 1828 during a boom in the antiquarian book trade that came at a time when religious institutions were shut down in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars and when families who were forced into exile sold off their private collections (Van Tine 7). Rich took advantage of falling prices to amass a vast private collection of Spanish-language books and manuscripts. He published a catalog of his collection in 1832 that describes his first edition of *La Florida del Inca*. In the catalog, Rich observes that "This work was taken principally from the relation of an eye witness to the events recorded. It was reprinted in 1723. A French translation was published in 1670, but it has never appeared in English" (25). Rich shared many of the items from this catalog with Washington Irving, Theodore's uncle and guardian during his time in

Madrid, who used them to compose his biography of Christopher Columbus (Van Tine 7). It is possible that the unnamed person who placed the "old chronicle," *La Florida del Inca*, into Theodore's hands was Rich himself, and it is even more likely that the edition Theodore first handled came from Rich's collection.

After this initial antiquarian encounter, Irving "became insensibly engrossed by the extraordinary enterprise therein narrated," and "was advised to undertake a free translation of it into English, as a literary exercise" (1). Irving's decision to take up a translation project is consistent with his desire to learn the Spanish language. In the early nineteenth century, students in the United States studied foreign languages through reading and producing translations. During the same time that Irving studied Spanish in Madrid, students in Boston and Philadelphia used multilingual texts that included line-by-line literal and free translations from Latin and French to study these languages. They worked with titles like *The new Latin reader, containing the Latin text for the purpose of recitation. Accompanied with a key containing the text, a literal and free translation, arranged in such a manner as to point out the difference between the Latin and the English idioms* (1829) and *A selection of one hundred of Perrin's fables: accompanied with a key; containing the text, a literal and a free translation* (1832). These pedagogical tools followed the interlinear translation model Scottish businessman and teacher James Hamilton worked to popularize across Europe and the United States at the start of the nineteenth century (Blum). Each line of text in the source language appeared with two translations in the target language printed below it. In this context, a free translation was a new version of the source text adapted to the grammar of the target language. The person who advised the nineteen-year-old Irving to produce a free translation of Garcilaso likely would have imagined this task would enhance his understanding of Spanish.

Irving also conceived of his free translation as a literary exercise during a time when state archives were opening to civilian readers and increasingly seen as sources of literary inspiration. Between the 1803 Louisiana Purchase and the 1821 Adams-Onís treaty, Spain transferred all of its North American land claims east of the Mississippi river to the United States. These transfers along with Spanish-American independence movements created a boom in the antiquarian book market. Antiquarians in Britain and France built their collections with family and religious collections from Spain, and scholars, authors, and collectors in the United States and Mexico sought out rare Spanish colonial materials that they could use to create historical narratives for their new nations (Van Tine 5). George Dekker points out that "American historical romancers turned to the histories of their own states and regions for the matter of their fictions […] reviewers and orators began instructing ladies and gentlemen with literary ambitions to pore over the colonial chronicle of their states […] beginning with the earliest settlements by the patriarchs of their tribe" (62). In fact, Irving began translating Garcilaso during the same time that his uncle, Washington Irving, wrote *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828), a work that many scholars consider part of a project that consecrates Columbus as a foundational figure for a new American republic (Wingate 468). Irving's *Conquest of Florida by Hernando de Soto* locates the action *La Florida* describes in what he calls "a portion of our country" (vi). For Irving, translating a sixteenth-century history of Florida would bring a space the United States had very recently begun to claim and settle into an English-language repertoire.

But while he was "occupied in the task of translation" for some time, Irving eventually decided to abandon the pretentions of both a language student and creator of literary exercises and become a historian. Irving transformed himself from literary translator to historian by reclassifying the genre of his source text. The catalyst for this change was Irving's encounter

with another sixteenth-century account of the De Soto expedition. Irving relates that he "had the great good fortune to meet with a narrative on the same subject, written by a Portuguese soldier, who was present in the expedition" (v). Once he began working with more than one text, Irving's disposition toward these texts shifted. He began to pursue "further research and closer examination" which brought him to the conclusion that *La Florida del Inca* was not "almost a work of fiction" as he had originally believed but rather "an authentic though perhaps occasionally exaggerated history" (vi). Where he once acted as a translator of a literary work, he began acting as a researcher and examiner of a history.

Irving's work to collect narratives, produce classifications, and judge excesses is consistent with the early eighteenth-century transition between antiquarianism and a new model of scientific historiography led by German historian and professor Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886). In the 1820s, Ranke taught his students to distinguish between primary and secondary sources, to privilege the former over the latter, and to approach all texts with skepticism (Burrow 284). Assuming this new position allowed Irving to appropriate material from two main source texts to produce a narrative he claimed as his own original work. He referred to this process as a "resolution […] to digest a work from the materials before me" and to the output of this process as "my facts" and a "full account" of the De Soto expedition. In Irving's view, his work to impartially evaluate, discard, and retain the information in each text he read produced "a clear, connected and characteristic history" (vii-viii). By changing his mode of reading and rewriting the source text, Irving abandoned the role of a language student and proclaimed himself an historian. When he set out to author a "full account" of what he described as an expedition that "throws such an air of romance over the early history of a portion of our country," Irving worked to integrate a Spanish imperial episode into the early history of "our country," that is, an

expanding Anglophone United States (vi). The fourth chapter will examine Irving's transition from translation to digestion in more detail.

A closer look at the publication history of *Conquest* reveals that Irving and his publishers framed it as part of a broader constellation of early nineteenth-century Anglophone frontier narratives. In a letter to his brother Peter from 1835, Washington Irving noted that "Theodore's work is in the press at Philadelphia, and will soon be published, when I will forward you a copy. Murray has agreed to publish it in London. Treat's 'Indian Sketches' will soon be put to press, so that the family will figure in print this year" (*Life and Letters* 69). This letter suggests that Washington Irving negotiated with his publishers to ensure the publication of work by his two nephews which describe the movement of soldiers through Indigenous lands and communities over the course of several centuries. Washington Irvings's *A Tour on the Prairies* (1835) and John Treat Irving Jr.'s *Indian Sketches* (1835) described travelling into the Indian territories under the protection of Henry Ellsworth, a commissioner that Washington Irving notes was "appointed by the government of the United States to superintend the settlement of Indian tribes migrating from the East to the West of the Mississippi" (*Tour* 4). These works were published in the same year and as a result of the same negotiation process with publishers as Irving's description of De Soto's travels across Indigenous land.

These two travelogues from Washington and his nephew narrate events that occurred as Andrew Jackson's 1830 Indian Removal Act was beginning to take effect. Their movement was made possible as a direct result of Jackson's Indian policy, including its forced removals and militarization of the wilderness (Reynolds 94). The movement of the much earlier Spanish expedition that Theodore Irving described was made available in print thanks to his ability to access and translate rare materials from private collections, but its status as a history links it to

the work of his relatives and suggests that all three texts appealed to readers interested in frontier travelogues. As Chapter Four discusses in more detail, Irving's *Conquest* offered readers a version of the sixteenth-century history of that space that makes Anglo-American military occupation and settlement appear inevitable and preordained.

By publishing *Conquest of Florida* as part of the same agreement that gave them the rights to *Indian Sketches* and *A Tour on the Prarie*, Irving's publishers connected his translation of Garcilaso to Anglo-American accounts of travel across the frontiers of the early U.S. republic. By framing his translation as a history and as a travel narrative, Theodore Irving produced a work that was attractive to early nineteenth-century publishers. William Charvat calls travel narratives "the most remunerative of all the genres." Histories of travel were "useful and educational, and [...] [their] methods were in accord with the reigning Scottish common-sense philosophy, which celebrated actuality and denigrated possibility" (Charvat 74). Furthermore, the public demand for such work ensured that travel writers found publishers more easily than other types of authors. New authors in particular "could draw industry attention if they shopped a travel narrative, shrewd publishers accepted them even amidst the easy temptations of the reprint-laden market" (McAndrews 4). By publishing the accounts of frontier expeditions that took place in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries from three different Irvings, Carey, Lea & Blanchard built up their stock of potentially lucrative titles. By publishing *Conquest of Florida* as part of the same agreement that gave them the rights to *Indian Sketches* and *A Tour on the Prairies*, Irving's publishers connected his translation of Garcilaso to Anglo-american accounts of travel across the frontiers of the early U.S. republic.

In the 1820s and 30s, Carey & Lea controlled the southern book-buying market and increasingly published works that responded to the tastes and interests of readers in the interior

of the country. The frontier travelogues they published in 1835 moved from east to west, along the same coordinates of the Spanish governor Hernando De Soto and the Anglo-American federal agent Henry Ellsworth. Later editions continued to juxtapose *Conquest of Florida* with accounts of westward travel by U.S. soldiers and the Indigenous people they forcibly removed from their land. In 1850 and 1859, Henry Bohn's London publishing house printed *Conquest of Florida* alongside Washington Irving's *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A., in the Rocky Mountains and the far West. Digested from his journals and from various other sources* (1837) in a volume of *The Works of Washington Irving*. Bohn's decision to juxtapose these two narratives suggests that he read both Theodore's *Conquest* and Bonneville's journals as frontier narratives.

In 1850, Irving reimagined his work as the product of a more specific field of research that belonged not just to a general public interested in a "portion of our country" but to a group of gentlemen historians from slave states. Irving began *Conquest of Florida* as a member of a network of writers and collectors that connected the northeast United States and Spain. By the time *Conquest* was reprinted in the 1850s, this network had expanded to include writers from southern states. Irving used his 1851 "Preface to the Revised Edition" to connect his name to these peers, who included George Rainsford Fairbanks, Esq., Buckingham Smith, Esq., Alexander Meek, Esq., and Col. Albert J. Pickett, all of who lived in and wrote about Florida and Alabama.

Irving worked to establish connections with this group of Southern historians through this new preface and his private correspondence. In a letter dated July 27, 1850, Irving introduced himself to Buckingham Smith (1810-1871) as "a fellow laborer in the same field as you" who was "anxious to obtain any information that will throw light on the expedition of De Soto" for

the “second edition of my ‘Conquest of Florida’” (LOC). Smith was an antiquarian collector and diplomat from Florida who published a translation of Cabeza de Vaca’s Relación in 1851. In their correspondence, the fellow laborers shared their interest in studying maps and manuscripts “relating to the early days of Spanish discoveries” and described a network of information exchanged that included “several gentlemen from the south” along with contacts in Cuba (Irving, August 12, 1850 LOC). By incorporating writers from southern states into his cohort of contemporary historians, Irving worked to insert himself into “a field” devoted to studying Spanish-language archival material that reached across sectional and geographical divides even as the United States annexation of Northern Mexico fueled political conflict over enslavement and abolition that were only temporarily resolved by the compromise of 1850.

One member of this group of Southern historians acknowledged Irving’s role in this social space and status as an author of an original history through his own preface. For James Pickett, the author of *History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi, from the earliest period* (1851), Irving was no translator. He acknowledged Garcilaso as the author of a “journal of the [Hernando de Soto] expedition” which was “translated into French, but never into English” and Irving as an expert on the same expedition in his own right (12). Pickett explained that he evaluated the “recently issued a revised edition of his Conquest of Florida” against “the sources from which Mr. Irving has collated his work” and concluded that “he has related all things as they are said to have occurred” (14). Just as Irving acquired his status as a historian by scrutinizing Spanish-language sources, Pickett claimed his own status as an expert on past works of history by scrutinizing Irving’s work. Through this operation, Irving’s *Conquest* became a precursor to the work of later historians and translators living in closer proximity to De Soto’s path across North America.

Theodore Irving's *Conquest of Florida* was only printed once after the Civil War ended. While his history declined in popularity, three more translators who lived and worked in former slave-holding states produced new translations from 1881 to 1898. Barnard Shipp (1819-1903), a Mississippi historian and book collector published *The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida; or, Record of the Events of Fifty-six Years from 1512 to 1568* in 1881. His translation was based on Richelet's French version and is recorded in several bibliographies. Grace King (1851-1932), a New Orleans historian and writer published *De Soto and his Men in the Land of Florida* four times from 1898 to 1914. Her version, like Irving's draws heavily from *La Florida del Inca* among other sources and includes lengthy uncredited translations. To my knowledge, my work is the first to identify King as a translator of Garcilaso. And Hoffman Atkinson (1838-1901), a New Yorker who resided in Alabama in the 1890s, produced a manuscript version of a translation of *La Florida del Inca* called *'Florida del Inca' History of the Adelantado Hernando de Soto* in 1896. His work was never published, and is not included in bibliographies of translations of Garcilaso. When Shipp, King, and Atkinson recreated this early description of a Spanish expedition across places they knew as former Confederate states, they charted historical genealogies for their regions that predated the existence of British colonies in the Americas and celebrated Hernando de Soto as a foundational figure. Further research on these translators and the print and manuscript cultures in which they worked can reveal even more about the afterlives of *La Florida del Inca* as they were imagined and configured by people who had a lived experience of the space that the De Soto expedition traversed rather than imagining it from a distance.

VI. Conclusion

Holding copies of *La Florida del Inca* in his personal library made it possible for Garcilaso to send this work across the Atlantic with Jerónimo de Oré without fearing that his work would be intercepted and appropriated before it was printed under his name. Nevertheless, the translators who worked from the Spanish edition of *La Florida del Inca* along with the printers and readers who put those translations into circulation did not always acknowledge Garcilaso as the author of this work. Antonio de Herrera presented excerpts from a manuscript version of *La Florida* as his own work. In the caption to his map of Florida, Pieter van der Aa mistook Richelet's translation of Garcilaso for a translation of De Soto's memoires. Jean-Frédéric Bernard cautioned readers in his preface that Richelet's French translation was hardly worth reading. Theodore Irving presented himself as the author of an original history and hid Garcilaso's name from the book's frontispiece. And nearly a decade after Irving published his *Conquest*, a librarian for the Boston Library Society catalogued Irving's work as "Conquest of Florida, translated from Hernando de Soto" (Anonymous 137). The translations and editions that became afterlives of *La Florida del Inca* did not always include clear references to Garcilaso as the author of the source text.

Early French and English translations of *La Florida del Inca* are made up of more than texts, or the series of words produced by individual translators. The multilingual afterlives of *La Florida del Inca* are shaped in titles, frontispieces, prefaces, paratexts, publishing networks, spaces where books are designed and composed, footnotes, letters, maps, and engravings. Each of these are sites where the history of Florida is framed and interpreted and the product of the labor of teams of people who labor to create books. Some of them are named and some of them are anonymous. Their work is an indication that Garcilaso's intertextual translators did not have

the last word in deciding how to present *La Florida del Inca* to audiences across the early modern period and nineteenth century. Geffroi Nyon changed the title of Richelet's French translation to emphasize the centrality of conquest both in the history of Florida and the history of competing accounts of Florida. Pieter van der Aa and Jean-Frédéric Bernard used Richelet's translation as secondary material to illustrate the value and relevance of the stock of copper plate engravings they already housed in their print shop. Matthew Carey printed Theodore Irving's *Conquest of Florida* and distributed it to readers together with Anglo-American frontier travelogues from the early nineteenth century.

La Florida del Inca has been subject to appropriation, adaptation, and translation since before it was even printed. Translators, publishers, printers, and booksellers moved Garcilaso's history across Spain and northern Europe, across the Atlantic coast of the United States and inland toward this country's nineteenth-century frontier. The movement of this work across printing presses points to early interpretations. *La Florida del Inca* acquired value in different contexts as a gift, a manual, a *relation de voyage*, a document to supplement collections of engravings, a frontier travelogue, and much more. The decisions publishers, printers, engravers, and others made to juxtapose *La Florida del Inca* with new material and to sew this material together into books provides a rich record of reading practices that passed through, but were not confined to, the texts created by Garcilaso and his translators. The following chapters will look more closely at these editions in case studies on the work of Garcilaso's translators.

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CHAPTER TWO

D'avoir dômpté la bête: The Conquest of Florida and the Consolidation of Pierre Richelet's French Lexicon

I. Introduction

Pierre Richelet (1626-1698) followed a paraphrastic translation model to produce the first and only French translation of *La Florida del Inca*, which he titled *Histoire de la Floride*, in 1670. During the later seventeenth century, *paraphrase* was a model of translation based on interpretation. A *paraphraste* produced an interpretation of the text by translating the meaning the translator interpreted in the source text rather that each word in the source text. This approach opened up a middle space between *metaphrase*, a word-for-word model of translation, and imitation, or translation that took liberties with the source text (Shuttleworth and Cowie 73). This chapter argues that Richelet used a paraphrastic translation model to experiment with a new "translational subjectivity" (Julie Hayes) that granted more authority to his own interpretation of the source text than to the source text itself. Paraphrastic translation was a means for Richelet to demonstrate the capacity of the modern French vernacular to express ideas with greater clarity, brevity, and efficacy than Garcilaso's Spanish. The strategy for purifying the French language that Richelet developed and practiced in translation also shaped his *Dictionnaire François* (1680), the first-ever monolingual French dictionary.

Although Richelet is best remembered today as a lexicographer who managed to publish his *Dictionnaire François* fourteen years before the French Academy published their official dictionary, his work as a lexicographer is connected to his work as a translator in important ways. Richelet's biographers only discuss the impact of translation on his intellectual trajectory briefly. Laurent Bray sees *Floride* as part of a productive period Richelet entered into after

publishing a rhyming dictionary with Nicolas Frémont, and he speculates that *Floride* was reprinted in the following century because of the francophone public's enduring fascination with travel narratives (234). Robert Conneson interprets Richelet's decision to start this project as an imitation of his former employer and mentor, famous translator of the classics, Nicolas d'Ablancourt, and as the beginning of a new phase in his career (91-92). Both biographers situate Richlet's translation work in relation to his broader intellectual trajectory, but neither one analyzes this text closely.

For their part, scholars of Garcilaso tend to overlook Richelet's translation because it does not conform to twentieth or twenty-first-century translation standards. José Durand acknowledges it as an important work since it was reprinted many times, provided a French audience with information about the history of Florida and Louisiana, and made up the source material for two German translations and one English translation of *La Florida del Inca* (LXXXII). At the same time, Durand notes that Richelet's translation was unfaithful to the source text, or "no del todo fiel" (LXXXII). This chapter moves beyond a consideration of Richelet's fidelity to the source text. Rather, it begins from the assumptions that Richelet's identity as a translator, his translation practices, and the text he produced illuminate aspects of early modern French cultures of translation and of Garcilaso's reception history in France.

For Richelet, the stylistic ideal of modern French cohered around classicist criteria of brevity, clarity, and efficacy (Bray 257). But while Richelet's version of *La Florida* uses far less words than Garcilaso and narrates in a more straightforward style, these stylistic adaptations also function to undermine Garcilaso's authorial voice and to transfer historiographic authority to the translator. The patterns that emerge when comparing Richelet's translation with his source text indicate that the translator viewed this work as a source of practical information about the

timeline of the De Soto expedition, geographic and spatial details about Florida, and natural resources. At the same time, Richelet consistently discarded Garcilaso's interpretations of the expedition and its ramifications, his moral and political discourse, details about the experiences of members of the expedition, and the speeches and dialogues Garcilaso constructed in the first person. Comparing the way Richelet and others wrote about *paraphrase* with the way Richelet practiced this form of translation reveals that he used a paraphrastic model to develop his voice not as a historian or as an author, but as a critic of history.

Furthermore, comparing Richelet's translation of *La Florida* with his *Dictionnaire François* (1680) uncovers the ideological stakes of lexicography in each project. Garcilaso used *La Florida* to introduce and explain an American lexicon to Spanish readers, but Richelet worked to omit, minimize, and transform this lexicon in translation. Richelet's work to purge his translation of *barbarismes* (language considered foreign or archaic) is part of his larger project to define a pure and modern French lexicon. However, even while Richelet appears completely invested in distancing himself from the source text, examining an autobiographical episode that appears at the end of *La Florida del Inca* indicates that he sometimes deviates from this pattern by choosing to amplify Garcilaso's autobiographical voice. Examining Richelet's translation of this episode and one of the entries in his dictionary reveals that he also used his translation to integrate one of Garcilaso's memories into his dictionary.

II. *Mais il estoit desia loin*: Translation as Interpretation in *Histoire de la Floride*

Richelet uses translation to perform his linguistic and stylistic mastery over the Spanish-language source text. He disrupts convention by not including a translator's preface at the beginning of his *Histoire de la Floride*. Instead, he indirectly announces his approach to

translation with a seven-word epigraph that reads "*Nec verbum verbo curabit reddere / fidus Interpres.* / Horat. art. Poëtic". André Lefevre translates this famous injunction as "Do not worry about rendering word for word, faithful interpreter, but translate sense for sense," while Julie Hayes points out that Horace's words were famously taken out of context by early modern readers (4). She notes that when cited in this fragmentary manner, Horace might appear to suggest that the 'faithful translator' should *not* render word for word, but these words come from a passage that asks poets not to imitate like faithful translators, "suggesting that faithful translators, for their part, *should* adhere closely to their texts" (4). The text Richelet produces does not adhere closely to *La Florida del Inca*.

By using this epigraph to introduce his translation to readers, Richelet drew a connection between his work and the work of his mentor and protector, famous translator of the Ancients Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt. Ablancourt published these same lines from Horace at the very end of *Huit oraisons de Ciceron* in 1638, only a few years before he met a young Richelet and employed him as his secretary (Bray 203). *Huit oraisons* laid the groundwork for debates on translation, authorship, language, and culture for over a century. Ablancourt and his colleagues emphasized the the literary values of their audience and the freedom of their approach in their translation. Their work was popular with readers because they translated the idea of "ancienne Eloquence" according to modern sensibilities (Hayes 1). By reprinting this phrase in his first-ever publication as a sole translator, Richelet positioned himself as a member of Ablancourt's school of translation, an approach that adapted the source text to the aesthetic values and expectations of its target audience.

Ablancourt's translations, famously labeled "belles infidèles" by Gilles Ménage, were innovative because they proposed a renegotiation of the relationship between Ancients and

Moderns in which the Ancients were no longer the sole standard bearers of aesthetic excellence. Ablancourt was concerned with creating a translation that would please readers in the growing leisure classes, many of whom were not interested in reading texts in ancient languages (Ladborough 85). While Ablancourt was a devoted scholar and admirer of Ancient authors, his willingness to adapt work in Greek and Latin to the taste of French readers was a tacit acknowledgement that their work could be improved upon (Ladborough 90). Richelet's epigraph suggested that he aimed to adapt *La Florida del Inca* to the aesthetic criteria of French readers.

Richelet's dictionary entry on *paraphrase* provides more insight into the way he conceptualized his role as a translator. He defines the *paraphraste* in contradistinction to the *metaphraste* and emphasizes the social and political currency of translation. Translation is one means for men to gain the recognition and favors of the likes of Cardinal Richelieu, who according to Richelet was so impressed with the biblical *paraphraste* Godeau's work that he gave him an episocopal see. The italics here are Richelet's:

> PARAPHRASE, *s. f.* Mot qui vient du Grec & qui veut dire *interprétation* qui est selon le sens & non pas selon les paroles. [Monsieur Godeau a fait en vers, plusiers belles paraphrases des Pseaumes de David. Le Cardinal de Richelieu trouva les paraphrase de Monsieu Godeau si charmantes qu'il luy fit donner l'Evêché de Grâsse.]
> *Paraphraser, v. a.* Faire quelque paraphrase. Interpréter selon le sens & non pas selon les paroles. [Paraphraser un passage de l'Ecriture, paraphraser un Pseaume, &c.]
> *Paraphraste, s. m.* Mot qui vient du Grec & qui signifie *celui qui fait une paraphrase,* mais *métaphraste* signifie *traducteur, interprete* [Le Sieur Godrau le *paraphraste.* le bon Baudoin le *métaphraste* ont [*sic*] maintenu tous ces beaux mots. *Ménage, Reauéts des Dictionnaires*] (2.120).

In Richelet's terms, the *paraphraste* was not a translator at all. The *metaphraste* was the translator, because he reproduced every word of a source text. On the other hand, the *paraphraste* created something new, since to paraphrase is to "faire quelque paraphrase." The opposition Richelet constructs between the *metaphraste* (or word-for-word translator) and the *paraphraste* (or creator of an interpretation) in his dictionary entry suggests that the *paraphraste* changed the text to a greater degree than the *metaphraste*. Whereas the *metaphraste*

acknowledged the authority of each word in the source text, the *paraphraste* gained the authority to determine for himself and for his audience what was meaningful about the source text.

Richelet's dictionary entry also exemplifies this distinction by implicitly contrasting his own translation style, *paraphrase*, with the metaphrastic style of Garcilaso's other French translator, Jean Baudoin, whom he labels "le bon Baudoin le *métaphraste.*" It is likely that Richelet was familiar with Baudoin's translations of Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales* (1609) and *Historia general del Perú* (1619); Baudoin published *Histoire des Yncas* in 1633 and *Histoire des guerres civiles des espagnols* in 1650 and 1658. These translations were central to the creation of an "Incario europeo," that is, representations of the Inca civilization that circulated in engravings, ballets, and fiction during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Macchi 14). Unlike Richelet's *Floride*, which used a famous line from Horace to label itself a *paraphrase*, Baudoin's *Histoire des Yncas* labeled itself as a *metaphrase* in its subtitle, which described it as "*fidellement traduitte sur la version Espagnolle*" (Baudoin). Fernanda Macchi notes that the main changes Baudoin makes in his translation tend to be small modifications like adding connectors and changing punctuation conventions. And in fact the main transformation is typographical: Baudoin (or his publisher) differentiates between the voices in the *Comentarios* by printing them in italics (101). On the whole, Baudoin's translation of Garcilaso aims to faithfully reproduce the content and syntax of the source text.

The contrasting approaches of Garcilaso's two French translators highlight divergent French cultures of translation in Richelet's dictionary and into the eighteenth century. Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy's 1709 "Avertissement" to a new edition of *La Floride* explicitly opposes the work of *metaphraste* Baudoin and *paraphraste* Richelet. For Fresnoy, Baudoin's work was less artful because "*il devoit travailler pour vivre, & que d'ailleurs on lui paioit ses ouvrages à*

l'aune, il falloit qu'il gagnât paye [sic] […] *Une version juste, exacte, concise coûte du temps, & le temps ne lui étoit pas paié par ses Libraires*" ("Avertisemment" italics are Fresnoy's). The three adjectives the critic uses—correct, exact, and concise—put an early enlightenment spin on the earlier classical criteria of brevity, clarity, and efficacy. For Fresnoy, failing to meet those criteria made Baudoin's translation "méconnoissable en le travesissant en nôtre langue" ("Avertisemment"). Here, Fresnoy implies that Baudoin's metaphrastic translation was rushed, inaccurate, inexact, excessively wordy, and incompatible with the modern French language. Fresnoy contrasted Richelet's *paraphrase* to Baudoin's *metaphrase*, noting that "on ne pouvoit pas dire la même chose" about Richelet and implying that *Histoire de la Floride* was "une version juste, exacte, concise." Fresnoy affirms that "l'on sçait quel homme étoit M. *Richelet*, pour la pureté de nôtre langue. Et si l'on veut faire concevoir quelque chose d'exacte, & de chatié il suffit de dire que cette Version est de lui" ("Avertisemment"). Fresnoy points out the connection between Richelet's capacity to render his French version with a purity recognizable to his audience.

Paraphrastes did not have the same kind of authority as an author, the creator of an original work, but they challenged the authority of the author of a source text by creating a new interpretation according to the circumstances of their own time. French translator Jean Regnault de Segrais pointed out that "to interpret" or *paraphrase* requires attention to *l'usage*, an important concept for Segrais and his contemporaries because it signaled the changing nature of language and its close relationship to its the social context (Hayes 111). Richelet's approach to translation also indicated the sort of relationship he imagined between himself and the author he translated. Julie Hayes observes that the distinction between the role of the imitation and *metaphrase* was instrumental in helping open up a "middle way" between an understanding of

"translators as abject and dependent and authors as independent and original" (112). Charles Sorel, for example, wrote that translators should cultivate a balance between an imitation (a new text made after in the likeness of an original) and a copy (word-for-word translation): "pour parvenir à l'excellence des traductions, il faut garder un milieu judicieux, c'est de ne se point trop attacher aux sens ni aus mots d'un auteur, et de ne s'en point trop écarter aussi" (232). This middle ground created space for translators to experiment with historically innovative forms of subjectivity that challenged the dichotomy between authors and imitators (Hayes 112). Richelet situated his work in this middle ground by suggesting that a translator could produce a more authoritative version of a history than the historian who wrote the source text.

Richelet's translation, and particularly the margin notes he uses to connect his work with that of Nicolas Sanson, the royal cosmographer, indicates that he saw his translation as a vehicle to extract cartographic information from Spanish sources and as a means to promulgate official French cartographic categories. Patricia Galloway has pointed out that Richelet's French translation, along with two other French translations of Spanish histories of Florida, had a direct impact on the history of French cartography (75). 17th-century France in particular was a center of innovation in mapmaking, and print businesses produced maps in parallel with printed narratives. Guillaume de l'Isle took information from Richelet's *Histoire de la Floride* and incorporated it into his widely-circulated and copied *Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississippi*, which he published in 1718 without including the word Florida anywhere on the map. L'Isle's map is one in a long series of cartographic contests over Florida.

Ricardo Padrón has argued that early modern subjects used many types of discourse, including discursive texts, to create fictional geographies of the Americas that integrate new worlds into European culture (21). In *La Florida del Inca*, Garcilaso draws a textual map of

Florida using narrative historiography. Garcilaso acknowledges that it is difficult to give a complete description of "la Florida" because "como ella por todas partes sea tan ancha y larga, y no esté ganada ni aun descubierta del todo, no se sabe qué confines tenga" (752). While he elaborates on the lack of geographical information that prevents him from giving a complete description of la Florida's physical limits, Garcilaso also invokes imperial rivalries. He states, for example, that "Al levante, [la Florida] viene a descabezar con la tierra que llaman de los Bacallaos, aunque cierto cosmógrafo francés pone otra grandísima provincia en medio, que llama la Nueva Francia, por tener en ella siquiera el nombre" (752). By referencing an unnamed French cartographer, Garcilaso alludes to Franco-Iberian competition for land claims in the Americas. He also suggests that French map-making is a speculative practice; for him, "la Nueva Francia" is little more than a name written or printed on a piece of paper.

Richelet's translation re-codifies the act of territorial possession that Garcilaso describes to make Florida more French. He omits the reference to the anonymous French cosmographer, and reports more succinctly that "Ce qu'il y a de plus certain, est que la Floride a la Virginie au Septentrion, le Golfe de Mexique, & l'Isle de Cuba au Midy; au Leuant la mer Oceane qui regarde l'Afrique, & au Couchant ce que l'on nomme aujourd'huy le nouuea Mexique" (5). Richelet adds placenames that did not exist when Garcilaso published *la Florida* in 1605, notably *la Virginie* and *le nouveau Mexique*, underscoring the presumed inevitability of the territories as future colonies, some of which would or should belong to France. He also inserts his own voice in a marginal note next to this text that reads "I'ay mis les bornes qui sont connuës aujourd'huy" (1.5). By drawing attention to his own work in changing the borders of Florida, Richelet contests Garcilaso's attempt to invalidate French cartography. His margin note suggests that knowledge of Florida's limits is still evolving, and it acknowledges the work translation

does to contribute to and to manipulate that knowledge. Instead of translating Garcilaso's reference to the anonymous French cartographer, Richelet models his own form of French cartography by textually and visually calling attention to himself in a margin note.

At another moment in the text, Richelet uses a margin note to name his contemporary, Nicolas Sanson, a French cartographer who is not anonymous. Sanson was the royal geographer to Louis XIII and Louis XIV, and Richelet likely met him as he was revising *L'Afrique du Marmol*, the translation project that D'Ablancourt began and Richelet finished in the mid 1660s. In his *Les plus belle lettres des meilleurs auteurs François* (1690), Richelet refers to Sanson as "le célébre [*sic*] Sanson mon ami" (cited in Bray, 225). Citing Sanson highlights Richelet's personal connection to a prestigious figure. At the same time, by reproducing Sanson's cartographic references into the narrative, Richelet suggested that he (not Garcilaso) held intellectual authority over the space the text described. For example, when the Spanish arrive on the coast of Florida for the first time, Garcilaso relates that they found themselves "en una baia honda y buena, que llamaron del Spíritu Sancto" (793). But Richelet calls the same place "*Saint Esprit*" and cites Sanson in a margin note: "M. Sâson appelle cette baye la riuiere du S. Esprit, & met la baye de ce nom à l'Occident de celle-cy" (1.7). Here, Richelet disputes the exact location, suggests that he and Sanson know more about Florida geography than Garcilaso and his sources, and claims superior authority on the history of the expedition. When Richelet rewrites the name of the place where De Soto first set foot in Florida, he also re-enacts the act of naming in order to re-possess the same land and history for France.

While Richelet found meaning in *La Florida*'s cartographic details, his translation of a dialogue between two Spanish soldiers indicates that he judged first-person speech and literary conventions insignificant. In an episode in which Gonzalo Silvestre and Juan López Cacho ride

across a dangerous swamp to retrieve provisions from a Spanish encampment, Garcilaso evokes the conventions of chivalric romance in the dialogue between the two soldiers, which he reports in first person. Juxtaposing both versions of this episode visually communicates the effect of Richelet’s omissions:

Gonzalo Silvestre, sin responder palabra alguna, se partió del gobernador y subió en su caballo, y de camino, como iba, encontró con un Juan López Cacho, natural de Sevilla, paje del gobernador, que tenía un	Siluestre monte donc sur vn excellent cheual qu’on luy tenoit prest, & rencontre Lopes-Cacho
buen caballo, y le dijo: “El general manda que vos y yo vayamos con un recaudo suyo a amanecer al real. Por tanto, seguidme luego, que ya yo voy caminando”.	auquel il ordonne de la parte du General de l’accompagner.
Juan López respondió diciendo “Por vida vuestra, que llevéis otro, que yo estoy cansado y no puedo ir allá”. Replicó Gonzalo Silvestre: “El gobernador me mandó que escogiese un compañero. Yo elijo vuestra persona.	Cacho s’en excuse sur ce qu’il se trouuoit fatigué, & le supplie d’en choisir quelqu’autre ;
Si quisiéredes venir, venid enhorabuena, y si no, quedaos en ella misma, que porque vamos ambos no se diminuye el peligro, ni porque yo vaya solo se aumente el trabajo”. Diciendo esto, dio de las espuelas al	mais comme Siluestre le pressoit de plus en plus,
caballo y siguió su camino. Juan López, mal que le pesó, subió en el suyo y fue en pos de él. Salieron de donde quedaba el gobernador a hora que el sol se ponía ambos mozos, que apenas pasaban de los veinte años (833).	il cede, monte à cheual, & part auec luy à Soleil Couchant (133).

Richelet turns this passage into a succinct overview of causes and effects. In fact, when measured by word count, his translation only uses 34 per cent of the number of words used in the source text.

While Richelet’s translation indicates that he read the dialogue between the two soldiers as insignificant, he pays much closer attention to detail in an episode that concerns the natural resources of Florida. Garcilaso narrates an episode in which the cacique of Ychiaha asks several pearl fishers to show De Soto how they extract pearls from their shells. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, American pearl fisheries were connected to markets across Europe and beyond, functioning as “a crucible of Spanish imperial administration and an early and enduring model of a global commodity trade” (Warsh 6). Richelet’s version of this passage includes 75 per cent of the words used to describe pearls in the Spanish text. He omits far less information

here than he does in other passages, and focuses closely on details about pearls in his translation. For example, De Soto receives a gift of a string of pearls which "era de dos brazas y las perlas como avellanas y todas casi parejas de un tamaño," and Richelet describes a very similar "fil de perles d'environ deux brasses […] elles estoient toutes egales, & grosses comme des avelines" (1030, 2.5). Richelet also maintains many of the details Garcilaso provides while describing the methods Indigenous people used to open oysters over a fire. The italics in the following passage are mine; they highlight similarities in the descriptions of pearls in each version:

se abrían y daban lugar a que entre la carne de ellas buscasen las perlas. *Casi en las primeras conchas que se abrieron, sacaron los indios diez o doce perlas gruesas como garbanzos medianos*	s'ouvrirent à la chaleur. *On rencontra à l'ouverture des premieres, 10 ou douze perles de la grosseur d'un poix*
y las trujeron al curaca y al gobernador, que estaban juntos mirando cómo las sacaban, y vieron que *eran muy buenas en toda perfección, salvo que todavía el fuego con su calor y humo les ofendía su buen color natural* (1031).	que l'on porta au Cacique, & au General qui estoient presens, & qui les trouverent *tres-belles, hormis que le feu leur avoit dérobé une partie de leur esclat* (2.7)

When read alongside Richelet's willingness to dramatically compress information in the earlier episode on the exploits of Spanish soldiers, these passages on pearls indicate that Richelet interpreted *La Florida del Inca* as a source of practical information on natural resources.

In fact, two of the very few references to Garcilaso that Richelet included in his dictionary describe pearl fishing. Richelet defines "Pêche" in terms that recall his work as translator, that is "L'art de prendre des perles. [La pêche est bonne. Aller à la pêche. Entendre la pêche. La pêche des perles est admirable. Voiez là-dessus *la Floride de Garcillasso de la Vega*]" (2.140). Furthermore, his entry on "Perle" begins "sorte de pierre précieuse ronde, longue, plate, en forme de poire, ou de bouton, qui se forme en mer dans la chair des coquilles qu'on pêche aux Indes dans de certaines saisons. Voiez là-dessus, *Garcilasso de la Vega, Rélation de la Floride*" (2.149). By maintaining many of the details in the episode on pearl fishing and recalling this

episode in his dictionary, Richelet indicates that he expected information on pearl fishing and pearls to be meaningful to his readers.

Richelet gives his attention to details about natural resources, but not to details about moral and political complexities. His tendency to simplify narrative action and to resolve tension and ambiguity stands out in his version of a naval battle between a Spanish and French corsair outside of Santiago de Cuba that takes place before De Soto's arrival there in 1539. The protagonists of this episode are an unnamed captain of a French merchant ship and his Spanish counterpart Diego Pérez. Garcilaso describes both men as "hombres particulares, que andaban a buscar la vida, sin otra necesidad ni obligación que les forzase" (775). The two captains make an agreement to fight each other to the death using only their hands, swords, and lances. At the same time, they are also determined to treat each other with "amistad de hermanos" and to "mostrar que no eran menos corteses y afables en la paz que valientes y feroces en la guerra, y que no deseaban menos vencer de la una manera que de la otra" (776). After fighting for four days, the French captain makes "ostentaciones de regocijo por el nuevo desafío" the next morning, but that night he quietly sails away.

This episode is significant because it introduces a central theme in *La Florida del Inca*, that is, "behavior and deeds, not genealogy and titles, are the true marks of nobility" (Chang-Rodríguez 135). The two captains fight because they recognize each other as "enemigos de nación, sin otra alguna causa;" but they also aim to demonstrate the "nobleza de su condición" through their actions (773). Divorcing honor from genealogy was a radical idea during the time that Garcilaso wrote, and it is central to his history's persistent underlying argument that Europeans and Indigenous people are equally capable of demonstrating nobility through their actions. This episode is also significant because it features the only French person to appear in all

of *La Florida del Inca.* Richelet erased the central premise of this episode in his paraphrastic translation, and he appended a small but significant clause to his translation which changed the ending of the episode in the French captain's favor.

For Richelet, the words Garcilaso uses to describe the captains' shared desire to prove themselves are intelligible, but Garcilaso's reflections on the implications of their actions are not. Richelet draws from a shared cultural repertoire to translate expressions like "hidalguía", "nobleza de condición", "honra", "gentileza" "cortesía" and "affabilidad" with the French expressions "honneur", "avoir l'ame tres-noble", "courage", and "ciuilité". But where Garcilaso extrapolates an axiom from the captain's behavior—"la nobleza de su condición y la hidalguía que en su conversación, tratos y contratos mostraba decían que derechamente era hijodalgo, porque ese lo es que hace hidalguías"—Richelet simplifies this expression to explain that "de sa conduite seule on pouuoit iuger qu'il auoit l'ame tres-noble" (773, 1.38). Richelet interprets this sentence not as a universal principle as it is framed in the source text, but as a reflection on the actions of one individual.

Richelet translates the concept of honor and its many iterations in this anecdote, but he omits all the work Garcilaso does to question those concepts and instead resolves the ambiguities in the source text. Garcilaso emphasizes the courage of the two captains who have agreed to fight without firearms in a passage that echoes Orlando's invective against the canon, an "invención maldita, abominable" that he throws into the sea because it is the weapon of cowardly men (Ariosto 89). But Garcilaso also questions the motives that the two men might be hiding while they make this agreement. Garcilaso's version explains that the two men's refusal to use firearms was not entirely based on their principles but also on their hidden material interests: they are reticent to destroy each other's ships since the ships are the only tangible prizes they stand to win

from the battle. Juxtaposing the Spanish and French versions of this passage reveals that Richelet framed their behavior in superficial terms. The italics in what follows are mine:

Las treguas se guardaron inviolablemente, mas no se pudo saber de cierto qué intención hubiesen tenido para no ofenderse con la artillería, si no fue el temor de perecer ambos sin provecho de alguno de ellos.	*Ils garderent leur parole*;
No embargante las paces puestas, se velaban y recataban de noche por no ser acometidos de sobresalto, porque de palabra de enemigo no se debe fiar el buen soldado para descuidarse por ella de lo que le conviene hacer en su salud y vida (774).	*& cependant de peur de quelque surprise, ils ne laisserent pás de poser la nuit des sentinelles* (1.39-40)

In this excerpt, Richelet omits Garcilaso's axiomatic expression advising the soldier not to trust his enemy to the extent that he imperils his own life. He turns the men's distrust of each other and inability to read the other's true intentions into the less specific "peur de quelque surprise" (40). In short, Richelet's text skims the narrative action from the source text while ignoring its moral and political ambiguities.

Richelet also changes the ending of this episode. Up until this point, he has only omitted information, but here he adds a sentence. Garcilaso concludes the anecdote by explaining that "con deseo de [victoria], tomando de la ciudad lo que había menester para los suyos, [Pérez] salió en busca de los contrarios" (777). Richelet adds: "Perez affligé de cette fuite, parce qu il croyoit que la victoire luy estoit asseurée, prit dans saint Iacques ce qu'il luy falloit, & poursuiuit le Corsaire. *Mais il estoit desia loin*" (1.45, my italics). In Garcilaso's version, the open-ended conclusion leaves the reader to wonder whether the two captains will ever conclude their fight to the death, and it calls into question the reason the battle began in the first place. What do the two men owe to the rival nations in whose names they fight while they are, at the same time, private merchants without patrons? And since their interest in fighting shifted over the course of four days from a desire to prove their nobility to a desire to conserve their property, is the French captain who breaks his promise and leaves a coward or a victor? Is the Spanish captain who

pursues him noble or misguided? By placing the French corsair definitively out of Pérez's reach, Richelet resolves these questions by rendering them irrelevant. In the French translation, the captain of the French corsair escapes the Spanish corsair, and Richelet adds his own judgement before concluding the chapter: "& apres tout il fit bien de ne plus tenter la fortune du combat, puisque le sucez en estoit incertain pour luy" (1.45). The translator's voice appears again in the body of the text rather than in margin notes to transform Garcilaso's questions about nobility and action in a New World context into a question of fortune.

Richelet changes the meaning, and some of the outcomes, of the source text in his translation. But the very act of compressing information into a smaller word count is also meaningful as a performance of linguistic domination. Alexandre Cioranescu posits that French translators during this period were drawn to baroque Spanish texts because they wanted to demonstrate that they could tame prose that they considered foreign and excessive: "les auteurs s'appliquent de preference à comprimer des matières extravagantes, peut-être pour la satisfaction d'avoir dômpter la bête" (282). The beast, in Richelet's case, is Garcilaso's long, description-rich text. The act of imposing brevity on this narrative is Richelet's performance of mastery over excess. If *paraphrase* is a form of interpretation, for Richelet it means discerning which parts of the source text are meaningful and which are meaningless. But to be a *paraphraste* also means to be able to exercise judgement and restraint.

Fresnoy's 1709 "Avertissement" suggests that the material Richelet removed from *La Florida del Inca* was unimportant because it was not history, but stories and fables. He suggests that *La Florida del Inca* and the *Comentarios reales* resemble texts about China because they "nous debit[ent] une aussi longue tirade de fables" and are "*si remplie de contes*" ("Avertissement," italics are Fresnoy's). For Fresnoy, and perhaps for Richelet as well, in order

for *La Florida del Inca* to become a modern history for a modern audience, it had to shed information that could be interpreted as a story or a fable. For Fresnoy, a paraphrased version was all that was necessary to convey a minimum of necessary information about geographically and temporally distant non-European people. The information that remains in the French translation is designed to create a text with practical information on the natural and geographic aspects of Florida and on the main events of the De Soto expedition, but to exclude passages that employ literary devices and that reflect on moral or political dimensions.

III. Dueling Lexicographers and the Purification of a *Mestizo* Lexicon

In addition to imposing the French classicist criteria of brevity to a Spanish text, Richelet tames Garcilaso's multilingual lexicon. In Richelet's translation, two opposing lexicographic projects collide. *La Florida del Inca* expands and "peruvianizes" (Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino) Spanish by including Indigenous and American words from across the Indies in a Spanish-language history. Richelet, on the other hand, used his translation to exclude outdated or foreign words and expressions from his French lexicon. The practice of removing words associated with the Indies extends into Richelet's dictionary. Garcilaso's influence on Richelet's dictionary is evident in the references to *Histoire de la Floride* that Richelet included there. However, *La Florida del Inca* also shaped the dictionary because the logic of purification and omission that Richelet developed as a translator of Garcilaso informed his approach to include and exclude words from his French lexicon.

When Garcilaso introduced an Indigenous and mestizo lexicon in his work, he used his racialized position to assert his privileged knowledge of Quechua and to legitimate his role as a historian (Zamora 235). His efforts to claim historiographic authority through linguistic

knowledge culminated in his *Comentarios Reales*, a history of the Inca empire structured as a commentary on the work of non-Quechua-speaking Spanish historians as well as on oral accounts of Inca history from his family members. However, Garcilaso also claimed an identity as a native speaker of Quechua in *La Florida del Inca*. In one noteworthy example, he bases his choice to use the words "curaca" and "cacique" interchangeably to refer to Indigenous rulers in Florida on his personal experience as a speaker of Quechua and a native of Peru:

> Este nombre curaca, en lengua general de los indios del Perú, significa lo mismo que cacique en lenguaje de la isla Española y sus circunvecinas, que es señor de vasallos. Y pues yo soy indio del Perú y no de S. Domingo ni sus comarcanas se me permita que yo introduzga [*sic*] algunos vocablos de mi lenguaje en esta mi obra, porque se vea que soy natural de aquella tierra y no de otra (823).

In this brief passage, Garcilaso outlines a Pan-Indigenous linguistic landscape. By using words from Peru and the Antilles to describe the inhabitants of Florida, he highlights the capacity of language to connect the hemisphere.

Critics tend to read this explanation of the words "curaca" and "cacique" as Garcilaso's attempt to underscore his own identity as a descendant of Inca rulers. For Margarita Zamora, this passage provides evidence that "the inclusion of Quechuan terminology into a primary Spanish discourse" is not a "linguistic violation" but rather a complement to "a narrative which Garcilaso insists on presenting as the literary achievement of an Indian of the New World" (237). Garcilaso uses this lexicographic interlude to reaffirm his identity both as a historian and a Peruvian. Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino views it as evidence of Garcilaso's powerful "sentimiento de lealtad idiomática" and his work to "peruanizar" or peruvianize the Spanish language in defense of the Inca language and civilization (163, 166). But in addition to asserting his own identity as a native speaker of Quechua here, Garcilaso uses this passage to integrate a Quecha word into the linguistic repertoire of a Spanish-language reader. In the pages that follow, Garcilaso's use of the words "curaca" and "cacique" interchangeably and frequently to refer to the same people

reinforces the initial definition of the words. Through repetition, Garcilaso conditions his reader to understand these words and to integrate them into own lexicon as they read.

Pierre Richelet takes a completely different approach to describing and to translating the words "curaca" and "cacique". In fact, instead of translating all or part of the first-person passage in which Garcilaso defines the words with respect to his own identity as a Quechua speaker, Richelet completely omits it. Instead, the translator foregrounds his own role in shaping language by reframing the explanation of the two words as a margin note. When Richelet writes about "le Cacique Hirriga", he adds to the margin "Ou Curaca, c'est la mesme chose" (1.72). The note creates a visual and material space in the text to highlight the translator's voice and linguistic authority even as the translator omits Garcilaso's philological explanation. Moreover, Richelet's margin note is the only instance where he uses the word "curaca" in his translation. Throughout the rest of the text, he uses the word "cacique" exclusively to refer to Indigenous leaders. Richelet's margin note indicates that he read Garcilaso's note on the relationship between the words "curaca" and "cacique," but his choice to translate both words as "cacique" in what follows indicates his conscious refusal to adopt Garcilaso's more expansive lexicon.

The linguistic filtering process continued in his 1680 *Dictionnaire françois*. Despite reading Garcilaso's definition of the two words and reproducing it in an abbreviated form in his *Histoire de la Floride*, Richelet does not include an entry for "cacique" or "curaca" in his dictionary. His omission contrasts with fellow lexicographer Antoine Furetière's detailed entry on the word "cacique" in his 1690 dictionary. Furetière's entry echoes Garcilaso's remarks on the geographic diversity of American languages. He explains that a cacique is "le nom general que les Espagnols ont donné à tous les Princes, Seigneurs, et petits Rois de toutes les terres de

l'Amerique" and that in Perou they were called "*Curaca*, ce qu'ils appellant *Cacique* dans les Isles et dans le Mexique" (444).

The absence of an entry on "curaca" or "cacique" in Richelet's dictionary in contrast to the expansive definition in Furetière's dictionary highlight divergent views of lexicography in late seventeenth-century France and shed further light on Richelet's approach to translation. As Sara Melzer has shown, Furetière's dictionary foregrounded the role of *relations de voyage*, or French travel reports, in introducing discoveries that surpassed and even contradicted the knowledge of Ancient authors ("le *Furetière*" 134). Whether or not Furetière read Garcilaso's comparative definition, his dictionary made use of emerging comparative forms of thought and "facilita l'expansion des réseaux de la connaissance en y integrant ceux qui en avaient été autrefois exclus" ("le *Furetière*" 141). Furetière's approach to expanding the field of knowledge and the French language with Indigenous American words contrasts with Richelet's approach to lexicography. Instead of opening up language to new ideas, Richelet's dictionary compressed the French lexicon into what Jacques Damade calls an "élégante auberge de carême" and a "superbe mercredi de cendres du langage." For Damade, Richelet's dictionary operates "encore davantage par omission que par prescription" (12).

The logic of omission that informs Richelet's dictionary also informs his approach to translating Garcilaso. Richelet omits words and expressions associated with the Americas from his translation because he believes that they threaten to undermine the aesthetic purity of modern French. In the dedication pages of his dictionary, he presents this work as unfolding at a moment in which the French language "dispute de la beauté avec toutes les langues mortes" ("dedication"). For Richelet, French is in an ongoing contest with Latin and Greek but has not yet emerged as the most or least beautiful. Consequently, Richelet emphasizes the care he takes

to include only the "most les plus reçus" and the "expressions les plus belles" of modern French authors in his dictionary ("Dedication"). His caution here suggests an underlying fear that his dictionary might not prove French equal or superior in beauty to ancient languages.

In the seventeenth century, the French elite increasingly grew to understand their vernacular not as a degenerate version of Latin but rather as a language progressing toward a future point of fixity and perfection. For example, Charles Sorel's *Bibliotheqve Françoise* (1664) explains that new translations of ancient texts will be necessary "iusques à ce que nostre Langue soit plus fixe qu'elle n'est, & quand elle le seroit, on approuueroit l'emulation des Traducteurs" (240). For Sorel and for Richelet, the French language moved tentatively toward a point where it would become the object of foreign emulation. But while the French vernacular grew in power and prestige over the course of the seventeenth century, Latin still overshadowed French in many spaces throughout the seventeenth century, particularly in the schools of the nation's elites (Melzer *Colonizer* 139). For Richelet and the "honnêtes gens qui aiment notre langage" to whom he directs his work, a dictionary was a means to demonstrate the vernacular's independence from Latin ("dedication"). A dictionary was also a means to solidify a modern version of the French language which could take the place of Latin as a universal language used across Louis XIV's empire (Damade 9-10). For Richelet, composing a dictionary that revealed the beauty of the modern vernacular meant excluding *barbarismes*. In his *Art poétique*, French classicist poet and critic Nicolas Bileau decried the use of "pompeaux barbarismes," or Greek and Latin words maladroitly adapted to French usage (8). Richelet's dictionary expands on this concern for *barbarismes* in entries on *barbare*, *barbares*, *barbarie*, and *barbarism* that reveal a connection between Indigenous people and uncivilized language.

For Richelet, barbarism was primarily rooted in language. He explained that *"barbare* […] se dit du language, des paroles & des personnes. Il signifie qui est étranger à la langue, qui est mauvais, & qui n'y est pas reçu" (1.64). A civilized language, in contrast, would not contain anything foreign, bad, or inadmissible. To include such content in language would mean committing what Richelt terms a *barbarisme*, a "Vice contre la pureté du langage. On fait un barbarisme en disant un mot qui n'est pas François, en usant d'une phrase qui est hors d'usage" (1.64). In other words, using foreign or outdated words makes language impure or barbaric. Richelet interprets words that are foreign or outdated in the source text as errors that he must correct. At the same time, Richelet associates impure language with precisely the people that he describes in *Histoire de la Floride*. He explains that the word *barbare* was synonymous with "inhumain," and he points out that "Les peoples Septentrionaux sont les plus barbares de tous les peoples" (64). His multifaceted explanation of barbarous language and people gives insight into Richelet's approach to translation. He avoids committing vices against language or *barbarismes* by excluding from his translation words he categorizes as old, foreign, or associated with people he codes as barbaric, including Indigenous people in the Americas.

Richelet's *Histoire de la Floride* categorizes information about Spanish people and places as both foreign and outdated. His translation describes a Spanish empire that is far less specific than it is in the source text. By omitting and condensing information about Spanish people and places, Richelet suggests that this information is out of date or no longer in use and in this way, implies that Spain's global power has diminished. For example, where Garcilaso mentions the "Emperador Carlos Quinto, Rey de España", Richelet, writes only "l'Empereur" (750, 3). Richelet also tends to remove the honorifics and origins from the names of Spanish individuals. For example, Soto's "tierra, que era en Villanueva de Barca rota" becomes, in

French, “son pays” (750, 3). “El teniente general Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa” is simply “Porcallo” in Richelet’s text (794, 71). And at the end of the history, when De Soto’s surviving soldiers arrive in Mexico City, Garcilaso describes this place as “la famosísima ciudad de México, la que por sus grandezas y excelencias tiene hoy el nombre y monarquía de ser la mejor de todas las del mundo” while Richelet refers to it more modestly as “Cette ville qui est *vne* des plus grandes & des meilleures du monde” (1273, 395, my italics). By making this information more general in translation, Richelet removes Spain from the center of Florida’s history.

Richelet also omits Garcilaso’s mestizo lexicon, words that are invented through or acquire new meaning through violent encounters between Spanish and Indigenous people in the Americas. For example, Garcilaso redefines the word “caballero” to insist on the shared humanity of Spanish and Indigenous people (Chang-Rodríguez 30). He explains his choice to use the Spanish word “caballero” to refer to anyone who demonstrates nobility through their actions. In a passage that resembles a dictionary entry, Garcilaso notes that “este nombre caballero en los Indios parece improprio porque no tuvieron caballos de los cuales se dedujo el nombre, mas por que en España se entiende por los nobles, y entre Indios los hubo nobilísimos, se podrá también decir por ellos” (795). However, Richelet does not translate Garcilaso’s discussion of the definition and uses of “caballero” in the Americas, nor does he use this word to refer to Indigenous people in his translation. Where Garcilaso recounts that an Indigenous leader sent “quatro hombres nobles, y caballeros” to meet the Spanish when they arrived in Florida, Richelet replaces this phrase with “quatre des principaux de ses Sujets,” choosing to use “sujet” rather than “chevalier” (795, 1.74).

While Richelet defines a “chevalier” in his dictionary as a person “Qui est d’un ordre de chevalerie,” and therefore demonstrates that this word is in his repertoire, he also associates it

with Spain and its literary legacy (1.133). His dictionary goes on to explain the "Chevalier errant" in particular is a type that "ne se trouve plus que dans nos vieux Romans" and refers the reader to Amadís de Gaule, the eponymous hero of perhaps the most famous of the chivalric romances (134). When Richelet rejected Garcilaso's definition of caballero and chose not to use it to describe Indigenous people, he performed what he conceived as a purifying gesture, removing language that he associated with Spanish chivalric romance and with Indigenous nobility from his version of the history.

The definitions of Indigenous and American words Garcilaso includes in *La Florida* stand out because they emphasize the capacity of language to be transformed by the Spanish invasion of the Americas. Conversely, Richelet's translations work to resist linguistic transformation. The contrasting lexicographic approaches collide again in a meditation on the word "mestizo." For Garcilaso, this word is a relatively new one that he explains in a passage which echoes the explanatory information he includes to introduce the words "curaca" and "caballero" to uninitiated readers. He implicates himself in this definition, specifying after he uses the word "mestizo" that "así *nos* llaman en todas las Indias Occidentales a los que *somos* hijos de español y de india o de indio y español" (832, my italics). Garcilaso is named "mestizo" by others.

He expands on this definition to enumerate additional terms born of contact between Indigenous people, European settlers, and enslaved Africans: "mulatos", "criollos", "cuarentones", "cuatratuos" [*sic*]. His explanations include more than definitions of each word, they also explain that speakers themselves give the words meaning. For example, "los negros llaman criollos a los hijos de español y española y a los hijos de negro y negra que nacen en Indias […] Y este vocablo criollo han introducido los españoles ya en su lenguaje para significar

lo mismo que los negros" (832). While Garcilaso organizes a parenthetical discussion of these terms, he also specifies that the names emerge from a dynamic context in which the named also become givers of names.

But Richelet omits this definition and, furthermore, avoids using a French equivalent of "mestizo," "métis." He uses this word once to introduce "Pedro Moron & à Diego d'Oliua Metis" but then replaces a later mention of "los mestizos" with "Moron & son camarade" (832, 1.131). Richelet's refusal to use this word here seems to be a conscious choice; he attempts to minimize the appearance of a word denoting racialized mixture in his history of Florida. Richelet's aversion to this word continues in his dictionary, which does not include entries for "metis", "mulat", or "negre," although all of these words do appear in his rival Furetiere's dictionary under the category "Mulat," where it is described as a "terme de Relation" (200-1). By omitting this word from both his translation and his dictionary, Richelet avoids reproducing words that he associated with people he coded as barbaric. In his dictionary and his translation, he acts as an arbiter of linguistic purity.

At the same time that Richelet strives to reduce the number of *barbarismes* that appear in his translation, he dramatically increases his use of the word *barbare*. Whereas Garcilaso refers to people or things as "bárbaro" around thirteen times in *La Florida*, usually in reference to Spanish preconceptions about Indigenous people, Richelet uses the word *barbare* around 153 times in his translation. For a translator who is concerned with restraint and omission, this dramatic amplification of the word might seem excessive. But Richelet translates the word "indio" in Garcilaso as both "indien" and "barbare." By making these two words interchangeable, Richelet signals his anxiety about committing a vice against language; he

creates and reinforces a distinction between the language of his translation and the people this language describes.

Just as Richelet's paraphrastic mode of translation was one way to demonstrate that he could domesticate prose he considered excessive and unruly, his copious use of the word *barbare* to label Indigenous people was a means for him to distance himself from threats to his own linguistic mastery. For Richelet and his contemporaries, the "boundaries between barbarism and civilization were inherently tenuous" (Melzer *Colonizer* 181). Sara Melzer has observed that Thomas Hobbes and Jesuit missionaries alike feared "slipping back down the evolutionary continuum to their former beastlike state of nature," a state in which they believed Indigenous people lived (*Colonizer* 181). Translating *La Florida del Inca* necessarily required Richelet to sift through words he saw as foreign, outdated, and belonging to Indigenous people. This linguistic contact threatened to blur the boundary between the civilized French vernacular Richelet taught as a language tutor to his Northern European French pupils and a version of French corrupted by *barbarismes*.

In order to prove himself a capable lexicographer, Richelet necessarily came into contact with the foreign words he eventually suppressed. He used the translation process to judge which words belonged in a French translation and which were so vicious as to merit exclusion. Each time Richelet chose to translate "indio" as "barbare," he worked to reinforce a distinction between civilized and barbarous people and, at the same time, to demonstrate his mastery of a version of the French vernacular that gave him claim to a status as a civilized person. But even after using the word "indien" hundreds of time in his translation to refer to the people whose experience of the De Soto expedition Garcilaso narrated, Richelet did not include this word in his dictionary. He defined "indienne" only as a "toile sur laquelle on imprime des figures, de fleurs

& autres agrémens, & qui sert à faire des robes de chamber" (55). However, he only mentioned the "peoples Septentrionaux" who played a central hold in the history he translated in his dictionary entry for *barbare* (426).

Garcilaso introduced new words and definitions in *La Florida del Inca* to expand the Spanish lexicon and to insist on the existence of new types of people and their inherent equality with Spanish speakers, to describe the capacity of Spanish language to change in response to events, and to underscore his identity as polyglot and Quechua speaker. On the other hand, Richelet used translation and lexicography to reinforce a distinction between civilization and barbarism that extended from people to language and, at the same time, revealed his anxiety over the uncertain boundaries of the modern French language.

IV. Autobiographical Rafts from *La Florida del Inca* to France's First Monolingual Dictionary

Richelet omitted Garcilaso's Indigenous and Mestizo words and definitions from his translation and from his dictionary because he wished to create and reinforce a distinction between his own language and identity as a civilized speaker of modern French and Garcilaso's language and identity as a speaker of Spanish and Quechua of Indigenous descent. However, a closer look at Richelet's translation of an autobiographical passage in *La Florida del Inca* reveals that the boundary between Garcilaso's voice and the translator's voice is not always clearly delineated. The pages that follow examine an episode in *La Florida del Inca* in which Garcilaso recalls riding a raft from one end of a river to another when he was very young. The patterns in Richelet's approach to translating Garcilaso might lead us to expect the translator to omit or dramatically condense this first-person confessional. Instead, Richelet amplifies the

autobiographical voice in his translation and integrates this episode into his own memory and future writing. Many years later, he transcribes a passage from his translation into his dictionary entry on rafts. Richelet's sustained engagement with this autobiographical episode reveals that he did in fact choose to blur the boundaries between himself and his text, his own voice and the voice he translated, if only on rare occasions.

La Florida del Inca is an autobiographical work. José Durand has observed Garcilaso wrote with the awareness that the era of Inca rule and the first era of conquistadores had definitively ceased to exist. For Durand, "el tiempo se detiene para él y, cada vez más, se encuentra con que se ve obligado a vivir de recuerdos" (20). In his histories, Garcilaso intertwines personal memories with his histories, and for Durand, many of these episodes display "encantador dejo lírico" (28). For his part, José Anadón finds the autobiographical in *La Florida* in the lengthy passages that relate the personal memories of Garcilaso's oral informant. Anadón notes that *La Florida* "became in large measure the 'autobiography' of a friend, Gonzalo Silvestre." He posits that "due to the projection of the work onto his friend, *Florida* can be viewed as a book of an autobiographical nature" (157). However, even while *La Florida* dedicates ample space and lyricism to recounting Silvestre's experiences, the history of Florida also carries Garcilaso toward his own personal recollections.

The second chapter of book six is one of the most arresting in the entire work because Garcilaso interrupts a general description of the "maneras de balsas que los indios hacían para pasar los ríos" to describe his own childhood experience riding on a raft that predated the Spanish invasion of Peru. In the middle of a physical description of the similarities between rafts designed in Florida and in Peru, he recalls "Yo pasé en algunas de ellas que todavía vivían del

tiempo de los incas" (1230). He continues to recount the physical sensations of lying face-down on a raft paddled across rapids by a man who instructed him not to open his eyes for any reason.

It is significant that this episode appears in the final book of *La Florida del Inca* because this book narrates the departure of the expedition from Florida, and most of this book takes place while the surviving Spanish soldiers are navigating waterways. Garcilaso calls their decision to leave "triste y lamentable" and notes that the surviving members of the expedition "desampararon y dejaron perdido el fructo de tantos trabajos como en aquella tierra habían pasado y el premio y galardón de tan grandes hazañas" (1228). The soldiers turned away from their past efforts and ambitions, and decided to sail down the Mississippi River and into the Gulf of Mexico toward Mexico City. Garcilaso begins the second chapter with a definition of "canoa," a word from the "lengua de los indios de la isla Española y de toda su comarca" and expands his description outward to encompass vessels made by "los indios de todas las regions del Nuevo Mundo" (1229). The sustained comparative focus on the materials and manufacture of a vessels from across the Americas is part of a Garcilaso's larger project to connect Florida with Peru and to "[translate] the history and traditions of his people for a cultured European audience" (Garcés 205). When he includes his own memory of travelling on an Inca raft, Garcilaso uses his lived experience to lend authority to his discourse. At the same time, imagining the Spanish soldiers' final journey in a Florida river carries Garcilaso into his memory of navigating a river.

The level of sensory detail in this passage is extraordinary. José Anadón points out that Garcilaso tends to employ sight in autobiographical passages to certify his own authority as an eyewitness: "'That I saw,' 'that I knew,' are expressions that frequently occur in his writings when referring to events, things, or persons" (158). But Garcilaso's eyes are closed for almost the duration of the raft trip that he remembers. During his ride on the Inca raft he was instructed

by an “indio barquero […] con grandísimo encarecimiento que en ninguna manera se menee de cómo [a uno] lo ponen sobre la balsa, asido a las ataduras de ella, ni alce la cabeza de como la lleva boca abajo, echada sobre la balsa, ni abra los ojos a mirar cosa alguna (1230). Unlike other recollections that are authenticated visually, here Garcilaso vividly recalls being deprived of his vision.

In this passage, closing and opening his eyes is a way for Garcilaso to imagine different worlds. He recalls “que por ser yo muchacho [el barquero] me ponía unos miedos como que se hundiría la tierra o se caerían los cielos, me dio cudicia de mirar por ver si veía algunas cosas de encantamiento o de la otra vida” (1230). When he does dare to open his eyes, Garcilaso finds that “verdaderamente me pareció que caíamos del cielo abajo, y esto fue por desvanecerse la cabeza por la grandísima corriente del rio y por la furia con que la balsa iba cortando el agua” (1230). By opening his eyes here, Garcilaso confirms that he did find himself briefly in the other world the man in the raft described. He ends his recollection by closing his eyes again, explaining that what he saw when he opened them “me forzó a cerrar los ojos y a confesar que los indios tenían razón en mandar que no los abriesen” (1230). It is worth recalling here that Garcilaso bases his history of Florida, a place he has never seen himself, on the eyewitness accounts of Spanish soldiers. Just as he relies on the vision of the man who steers the raft to guide him through the rapids with his eyes closed, he relies on the eyewitness testimony of Gonzalo Silvestre to guide him in writing the history of a place he has never seen. Near the end of this history, this episode connects the Mississippi river with a river near Cusco, and it also blends reality and perception, vision and darkness, imagining Florida and remembering Peru.

Richelet’s translation of this passage stands out because he breaks a pattern that is consistent throughout *La Florida*. Instead of omitting first-person discourse or summarizing it in

the fourth person, Richelet amplifies the autobiographic voice in this passage by adding additional verb phrases and references to memory. For example, he translates "*Yo pasé* en algunas de ellas [las barcas] que todavía vivían del tiempo de los incas" as "*Je me souviens d'avoir passé* du temps des Incas sur ces sortes de radeaux qui estoient alors en usage" (1230, 2.332, my italics). Later Richelet translates "*Pasando yo* de esta manera un rio caudaloso y de mucha corriente" as "*I'etois encore fort ieune, que ie passay* un jour de la sorte une riviere extrémement violente" (1230, 2.333). By adding verb phrases to Garcilaso's remembrances, Richelet blends his own voice with his author's and amplifies this episode's confessional mode.

Richelet's choice to translate this passage is intentional. He omits the definition of "canoa" that appears at the beginning of the chapter, and he might have done the same with Garcilaso's recollection. Instead, Richelet's attentive translation of this passage suggests the possibility that he took pleasure in adapting one of Garcilaso's memories. Consider, for example, the moment where Garcilaso narrates deciding to open his eyes: "me dio cudicia de mirar por ver si veía algunas cosas de encantamiento o de la otra vida" (1230). In Richelet's version, the desire to see something from the other life becomes a different sort of affect, the pull of temptation. The translator explains, "ie ne me pûs défendre de la tentation de le voir" (1230, 2.333). Perhaps Richelet evokes temptation here in reference not just to the river in this memory but also in reference to the temptation to embody a foreign voice.

Some French and English translators of the seventeenth century described translation as a kind of metempsychosis, that is, an operation during which the soul of the author enters the body of the translator. The image of the transmigration of souls in translation suggested "the translator's successful identification or spiritual communion with his author, who appears as if reincarnated in his translator" (Hermans 1427). Richelet's former mentor Ablancourt was

particularly attached to this model of translation. In his preface to *Thucydide* (1662), he explained that "Ce n'est pas tant icy le portrait de Thucydide, que Thucydide luy mesme, qui est passé dans un autres corps comme par une espèce de Metempsychose, et de Grec est devenu François" (202). The autobiographical passage that Richelet translated is a detailed description of a sensory experience. Is it possible that by translating it, Richelet experienced some of the same sensations Garcilaso remembered feeling when as he wrote? Did Richelet experience a kind of spiritual communion through translation when he imagined this memory of water and darkness?

Richelet's dictionary indicates that he did not share Ablancourt's understanding of metempsychosis. He defines "Metempsicose" as "le passage que l'ame [*sic*] fait d'un corps en un autre," but adds his own position to this definition by stating that "cette creance est une pure folie" (2.34). Just as Richelet omits Garcilaso's reference to the possibility of seeing "cosas de encantamiento o de la otra vida" in the river, he negates the possibility of the transmigration of souls in his dictionary. At the same time, it is evident that Garcilaso's memory made a lasting impression on the translator.

Garcilaso's memory of rafts became Richelet's memory. An excerpt from the chapter on rafts that Richelet translated in the late 1660s appears in a word-for-word transcription in his dictionary entry for *radeaux*. He explains that "Les Indiens" make "*radeaux composez de cinq solives attachés les unes aux autres dont la plus longue est celle du milieu, les autres vont toujours en diminuant afin de mieux couper l'eau*. Voiez Garcilasso, Floride" (2.249, my italics). Each of the italicized words appears in exactly the same order in *Histoire de la Floride* (2.332). Richelet must have remembered Garcilaso's descriptions of rafts years later, while he labored to create his own definition. He must have kept a copy of his translation in his library, and he must have opened it to the chapter about rafts to transcribe it while he created his dictionary. One of

the few explicit marks of Garcilaso's influence in the French dictionary appears in Richelet's description of rafts.

Richelet was emphatically committed to the paraphrastic translation style, but he also worked against this style on rare occasions to add his own voice and impressions to *La Florida*. Even while Richelet omitted the American and Indigenous words and definitions that Garcilaso foregrounded in his *La Florida del Inca*, his experience translating this work into French did leave a lasting mark in his dictionary. Even while Richelet omitted or transformed first-person discourse in other parts of his history, he amplified the autobiographic voice when he translated Garcilaso's memory of travelling across a river on an Inca raft. Richelet also remembered this chapter from his translation in particular years later when putting together his dictionary. Richelet's modifications to this passage and his memory of it show us that, maybe in spite of himself, Richelet blurred the boundaries his own voice and Garcilaso's voice while he translated, and even after he translated.

Richelet's work as a translator did not end once his *Floride* was published in 1670. He continued rewriting this translation when he copied an excerpt from it into his dictionary. Similarly, Garcilaso did not conclude his work to record his memory of opening and closing his eyes on the Inca raft when he published *La Florida* in 1605. He reproduced the central passage from this recollection almost word for word in his *Comentarios reales* (1609). While he did modify a few words and expressions (for example, "cudicia" becomes "deseo," "otra vida" becomes "otro mundo," and "la balsa" becomes "el barco de enea"), other than these and a few other small changes, the passage appears as if transcribed almost verbatim from *La Florida* (208, 1230).

Garcilaso also links these two passages together by referencing each work in the other. In *La Florida*, he ends the passage on rafts and canoes in the Indies by promising also to explain bridges that people in Peru made from similar materials "en su proprio lugar, si Dios se sirve de darnos vida" (1232). This is a reference to the *Comentarios*, which he was writing at the same time as he finished writing *La Florida*. And in the episode that describes his memory of rafting in the *Comentarios*, he recalls writing the chapter on canoes in Florida, noting "En la historia de la Florida, libro sexto, dijimos algo de estos ingenios, hablando de las canoas que en aquella tierra hacen para pasar y navegar los ríos, tantos y tan caudalosos como allí los hay" (210). Garcilaso's memory of rafting functions like a portal from one world or life to another, the world of his life as historian in Córdoba to the world of his childhood in Cusco. And it also functions as a portal from one text to another. The network of texts that grows from Garcilaso's autobiographical writing also includes Pierre Richelet's *Histoire de la Floride* and his *Dictionnaire françois*.

V. Conclusions

Richelet's work as a lexicographer is closely connected with the skills he developed through translating Garcilaso. Richelet's dictionary, like his translation of *La Florida del Inca*, aims to exclude *barbarismes*, words considered foreign, outdated, or associated with people he coded as barbaric. By ensuring that "vices contre la langue" do not appear in his dictionary and by minimizing their appearance in his translation, Richelet endeavors to define and defend a purified French lexicon. While Garcilaso introduces American and Indigenous words and their definitions in *La Florida del Inca* in a project to expand the Spanish language to account for the innovations of speakers of many languages across the Indies, Richelet's approach to translation

demonstrates his opposition to this expansive approach to lexicography. Unlike his contemporary Furetière, who incorporated words newly introduced to French audiences in *relations de voyage* into his dictionary, Richelet used his dictionary to establish closed boundaries around the modern French language.

The exceptions to Richelet's tendency to exclude words from an American lexicon in his dictionary are revealing because they give insight into Richelet's interpretation of *La Florida del Inca*. To my knowledge, the French translator only links four words to Garcilaso in his dictionary: "pâque fleurie" (in reference to the day the Spanish first saw and named Florida), "pêche" and "perle" (in reference to the pearl fishing De Soto observed in Ychiaha), and "radeaux" (in reference to rafts made by Indigenous people) (2.119, 2.140, 2.149, 2.249). These references describe historical dates, commercial activities, and natural resources, but not people. Taken together, they suggest that Richelet found *La Florida del Inca* most significant when it provided an overview of historical events and when it transmitted practical information about a part of North America that the French monarch and his ministers were increasingly interested in colonizing and about the resources they might find there.

The paraphrastic translation model privileged the translator's interpretation of a text over the source text itself. When Richelet practiced paraphrastic translation, he gave himself the authority to differentiate between the parts of *La Florida del Inca* he judged significant and the parts he judged insignificant enough to be omitted. Examining the information Richelet prioritized in his translation also indicates that he interpreted *La Florida del Inca* as source of information about the timeline of the De Soto expedition, its spatial references, and Florida's natural resources. At the same time, Richelet used a paraphrastic translation style to demonstrate his ability to tame a source text he considered excessive. While his translation functioned to

share information with a wider audience, it also functioned as a performance of linguistic mastery.

It is important to consider early modern francophone writing about translation together with records of translation as a practice. Early modern discourses on translation and contemporary scholarship on French cultures of translation tend to explain *paraphrase* as a model that privileges the style and aesthetic expectations of the target audience. However, Richelet's translation practice reveals that acting as a *paraphrase* enabled him to develop his own voice as an interpreter of history and to develop his authority as a lexicographer. While Richelet positioned his *Histoire de la Floride* in relation to Ablancourt's translations, they worked with very different material. Ablancourt was a devoted scholar of the ancient authors he translated, and he imagined that his soul comingled with those of the authors he translated. Richelet, on the other hand, sought to distance himself from the author and the languages he translated. Comparing the way Richelet and others wrote about *paraphrase* with the way Richelet practiced this form of translation reveals that he used a paraphrastic model to develop his voice as a critic of Garcilaso's history.

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CHAPTER THREE

Competing Images in Colliding Archives: Translation and Materiality in the Golden Age of Dutch Engraving

I. Introduction

This chapter examines one particularly rich and representative eighteenth-century version of *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride*, the edition printed in Amsterdam in 1737 by Jean-Frédéric Bernard (1680-1744). Bernard's edition presents the Richelet translation as one part in a larger compilation of many texts, maps, engraved images, footnotes and other paratexts drawn from Francophone and Protestant archives of the Americas. Bernard used early modern practices of textual bricolage and "material rhetoric" (Jacob Soll) to shape a new interpretive frame around Richelet's translation, situating Florida as part of a growing French colony in North America. When he repurposed material from his stock of texts and images, Bernard decontextualized and recontextualized both the translated text and the materials that accompany it. For example, Bernard included a selection of engravings that reproduced earlier engravings that first appeared to illustrate *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (1723-1743), a nine-volume folio work that visually and textually depicts religious practices from across the world. More than illustrations of the text, the images from *Cérémonies* become sites of visual forms of translation, interpretation, and ethnographic authority when they are printed alongside *Floride* during the "golden age of engraving" (Keppel 321).

Bernard created his best-known work, *Cérémonies*, in partnership with Parisian émigré and engraver Bernard Picart (1673-1833). *Cérémonies* is known as a major product of the radical enlightenment because it aimed to promote early comparative study of religion and religious tolerance. It was widely collected and consulted in the eighteenth century, and was ranked

among the top 90 books owned by prominent Parisians in the 1750s (Hunt et al. 4). Bernard and Picart drew from a vast libraries of French translations of Spanish American histories to compile the information in *Cérémonies*, including Richelet's translation. For Bernard and Picart, collecting and compiling translation was part of an enlightenment project to take knowledge from existing authorities and rearrange it to make it their own. They aimed to combine existing text with new insights and to use their skills in printing and engraving to instruct as many people as possible (Leemans 49). In the main hub of early modern Europe's information society, Amsterdam, where print media and natural specimen alike circulated with more abundance and freedom than anywhere else, they drew from new forms of sociability to design their own styles of recompilation. *Cérémonies* resembled a commonplace book in that its creators extracted material from a vast bibliography of works about the known world to attempt to display the scope of their knowledge and libraries. Bernard used these same material practices when building his edition of Garcilaso's histories.

Bernard's *Floride* is the product of collective efforts to compile texts and images, write, annotate, and create reproductive engravings. Edward Wouk has noted that printmaking is by nature collaborative. Rather than privileging the solitary productions of an individual genius, Wouk asserts that many parts of this creative process were carried out by teams and were not explicitly intellectual (9). By assembling the work of many different writers and engravers, Bernard's *Floride* proposes a collective interpretation of this work. Although Richelet's translation came first chronologically, Bernard presents many of the paratexts he adds to the translation as primary sources that are more authoritative than the text.

In Bernard's edition, many voices create a new narrative from Francophone and Protestant archives that become part of *La Florida del Inca*. The paratexts in this edition

highlight the history of sixteenth-century French settlements in Florida and position them as an origin story for eighteenth-century French colonies in North America. Bernard creates a discrepancy in the text's account of Indigenous religious practices by combining Richelet's translation of the pro-Spanish, pro-Catholic source text with images from an anti-Catholic Protestant archive. The footnote Bernard writes to respond to this archival collision illustrates the shifting authority and prestige granted to images over texts in the early eighteenth century. And when Bernard uses an engraving of mourning widows to illustrate Hernando De Soto's death, reproductive engraving becomes the site of multiple memorial practices.

II. Protestant Exiles, Archival Returns

Bernard's edition of *Floride* function as an archive of French Protestant imperial memory and as a space where the parameters of that memory is negotiated. Many of these materials reference a short-lived French settlement on the Atlantic coast of Florida called Fort Caroline (1564-1565). The first permanent Spanish colony in Florida began in this place; Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (1519-1574) founded St. Augustine at the site of the French fort after leading the massacre of its Protestant inhabitants in 1565 (Dubcovsky 42). The materials that Bernard adds to his edition amplify and transform this reference into a French colonial origin story. Amplification is a practice whereby Renaissance translators rendered one word in the original by two and that served to introduce new information or reinforce existing information (Burke 32). In Bernard's edition, amplification is a process of accumulating media, rather than words, but this media functions similarly to introduce a new story. The prefaces, map, and images that Bernard attaches to Richelet's translation employ references to Fort Caroline to negotiate French and francophone claims to a colonial legacy in Florida that dates back to the sixteenth century.

Bernard uses material rhetoric to subsume Garcilaso's history of Florida into what he frames as a broader map of French claims to land and history in North America. For Jacob Soll, material rhetoric is a term that recognizes "the act of changing the meaning of a text by changing its formal presentation [as] a conscious method of expression for humanists" (14). For early modern authors, translators, and readers, meaning was "strongly attached to the materiality of books and the presentation of texts;" these materials produced meaning not through words alone but also in terms of a "textual bricolage" that includes citations, translations, commentary, reproductions, pasted and juxtaposed texts in "vast collages and compilations" (5). Building on Soll's argument that the ideas of philosophers are found not just in the body of a work but in its material rhetoric, I want to posit that Bernard acted as a cultural translator in constructing the textual and visual bricolage that frames his edition of *Histoire de la Conquéte de la Floride* and that invites new interpretations of this work.

The printed images and the other printed material Bernard compiles in his *Floride* demonstrate this mobility of material and ideas. Looking closely at the paratexts Bernard includes in this edition and at the information networks that brought them into his print shop reveals the capacity of print media itself to act an agent in building an archive of the settlement at Fort Caroline. For Edward Wouk "prints, simultaneously referential and multiple by nature, call attention to the fundamental freedom of the image, which may be impressed on a paper or other support in the generative act of printing and from thence may take on its own life, imprinting itself into the minds of beholders and eventually into other material objects" (Wouk 10). Bernard's materials demonstrate the mobility of early modern graphic print, not just to move images and information across media but also to ascribe new meanings to that media in the process.

The materials in Bernard's edition reframe Garcilaso's overtly pro-Catholic and pro-Spanish text as part of a series of pro-French media that does not display an overt religious affiliation. While Bernard is a Huguenot exile from France, he does not explicitly call attention to the idea that he shared an experience of religious persecution and exile with the Huguenot settlers at Fort Caroline. Bernard was the son of Barthélemy Bernard, a French Huguenot minister in Velaux, Provence. After the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, which ordered the destruction of Huguenot churches and attempted to force conversion to Catholicism, Barthélemy fled France with his wife, mother, and two sons. During their seven-month escape from absolutist France, the five-year-old Jean-Frédéric witnessed the death of his grandmother Anne Asquel and his younger brother Barthélemy (Mijnhardt 17). But while Bernard came to the Dutch Republic as a Huguenot exile and made a name for himself printing rationalist critiques of religion, he did not comment on Garcilaso's text from a religious standpoint (Mijnhardt 23).

Instead, in the "Avertissement pour cette nouvelle edition" he wrote in August of 1736 to accompany his edition of *Floride*, Bernard presented this work as valuable only to the extent that it formed part of a larger collection. In Bernard's view, *Floride* "renferme quelques circonstances curieuses; mais [un] petit nombre de circonstances ne rend pas un livre assés [*sic*] necessaire pour que l'on ne s'en puisse passer; [en] géneral cette Histoire est séche; [les] reflexions y sont froides & inspides" (ix). Despite this unfavorable evaluation, Bernard explains that he chose to reprint the text because "elle apartient à l'Auteur de [l'Histoire] *des Yncas*" (ix). Framing *Floride* as a work that was valuable only because of the identity of its author speaks to the popularity of Garcilaso among francophone readers in the Dutch Republic and abroad during the early eighteenth century. Bernard's introductory remarks suggest he is printing French translations of Garcilaso's work for the so-called "French colony," a diasporic community of

Huguenots and free-thinkers living in the Dutch Republic which created a strong local demand for French texts, and also for the export markets his Amsterdam press supplied (Hunt et al 32, Mathis and Mathis 309).

By pointing out the deficiencies in *Floride* and compensating for those deficiencies by including new material in his edition, Bernard presents himself both as a critic of translation and as a cultural translator. In 1667, Charles Sorel advised French translators to "corriger les fautes qui y ont esté faites, & de les purger de plusieurs mauuais mots, ou de mots anciens qui n'ont plus de crédit" (234). But instead of correcting the faults of specific words through interlingual translation, Bernard uses a text to correct or compensate for the faults of another text in the material rhetoric of his cultural translation. In his new "Avertissement," he notes that Richelet's work is out of date and remarks that "ses phrases & ses périodes ne sont nullement à la mode, non plus que plusiers de ses termes" (ix). Bernard evaluates the taste of his audience, and offers them a corrective by appending a more recent text to *La Floride*. He notes that instead of Richelet's outdated version, "Il nous faut aujour'hui du *léger*, du *vif*, & du *pétillant*. Cela nous amuse, & nous voulons même cet amusement dans les choses les plus sérieuses" (ix, italics from Bernard). For Bernard, the antidote to Richelet's unfashionable language is Lous Hennepin's *Nouvelle découverte d'un très grand pays situé dans l'Amérique entre le Nouveau-Mexique et la mer glaciale* (1697), "une Relation curieuse, amusant & instructive d'un grand pays que l'on peut presque regarder comme appartenant à la Floride" (ix). In addition to acting as a stylistic corrective, Bernard's edition of Hennepin also draws a new map around Florida to include it in a "gran pays" made up of French colonies.

Other paratexts that Bernard includes to illustrate this "grand pays" frame Fort Caroline as an origin story for French invasion and settlement of North America. Charlesfort and Fort

Caroline were first conceived in 1562, when Gaspar de Coligny, the French admiral who would go on to lead the Protestant side of the first wars of religion in France, sponsored expeditions by protestants Jean Ribault and René de Laudonnière to the Atlantic coast. Ribault and Laudonnière founded Charlesfort in 1562, but the settlers abandoned it the next year. In 1564, the men returned and built Fort Caroline. Coligny engineered these settlements first because he aimed to carve out a route between the Americas and Europe that did not require passing through the perilous Caribbean. He also envisioned them as future Protestant refuges (Lestringant 15). But the inhabitants of Fort Caroline were disappointed when they did not immediately grow rich, so they put Laudonnière in irons, took control of the French fleet and started raiding foreign ships (Lestringant 19). When Phillip II heard of this he sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the Spanish naval captain, to retaliate and to defend Spanish control of land and waterways on the Atlantic coast (Lyon 89).

In the sixteenth century, the Spanish massacre of French settlers at Fort Caroline and the 1568 French massacre of Spanish settlers on the same site were framed in terms of religious rivalry between Protestants and Catholics. From September to November of 1565, Spanish soldiers led by the adelantado Menéndez de Avilés destroyed Fort Caroline. Phillip II justified the retaliatory expedition on the basis of expelling Lutherans and defending the Catholic faith; "les conseillers de Philippe II demandent en effet de prendre en compte le fait que 'les gens qui prétendent aujourd'hui occuper cette terre sont des luthériens,' qui 'pourrait convaincre les naturels d'adhérer à leurs errerus' sur le plan docrinal et dogmatique" (Augeron 43). Furthermore, according to Spanish reports of the massacre, the French were "égorgés à la file comme luthériens" (Lestringant 20). The Spanish killed 500 to 1000, almost the whole French colony. Among the few dozen survivors were settlers who could prove that they were Catholic

(Lestringant 20). As the survivors of the Spanish massacre returned to France, the Spanish built Fort San Mateo on top of the destroyed French Fort. Three years later, Dominique de Gourgues massacred some 200 Spanish at San Mateo with the assistance of Saturiwa, a chief of the Eastern Timucua whose land was located between French and Spanish garrisons (Dubcovsky 49, 53).

Frank Lestingant argues that the massacres of French Huguenot settlers at Fort Caroline and of Spanish settlers at San Mateo are an extension of the French Wars of religion. He calls them "Une Saint-Barthelemy au Nouveau Monde" and says the events "laissa dans la conscience protestante, tant en France qu'en Angleterre, des traces persistantes pendant deux à trois siecles" (21). However, the references to the events at Fort Caroline that Bernard reproduces in his edition of *Floride* do not exhibit any traces of religious rivalry or of a self-conscious Protestant or Catholic message. Instead, references to this episode are framed in terms of secular nationalism.

Bernard's edition of *Floride* reproduces Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy's 1709 preface, which reminds new readers of the old forts. Fresnoy recalls that "La *Floride* fut aussi découverte par les *François* dans le même siècle, & en 1562" (xxi, italics in Fresnoy). Then he glosses the now 145-year-old Laudonniere expedition in a passage that functions as a kind of origin story about French colonization in North America.

> En 1564, *René Laudoniere* alla dans la *Floride* & rétablit le Fort de la *Caroline* ; mais les *Castillians* jaloux de ce que les *François* s'établissoient si proche de la *nouvelle Espagne*, vinrent les surprendre, & les mirent en suite. *Laudonniere* se sauva avec peine ; mais le pauvre *Ribaut* qui étoit retourné dans la *Floride*, fut pris & écorché tout vif, & tous leurs gens furent pendus. *Dominique de Gourgues* du Mont de *Marsan* en *Gascogne* aient appris cette action barbare, arma un vaisseau à ses dépens & passa en 1567 dans la *Floride* accompagné de 150 soldats & de 80 matelots. Les peuples se joignirent aussitôt à lui & l'aiderent à reprendre le Fort de la *Caroline*, & deux autres construits par les *Espagnols*, dont ceux qui y étoient en garnison furent pendus aux mêmes arbres, où les *François* avoient été attachez (xxi-xxii).

In Fresnoy's version of the events at Fort Caroline, details about the conflict are invoked to support the claim that France also discovered Florida in the sixteenth century. The forts, however short-lived, offer proof that the origins of French settlement in North America took place nearly

contemporaneously ("dans le même siècle") as Spanish discovery. It is also noteworthy that Fresnoy's account of the 16th century massacres is protagonized by *Castillians* or *Espagnols* and *François*, that is, by people with national rather than religious identities. Fresnoy remembers the series of massacres not as a religious conflict but as a clash of rival nations.

After the narrative describing the forts in Fresnoy's preface, Bernard includes a reproduction of Guillaume de l'Isle's "Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi" that pinpoints the location of the old French fort. The map folds out from the first page in the body of *la Floride*, across from the title of this work. The placement of the map in the book suggests that it visually represents the space *La Floride* references (**Figure 4**). L'Isle's map was widely reprinted across Europe and North America, where it was an international success thanks to its quality and political purpose. It was especially popular in France because it visually invalidated English claims to Southeastern Territory, thus declaring France's victory over the rival nation in a "cartographical war" over land in the southeast (Navakas 50). The map visually narrates disputed past, present and future French claims to the land it represents. For example, letters spelling "LOUISIANE" stretch across the entire map and eclipse the printed letters of "Floride" in the adjacent text. L'Isle's map acknowledges Soto's expedition; he includes a line that snakes across the map's panels labeled with the years he traveled there. But the mapmaker also includes the routes of many other explorers along with information on the history of places claimed by France. "Route de M de Tonty", "Route de M. de Bienville", "Route de M Cavelier", "Route de M.r S. Denis en 1713" and "Retour de M.r S. Denis en 1716" are joined by places like Natchitoches, described on the map as an "establisem.t François fait en 1717 par M.r de Bienville." L'Isle's map visually overwhelms the one Spanish route with multiple French routes across this space and, in this way, communicates French claims on the space the map represents.

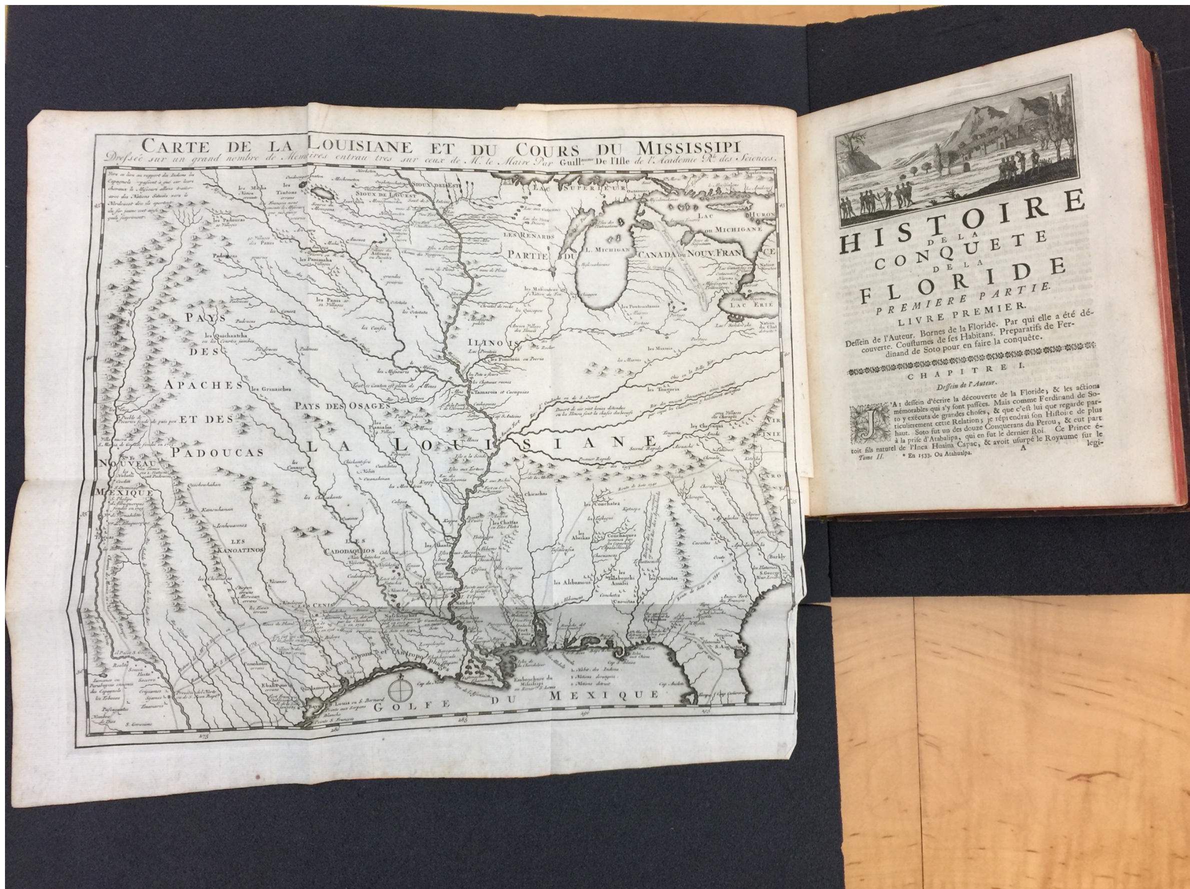


Figure 4. A reproduction of Guillaume de l'Isle's 1718 map, "Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississippi," appears opposite the first page of Bernard's 1737 edition of *Histoire de la Conquéte de la Floride*.

Garcilaso del la Vega, el Inca. *Histoire de la Conquéte de la Floride*. Pierre Richelet, trans. Amsterdam, Jean-Frédéric Bernard, 1737. 1. Getty Research Institute Special Collections, Los Angeles.

In addition to providing information on recent French claims in North America, the map stakes claims to the space's more distant past. To the north of S. Augustin, a small triangle marks an "Ancien Fort des François" that is likely meant to be Fort Caroline (**Figure 5**). By making space for French colonial antiquity on this map, L'Isle also creates the possibility for a French imperial future. The map encodes this speculative movement in a key at the bottom which explains the difference between three symbols that locate "Habit. des Indiens" (home of Indians), "Nations derangées" (unsettled nations) and "Nations detruit" (destroyed nations). By plotting the ancient French fort together with the progressive destruction of Indigenous nations, this map describes a colonization of North America led by the French.

Fort Caroline also appears in this edition in connection with four engraved images that are inserted throughout the text. The images were designed by Bernard Picart for use in Bernard and Picart's *Cérémonies* and later copied and reprinted in *Floride*. Bernard drew heavily from engravings of Timucua people which appeared in Theodore de Bry's *Americae* (1591) and which were, in turn, created after materials created by Jacques le Moyne des Morgues, a Protestant cosmographer who lived at Fort Caroline and was tasked with recording details of the surrounding land and people during the early settlement. Le Moyne survived the Spanish massacre in 1565 and returned to France and then moved to England, where "he is thought to have painted the watercolors depicting the French colony and the Indians who lived nearby, intending to publish them with a narrative he was writing" (Milanich 29). After his death, de Bry purchased le Moyne's materials and made engravings after them, and Bernard published images that closely resembled the de Bry engravings in his *Cérémonies* and later in *Histoire de la Conquete de la Floride*. The images that accompany the text are versions of visual records Le Moyne gathered at Fort Caroline, the site of the French Huguenot settlement.

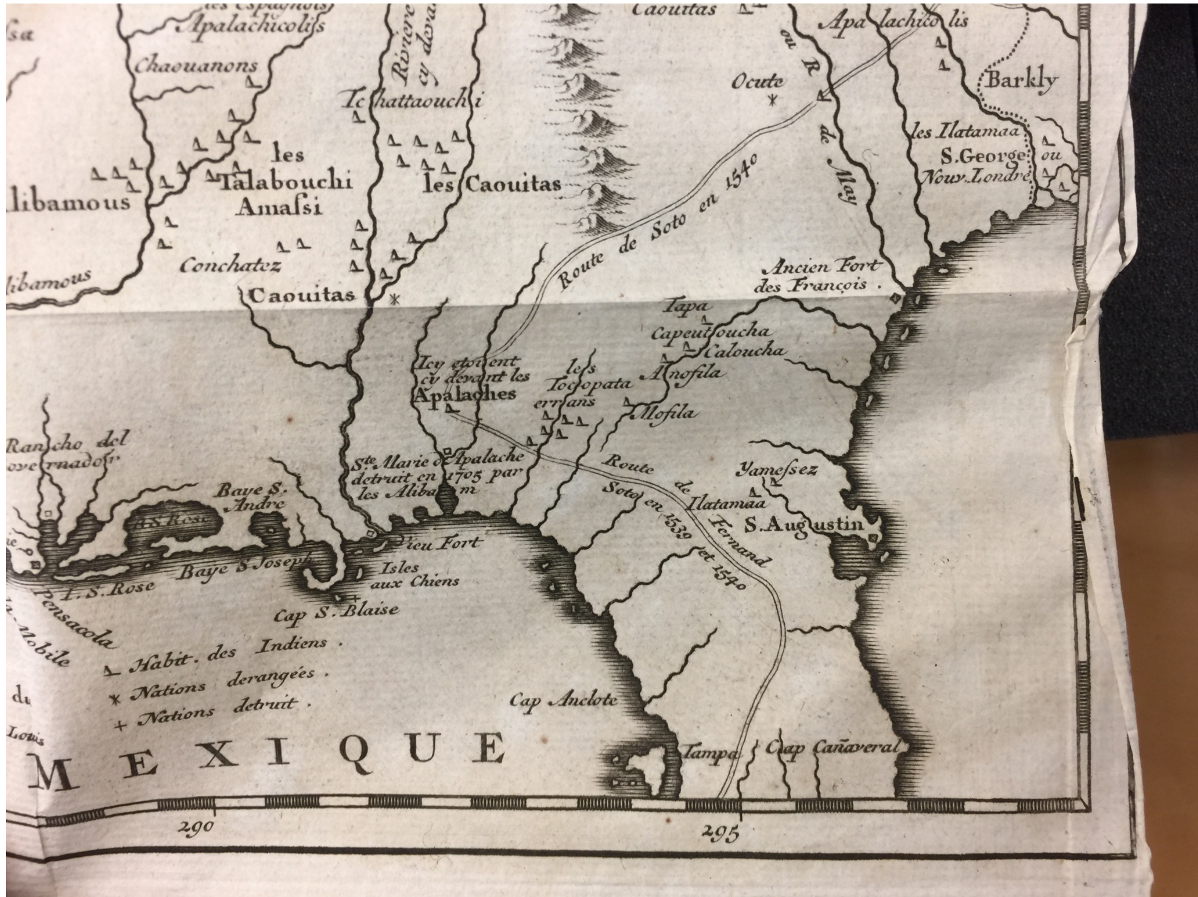


Figure 5. Detail of Guillaume de l'Isle's 1718 map, "Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississippi" which marks the location of an "Ancien Fort des François" on the Atlantic coast of Florida to the north of S. Augustin.

Garcilaso del la Vega, el Inca. *Histoire de la Conquéte de la Floride*. Pierre Richelet, trans. Amsterdam, Jean-Frédéric Bernard, 1737. 1. Getty Research Institute Special Collections, Los Angeles.

Fort Caroline also makes a covert appearance in the Spanish version of *La Florida del Inca*, but not in the French translation. Raquel Chang-Rodríguez affirms that Garcilaso began writing *La Florida* partly as a response to the massacre of Spanish settlers at Fort San Mateo (90). In his proemio, for example, Garcilaso claims that his sole motivation in writing *La Florida* is "el deseo de que por aquella tierra tan larga y ancha se extienda la religión cristiana" (745). Furthermore, in a chapter in the sixth book titled "Número de las leguas que los españoles entraron la tierra adentro," he urges "al Rey mi señor y a la república de España" to pour their energies into spreading the Catholic faith through the expansive territory. He appeals to Spanish Catholic readers by reminding them that they are competing with heretical neighboring nations and that they are

> obligados más que las otras naciones católicas, pues Dios, por su misericordia, los eligió para que predicasen su Evangelio en el Nuevo Mundo y son ya señores de él y *les sería grande afrenta vituperio que otras gentes les ganasen por la mano*, aunque fuese para el mismo oficio de predicar. Cuánto más que, *estando, como están, casi todas las naciones nuestras comarcanas inficionadas con las abominables herejías de estos infelices tiempos*, es mucho de temer no la siembren en aquella gente tan sencilla procurando hacer asiento entre ellos como ya lo han intentado (1248, my italics).

Garcilaso began working on *Florida* only a few years after the massacre at San Mateo, and his reference to the "heretics" who have "already attempted" to settle among the Florida Indians is very likely a reference to the Huguenots who attempted to settle Charlesfort and Fort Caroline.

Richelet not only did not translate this passage in *Histoire de la Floride*, he also omitted the entire chapter in which it appeared. His refusal to translate here points to a larger pattern in his work to omit references to Spain, God, and divine providence to create a secularized and de-hispanicized version of Garcilaso's history. For example, at one point, he describes Soto's soldiers as "habiendo remendado las roturas de las velas y jarcias con toda la presteza, diligencia y buena maña que en semejantes casos suelen tener, siguieron su viaje, dando gracias a Nuestro Señor que los hubiese librado de tanto peligro" (769). But in Richelet's version, Our Lord is nowhere to be found. Rather, he explains that "Pour reuenir aux vaisseux; apres que les Matelots

de Salazar eurent racommodez les cordages, l'Armée vint mouiller à Gomere, où elle se raffraischit" (1.34). Whether this or other instances where Richelet omitted religion in his translation were attempts to render his version more appealing to a wider audience, expressions of his own confessional ambiguities, or attempts to curb a focus on religion he deemed excessive in the source text, his approach to translating passages with religious references meant that he wrote Garcilaso's account of the French settlements out of the text in translation.

However, by assembling material that brings the history of the sixteenth-century French settlements back into focus around *Floride*, Bernard acts as a cultural translator. He reframes the text with materials derived from French and Protestant archives of North America. These later visual and material modifications to the translation—the prefaces, the addition of the Hennepin narrative, the map, the images taken from Le Moyne—rearticulate the passage about French heretics that is lost in Richelet's translation. When Bernard collected and assembled material from Francophone and Protestant archives in his edition of *la Floride*, he attached the history of the French Fort Caroline to Richelet's narrative of the De Soto expedition. Through material rhetoric, his edition argues that Garcilaso's history of the Spanish-led expedition belongs to a larger story of French colonization, and the materials he assembles claim the short-lived Protestant settlement as an origin story for the speculative growth of French colonies in North America.

But why would Bernard, an exile from Catholic France, create an edition that seems to support a triumphant colonialist narrative that centers France, the same nation that expelled him and his family and threated them with violence? Benjamin Schmidt reminds us that early modern European cartographers faced a challenge in representing extra-European geography because they were usually complicit in discourses of power. But Dutch cartography stood out from work

produced in other nations because its scope tended to be "pointedly *European,*" more interested in transcending the "parochial, national, and imperial rivalries—and tastes—of an earlier generation of European consumers of geography" (85). Dutch sources are not politically disinterested or lacking in ideological content, but rather "their perspective is *European* and their message more broadly pitched than the earlier forms of geography; they are what might be thought of as *pan*-colonial or perhaps *hyper*-imperial" (87). With Schmidt's argument in mind, we might see Bernard's choices in his edition of *La Floride* not as amplifications of content that argued for French imperial dominance, but as a demonstration of his broader pan-colonial cosmopolitanism and his ability to access and distribute information across hyper-imperial networks. At the same time, it is also possible that Bernard uses material rhetoric to recover a Protestant history that was erased when the sixteenth-century forts were integrated into a French imperialist origin story.

III. The Stag, the Sun, the Text: Visual Authority in Bernard's Florida

The material bricolage that Bernard constructed around *Floride* created new interpretations of the text. At times, the information the images convey directly conflicts with the information in the text. These conflicts make the different translational strategies and archival logics that collide in this edition particularly visible. For example, the first image Bernard adds to the body of the text depicts a group of men who make an offering of a stag to the sun. This image directly contradicts the subsequent text, which explains that the people of Florida do not make sacrifices to their deities. Bernard adds a footnote to the text to argue for the primacy of the image over the text. His intervention elevates visual evidence over textual evidence of the history

of Florida, and it is consistent with a growing reliance on images in early modern intellectual culture.

Arnaldo Momigliano has observed the importance of images in the rise of early modern antiquarianism. While texts were perceived as becoming "corrupt over time and reflected the interpolations of later transcribers, images […] were understood to offer a seemingly more objective view of the past. As a consequence, they assumed an elevated status as 'primary evidence' for antiquarian scholars and warranted interpretation as original, rather than derivative, sources" (Wouk 4). Bernard's footnote indicates that he viewed the image he included with the text as primary evidence of religious practices in Florida, and the text as a less reliable source of ethnographic information. At the same time, the image of the stag sacrifice and Garcilaso's explanation of religion in Florida are part of complex networks of translated material with long and entangled histories.

Bernard included a folio-sized intaglio engraving of men gathering around a stag right before the chapter Richelet translated as "*Religion & coustumes des peoples de la Floride*." In the engraving, thirteen men dressed in loincloths kneel in a semi-circle around a stag mounted on top of a pole. The men raise their arms toward the stag, which, though balanced on the tip of a pole, maintains a rigid upright shape and is adorned with garlands of flowers. In the background, clouds swirl across the sky, and the rays of the sun shine from beyond the horizon. In the foreground of the image, a short plant grows in two prongs: one branch is broken at the base, and one branch produces several flowering branches. Two black lines form a border around the image, and outside of those lines, a string of text reads "OFRANDE que les FLORIDIENS font d'un CERF au SOLEIL" (**Figure 6**). The caption in the present tense suggests that this practice

Figure 6. "OFRANDE que les FLORIDIENS font d'un CERF au SOLEIL" in Bernard's 1737 edition of *Floride*. The bottom of the images credits B. Picart as the inventeur (designer or creator) and Cl. Duflos as the person who has "f.[ait]" or made the reproduction.

Garcilaso del la Vega, el Inca. ... *L'Histoire de la Conquéte de la Floride*. Pierre Richelet, trans. Amsterdam, Jean-Frédéric Bernard, 1737. 4. Getty Research Institute Digitized Version (Internet Archive), v. 2. https://archive.org/details/histoiredesyncas02vega/page/n8

is contemporary with the printing of the image, or that the reader is viewing this offering at the same time that it takes place.

The subsequent text contradicts the image. Richelet's version of the fourth chapter begins: "Les Peuples de la Floride sont Idolâtres, & tiennent le Soleil & la Lune pour des Divinitez, qu'ils adorent sans leur offrir des Prieres ni des sacrifices." This sentence is split in two by a small cross between "des prieres ni" and "des sacrifices". The cross directs the reader to the bottom of the page, where a footnote explains "Cependant on voit ici l'ofrande qu'ils font d'un cerf au Soleil" (**Figure 7**). The editorial voice of the footnote acknowledges and highlights the conflict between the information these two sources convey.

In Bernard's version of Florida, images come first. Images in early modern print and travel narratives played a vital role in spreading information about the wider world (Voigt 365). In some cases, images even supplanted texts. Stephanie Leitch asserts that in the early modern period, "new confidence in images to convey credible information spurred their proliferation through copies. Books whose job it was to catalogue knowledge, such as natural histories, relied on images to authorize their claims, reinforcing, in turn, the authority of the accompanying images" (242). The images in Bernard's edition are consistent with this trend. His placement of the image in the edition and the footnote that directs the reader's attention back to the image reinforces its authority over the text.

Bernard's footnote questions the authority of the written account. "Cependant" is a challenge to the text; it opposes the text and the images to suggest they are competing authorities. "[O]n voit ici" points to the assumed transparency of the printed image, to the assumed capacity of the eye to take in information without mediation. The engraving is presented as trustworthy ethnographic information. The phrase also positions the reader as

DE LA FLORIDE Liv. I. 5

mille cinq cens vint-neuf *, & mena avec lui le jeune Mirvelo, Neveu de celui dont j'ai parlé. Mais encore qu'il eût quelque connoiſſance de la contrée, comme en ayant été inſtruit par ſon Oncle, il n'eut pas pourtant la fortune plus favorable que lui. Narbaez même périt dans cette navigation avec ſes gens, à la réſerve d'Alvar Nugnez Cabeça de Vaca, & de quatre de ſes compagnons, qui rétournérent en Eſpagne, où il obtinrent quelques Gouvernemens. Mais cela ne réuſſit pas; car ils moururent aſſez malheureuſement, & Alvar revint priſonnier à Valladolid, où il finit ſes jours. Après ceux dont je viens de parler, Ferdinand de Soto entreprit de s'emparer de la Floride: il y arriva en 1533. mais enfin il y perdit les biens & la vie. Sa mort étant ſûë en Eſpagne, pluſieurs démandérent le Gouvernement de la Floride, avec permiſſion d'en continuer la découverte: mais Charles-Quint ne voulut écouter perſonne là-deſſus. De ſorte qu'en mille cinq cens quarante neuf, il y envoya Cancel Balbaſtro Religieux Dominicain, pour Superieur de ceux de ſon Ordre qui iroient prêcher l'Évangile aux habitans de la Floride. Ce Pere arrivé dans ces contrées ſe mit à catechiſer: mais au lieu de l'écouter, les Indiens, qui ſe réſſouvenoient de l'injure qu'ils avoient reçûë des Eſpagnols, le tuérent avec deux de ſes compagnons. Les autres tout effrayés régagnérent les vaiſſeaux, répririent en diligence la route d'Eſpagne, & dirent, pour excuſer leur prompt retour, que les Barbares avoient le cœur endurci, & qu'ils ne prenoient aucun plaiſir à oüir la parolle de Dieu. Treize ans après on promit à un des fils d'Aillon le Gouvernement de la Floride, s'il pouvoit s'en rendre maître. Mais comme il ſollicitoit ſon départ, & qu'on remettoit de jour à autre l'exécution de ſon entrepriſe, il mourut de déplaiſir. Pedro Melendez & pluſieurs autres allerent enſuite dans la Floride. Cependant, comme je n'ai pas aſſez de connoiſſance de ce qu'ils firent, je n'en parlerai point.

CHAPITRE IV.

Religion & Couſtumes des Peuples de la Floride

Les Peuples de la Floride ſont Idolâtres, & tiennent le Soleil & la Lune pour des Divinitez, qu'ils adorent ſans leur offrir des prieres ni † des ſacrifices. Toutefois ils ont des Temples; mais ils ne s'en ſervent que pour y enterrer ceux qui meurent, & pour y enfermer ce qu'ils ont de plus précieux. Ils élevent auſſi aux portes de ces Temples en forme de trophée les dépouilles de leurs ennemis.

Ces Indiens n'épouſent d'ordinaire qu'une femme, qui eſt obligée de garder la fidelité à ſon mari, ſur peine d'être punie d'un châtiment honteux, ou quelquefois d'une mort cruelle. Mais par un privilége du païs, les Grands ont permiſſion d'avoir autant de femmes qu'ils en veulent. Néanmoins ils en ont une légi-

† Cependant on voit ici l'ofrande qu'ils font d'un cerf au Soleil.
* D'autres diſent en 1528.

A 3

Figure 7. Page 5 from Bernard's edition of *Floride* includes Bernard's footnote on the discrepancy between the words and the image he brought together, "Cependant on voit ici l'ofrande qu'ils font d'un cerf au Soleil"

Garcilaso del la Vega, el Inca. ... *L'Histoire de la Conquéte de la Floride*. Pierre Richelet, trans. Amsterdam, Jean-Frédéric Bernard, 1737. 4. Getty Research Institute Special Collections, Los Angeles. Getty Institute Digitized Version (Internet Archive), v. 2. https://archive.org/details/histoiredesyncas02vega/page/n8

eyewitness and, consequently, as the subject able to attest to the event it portrays. Then, “ils font” brings the figures etched into copper into the present tense of viewing. One sees the offering they make even as they make it. For all these reasons, the footnote makes a subtle argument for the accuracy of the visual information Bernard selected from a Protestant archive on the Americas and for the inaccuracy of Richelet’s translation of Garcilaso.

But Bernard’s footnote is part of a longer series of mediations. Both the image of the stag sacrifice and Garcilaso’s claim about the religious practices of Indigenous people in Florida are imbricated in a broader translational network. Garcilaso’s text implicitly argued that the people of Florida were predisposed to Catholic conversion. The disputed part of Garcilaso’s source text reads: “Estos indios son gentiles de nación e idólatras. Adoran al Sol y a la Luna por principales dioses, mas sin ningunas ceremonias de tener ídolos ni hacer sacrificios ni oraciones ni otras supersticiones, como la demás gentilidad” (758). By pointing out twice that Indigenous people in Florida are gentiles, Garcilaso underscores their common place in a world filled with non-Christians and calls attention to their singularity among gentiles, since they do not make offerings to idols.

The claim that Florida Indians do not make offerings to idols is significant, because Garcilaso makes a similar claim when he presents the Incas to a European audience. As Sabine MacCormack has observed, in his *Comentarios reales*, Garcilaso explained “the atmospheric and celestial forces that populated the Inca and Andean supernatural universe in terms of an ordered family of attendants on the Sun. This resembled the order of emanations, or reflections, of the one God that Leone Ebreo and other Neo-Platonists had discerned in the Greco-Roman pantheon” (“Religion” 340). Garcilaso’s emphasis on the Inca’s predisposition to monotheism and on their work to convert pantheistic peoples to their religion is part of the historian’s

rhetorical strategy to argue that the Incas are specially poised to accept Catholicism in a peaceful conversion process (Díez Torres 158). Garcilaso drew from Spanish renaissance historians like Julián del Castillo, who depicted the Goths as "idolatrous people who worshipped celestial bodies, in particular the sun" at the same time that they were "predisposed to Christian truths" to construct explanations of Inca and Floridian religious practices for Spanish audiences (Kristal 113). In addition to claiming that people in Florida only recognized two gods and did not make sacrifices to idols, Garcilaso also observed that people in Guancané erected and venerated crosses prior to the arrival of De Soto (Adorno 348). When Garcilaso makes these claims in *La Florida*, he places the burden of responsibility for evangelization on Spanish settlers and missionaries and suggests that, were they to act peacefully, their task would be straightforward.

Richelet's translation makes two noteworthy changes to this section that elide the terms of Garcilaso's comparison between the people of Florida and other gentile nations. First, the French translator reframes the chapter Garcilaso titles "De otros más que han hecho la mesma jornada de la Florida y de las costumbres y armas en común de los naturales de ella" as '"Religion & coustumes des peuples de la Floride" (757, 15). Richelet foregrounds religion by mentioning it in the title and by beginning the chapter with a discussion of idolatry. He also omits descriptions of people in Florida as "gentiles de nación" and their practices as comparable with those of "la demás Gentilidad." By omitting this category from his translation, Richelet removes an important conceptual link between the people of Florida and the wider non-Christian world.

But while both versions of the text assert that the people of Florida do not make sacrifices to their gods, De Bry's 1591 engraving of a stag sacrifice taken from Le Moyne's observations of the Timucua people directly contradicts this claim. De Bry, a Waloon from Spanish-ruled

Liège who lived as a religious exile in Frankfurt, published 42 engraved versions of Le Moyne's sketches in 1591, and this set of images includes an earlier version of the stag sacrifice (**Figure 8**). This image depicts fourteen men in loincloths with hair knotted at the top of their heads arranged in a semi-circle and lifting arms and bodies toward a rigid stag on a pole. An antropomophic sun beams rays onto the stag, and in the foreground a tattooed man wearing jewelry and a medallion directs the attention of a group of men in European clothes toward the scene.

De Bry's image of the stag sacrifice makes a visual argument against Spanish Catholic imperialism because it implies a connection between pagan (that is, non-Christian) idolatry and Catholic excesses as seen through a Protestant lens. Michael Gaudio writes that while the *Americas* series "holds an important place in the history of the visual ethnography of America, it must also be understood as a massive piece of anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic propaganda" (103). The *America* has been called "the Protestant codex of the New World" by Daniel Defert and a "machine de guerre" by Michèle Duchet" (qtd. in Gaudio 103). For Gaudio, "the idol had a critical role to play in this struggle. Throughout the illustrations for *America*, we are encouraged to make implicit connections between the idolatry practiced by the Indians—the subject of numerous engravings—and Catholic idolatry" (103). In fact, Gaudio reads De Bry's version of the stag image as "a new world version of the well-known episode of idolatry from the Old Testament, the worshipping of the golden calf in Exodus, with Florida Indians now playing the role of the Jews, and the calf masquerading as a sacred stag" (104). While Garcilaso's claim that idolatry was not practiced in Florida was an attempt to argue for continued Spanish and Catholic evangelization of the region, De Bry's visual claim to the contrary was an attempt to foment an anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic message.

In cerui exuvio Soli consecrando so-
lennes ritus. XXXV.

REGIS Outina subditi singulis annis paulo ante ipsorum ver, nempe sub Februarij finem, maximi, quem capere potuerunt, cervi pellem cornua retinentem sumunt, eam omni selectißimarum, quæ apud ipsos nascuntur, stirpium genere impletam denuo consuunt, cornibus, gutturi, & reliquo corpori, selectiores fructus in corollas vel longas tænias nexos appendunt. Ea sic exornata ad fistularum & cantionum harmoniam in amplißimam & elegantißimam planiciem defertur, & altißimæ istic arbori imponitur, capite & pectore ejus ad Orientem solem obversis, subinde precibus ad Solem repetitis, ut in eorum ditione similia quæ illi oblata sunt bona renasci faciat: Rex cum suo Mago proximus est arbori, & verba præit, vulgo, quod longius abest, respondente. Deinde Rex & reliqui salutato Sole, abeunt pelle istic relicta in sequentem annum: singulis annis repetuntur ejusmodi ceremoniæ.

Figure 8. Engraving of stag sacrifice from De Bry's 1591 *Americae* series.

Bry, Theodore de. *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae provi[n]cia Gallis acciderunt: secunda in illam Nauigatione, duce Renato de Laudo[n]niere [...]* Frankfurt am Main, Theodore de Bry, 1591. XXXV. Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

When Bernard Picart re-created this image (that later appears in *Floride*) for *Cérémonies*, he adapted it to the visual argument of an encyclopedic project aimed at promoting religious tolerance. He removes the group of viewers from the foreground, adds a symbolic plant, closes the images within a frame, and integrates it into an iconographic representation of global religions (**Figure 9**). Picart generally used representations of religious practices to highlight shared everyday practices and rituals across religions traditions. Occasional images of idolatry in the *Cérémonies* are meant to reveal this practice as a barrier to religious enlightenment. For Bernard and Picart, all forms of idols or intermediaries stood in the way of the capacity of the individual to access and embrace a universal, natural religion without relying on intermediaries (Hunt and Jacob 3).

In De Bry's engraving, the men who observe the stag offering from a distance constitute a middle ground between the viewer of the image and the participants in the offering, and they model the perspective taken by the viewer. However, in Picart's rendering, two printed lines form a solid border around the image and the viewer and a single caption interprets the action in the affirmative present tense. According to Hunt and Jacob, Picart omits Europeans from these engravings "in order to focus attention on the [N]ative peoples, sharpening the ethnographic perspective" (8). But Picart's omission also shifts the source of authority on this scene away from the Florida Indian who speaks in De Bry's engraving and toward the invisible, all-seeing viewer in Picart's version.

At the same time, Picart's visual interpretation of De Bry's image also includes iconographic material that connects the image of the stag sacrifice to an argument about a specific kind of spiritual enlightenment. Both Picart's version of the stag sacrifice and the reproduction for *La Floride* by Claude Duflos include a bifurcated plant in the foreground of the

SACRIFICE que les FLORIDIENS font au SOLEIL, de leurs PREMIERS nez.

OFRANDE que les FLORIDIENS font d'un CERF au SOLEIL.

Figure 9. Picart's 1721 engraving of a stag sacrifice in *Cérémonies*.

Bernard, Jean-Frédéric. *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde / représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picard [i.e. Picart] ; avec une explication historique, & quelques dissertations curieuses. V.3.* Amsterdam, Jean- Frédéric Bernard, 1723. 128. Getty Research Institute digitzed version (Internet Archive), v.3. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012289050/page/n7

engraving. The plant's knotted, twisted trunk protrudes from the ground, branching in two directions. One branch is broken and bears no leaves, and another splits into smaller branches that are alternately naked and clothed in petals. Every detail of the plant's branches and contours is maintained in the reproduction of the engravings; the care Duflos devoted to it indicates it is not an easily interchangeable part of the backdrop.

The plant in the foreground of the stag engraving shares a purpose with the "tree of true religion" depicted in Picart's frontispiece (**Figure 10**). By visually and textually assembling all the world's religions, Bernard and Picart invited readers to "distance themselves from their own beliefs and customs" and observe the "multiplicity of religions in the world rather than the inherent superiority of one of them" (Hunt et al 11). The tree at the center of the frontispiece highlights another similarity among the world's religions according to the printers. "They wanted to show that the religious search for the sacred was a universal impulse and as such suffered from universal forms of corruption" (Hunt et al 17). Bernard and Picart presented the "tree of true religion" with pruned branches to symbolize the cutting away of degenerate practices and unnecessary intermediaries in religions across the world. The small branches growing from the pruned tree in the forefront of the stag engraving integrates Indigenous people of Florida into Bernard and Picart's idea of a universal, natural religion.

Cérémonies was designed to help bring about a universal syncretism of religions by communicating information through images, a media that Bernard and Picart judged more immediate and convincing than text (Hunt and Jacob 3). By creating a common visual syntax across images, they aimed to facilitate an experience whereby viewers could come into contact not with a priori reason or inspiration but with information they framed as empirical data. This contact with the religious practices in the world presumably led to a better understanding of the

Figure 10. A stag sacrifice is reproduced in miniature at the top left corner of the frontispiece of *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* under a representation of the tree of true religion.

Bernard, Jean-Frédéric. *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde / représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picard [i.e. Picart] ; avec une explication historique, & quelques dissertations curieuses. V.1.* Amsterdam, Jean- Frédéric Bernard, 1723. Getty Research Institute digitzed version (Internet Archive), v.1. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012232795/page/n9

essence of true religion. Thus Bernard and Picart's project was "an attempt to create a more pious, but free-spirited individual who was capable of finding a direct relationship with God, an individual who did not need or want institutional religion" (Sadler 71). Yet this true religion most closely resembled Protestantism, or more specifically, the Dutch Collegiants with whom Bernard and Picart were affiliated (Sadler 70). Thus Bernard's choice to illustrate *Floride* with an image from *Cérémonies* brings the text into conversation with a longer genealogy of Protestant representations of the Americas. At the same time, Bernard's footnote disavows this genealogy by defending the accuracy of the image. Rather than providing supplementary material to the text, the image functions as a primary source of ethnographic information.

La Florida del Inca shares with *Cérémonies* a focus on promoting the recognition of unity through diversity. However, Garcilaso uses the multitude of languages and expressions associated with a common custom (rather than multiple images) to attempt to bring this recognition into being. Near the end of his life, De Soto meets with Guachoya, the cacique of part of what is now Louisiana to converses on the positive and negative aspects of the Spanish invasion in the presence of various allies and interpreters. Their conversation is interrupted when, as Garcilaso relates: "Estando en esto, el cacique Guachoya, dio un gran esternudo" (1161).

The reactions of all the men in the room, Spanish and Indigenous, bring De Soto to an important realization. Garcilaso explains that

> Los gentileshombres [*sic*] que con él habían venido, que estaban arrimados a las paredes de la sala entre los españoles que en ella había, todos a un tiempo, inclinando las cabezas y abriendo los brazos y volviéndolos a cerrar y haciendo otros ademanes de gran veneración y acatamiento, le saludaron con diferentes palabras enderezadas todas a un fin, diciendo: 'El Sol te guarde, sea contigo, te alumbre, te engrandezca, te ampare, te favorezca, te defienda, te prospere, te salve', y otras semejantes, cada cual como se le ofrecía la palabra, y por buen espacio quedó el mormollo [*sic*] de aquellas palabras entre ellos (1161).

Here, Garcilaso highlights a custom that makes evident the uniformity of people from all parts of Florida and people from Spain. The words and gestures of everyone assembled, while different,

are mutually intelligible and even make their own new reverential message in the "mormollo de aquellas palabras" that continues to resonate in the room independent of any individual body.

De Soto notices all of this and asks the "caballeros y capitanes" who are with him a question: "'¿No miráis cómo todo el mundo es uno?'" (1161). This episode uses anaphora, a list of messages conveyed in physical and verbal language, and a second-person address directed simultaneously at De Soto's soldiers and at Garcilaso's readers to make a point. For Garcilaso, the similaries across groups of people are more powerful than the differences.

Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce reads this episode as an implicit discourse about uniformism, the Renaissance doctrine that stipulated that all men possess the same capacity for reason and that, consequently, the effects of their use of reason will be uniform. Garcilaso held that if the uniformism created by universal reason were allowed to take its natural course, it would necessarily lead all people to the same religious conclusions. In the words of Avalle-Arce, "si los logros de la razón son uniformes, la religión ofrecerá las mismas características comunes, ya que el hombre llega a ella guiado por una misma e inalterable lumbre natural" like the one the Inca used to find the true God (qtd. in Maticorena Estrada 47). The multiple languages spoken by the people who responded to Guachoya's sneeze, the gestures and physical movements that accompany these words, all inspire De Soto's revelation about the oneness of the world and suggest the possibility that people in Spain and Florida might already inherently share one monotheistic faith.

"¿No ves que todo el mundo es uno?" is a question directed as much to De Soto's soldiers as to Garcilaso's readers. While Richelet usually dramatically condenses the number of words he uses to translate the Spanish text into French, here he reformulates this succinct, second-person eight-word question into circuitous thirty-four-word third-person observation:

"Les Espagnols admirèrent qu'il y eut autant de ciuilité parmy les Barbares, que parmy les peuples les plus polis, & crurent qu'il y auoit de certains coutumes qui s'obseruoient généralement par tout le monde" (Vol II, 228). Richelet's translation reveals that he has not, in fact, seen the oneness in the world that De Soto asked his soldiers to see. Richelet gestures toward the possibility of civility and certain shared customs in his translation of *Floride*, but Bernard and Picart make a much more forceful argument about the possibility of universal religious enlightenment in their *Cérémonies*. Bernard decontextualizes visual evidence from this project and recontextualizes it as a testament to his more advanced ethnographic knowledge of Florida in his edition of *Floride.*

IV. Between Design and Copy: Translating Picart's Widows

Editors and print shop workers performed acts of cultural translation when they matched images from their repertoires of engraved copper plates with new texts. By selecting and pairing images with texts, they decontextualized and recontextualized both materials. When Bernard chose images from his *Cérémonies* to accompany *Histoire de la Conquéte de la Floride*, he created a short-hand way of reading Richelet's translation, a visual index that brought to the fore purported Indigenous religious and cultural practices. In this way, he framed *la Floride* as a source of ethnographic information.

But the engraved images included with *Floride* are also sites of a form of cultural translation because they are reproductive engravings done by Pierre Duflos (1711-1785) after a selection of Bernard's engravings for *Cérémonies*. Duflos's images are visual translations of Picart's images. In the eighteenth century, reproductive engraving was a practice that was discussed and understood in terms similar to intertextual translation. Examining Bernard's

placement of an image of mourning Florida widows after a progression of chapters that describes De Soto's death and burial—"ch. 8. *Mort de Soto*.", and "ch. 9 *Funerailles de Soto*," and "ch. 10. *Resolution des troupes, apres la mort de leur General.*"—as well as the process by which Duflos reproduced Picart's image of the widows produces a more nuanced understanding of this form of visual and cultural translation (176-179).

Bernard used an engraving titled "Veuves de la FLORIDE, qui sement leurs cheveaux sur les Tombeaux de leurs Maris" to illustrate the episode of De Soto's death and burial. In the engraving, a group of six women carry baskets across the middle of the page in a diagonal line. Their features and unclothed bodies follow classical conventions and are nearly identical, but their feet and arms are bent in different positions. Five of the women drop locks of their hair onto the ground, and a sixth woman bends and places her hands on a basket's handles. The uniformity of their bodies and diversity of their movements gives the impression that they are a study of one body broken into six poses, an experiment in visualizing motion. The motion they display is meant to be a gesture of mourning. At the base of each widow's neck, an abrupt spray of short hair indicates her hair is recently cut, and the image charts the movement of the shorn hair from basket to hands to small mounds of earth labeled "the tombs of their husbands" by the caption. The widows also carry and distribute bows, arrows, arrow sheaths, bowls, shells, and strips of animal fur across the tombs (**Figure 11**). The designation of the widows as "de la Floride" associates them not with a particular Indigenous tribe or community, but with a European name for an indeterminate space. The use of nearly identical classical naked bodies to represent them presents a generic reduction of their practice and situates them in a broader exotic genre used to represent idealized versions of people from outside Europe in eighteenth-century visual culture (Voigt 370).

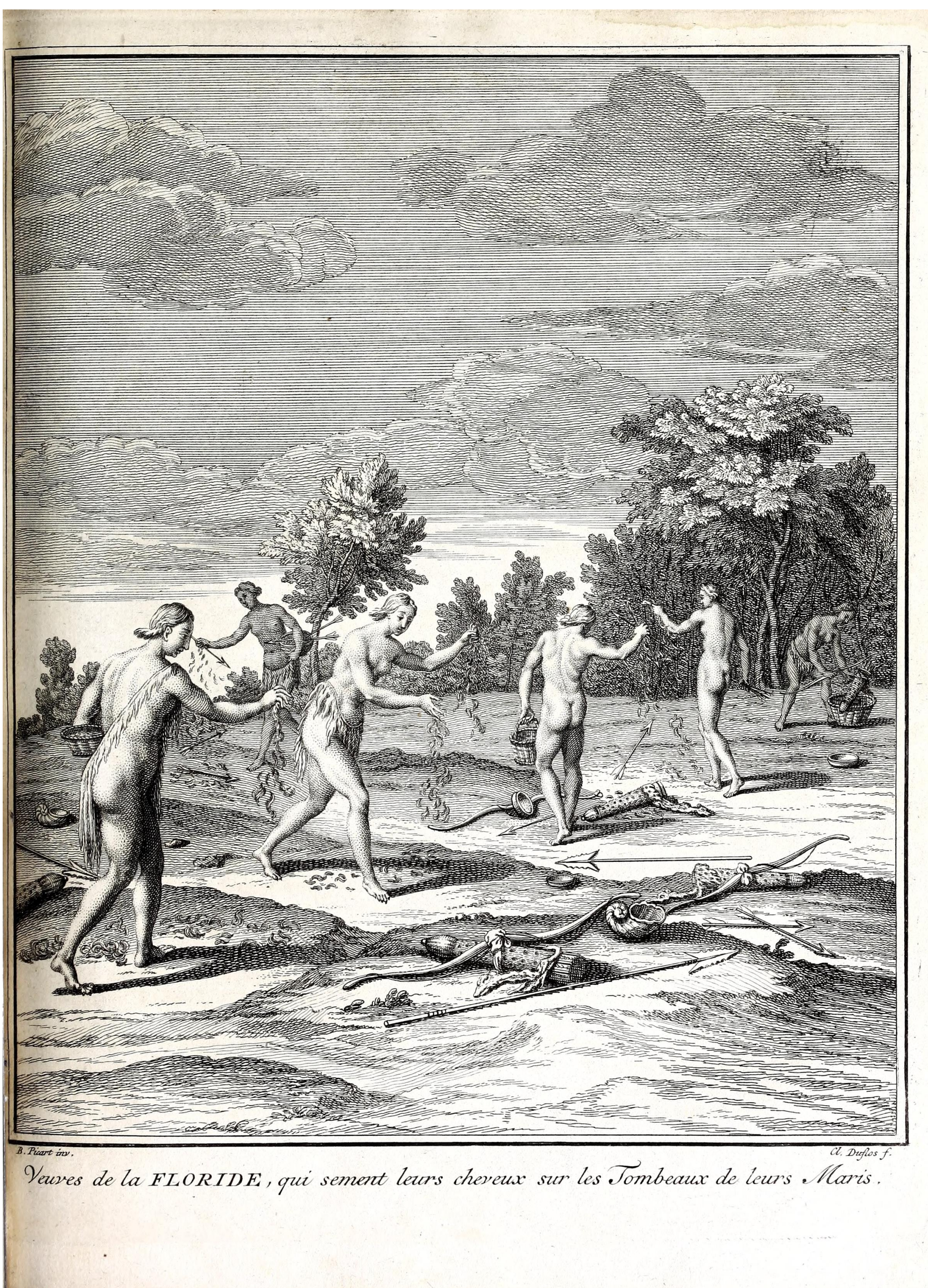


Figure 11. “Veuves de la FLORIDE, qui sement leurs cheveux sur les Tombeaux de leurs Maris.” in Bernard’s 1737 edition of *Floride*. The bottom of the images credits B. Picart as the inventeur (designer or creator) and Cl. Duflos as the person who has “f.[ait]” or made the reproduction.

Garcilaso del la Vega, el Inca. … *L’Histoire de la Conquéte de la Floride*. Pierre Richelet, trans. Amsterdam, Jean-Frédéric Bernard, 1737. 178. Getty Research Institute Digitized Version (Internet Archive), v. 2. https://archive.org/details/histoiredesyncas02vega/page/n8

The engraving of the widows and their hair is adapted from a similar engraving by Theodore de Bry meant to depict Timucua-speaking Indigenous people, especially the Saturiwa and the Outina, who lived in today's northern Florida and southern Georgia (Milanich 28). De Bry produced engravings of Timucua widows in 1591, and he explained in a caption to one of these images that they cover their faces with their hands because they are "overcome with grief" after their husbands "have succumbed in battle or have died from illness", and that they ask the "king" to avenge their husbands and "provide them with the means to live during their widowhood" (De Bry web). At least part of the illness and battles that claimed the lives of Timucua people in the sixteenth century were a direct result of the Spanish and French invasions. The Timucua people De Bry engraved into his *Americae* had already lost family members as a result of diseases and slave raids introduced in Florida by De Soto and other Spanish expeditions. For Garcilaso, recounting the loss of De Soto also meant mourning the lost possibility of a peaceful Spanish settlement in Florida on the banks of the Mississippi River. Garcilaso describes the settlement De Soto envisions as home to "españoles o castellanos […] de todas partes" who would come "con ganados y semillas de las que en ellas no había, para la poblar, cultivar, y gozar de ella" (1155). However, according to Garcilaso, De Soto's death made this vision impossible for the surviving members of the expedition to realize.

For Garcilaso, this speculative Florida would be founded on principles of peace and love. Diego de Guzmán illuminates this ideal. Guzmán is a Spanish man who decides to leave the expedition and live with the people of Naguatex because he loves the cacique's daughter. For De Soto and his soldiers, the loss of Guzmán represents a decrease in their manpower and a moral scandal, since Guzmán gave up his horse and his weapons while gambling in Naguatex. But for Garcilaso, the loss of Guzmán represents the absence of a competent and principled interpreter

for Spanish evangelization efforts. Garcilaso remarks that Guzmán had a "reputación y crédito" among the Indians of Naguatex and observes that someone of his standing "hubiese después acá predicado la Fe Católica como debía a cristiano y a caballero, pudiéramos no solamente desculpar su mal hecho, empero loarlo grandemente, porque podríamos creer que hubiese hecho mucho fructo con su doctrina" (1153). In other words, after laying down their weapons and surrendering their horses, Spanish men like Guzmán would be in an ideal position to spread Catholic doctine. Garcilaso precedes De Soto's death with the loss of Guzmán to lament the lack of models who might cultivate the Catholic Faith among Indigenous people through their "buen ejemplo, a que ellos miran más que a otra cosa ninguna," (1154). In Garcilaso's view, the loss of Guzmán distances the expedition further from a model of interacting with Indigenous people based on "paz" (laying down weapons) and "amor" (staying with the cacique's daughter).

De Soto echoes the binomial "paz y amor" in his dying words. When he says goodbye to his soldiers, he asks them first to convert Florida Indians to the Catholic faith and augment the Spanish crown and, in his last words, "Pidioles muy encarecidamente tuviesen *paz y amor* entre sí" (1168, my italics). Garcilaso emphasizes De Soto's wish in his history even while he knows subsequent Spanish expeditions acted contrary to this mandate. Garcilaso wrote after the series of massacres between French and Spanish settlers at Fort Caroline and Fort San Mateo in the 1560s, and after the 1570 massacre of Jesuits in Ajacán led by the Algonquin Don Luis de Velasco. In the years before *La Florida* was published, Garcilaso likely also heard of the Guale rebellion against Franciscan missions in Spanish Florida. With his reflections on De Soto's death, Garcilaso imagines what might have been possible had De Soto survived to enforce a policy of peaceful Spanish settlement in Florida, and he links his death to broader losses of Spanish and Indigenous lives.

In Bernard's version of *Floride*, placing the image of mourning Timucua widows beside a series of chapters that describe De Soto's death and burial appears to enlist the women in mourning De Soto. The image is incongruous with the text firstly because De Soto was buried in the Mississippi river in what is now Arkansas, hundreds of miles away from Timucua land on the eastern coast of what is now Florida and Georgia. Furthermore, Richelet's translation explains that after De Soto died, the soldiers dissimulated their grief to attempt to keep the news from their Indigenous enemies and buried De Soto in the river because they feared that his body would be exhumed and mutilated. The visual suggestion that Indigenous women would mourn De Soto is directly in contrast with the text's assertion that his death was hidden from Indigenous people.

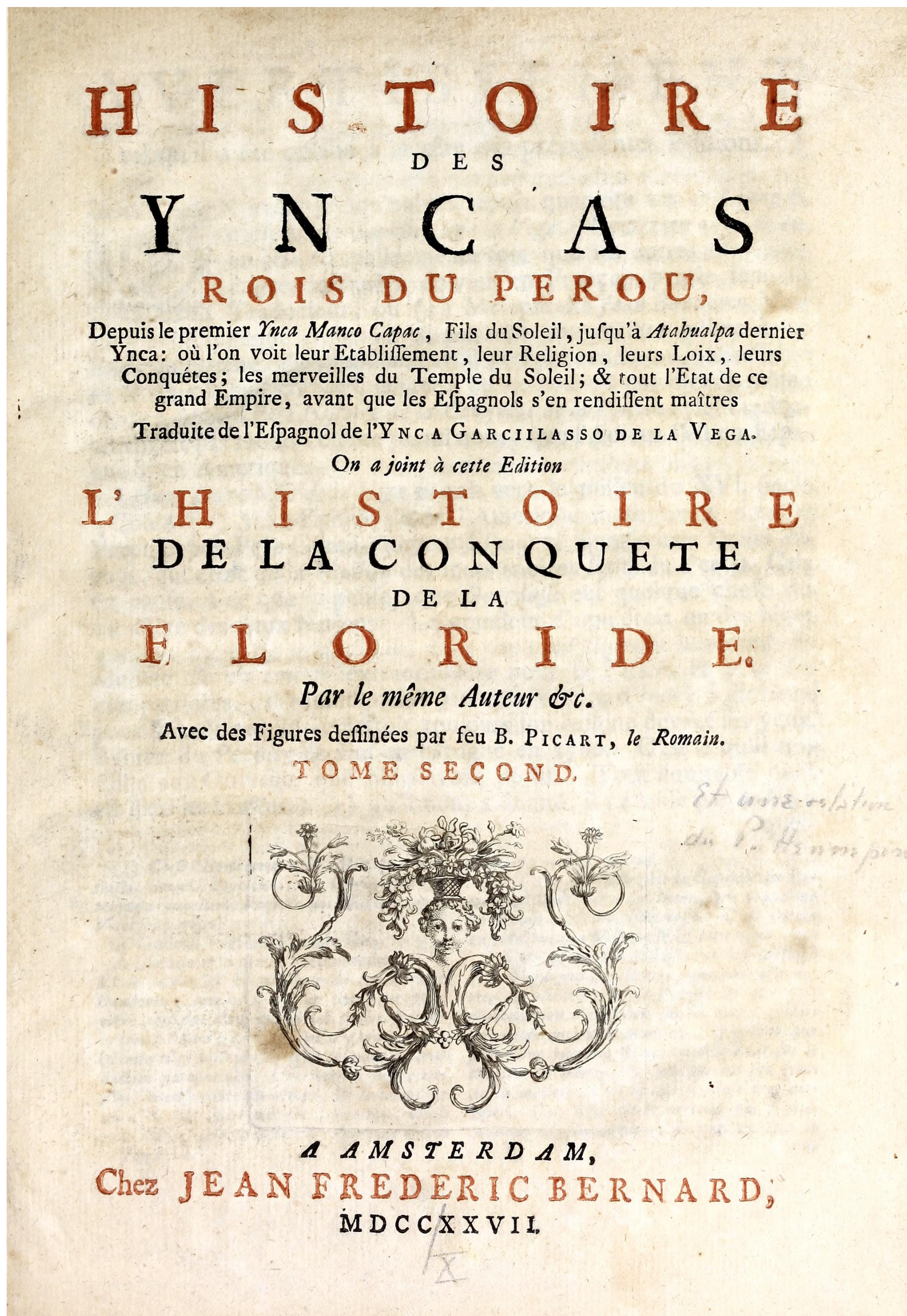
In addition to its use in this edition to illustrate a text, the engraving of the mourning widows is also the site of another kind of cultural translation. It is a copy of the image Picart engraved for *Cérémonies* that was done by his student, Pierre Duflos (Anonymous 386-387). Duflos began working with Bernard to complete Picart's engravings for *Cérémonies* after his teacher's death, and he also produced copies of four of those image that are adapted to fit a full folio page. The signatures on the engraving indicate that it was "inventé" (designed, created) by Picart and "faite" (made or done) by Duflos.

There are several possible explanations of Bernard's decision to have Picart's images "faites" (made, done, copied) for *Floride* rather than recycled. Lisa Voigt specifies that recycling images in different printed editions of a text was a practice by which the same copper plates or wood blocks were repeated in different texts (366). Printers who recycled plates "capitalized on the repeatability of images to minimize the extra expense of printing illustrations" (Voigt 366). However, Picart was one of the most famous European reproductive engravers of his time, and the images he designed had value because his name was attached to them. Ann Jensen Adams

points out that "throughout the eighteenth century, when Picart's name was attached to a reproductive print, it was invoked to authenticate and increase the value of a work. That a work had been judged by a collector or prominent printmaker as worthy of reproduction particularly increased its value" (Adams 79). When Duflos copied Picart's design for *Floride*, he redefined the reproductive printmaker as the creator of an original which was deemed fit for reproduction.

The two signatures that appear in each bottom corner of the engraving of the mourning widows mean that the value of Picart's design increased because another engraver reproduced it and that the value of the original copper plate was conserved for future use or collection. Copper plates inevitably wore down over the printing process. Bernard, who was still using Picart's plates to print his *Cérémonies*, could only make a limited number of impressions with them. Another eighteenth-century printer advertised in 1765 that he would only print 2,500 copies of "a new edition of Racine illustrated by Gravelot, so that all the subscribers could have good impressions of the plates" (Griffiths 53). Recycling Picart's copper plates for *Floride* would have been too costly, but having them reproduced by Duflos added value to this edition beause Bernard could attach Picart's name to it and use it to promote *Floride*. In fact, the frontispiece of Bernard's edition removes Richelet's name as it appeared in previous editions and instead features Picart's name and credits him for designing the images in the work (**Figure 12**).

Picart's name rose in prominence during a time when the prestige status of reproductive engravings was in flux. Dealers and amateurs tended to dismiss the work of "graveurs de profession" or professional engravers in favor of the work of "peintre-graveurs," or painters who made prints (Marchesano 105). While both worked to reproduce paintings and other primary works of art, many considered painters who made prints as the most apt at conserving the original spirit of the art they reproduced (Marchesano 111). In 1686, The Royal Academy ranked



HISTOIRE
DES
YNCAS
ROIS DU PEROU,
Depuis le premier *Ynca Manco Capac*, Fils du Soleil, jusqu'à *Atahualpa* dernier Ynca: où l'on voit leur Etablissement, leur Religion, leurs Loix, leurs Conquétes; les merveilles du Temple du Soleil; & tout l'Etat de ce grand Empire, avant que les Espagnols s'en rendissent maîtres
Traduite de l'Espagnol de l'YNCA GARCIILASSO DE LA VEGA.
On a joint à cette Edition
L'HISTOIRE
DE LA CONQUETE
DE LA
FLORIDE.
Par le même Auteur &c.
Avec des Figures dessinées par feu B. PICART, *le Romain.*
TOME SECOND.

A AMSTERDAM,
Chez JEAN FREDERIC BERNARD,
MDCCXXVII.

Figure 12. The frontispiece of Bernard's 1737 edition of *Floride* lists B. Picart, *le Romain* prominently on the title page and credits him as the designer of the images included in this work.

Garcilaso del la Vega, el Inca. ...*L'Histoire de la Conquéte de la Floride*. Pierre Richelet, trans. Amsterdam, Jean-Frédéric Bernard, 1737. Getty Research Institute Digitized Version (Internet Archive), v. 2. https://archive.org/details/histoiredesyncas02vega/page/n8

engravers below painters, and some critics claimed that painter-engravers produced more prestigious work than professional engravers like Picart. In response to such critics, Picart developed the custom of secretly producing engravings of works by classical master "peintre-graveurs" like Nicolas Poussin and Carlo Maratti without inscriptions and on paper he had artificially aged. When connoisseurs misrecognized his "Impostures innocents" as engravings and etchings made by painters, Picart proved that he had both the skill of a professional and the spirit ("goût pittoresque") of a painter, and that he could reproduce the style of classical masters even though he lived in a later time (Marchesano 110).

The engravings Picart produced from De Bry's earlier engravings of Timucua people for *Cérémonies* follow a different set of conventions from the ones Picart used to create engraved reproductions of paintings. Picart does not produce a version of De Bry's engraved mourning widows that aims to be indistinguishable from the source. Rather, he creates a new interpretation of the image that adapts it to *Cérémonies*. In De Bry's image of the mourning women, the contours of a hill divide the image into a foreground and a background. The women move across the background with their hair and baskets while a pile of objects (bows, arrows, quivers, animal skins, shells) rests in the foreground (**Figure 13**). However, Picart widens the frame around the women and adds trees and clouds around them. Picart's image also places the objects that appear in the foreground of De Bry's image in the hands, baskets, and at the feet of the women (**Figure 14**). Whereas in De Bry's image the women place their hair only on the small mounds of earth beneath them, in Picart's image they place hair as well as arrows, shells, bows, and quivers on the earth. The changes Picart made to this engraving indicate that he considered De Bry's image a source of ethnographic information rather than a work of art, and that he authorized himself to reimagine the details of the cultural practice it communicated. Like the translated text of the

Mulierum extinctos maritos lugentium ceremoniæ. XIX.

AD maritorum ſepulcra pervenientes, capillos ſub auribus præſecant, illiſque per ſepulcra ſparſis, maritorum arma & conchas ex quibus bibebant ibidem abijciunt, in ſtrenuorum virorum memoriam. His peractis domum redeunt, ſed ad ſecundas nuptias convolare nequeunt, donec capilli renaſcantur tam longi, ut humeros tegere poſsint. Digitorum in manibus & pedibus ungues oblongos creſcere etiàm ſinunt, illos per latera ſcalpentes ut præacuti reddantur, ſed viri præſertim: nam ſi quem ex hoſtibus apprehendere poſſunt, unguibus in ejus frontem valide infixis, cutem detrahunt, eum cæcum & lacerum relinquentes.

D 2

Figure 13. Engraving of widows and their hair from De Bry's 1591 *Americae* series.

Bry, Theodore de. *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae provi[n]cia Gallis acciderunt : secunda in illam Nauigatione, duce Renato de Laudo[n]niere ...* Frankfurt am Main, Theodore de Bry, 1591. XIX. Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

Figure 14. Picart's 1721 engraving of widows and their hair in *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde.*

Bernard, Jean-Frédéric. *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde / représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picard [i.e. Picart] ; avec une explication historique, & quelques dissertations curieuses*. *V.3.* Amsterdam, Jean- Frédéric Bernard, 1723. 132. Getty Research Institute digitzed version (Internet Archive), v.3. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012289050/page/n7

paraphraste Richelet, Picart's versions of De Bry were neither complete inventions nor strict copies, they were interpretations.

When Duflos copies (or does) Picart's work and credits him as the inventor, his copy reinforces his teacher's reputation as a creator of original images. Picart's images in *Cérémonies* acquire the status as original works because his name appears on the image as its designer and because Duflos takes meticulous care to precisely reproduce his former teacher's hand. While Picart produced an interpretation of De Bry's image, Duflos only made a few small additions to the image to adapt it for printing on a full folio page. He adds some simple lines suggesting the contours of the earth under the widow's feet and swirls that create additional clouds above their heads (see again **Figure 10**). While Duflos's clouds might appear to be a neutral means of filling space, clouds are significant in two-dimensional art because they work to constitute the perspective system. Hubert Damish writes that "perspective can only know things that occupy a place and the contour of which can be defined by lines. But the sky does not occupy a place, and cannot be measured; and as for clouds, nor can their outlines be fixed nor their shapes analyzed in terms of surfaces […] they are bodies whose limits interpenetrate with those of other clouds" (quoted in Gaudio 69). By adding clouds to his teacher's image, Duflos changes the perspective of the space he represents.

It is also possible to read the cloudy sky in Duflos's reproduction as a memorial space where the hands of the teacher and the student coincide and comingle. Michael Gaudio reads smoke and clouds in De Bry's work as a marker of the limits of what the ethnographic engraver is able to know and record and, at the same time, as an index of the engraver's work in making meaning with lines, an index that is all only lines. In Duflos's reproduction, the sky is a space where his strict and disciplined copy of Picart's lines gives way to the less constrained

movements his hand makes to cut the engraving of new clouds. Being able to reproduce the hand of master artists was one of the skills Picart and other reproductive engravers took a great deal of pride in at this time, so by replicating his teacher's touch, Duflos not only recalls his teachers' body, he also positions himself as his heir and equal in skill. The sky contains an index of Picart's continued presence in Duflos's reproduction of his clouds. There, the former student remembered and retraced the hand of his teacher.

It is worth considering that Bernard and Duflos used the *La Floride* reproductions to memorialize their dead friend and collaborator. What might appear at first glance as a casual association between images in the printer's inventory and the chapter title might have been a memorial space for the men in the print shop. Scholars have interpreted Picart's engravings of these and other depictions of healing and dying rituals in *Cérémonies* as a display of "cosmopolitan sympathy for Indigenous people" and as part of the encyclopedia's project to display to commonalities in rituals across cultures (Hunt et al. 243). The creators of the encyclopedia believed that they shared a basic need to memorialize death with the Indigenous people they imagined seeing in the engravings. By reproducing this image and juxtaposing it with a text about De Soto's death, Bernard and Duflos not only conflate the loss of these idealized Indigenous figures with the loss of the Spanish governor, they also use this material space to remember Bernard Picart. Reproducing Picart's widows is a gesture that also benefits his own widow, Anna Vincent, who was selling some of her late husband's work to collectors during this time and who would have benefitted from the assertion of Picart's talent that his reproduction by another skilled engraver represents.

V. Conclusions

Jean-Frédéric Bernard's 1737 edition of *Floride* vividly illustrates the tensions between textual and visual epistemologies in the early enlightenment. Bernard acts as a cultural translator by decontextualizing visual and print material from a variety of French and Protestant archives and recontextualizing them as primary sources that contributed to their reader's understanding of Florida. In *La Florida del Inca*, Garcilaso references the French settlements in a passage urging readers to support accelerated Spanish colonization of Florida. In *Histoire de la Floride*, the French translator Pierre Richelet omits this passage in an attempt to neutralize or secularize Garcilaso's pro-Catholic and pro-Spanish rhetoric, but Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy's preface to a 1709 edition of the translation returns to the topic of the French settlements. Later, Bernard's 1737 edition uses a map of Louisiana and the Mississippi River that depicts the site of the sixteenth-century French settlements to frame *Histoire de la Floride*, and includes four engraved images of Timucua people that are based on the account of a French settler who lived at Fort Caroline in 1564. Most notably, Bernard commissions reproductions of a selection of images that his late partner Bernard Picart created for their encyclopedia of comparative religion. These images also function as sites of translation since they reveal the cumulative effects of several generations of reproductive engravers who reimagine sixteenth-century Timucua religious practices as they cut them again and again into copper plates.

Cérémonies leaves its mark on *Floride* thanks to these images, and the inverse is also true, since Bernard cited Garcilaso's Florida when he composed the text that accompanied the images in *Cérémonies*. Future research that could complement the study of Bernard's edition of *Floride* would investigate the role of Garcilaso's text in Bernard's *Cérémonies*. This line of inquiry would be an important contribution to understanding Garcilaso's early modern reception

history, since *Cérémonies* was printed in many languages and over many decades in official and pirated editions. Such an investigation would also benefit from a deeper engagement with the history of comparative ethnography in eighteenth-century Europe and of the part engraved images played in that history.

The connections between cultures of interlingual translation and cultures of reproductive engraving in early modern Europe that this chapter explores also point the way to future research possibilities. Lisa Pon has remarked that translation is a "useful trope with which to discuss sixteenth-century prints after other works of art […] [since] translation of works from one language to another, and the underlying concern over the relative value of different languages were primary loci of cultural debate in the period" (34). There are suggestive parallels between the work of the translator Richelet and the reproductive engravers Picart and Duflos. They all practice in relation to models ("paraphrase" and "graveur de profession") that are conceived and theorized in order to make classical texts and images more accessible to a wider audience. At the same time, they innovate on these models, changing their texts and images more dramatically than the models they follow would seem to allow. Additional research on these and other European translators whose work represents Indigenous bodies and cultures in the Americas could give more insight into the mechanisms they used to justify their deviations from translation models built around classical canons.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Digesting Pages, Retracing Routes: Theodore Irving's *Conquest of Florid* in the Time of the Florida Wars

I. Introduction

Theodore Irving (1809-1880) began a project to produce an English translation of *La Florida del Inca* in the late 1820s but eventually presented his *Conquest of Florida by Hernando de Soto* (1835) to readers as a historical digest, the product of his own research into multiple sources. Nevertheless, his *Conquest* includes extensive passages translated directly from *La Florida del Inca* without indicating their source. This chapter argues that Irving's *Conquest* functions simultaneously as a translation of *La Florida* and as an early frontier narrative. Irving used his *Conquest* to "play Indian" (Phillip J. Deloria) by appropriating passages from Garcilaso's history and presenting them as the product of his own historiographic voice. Through his translation, digestion, and paratextual commentary, Irving linked together the Spanish imperial project to invade and settle *la Florida* and the United States projects to dispossess Native people, including the Seminole and Miccosukee people of Florida, of their land and force them to relocate to the Indian Territories in the 1830s.

Conquest of Florida appeared in eight different editions produced in London, Philadelphia, and New York between 1835 and 1869. Patricia Galloway calls Irving's history "the first full-length American account of the expedition" and remarks that while Irving only made use of two sources, *La Florida del Inca* and an English translation of Elvas, "it held great authority for many years because of the literary reputation of Irving's family and the usual

dominance of almost any work that is first in the field" (413-414). In her bibliography of translations of *La Florida del Inca*, Carmen de Mora calls *Conquest of Florida* a "translation into English […] which is based on an early Spanish edition [of *la Florida*], with interpolated material from other sources, and omitted parts of *La Florida*" (165). These scholars understand Irving's *Conquest* as a partial translation which became obsolete after new translations of *La Florida* and histories of the De Soto expedition were published. However, Irving's *Conquest* deserves a closer look because it provides a detailed record of Irving's search for a connection between his experience of the early U.S. republic and Garcilaso's narrative of the experiences of sixteenth-century Spanish soldiers. Irving appropriates and adapts the actors and spaces Garcilaso describes to reflect tropes of U.S. expansionism and settler colonialism. Theodore Irving also appropriates Garcilaso's narrative to develop his authorial identity and historiographic voice.

Theodore Irving claims that *Conquest* is a "digest" of several primary sources. For Irving, digestion did not replace translation, rather it was a mode that allowed him to incorporate translation and metatextual commentary into his *Conquest* and to present them both as products of his own research and artistry. Examining the role of translation and pseudo-translation in *Conquest* to reveal that while Theodore distances himself from the role of a translator, he nevertheless uses translation to silently incorporate his own voice into Garcilaso's narrative. Comparing instances of Indigenous eloquence in the source and target texts uncovers the variety of translation styles Irving used to compose his *Conquest*. While for Garcilaso these first-person speeches within the text represent an innovation on Renaissance historical conventions and an act of collective creation, for Irving the speeches are particularly legible and translatable when they aligned with the popular form of the "Indian Censure" (Carolyn Eastman) speech that

circulated in pedagogical and periodical materials in the early nineteenth century. While Garcilaso uses these speeches to compose a critique of Hernando de Soto and his soldiers for neglecting to found pacific and productive settlements in Florida, Irving disconnects these speeches from the context of their collective creation, censors their political messages, and frames them as entertaining scripts for Anglophone readers.

When Irving prouces his *Conquest*, he connects Garcilaso's history of De Soto's sixteenth-century Spanish invasion of Florida with early nineteenth-century U.S. military campaigns in frontier spaces that included Florida. Reenactment, or embodied citational practices, plays an important role both in the source and target texts to test the limits of text-based accounts of history. By making contemporary frontier narratives and references to the physical topography space claimed by the U.S. as Florida and the "Far West" part of the materials that make up his digest, Irving's translation conflates the movement of the De Soto expedition with the movement of U.S. soldiers and settlers who forcibly removed Indigenous people from the southeast in the early nineteenth century. Garcilaso and Irving use citational practices to construct their narratives, and they depict citational practices in their narratives. The texts they produce are sites where historical reenactment takes place, and the acts of inscription they perform also constitute instances of historical reenactment.

II. Digestion, Translation, and Silent Incorporation in *The Conquest of Florida*

By presenting his work as a digest, Theodore aligned it with a legal tradition. Webster's 1828 dictionary gives the most common definition of a digest as a "collection, compilation, abridgment or summary of laws, disposed under proper heads or titles" (web). Between the 1803 Louisiana Purchase and the 1819 Adams-Onís treaty, the early U.S. republic claimed largely

unmapped expanses of land that formerly claimed by France and Spain. For U.S. collectors and antiquarians, compiling early histories and archival records in the languages of these empires became increasingly possible and pertinent. When fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish-language texts found their way to Anglo-American collections and libraries, they represented historical and legal evidence for their readers and collectors thanks to Johnson v. M'Intosh (1823), which wrote the 'Doctrine of Discovery' written into U.S. law, and to treaties that ceded Louisiana and Florida to the United States (Van Tine 1).

Legal digests published between 1821 (the year the Adams-Onís treaty was ratified and Spanish Florida became a U.S. territory) and 1835 (the year *Conquest of Florida* was published) undergird processes of territorial incorporation. These processes are evident in titles of works that present parameters for Anglo-American governance of U.S. states that were recently created from territories formerly claimed by Spain and France, including *A digest of the laws of the State of Alabama: containing the statutes and resolutions in force at the end of the General Assembly in January* (1823), *A digest of the laws relating to the military establishment of the United States* (1833), and *Digest of the reported decisions of the Superior court of the late territory of Orleans, and of the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana* (1834). Making laws and legal decision about states recently carved out of former European colonies available in print reinforced modern state boundaries defined by the United States. Theodore Irving's *Conquest of Florida* did not summarize laws, but rather early records of land the United States was actively working to map and claim.

In the appendix to his *Conquest*, Irving offers a textual map of the De Soto expedition he digested from *La Florida del Inca* and the Elvas narrative as a resource for future researchers. In the nine-page "Route of Hernando de Soto," Irving presents "the various marchings, distances,

and points of the compass, as gleaned from different parts of the Spanish and Portuguese narratives" (307). While the two volumes that make up the body of his digest intersperse footnotes that attach early nineteenth-century geographical referents to the space Theodore describes from sixteenth-century sources, his "Route" focuses exclusively on stringing together names of places and descriptions of the distances De Soto's soldiers travelled. He offers this twice-digested version of *La Florida* "to assist any future research as to the route of Hernando de Soto and his followers" (307). This textual map offered the possibility of claiming a sixteenth-century Spanish past to states and territories that had only recently been named and incorporated into the United States.

Irving uses pseudo-translations of *La Florida del Inca* to authenticate his claims about De Soto's route. He directly attributes text in the body of his "Route" to Garcilaso:

> "'The Spaniards," says the Inca, "marched more than fifty leagues through this province. We next find them in the village of Vitacucho. Setting out from thence, they marched four leagues to the river of Osachile. Crossing this, they continued on six leagues, and came to the village of the same name. Twelve leagues further, they found the great swamp; traversing this, which was one league and a half across, they continued on six leagues and were arrested by a deep stream" (308).

The citational conventions Theodore uses suggest that Garcilaso spoke directly to his own interests and purpose in creating the "Route". However, an equivalent passage does not appear in *La Florida*. Theodore disguises his own voice as Garcilaso's in this pseudo-translation. This choice contrasts with the many instances in which he occludes Garcilaso's voice that are examined later in this chapter.

Theodore's promise to "digest a work" from various sources, but mostly from *La Florida*, can also be read as a metaphor for the physical process of the human body to take in food and break it down in the digestive organs. Fay Bound Alberti points out that in the factory age of the early nineteenth century, body metaphors centered around production, performance, and waste. The body was compared to a machine, which needed fuel (or food) to function. While

too little food meant the machine would fail, too much food would create waste (185). Theodore's uncle Washington Irving's prefatory remarks to a digest he titled *The Rocky Mountains: or, Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in the Far West; Digested from the Journal of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, of the Army of the United States, and Illustrated from Various Other Sources* (1837) construct a parallel metaphor in which unruly or excessive source material is broken down through digestion into a manageable form for the consumption of a wide audience.

The preface to *Rocky Mountains* describes receiving the travelling notes of a U.S. Army captain Bonneville who, inspired by tales of "wild scenes and wild adventures" in the wilderness, took a leave of absence from the Army, formed an association of New York investors, and raised funds to travel west and seek his fortune (4-5). Bonneville, recounts Irving, made an "attempt at authorship" by rewriting his notes and making maps from memory. But under Washington's charge, the "mass of manuscripts" became a "work" and a "narrative." However, Washington also assures readers that Bonneville's manuscript "formed the staple" of his work even while he added "tone and coloring" by digesting (8). By referring to the Bonneville manuscript as a staple, Washington presents the digesting process as one that makes a regular item of trade more portable, or a regular item of diet more digestible. Washington Irving is sometimes called the United States's first professional author; by the time he wrote this preface, he was receiving handsome advances for work by his London and U.S. publishers and had successfully negotiated several copyright agreements with his London publisher (Burstein 272, 278). It is easy to imagine that working to produce writing at this rate made considerable demands on Washington Irving's body, and that his own awareness of the physical requirements of his labor are reflected in his account of producing a digest. When he digested Bonneville's papers he applied his own "tone," a word that sometimes denoted "the strength and activity of the organs, from which

proceed healthy functions" to break down and process Bonneville's "staple" (Webster web). Washington put his stomach into action to produce his digest, and he aimed to bring Bonneville's notes into balance with qualities that made the product of these efforts an appealing text for consumers of literary works.

Although Theodore's decision to "digest a work" implies a claim that he will break down and process *La Florida del Inca* like a body breaks down food or a machine breaks down raw materials, some parts of his *Conquest* are not broken down. *Conquest* includes line-by-line translations of *La Florida* that do not include any acknowledgement of their source. For example, in the same episode featured in Chapter Two, Gonzalo Silvestre and Juan López Cacho ride across a dangerous swamp to bring provisions from one Spanish encampment to another. In Spanish, their first-person dialogue evokes the conventions of chivalric romance. Unlike Pierre Richelet, who dramatically paraphrases this section, Theodore includes a translation of this passage in his *Conquest* that only slightly deviates from the structure and content of the Spanish version. Although this is a substantial passage, it is worth reproducing both versions side-by-side for the visual effect of parity this exercise creates. I have bolded Theodore's amplifications, that is, the phrases he adds to the text:

Gonzalo Silvestre, sin responder palabra alguna, se partió del gobernador y subió en su caballo, y de camino, como iba, encontró con un Juan López Cacho, natural de Sevilla, paje del gobernador, que tenía un buen caballo, y le dijo:	Without answering a word, he left the Governor, vaulted in his saddle, and was already on the way when he encountered another youth, one Juan Lopez Cacho, native of Seville, and page of the Governor, who had an excellent horse.
El general manda que vos y yo vayamos con un recaudo suyo a amanecer al real. Por tanto, seguidme luego, que ya yo voy caminando.	"**Juan Lopez," cried Silvestre**, "-the General has ordered that you and I go with a message to be delivered before day-break at the camp; follow me, therefore, immediately, for I am already on the road."
Juan López respondió diciendo Por vida vuestra, que llevéis otro, que yo estoy cansado y no puedo ir allá.	"Take some other person, I entreat you," said Juan Lopez, " I am fatigued, and cannot make the journey."
Replicó Gonzalo Silvestre: El gobernador me mandó que escogiese un compañero. Yo elijo vuestra persona. Si quisiéredes venir, venid enhorabuena, y si no, quedaos en ella misma, que porque vamos ambos no se diminuye el peligro, ni porque yo vaya solo se aumente el trabajo.	"**As you please**," replied Silvestre, " the Governor ordered me to choose a companion, and I have chosen you. If you are so disposed, come and welcome; if not, remain. Your company will not diminish the danger, nor will my going alone encrease the toil."
Diciendo esto, dio de las espuelas al caballo y siguió su camino. Juan López, mal que le pesó, subió en el suyo y fue en pos de él. Salieron de donde quedaba el gobernador a hora que el sol se ponía ambos **mozos**, que apenas pasaban de los veinte años (833).	So saying he put spurs to his horse and continued on his way. Juan Lopez, much as it went against his will, leaped into his saddle and galloped after him. The sun was just setting as Gonzalo Silvestre and **his comrade**, Juan Lopez, **departed on their hazardous mission**. These youthful cavaliers were well matched in **spirit, hardihood, and sprightly valour**; and neither of them had attained his twenty-first year (1.94-95).

While Theodore adds a few extra phrases to this passage—a cry of "Juan Lopez", an "as you please"—and replaces "ambos mozos" with "well-matched in spirit, hardihood, and sprightly valour," his English version looks and acts like a line-by-line translation (1.95). Perhaps he conceived of these interjections as way of transforming the dialogue into his own authorial voice, and this is why he neglected to include one of the footnotes he uses elsewhere to cite *La Florida* or to mention Garcilaso's name anywhere in this chapter.

Works by Washington and Theodore Irving frame digestion as a service to their nation; in their prefaces they manifest similar intentions to put their digestive powers to patriotic ends. In *History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828), Washington explains that a digest would "serve his country better" than a translation, and in his *Conquest*, Theodore posits

that his digest would "possess [more] interest in the eyes of his countrymen" than a translation (vi). The connection between digestion and nationalism here is important because, as Jan Purnis has pointed out, figurative comparisons of the body's parts and processes to social structures can be a means of naturalizing ideology. Digestion is a process by which the external is made internal (5). When Theodore digests *La Florida del Inca*, it becomes what he calls "a clear, connected, and characteristic narrative" and "my facts" (vii-viii). Digesting *La Florida del Inca* (rather than translating it) allows Theodore to claim the authority of someone who can read and understand a Spanish-language source text, while at the same time claiming space to add his own interpretations and frameworks to that material.

Theodore's digest internalizes *La Florida del Inca* by translating and adapting a Spanish colonial history for a nineteenth-century Anglophone audience, but it also projects early U.S. republican ideas and tropes backwards into *Conquest*'s sixteenth-century setting. In *Conquest*, the United States is already present in and prefigured by the Spanish colonial past. For example, Theodore incorporates descriptions of Indigenous people from Garcilaso's text into his narrative by describing them in terms of the early nineteenth-century cult of the "Vanishing American," the idea that the "decrease in the Native population during the Jacksonian era was both spontaneous and ineluctable" (Romero 385). In one instance, Garcilaso is unsure whether the Indigenous leader Tascaluza died during the battle of Mauvila or escaped. However, Theodore's narrator resolves this ambiguity by expressing certainty that dying in battle "is, in fact, most consistent with his haughty and patriotic spirit, which would scarcely permit him to survive so ruinous a defeat" (2.60). Whereas Garcilaso ends the passage on Tascaluza by recalling the cacique's plan to enslave the Spanish invaders and force them to labor for his subjects, Theodore instead ends this section with elegiac remarks on Tascaluza that conclude "[his name] deserves

to be held in veneration as that of a hero, and a patriot" (2.61). By making Tascaluza a model patriot in death, Irving adapts Garcilaso's descriptions of Indigenous people to early U.S. republican elegiac modes which functioned to justify genocidal policies of Indigenous removal and build a teleology of the settler nation.

Theodore also inserts the ideology of his era into the narrative of the De Soto expedition by interrupting an episode in which God performs a miracle by sending rain to Casquin after Spanish carpenters build a cross on a hill near the town and lead its Indigenous inhabitants in a procession (1110). Rolena Adorno argues that this epidode is inspired by Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 *Relación* and that, by echoing it in his own narrative, Garcilaso asserts that "los nativos de La Florida practicaban ciertas costumbres edificantes gracias al visible legado espiritual que los sobrevivientes de la expedición de Narváez inspiraron en gentes de tierras que incluso no lograron alcanzar" (348). For Adorno, both Garcilaso and Cabeza de Vaca highlight episodes in which Indigenous people adore a Christian cross to construct a narrative around the paradigm of pacifying conquest, or "conquista por amor" (325). In Garcilaso's text, this episode is part of an argument about the influence of Chistianity in Florida that extends from the 1527 Narváez expeiditon to the 1539 De Soto expedition.

Theodore Irving's version of this episode incorporates some line-by-line free translations of Garcilaso's text, but Theodore also outlines a discontinuous spiritual trajectory in which the miracle in question is interrupted and displaced onto an Anglo-American timeline. Theodore's narrator remarks:

> It is an interesting reflection, that nearly three centuries ago, the cross, the type of our divine religion, was planted on the banks of the Mississippi, whose silent forests were awakened by the Christian's hymn of gratitude and praise. The effect was vivid but transitory. The "voice cried in the wilderness" reached and was answered by every heart, but died away and was forgotten, and was not heard again in that savage region for many generations. It was as if a lightening gleam had broken for a moment upon a benighted world, startling it with sudden effulgence, only to leave it in tenfold gloom. The real dawning was yet afar off from the valley of the Mississippi (2.121).

Theodore interprets the planting of the cross in Casquin as a prefiguration of "our divine religion," ostensibly the Anglo-Protestant faith of missionaries who became invested in a movement to fight for Christian supremacy in their newly forming white settler nation during the first half of the nineteenth century (Smith 1). This passage repurposes an episode in *La Florida del Inca* as proof that Indigenous people were predisposed to conversion, but not the conversion to Spanish Catholicism that Garcilaso urged his readers to support in *La Florida*. By locating a moment of lasting conversion or a "real dawning" at an undetermined future point, Theodore's digest retroactively constructs the episode from *La Florida del Inca* as proof the legitimacy of Anglo-American missionary projects and territorial expansion.

In Theodore Irving's *Conquest of Florida*, digestion is an act that signals territorial, corporeal, and ideological incorporation. By presenting *Conquest* as a digest, Irving foregrounds his role as the agent of digestion, or consumption and appropriation of a historical narrative, and develops his own narrative voice that he inserts into passages taken from Garcilaso. In other words, Irving uses his digest to reframe uncited translations from *La Florida* and present them as the product of his own voice. The following section examines the construction of Irving's historiographic and narrative voices by looking more closely at function of Indigenous speech and speeches in the source and target texts.

III. Writing (and Speaking) Indigenous Eloquence from the Renaissance to the Early Republic

Indigenous speeches play different roles in *La Florida del Inca* and in *Conquest of Florida*. While Garcilaso uses speeches by Indigenous people to defend the capacity of the

people of Florida to serve as exemplars for European readers and his own ability to author history as an Indigenous person, Theodore Irving alternately abbreviates these speeches and adapts them to early nineteenth-century rhetorical modes and cultural tropes. For example, Theodore translates and adapts speeches from the source text to resemble speeches of "Indian censure"—oratory composed in an Indigenous voice that builds a central message around recriminating non-Indigenous people for injustices—that circulated widely in early nineteenth-century print culture (Eastman 536). When people, particularly white schoolchildren, read and performed Indigenous speeches that were removed from the contexts in which they were uttered in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, they built a false narrative of Indigenous decline that came to influence later political decisions (Eastman 538). Irving's versions of the Indigenous speeches in *La Florida* undermine Garcilaso's work to argue for the shared universal nature of Indigenous and Spanish people because they introduce racialized hierarchies, present Indigenous actors as destined for defeat, and encourage imitation and appropriation of Indigenous voices and Indigenous land by white Anglophone readers.

When Garcilaso wrote his history of Florida, he worked against contemporary representations of Indigenous people that collapsed them into archetypes or abstractions. For Garcilaso, Indigenous people were not uniformly barbaric nor invariably helpless victims of Spanish cruelty. Rather, he viewed people from all nations as endowed with a universal human nature and, at the same time, a wide range of particularities (Hopkins-Rodríguez 133). Garcilaso used European models of exemplarity to frame his Indigenous figures in order that they might be legible to his Renaissance Spanish audience. In particular, he presented Indigenous people as equally capable as ancient Romans or Greeks of providing European readers with moral instruction (Serna Arnaiz 133). The Indigenous people and Spanish soldiers at the center of

Garcilaso's narrative exemplify a range of qualities that function as examples to emulate or avoid. Through their actions and their speech, they demonstrate nobility as well as cowardice, prudence as well as excesses of passion.

To aid his Spanish reader in internalizing examples of Indigenous virtue, Garcilaso constructed narrative episodes in which the Spanish soldiers in his history recognized the virtues of the Indigenous people they encountered. These metatextual episodes model the moment of recognition Garcilaso aims to incite in the reader. For example, as Juan de Añasco leads a group of thirty men from De Soto's encampment back to the place where Pedro Calderón and others have remained under the protection of the Cacique Mucozo, they come across "dos indios gentileshombres" who are hunting. One of these men points an arrow at all thirty Spanish soldiers to indicate that he is prepared to fight them. Garcilaso notes that as they were confronted by the gentleman hunter the soldiers oscillated between anger and envy; they were "enojados del atrevimiento y desvergüenza del indio, o envidiosos de ver un ánimo y osadía tan rara y extraña" (911). By making this man the object of Spanish envy, Garcilaso presents him to readers as a model of bravery for the Spanish soliders and, at the same time, for the Spanish readers to whom he directs his text.

While *La Florida del Inca* offers exemplary models in Indigenous people of low and high ranks, Indigenous leaders stand out from their subjects because of their exemplary speech and speeches. When Juan de Añasco reaches Mucozo, Pedro Calderón and his Spanish soldiers greet the expedition with anxious inquiries that focus exclusively on whether the expedition has found any gold. The cacique Mucozo, on the other hand, asks Añasco and his soldiers about their health, experiences on the road, and their "batallas, recuentos, hambre, trabajos y necesidades" (934). Garcilaso recounts that Añasco is surprised when he notices "cuán de otra manera

[Mucozo] los había recibido" (935). By juxtaposing Mucozo's actions to those of the Spanish soldiers, Garcilaso casts the Spanish as examples of behavior to avoid. Where Mucozo is a model of courtly behavior, the soldiers act out Garcilaso's cautionary axiom: "la hambre [*sic*] y deseo de este metal [el oro] muchas veces pospone y niega los parientes y amigos" (933). By constructing the Indigenous leader Mucozo as a model of political virtue for De Soto's soldiers, Garcilaso also positions him as a model for his readers. He observes that the cacique was "dotado de todas las buenas partes que un caballero que se hubiese criado en la corte más política del mundo pudiera tener, así en obras como en palabras" (935). By creating this exemplary model and by giving him the narrative function of teaching courtly behavior to Añasco and to readers, Garcilaso's text argues for recognition of the capacity of Indigenous people like Mucozo to provide exemplary models and for his own capacity as an Indigenous historian to write such models into existence.

The use of the first person in speeches by Indigenous people in Florida is a central resource in Garcilaso's representations of Indigenous rhetorical exemplarity. Raul Marrero-Fente reads *La Florida*'s Indigenous allocutions as Garcilaso's means of presenting his reader with his own thoughts about the Spanish conquest and of encouraging "una perspectiva más amplia sobre los hechos narrados" (89). Garcilaso also follows Renaissance historiographical conventions in including idealized versions of rulers' speeches as models of rhetorical excellence. However, Garcilaso's approach to the form of the rhetorical exemplum was innovative because he honored Indigenous claims to nobility and leadership. By writing speeches for Indigenous figures, Garcilaso risked breaking the European rhetorical doctrine of decorum, which required speeches to be appropriate to the context and social station of their speakers (Grafton 36). To mitigate this

risk, Garcilaso used special framing devices to defend the authenticity of Indigenous speeches and the high rank of their enunciators.

As José Rabasa has pointed out, Garcilaso includes metatextual reflections on the possibility of exemplary Indigenous speech which simultaneously function as a commentary on Garcilaso's own act of writing history as an Indigenous person, most notably in a chapter titled "Donde responde a una objeción" (94). This chapter appears after Garcilaso presents elaborate, first-person speeches by the cacique Vitacucho and by three of his subjects who fight the Spanish while swimming in a lake for more than twenty-four hours. Garcilaso anticipates that his readers will not believe the speeches or "razones" of Indigenous people because of the "reputación universal en que los indios están [de bárbaros]," He relates sharing this concern with his oral informant, who then insists that "hay indios de muy buen entendimiento en paz y en Guerra [...] saben hablar como cualquiera otra nación de mucha doctrina" (878). This metatextual discussion between Garcilaso and his informant frames Indigneous speeches as autonomous texts within the body of *La Florida*. These texts within the text are also sites where Theodore Irving's interventions in Garcilaso's history and his ideological orientation toward the events it describes become particularly visible.

In *Conquest of Florida*, Theodore Irving condensed or omitted many of Garcilaso's Indigenous allocutions and removed or altered much of Garcilaso's work to frame and defend the veracity of these speeches. For example, Garcilaso's speech by three "hijos de señores de vasallos de la comarca y vecindad de Vitacucho," who are the last to surrender to the Spanish after a battle that ended in a lake is composed in the first-person plural and in six paragraphs. While Irving does not completely omit this speech, he condenses it to a single paragraph in the third person, and includes a single line that resembles a line-by-line translation from the Spanish

version. Where Garcilaso writes, in the voice of the three young men, "Si basta esto para nuestro descargo, perdónanos, hijo del Sol […] y si no merecemos perdón, ves aquí nuestras gargantas. Hágase de nuestras vidas lo que más te agradare, que tuyos somos y al vencedor nada le es prohibido," Irving writes "'These, O offspring of the sun!' said they, 'are the reasons for our obstinate hostility: if they are sufficient in your eyes, pardon us; if not, we are at your mercy. Strike us dead, for nothing is prohibited to the conqueror'" (874, 136). The similarity between these two fragments indicates that Theodore consulted *La Florida del Inca* while creating this passage in his digest and chose to omit most of the speech. The portion that he translated from Garcilaso appears as his own creation, because he does not mention Garcilaso in the text or in any footnotes in this episode. At such moments, Irving excludes large portions of the source text, including the meta-textual frame that surrounds it, and he frames the translated segment as the product of his own narrative voice.

In *La Florida del Inca*, the speech by the men from the lake is carefully and explicitly described as the product of a collective process of creation and preservation. Garcilaso writes that the young men, "ayudándose uno a otro en sus razones, respondieron en su lenguaje las palabras siguientes que, interpretadas en la castellana, dicen así" (872). By framing the speech with this observation, Garcilaso presents it as a discourse created collectively, first by the men who uttered it and second by the interpreters who first translated it into Spanish. For José Rabasa, Garcilaso contributes to this collective discourse by describing this practice and then by reproducing the speech. Rabasa notes that Garcilaso's "role of amanuensis was closer to the collective authorship of Indian discourse, to assisting 'unos a otros' in discourse, than to the humanist Author-God" (100). Theodore Irving, on the other hand, frames the speech as his own

work and removes not just Gacrcilaso but all references to a collective act of composition. He replaces Garcilaso's collective voices with an individual voice.

While Theodore's translation condenses or removes many Indigenous speeches, in other instances Indigenous speeches become a focal point in his narrative. Theodore gives particular prominence to speeches of Indian recrimination, most notably speeches from caciques Acuera and Vitacucho. However, adapts the expressions used in these speeches, their structure, and their appearance on the page that adapt them to the practices and expectations of his early U.S. republican audience.

In *La Florida del Inca*, Acuera and Vitacucho respond to reports of theft and violence caused by previous Spanish invaders by vowing to withhold their friendship from De Soto and his men. In their speeches, they insult the Spanish, threaten them with retaliatory violence, and swear to defend their land from invasion. Garcilaso assigns these speeches their own chapters and chapter titles. Chapters XVI and XXI of the first part of the second book are titled "Descomedida respuesta del señor de la provincia de Acuera" and "De la soberbia y desatinada respuesta de Vitacucho, y cómo sus hermanos van a persuadirle a la paz" respectively (841, 855). While Garcilaso's titles signal the excesses of these men, their speeches are also framed as significant rhetorical events. David Brading notes that these speeches "echoed Tacitus, who in his *Agricola* praised Roman imperial expansion, yet reported the eloquent speech of the British chieftains who defended their freedom against the invader, declaring: 'Robbery, butchery, and rapine the liars call empire; they create a desolation and call it peace'" (258).

But Acuera and Vitacucho do more than defend their freedom in these speeches; they also reveal that the members of expeditions that preceded De Soto have given all Spanish men a reputation for being "vagamundos por oficio" or "vagamundos por deleite," who demonstrate

their lack of virtue by preferring to steal food rather than working to grow their own. According to Garcilaso, Acuera explained to De Soto that "ya por otros castellanos, que años antes habían ido a aquella tierra, tenía [Acuera] larga noticia de quién ellos [los castellanos] eran y sabía muy bien su vida y costumbres, que era tener por oficio andar vagamundos de tierra en tierra viviendo de robar y saquear y matar a los que no les habían hecho ofensa alguna" (842). Acuera's speech delivers a message to De Soto that he will resist the Spanish invasion and to Garcilaso's Spanish readers that a number of greedy explorers have imperiled Spain's international reputation.

The coupled insult of "vagamundos y ladrones" also appears in *La Florida* on the collective lips of groups of Indigenous people who shout to the Spanish that they are "ladrones, holgazanes, adevenedizos," "estos ladrones, vagamundos," "perdidos por tierras ajenas, robando y matando como salteadores ladrones, vagamundos y otras palabras ofensivas," and "ladrones vagamundos" (846, 949, 951, 1049, 1166, 1214). "Vagamundos" is an earlier iteration of the word "vagabundo," and had legal connotations in the Renaissance. In his *Tesoro de la lengua* 1611, Covarrubias explained the "vagamundo" as

> el que se anda ocioso, o vagando por todas partes. Contra los vagamundos, ay leyes del Reyno, y en todas las Republicas bien concertadas las tienen, porq [*sic*] estos son muy perjudiciales, y si no tienen de que comer lo han de hurtar, o robar, y por esso Dracon en sus leyes sangrientas los condenò a muerte. Solon moderando esta pena los declarò por infames, nuestras leyes los compelen a trabajar, o los destierran [...] Esta es una plaga que cunde mucho en las Cortes de los Reyes, y en los lugares grandes y populosos, y a esta causa los juezes criminales hazen gran diligencia en limpiar la Republica desta mala gente. Bagamundo, vide supra (62).

For Garcilaso, "vagamundos" is a four-syllable condensation of a criticism of the Spanish expedition that pervades *La Florida del Inca* in Indigenous speech of all kinds. The critique for Garcilaso is not that the Spanish invaded the Americas but that they did not stop moving, they did not do anything productive, they did not contribute. With his repetitions (ladrones, vagamundos) Garcilaso constructs a unifying critical message in many voices, including his own.

Theodore Irving tends to omit or abridge Indigenous speech in his *Conquest*, so he disrupts and dis-assembles the continuity of the critical message against vagary and theft in the source text. However, he gives a central place to the two speeches from Acuera and Vitacucho in his digest, translating them almost line for line, and even reformatting Acuera's speech so that it appears in the first person in the English translation rather than in the third person as in the Spanish text. While Garcilaso presents Acuera's speech as words reported in the third person, Irving rewrites the cacique's words in the first person, presents them between quotation marks, and adds em dashes between phrases to suggest moments where a speaker might pause to take a breath [**Figure 15**]. Theodore's special attention to these passages may be due to their thematic and structural similarities with a popular topic of early nineteenth-century print culture which Carolyn Eastman has called speeches of "Indian Censure." Her research shows that "the figure of the eloquent Indian wronged by whites appeared in speeches, stories, and anecdotes throughout the literature of the Early Republic" (536). From the end of the eighteenth century through the 1830s, these speeches were circulated in newspapers and in schoolbooks across the Northeast.

In fact, Theodore Irving, who was born in 1809 in New York, would almost certainly have been familiar with this rhetorical form as he grew up during the rise of the elocution movement in education. Eastman notes that "Indian eloquence appeared increasingly in schoolbooks during this period, from 27.1 per cent of the books published before 1810 to 33.0 per cent published afterward" and that these speeches also circulated when children copied pieces from each other's books into their commonplace books and listened to each other recite speeches from memory (543). It is very likely that the two speeches by Acuera and Vitacucho, published more than two centuries before Irving read them, were particularly legible to him

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Urribarracaxi, and was ruled by a Cacique named Acuera, who, on the approach of the Spaniards, had fled with his people to the woods. Hernando de Soto sent Indian interpreters to him representing the power of the Spaniards to do injury in war, and confer benefits in peace; their disposition to befriend the natives, and that their only object was, by amicable means, to bring the people of this great country into obedience to his Sovereign the powerful Emperor and King of Castile. He invited the Cacique, therefore, to a friendly interview to arrange a peaceful intercourse.

The Cacique returned a haughty and vaunting reply. "Others of your accursed race," said he, "have in years past poisoned our peaceful shores. They have taught me what you are. What is your employment? To wander about like vagabonds from land to land—to rob the poor—to betray the confiding—to murder in cold blood the defenceless. No, with such a people I want no peace, no friendship. War—never ending—exterminating war, is all the boon I ask. You boast yourselves valiant—and so you may be—but my faithful warriors are not less brave—and this, too, you shall one day prove, for I have sworn to maintain an unsparing conflict while one white man remains in my borders. Not openly in the battle field—though

Figure 15. Irving adds quotation marks and em dashes to the passage that begins in the middle of this page to suggest a perfomative, oral interpretation of Acuera's speech, which he translates into English and into the first-person voice.

Theodore Irving, *Conquest of Florida by Hernando de Soto*. *Volume One*. Murray, London, 1835. 104. Library Special Collections, Young Research Library, UCLA.

because they resembled speeches that he encountered as a schoolboy in New York in the 1810s and 20s. The parallel messages in speeches from Vitacucho and Acuera and the speeches that appeared in Irving's schoolbooks may account for Irving's decision to translate them almost in their entirety and include them in his *Conquest*.

Irving also makes changes to the speeches that adapt them to racialized and ideological categories of his time. For example, Vitacucho addresses his speech to his brothers, and complains that they are too young to realize that De Soto and his soldiers cannot be any different from the Spaniards who came before them. He calls the Spanish "vagamundos […] salteadores, adúlteros, homicidas, sin vergüenza de los hombres ni temor de algún Dios," and pledges to "consumir y acabar todos" (855-6). However, in his translation, Irving replaces "españoles" with "hated white men," and instead of vowing to "consumir y acabar […] cristianos," in Irving's text Vitacucho promises that "the whole race will I exterminate!" (120). Similarly, Irving's version of Acuera's speech replaces "otros castellanos" with "others of your accursed race," and it replaces "gente" with "white man" (842, 104). These substitutions mirror the work of "a rising genre of scientific explication" that increasingly "provided an alternative vocabulary to the polarities of […] religious discourse" during the first half of the nineteenth century (Frye Jacobson 33). In Irving's version, Vitacucho's speech did not oppose Spaniards or Christians and Indians, but rather a collective "white men," a "race" that included both Irving's Anglophone audience and the Spanish soldiers of the sixteenth century.

Furthermore, whereas Garcilaso's Vitacucho referenced the religious identity of the Spanish by referring to them as Christians, Irving transformed Vitacucho's beliefs into superstitions. Garcilaso ends the cacique's speech by describing the imaginative deaths he promises to bring to the Spanish. For example, Vitacucho "había de mandar que por do

caminasen los españoles se juntasen los cerros que hubiese y los cogiesen en medio y los enterrasen vivos," which becomes, in Irving, "that the hills by which the Spaniards would have to travel, should join together and bury them alive" (856, 120). But at the end of this passage, Theodore adds new information to suggest that these are not just "muertes" that the Spanish will suffer but "*supernatural* deaths" (121, my italics). Theodore also remarks "it is probable [that Vitacucho] was promised all these miracles in his favor by some Indian prophet" (121). By inserting an exaggerated religious lexicon into his version of this speech, Irving presents Vitacucho as a superstitious caricature.

Irving also transforms Vitacucho's speech by changing the frame Garcilaso constructs around it. While Vitacucho is not the first person in *La Florida* to aim a litany of insults at the Spanish invaders, he is the first Garcilaso compares to Renaissance poets. Garcilaso introduces Vitacucho's speech as a composition that would rival the work of Boiardo and Ariosto. He claims that "si […] las palabras tan soberbias que dijo se pudieran escrebir como los mensajeros las refirieron, ningunos de los más bravos caballeros que el divino Ariosto y el ilustrísimo y muy enamorado conde Mateo María Boyardo, su antecesor [pudieran] igualaran con las de este indio" (854). This introduction encourages the reader to pay close attention to the aesthetic qualities of Vitacucho's speech.

For Raúl Marrero-Fente, Garcilaso's comparison inserts the figure of Vitacucho into an epic tradition and, at the same time, bookends the speech with Garcilaso's later efforts to defend the historical veracity of eloquent Indigenous speech (91). This critic reads Vitacucho's words in connection with Garcilaso's account of a conversation in which his oral informant, Gonazalo Silvestre, assured him that he remembered and reported the substance of the speeches very clearly, and that "muchos españoles leídos en historias, cuando los oyeron, dijeron que parecían

haber militado los capitanes entre los más famosos de Roma cuando ella imperaba el mundo con las armas, y que los mozos señores de vasallos parecían haber estudiado en Atenas cuando ella florecía en letras morales" (878). José Rabasa contends that Garcilaso uses these comparisons between European and Classical authors and Garcilaso's Indigenous to "[question] the universality of Western subjectivity and history" and to legitimate himself "as an Indian writer of history" capable of aesthetic mastery just like the men whose speeches he embellished (100-101). In other words, Garcilaso uses speeches by Vitacucho and others as a means to defend his own capacity to write an eloquent and edifying history.

When Irving translates Garcilaso's introduction to Vitacucho's speech, he undermines Garcilaso's claim of Indigenous rhetorical excellence. While at other moments in his *Conquest* Irving presents passages from *La Florida* as his own original work without mentioning Garcilaso, here he points out that " Inca Garcilaso de la Vega […] declares that if the whole could be written, as recounted by the envoys, none of the knights that the divine Ariosto or his predecessor, the illustrious and enamoured Count Matheo Maria Boyardo, have introduced in their works, could equal in haughty spirit and extravagant bravado, this savage chieftain" (1.118). Irving proceeds to qualify this declaration as an exaggeration—he explains that he will not "[claim] for it all the praise here, so liberally awarded by this ancient author"—and to explain that he decides to include the speech in his digest not for its aesthetic qualities but because it "still […] shows the fiery spirit of this wild warrior, whose gallant efforts were, alas! of but little avail against the resistless might of the Spanish invader" (118). Instead of introducing Vitacucho as a figure who exceeds the heroes of epic poems, Irving presents him as a vanquished warrior.

By adapting Vitacucho's speech to better reflect the beliefs of his target audience, Irving

aligned his translation with "literary portrayals of dying Indians" which became common by the 1830s "long before the political or demographic realities corresponded" to serve "as a means by which Americans could justify policies of removal" (Eastman 555). At the same time, Irving adapted these speeches for readers that would be accustomed to reading and performing texts out loud. Whereas Garcilaso describes Acuera as protesting that he and his people would "morir cien muertes por sustentar su libertad y la de su tierra," Irving rewrites this idea to explain: "As for me and my people, we choose death, yes, a hundred deaths, before the loss of our liberty, and the subjugation of our country!" (105). Irving also replaces a reference to Acuera's "provincia" with the words "my borders" (104). Irving uses these changes to the speech's referents and to its appearance on the page to invite his readers to perform the text out loud and to identify the land Spanish soldiers invaded in the sixteenth century with their own expanding country and borders.

Phillip J. Deloria has argued that "playing Indian is a persistent tradition in American culture" from the colonists who dressed as Indians to rebel against British tax collectors or Hudson River Valley land owners, to the members of the east coast Tamanny societies, to the young New Yorkers led by Lewis Henry Morgan who dressed as Indians during meetings of a literary society modeled after the second Iroquois confederacy in the 1840s (7). Irving's *Conquest* is a mode of "playing Indian" mediated by text rather than by textiles. By formatting and adapting Indigenous speeches to resemble the "Indian eloquence" familiar to his target audience, Irving creates the occasion for readers to adopt Indigenous voices. And by translating passages from Garcilaso's text and presenting them as his own, Irving also partially adopts the voice of an author who identifies himself as an "indio" (878). Dressing up as Indians offered Irving's contemporaries the "national fantasy that held U.S. American's unresolved dualities in suspension, allowing them to act simultaneously as colonial oppressors and as liberated

individuals" (Deloria 185). In a parallel textual practice of adopting an Indigenous voice through digestion and translation, Irving engaged in an authorial fantasy that allowed him to hold his historiographic authority and Garcilaso's claims to authorship in suspension and in a national fantasy that allowed him to identify with Spanish figures now racially coded as white as well as with Indigenous figures whose speeches he appropriated.

IV. Rewriting as Re-enactment in *La Florida del Inca* and *Conquest of Florida*

La Florida del Inca and *Conquest of Florida* are sites where multiple temporalities collide and emerge. In *La Florida*, Garcilaso presents acts of writing, oral accounts, and physical movement as modes of engaging with the past to demonstrate that written texts are one of many sites where memory is produced. In *Conquest of Florida*, Irving re-inscribes and re-interprets the spaces and situations of Garcilaso's text. In his digest, appendix, and prefaces, he invites readers to interpret the sixteenth-century De Soto expedition as both a prefiguration of and an extension of nineteenth-century U.S. military campaigns against Indigenous people along a shifting U.S. frontier. The textual practices of citation, translation, and digestion that Irving performs when he composes his *Conquest* are a form of historical reenactment.

Rebecca Schneider has argued that the body participates in reenactment in any kind of immaterial labor engaged in and with the incomplete past, whether "striking poses, making gestures, voicing calls, reading words, singing songs, standing witness, or […] sitting at a table in an archive, bent over an 'original' manuscript" (33). By resisting "the binary between writing or textuality on the one hand and embodied gestic repertoires of behavior on a seeming other," it becomes possible to understand the acts of interpretation that Garcilaso and Irving describe and perform as interconnected forms of re-enactment (Schneider 35). Their acts of interpretation and

inscription are not static citations of sources but rather citation practices that have a political force as they are acted out.

Robert Johanssen has demonstrated the political force of citational practices among groups of U.S. volunteer soldiers who read and reenacted William Prescott's bestselling *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843) while they participated in the U.S. invasion of Mexico (1846-1848). *History of the Conquest of Mexico* began as Prescott's project to transcribe archival sources in Spain and eventually took on qualities of a map or a script in military campaigns in Mexico. In 1838, Prescott secured permission from the Spanish Royal Academy of History "to copy that part of this inestimable collection relating to Mexico and Peru" (xxvi). Year later, U.S. soldiers carried Prescott's history with them as they invaded Mexico. Johanssen relates that soldiers who were in Mexico for the first time, "felt the presence of the past, their sense of history (shaped largely by Prescott) come alive [as they marched and fought]. It was only a small imaginative leap to see themselves as successors to the 16th-century conquistadors, as participants in one of the world's great events" (155). Soldiers used the book to identify and self-consciously re-trace the path of Cortés and his soldiers. While soldiers cited Prescott's history by retracing Cortés's footsteps with their own, they also cited earlier frontier battles with Indigenous people by transporting in Mexico the physical gestures and movements they learned while fighting wars against Indigenous people in the Northwest territory. Many of these soldiers had received training as volunteers in Indian Wars; they carried this embodied knowledge during their invasion of Mexico and reproduced it in new spaces (Greenberg 211).

For Garcilaso, writing was a means to participate in historical events from the past that continue to unfold as they are contested in texts. When Garcilaso cites other authors, criticizes their accounts of history, and adds new information to a network of texts, he reenacts the past

through writing. For example, he explains that Gonzalo Silvestre observes that Apalache contains "muchos pueblos con mucha gente y que la tierra era fértil de comida y limpia de ciénagas y montes bravos" and points out a contradiction between this description and the written information from Cabeza de Vaca (899). That conflicting account had described Apalache as "áspera y fragosa […] mal poblada y estéril" (899). Garcilaso points out this discrepancy, offers an alternative interpretation of Cabeza de Vaca's records, questions the provenance of his information, and proposes a new narrative. First, he reasons that Cabeza de Vaca "no fue la tierra tan adentro como […] hizo Hernando de Soto" and therefore only saw rugged, swampy land. Secondly, he speculates that Cabeza de Vaca spoke with Indigenous people who gave him incomplete information about the land in an attempt to "desacreditarla para que los españoles perdieran el deseo de ir a ella" (900). Finally, he proposes a correction to the historical record on Florida to distinguish "el pueblo que Cabeza de Vaca nombra Apalache" from the place De Soto (and Garcilaso) give the same name. By bringing together multiple sources of information, casting doubt on Cabeza de Vaca's account, and proposing a new location for Apalache, Garcilaso uses writing to position himself as a new authority on the history of Florida.

Written texts also play a role as agents of narrative action of *La Florida.* When Juan de Añasco and other Spanish soldiers arrive at the site where Pánfilo de Nárvaez had landed his ships a decade before them, they look for written records of his time there. Garcilaso reports: "Anduvieron con gran diligencia mirando si en los huecos de los árboles hallaban metidas algunas cartas o en las cortezas de ellos escritas algunas letras que declarasen cosas de las que los pasados hubiesen visto y notado" (905). The soldiers read the trees around them for written evidence of a Spanish past in Florida. When they do not find anything, they begin to write their

own records. The records that Añasco and others leave at the site of the Narváez landing have multiple functions. They are memorials to Pánfilo de Narváez, self-conscious declarations of their own presence in Florida, and interventions that aim to guide future Spanish expeditions to the same site. The soldiers leave "señales en los árboles más altos que por allí había para que los que viniesen costeando por la mar reconociesen aquel sitio, que era el mismo donde Pánfilo de Narváez se embarcó en sus cinco barcas" and they also write down "las prevenciones que hemos dicho" to hand over to De Soto (905). In this instance, the Spanish soldiers who write their past into trees and their future plans into a report for their general mirror Garcilaso's efforts to establish a written history of Florida that accounts for as many past details as possible while also offering guidelines and recommendations for future Spanish settlers.

At the same time, written texts are incorporated into the narrative in ways that also make visible the limits of historiography. Garcilaso describes practices of recording, remembering, and sharing history that take place through embodied gestures and through interactions with physical spaces. In *La Florida*, Spanish soldiers and Indigenous people move across space with an awareness that they are returning to the site of past events that are still unfolding. For example, the people of Apalache attack members of Añasco's expedition while they remember previous armed conflicts against Spanish soldiers led by Pánfilo de Narváez. They feel "nuevo ánimo y esfuerzo con la memoria y recordación de haber diez o once años antes, en esta misma ciénaga, aunque no en este paso, rompido y desbaratado a Pánfilo de Narváez. La cual hazaña recordaban a los españoles y a su general" (895). People from Apalache recall and communicate past events vis à vis their location in a space where those events took place. When they tell the Spanish soldiers "que de ellos y de él habían de hacer otro tanto," or that they mean to destroy them as they destroyed Narváez and his men, "esta misma ciénaga" functions as the catalyst for recalling

history, the scene where it takes place, and the site where it is re-written through violence. As Hernando de Soto's soldiers move through the space that Narváez and his men invaded in the past, they re-activate the past. In the eyes of their Indigenous rivals, they become part of the same historical continuum of Spanish invasion. For the Indigenous and Spanish parties involved in the cross-temporal conflict Garcilaso narrates, continuing this armed conflict becomes a way to participate in a historical event that is still unfolding.

Later, Indigenous guides lead Añasco and his men to another space where traces of past Spanish expeditions linger. They bring the Spanish to the Bay of Aute, "al mismo lugar donde Pánfilo de Narváez había hecho sus navíos y donde se había embarcado" (904). While the Spanish soldiers do not find any written messages from Narváez here, they read other records he left in the material objects on the beach. There is a palimpsestic quality to the spatial terrain of invasion and re-invasion. Garcilaso uses repetition to underscore the sensory experience of encounter with this space and the material traces displayed there: "vieron dónde tuvo la fragua en que hizo la clavazón para sus barcas; hallaron mucho carbón en derredor de ella; vieron asimismo unas vigas gruesas, cavadas como artesas, que habían servido de pesebres para los caballos" (904). The Spanish soldiers become eye witnesses of the material traces of the Narváez expedition as they move across the beach. In the absence of written records of past Spanish presence, these physical objects verify their presence at the site of Narváez's landing. The forge, beams, and other tools used by past Spanish invaders are displayed and interpreted as artifacts, much like the Talavera plate and Malasa shield that the soldiers find much later on the road to Pánuco verified their presence in New Spain (Chang Rodríguez 70). The material traces of past Spanish landings point outside of a written historical record to suggest that history is also accessible through objects.

For the Indigenous guides in Aute, physical reenactment is yet another means of recording and transmitting past events. The three guides who have led the Spanish to the port "mostraron a los españoles el sitio donde los enemigos mataron diez cristianos de los de Narváez, como en su historia también lo cuenta Cabeza de Vaca" (904). Here, physical space, oral testimony, and written records coincide and verify each other. At the same time, the Indigenous guides hold a privileged version of this history which they share with the Spanish soldiers by leading them "paso por paso por todos los que Pánfilo de Narváez anduvo; señalaban los puestos donde tal y tal suceso había pasado" (904). When they re-tread the footsteps of the Narváez soldiers, the De Soto soldiers retrace this history through their physical movement across space. The Indigenous guides lead the Spanish in a reenactment of the Narváez landing. This reenactment is an embodied form of remembering and interpreting the past.

The guides also use their bodies to re-enact events that took place in the bay: "no dejaron cosa de las notables que Pánfilo de Narváez hizo en aquella bahía de que no diesen cuenta por señas y palabras bien y mal entendidas y algunas dichas en castellano" (904-5). Here, history is made and communicated through a combination of retracing steps, indexing space, acting out past events, and speaking about them. In this way, Garcilaso acknowledges historiographic practices that include, but are not limited to, textual inscription, and he writes them into his history.

For Garcilaso, writing is a form of re-enactment in that it brings together multiple temporalities in a single textual space. Garcilaso becomes a participant in this history when he references his own act of writing. For example, at the end of his account of the battle of Mauvila, he notes that "Éste fue el postrer encuentro de la batalla con que acabaron de vencer los españoles al tiempo que el sol se ponía […] y fue día del bienaventurado san Lucas Evangelista,

año de mil y quinientos y cuarenta, y este mismo día, aunque muchos años después, se escribió la relación de ella" (1060). By aligning the time of the narrative action with the time of the religious calendar and with his own embodied act of writing down this history, Garcilaso draws a connection between writing and re-enactment. For Garcilaso, writing is a mode of re-enacting history because it engages with and adds to an incomplete past as a conscious act of temporal coincidence and simultaneity.

Garcilaso connects his readers to the Spanish soldiers who survive the expedition by creating another space of temporal coincidence at the end of *La Florida del Inca*. Here, at the same time that the soldiers recall their experiences in Florida in Garcilaso's narrative summary, the reader recalls their experiences reading the text in the same summary. The third to last chapter of the last book explains that surviving Spanish soldiers narrated their experiences to the viceroy and his son in Mexico City. By condensing *La Florida del Inca* into a single paragraph and framing it as an oral history, Garcilaso positions his readers along with the viceroy, his son, and other inhabitants of Mexico City who respond simultaneously to the oral storytelling from the soldiers and to the summary of the text they've almost finished reading: "notaron la fiereza y lo indomable que se mostraron los indios de la provincia de Apalache […] Maravilláronse de la gran riqueza del templo de Cofachiqui […]" (1278). The soldiers re-tell their experiences as the reader reads a summary of the entire work they have nearly completed reading. In this episode focused on re-telling history, Garcilaso's *La Florida del Inca* is the pre-text to its summary, and the oral exchange between the soldiers and the viceroy is the pre-text to *La Florida del Inca*. This episode blurs the distinction between the reader and the soldiers by giving them a shared experience of reliving past experiences. It also demonstrates that oral history, written history, and multiple re-tellings in both modes are part of a single "text network," a space of collective

creation that resists privileging the role of a single author or defining a single version as an original (Silva Gruez and Gillman 232).

In *Conquest of Florida*, Irving retraces De Soto's steps by rewriting them in his digest even as he recreates the space where De Soto and his soldiers step by renaming it after spaces occupied by U.S. soldiers and settlers in the nineteenth century. Thus Irving presents De Soto and his sixteenth-century Spanish soldiers as the predecessors to early nineteenth-century U.S. military invasions and occupations in the Indian Territories and in Florida. Irving substitutes Garcilaso's geographical referents with nineteenth-century U.S. American conceptions of frontier spaces and uses paratextual material to draw explicit comparisons between Spanish soldiers and U.S. armies and settlers. By conflating the actions of both groups of soldiers, Irving's *Conquest* places Spanish colonial and U.S. American colonial expeditions on the same spatial and temporal continuum and invites readers to read history both as moving forward from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century in historiographic time, and moving backward from the nineteenth century into the sixteenth century in diegetic time.

At the start of *Conquest of Florida*, Irving introduces the Spanish soldiers under Hernando de Soto's command by describing their movement across spaces defined in the terms of U.S. settler colonial expansion. Irving explains that the Spanish soldiers were "steel clad cavaliers […] glittering through the wildernesses of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and the prairies of the Far West" (10). The three U.S. states and territories Theodore names overlap with the Creek, Choctaw, and Seminole homelands. Even as Theodore wrote his preface, U.S. Federal agents enforced the removal of Indigenous people from these spaces and the resettlement of their land by U.S. citizens, settlers, and slave-holders. In the 1830s, these states and territories were the sites of a massive land rush and a rapidly multiplying cotton-based plantation economy

(Johnson 5). By locating a romantic colonial past—a glittering wilderness—within the confines of contemporary U.S. territorial and state boundaries, Irving fuses together the movement of the De Soto expedition with the movement of contemporary U.S. settlers and enslaved people into the "Cotton Kingdom."

Theodore's description of the De Soto expedition's movement also traces a westward path from Indigenous land east of the Mississippi river into the "prairies of the Far West," an un-nationalized space defined by the U.S. Congress in 1834 as Indian Country, or the parts of the United States west of the Mississippi (LeMenager 683). Theodore Irving's invocation of the "prairies of the Far West" cites a popular term for this frontier space and a frontier narrative by Washington Irving titled *A Tour on the Prairie* (1835). In 1832, Washington Irving accompanied Federal Indian commissioner Henry Ellsworth into Pawnee, Osage, and Delaware land. He travelled during a time when Andrew Jackson's genocidal policy of forcibly removing Indigenous people from newly-formed southeastern states and displacing survivors further west was beginning to take effect (Reynolds 90). At the same time, the forced land sessions and removal did not begin with Andrew Jackson's 1830 Indian Removal Act, rather they were ongoing processes that continually began again on a shifting western frontier (Dunbar Ortiz 114). Irving wrote that shifting frontier into his *Conquest*.

The terms that Washington Irving uses to describe the land and people he witnessed on his travels and the terms his nephew, Theodore Irving, uses to describe the land and people De Soto's Spanish soldiers witness in 1541 and 42 as they move west of the Mississippi River are nearly identical. Washington explains that his *Tour on the Prairies* will describe a "tour, comprising a visit to the Buffalo Prairies," "the hunting-grounds of the various tribes of the Far West," and "the Pawnees, the Comanches, and other fierce and as yet indigependent tribes, the

nomads of the prairies" (v, 1, 2). Theodore's *Conquest* echoes this language when his soldiers reach "the hunting grounds of the far west—the great buffalo prairies" and see people who "answer to the character and habits of the Pawnees, Comanches, and other tribes of the Far West" (2.204, 2.211). By incorporating language from his uncle's travels and from popular discourse on the expanding U.S. frontier into his *Conquest*, Theodore performed a double reenactment. First, he rewrote his uncle's text into his own. Secondly, he created an overlapping frontier space where the members of the Spanish expedition retraced the steps of his own uncle and other adventurers who travelled into Indian Territory.

Theodore Irving also used his *Conquest* to characterize land to the west of the Mississippi as part of a vaguely defined "Great American Desert." By 1830, many U.S. Americans believed that they had reached the last frontier because thought that the "forbidding character of those few regions of the Far West that had been explored, the vast distances involved and the primitive transportation available for the journey suggested that the Great Plains and nearer Rockies were a permanent barrier to future agrarian expansion" (Slotkin 110-111). Irving's descriptions of this space emphasize its infertility accordingly by calling it a waste: his Spanish soldiers travel across a "mountainous waste" and to "the wild waste of country which the Spaniards named the Province of Los Vaqueros." (2.10, 2.210). At one point, they find themselves with "nothing but savage wastes before them," and at another they look across "great wastes of ocean," (2.213, 2.256). The *American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828) cultivates similar associations: waste can be "a desolate or uncultivated country. The plains of Arabia are mostly a wide *waste*" or a "ground, space or place unoccupied; as the ethereal *waste*" (web).

In Irving's *Conquest*, this shared lexicon represents a double re-enactment. Firstly, Theodore re-writes terms from popular discourse on the Far West into his account of a sixteenth-

century Spanish colonial expedition across Indigenous space. Secondly, he constructs these sixteenth-century soldiers as the retroactive witnesses of a space newly defined as empty and desolate in the early nineteenth century. As he digested *La Florida* into his *Conquest*, Theodore constructed a sixteenth-century precedent for nineteenth-century claims that the West was unpopulated, unclaimed, and freely available for U.S. occupation and settlement.

In 1851, Theodore wrote a new preface for his *Conquest* to accompany a new edition of this work printed by George Putnam. In this preface, he explicitly addresses the connection between the U.S. invasion and occupation of the Seminole homeland in Florida, a series of events which took place over the first half of the nineteenth century and lasted for nearly fifty years, and his narrative on the conquest of Florida. Irving also conflates descriptions of Indigenous people found in *La Florida* with those circulated in nineteenth-century frontier travelogues, collapsing Indigenous history into an ethnographic present. In his "Preface to the Revised Edition," he addresses the Florida wars in a closing paragraph:

> Since the publication of the first edition of this work, the war with the native tribes of Florida has occurred; in which the United States troops have sustained many of the difficulties, hardships and perils sustained by the Spaniards in their adventurous expedition. The same proud and unyielding spirit was exhibited by the native chiefs, which actuated their ancestors, and called forth the admiration of the Spanish historians. Indeed, the recent Indian campaigns in Florida cast back much illustration and interest on the romantic enterprise of De Soto (xiii).

In this paragraph, Irving places a concluded Florida war at some point between 1835 and 1851. However, the U.S. war against Indigenous people in Florida was far longer than this. While some Seminole and Miccosukee people resisted forced removal and remain in Florida to this day, U.S. military attacks on Indigenous people and self-liberated Africans living in maroon communities in Florida began with Andrew Jackson's unauthorized Patriot Wars in 1812-1813 and the invasion of U.S. troops ostensibly reached an end point with the destruction of Seminole settlements in the Big Cypress Swamp in 1858 (Clark Shire, 34; Milanich 182).

In his preface, Irving proposes reading as a form of re-enactment. He rewrites the timeline of the Florida wars into the narrative time of his text by inviting the reader to imagine the recent Indian campaigns in Florida at the same time as they read about the distant De Soto expedition. For Irving, U.S. soldiers become the successors of Spanish soldiers by experiencing the same "difficulties, hardships, and perils." And just as Irving imagines that the Native chiefs of Florida who resisted U.S. invasion "actuated" or re-animated the ancestors he describes in *Conquest* in the recent past, he also imagines that by re-reading an account of De Soto's sixteenth-century expedition, the reader can re-animate the recent experiences of U.S. troops.

Irving's descriptions of Indigenous people are also intimately linked to the U.S. War against the Seminole people in that he re-inscribes a critical distinction between civilized and savage that the U.S. used during the First Seminole War (1816-1818) to claim that "uncivilized people could not be sovereign and that nonsovereign political entities were not covered by the law of nations." Supporters of U.S. campaigns in Florida "relied on a blanket racial-cultural classification [which] presumed that everyone in a particular group shared the same 'uncivilized culture'" (Rosen 147). Theodore's *Conquest* draws this distinction by using the racialized word "savage" as a noun or adjective to describe Indigenous people 139 times, and by describing Indigenous people as members of unindividuated "hordes" that, despite being composed of many members, behave as a single body. For example, the soliders are "exposed to the assaults of hordes of lurking savages," "beset by hordes of savages," attacked by "hordes of lurking savages," witness to "the thronging of hordes of savages to the combat" and aware of "tribes of Indians […] unsettled in their abodes, wandering about like the wild Arabs" (1.18, 1.19-20, 1.102, 1.213). These descriptions of Indigenous people as monolithic racialized abstractions

introduce the legal language of U.S. military invasions of Florida into an account of the sixteenth-century Spanish expedition.

In addition to introducing early nineteenth-century racialized language in his *Conquest*, Irving's digest amplifies Garcilaso's descriptions of violence in accounts of Indigenous retaliations against the Spanish. When Irving expands on these descriptions, he gestures toward Indian depredation narratives, texts circulated in popular press as reports from the Florida Wars which began in December of 1835. These narratives built on early accounts that depicted Indigenous people as less than human and used a sensationalist lexicon that emphasized tomahawks, scalping knives, and torture. In the first part of the nineteenth century, white U.S. settlers invaded and occupied Seminole land. However, depredation narratives depicted Indigenous people as invaders of white homesteads in Florida and, as a result, they made depredations appear as the rationale for war rather than as the consequence of war (Clark Shire 74). Theodore's conquest adopted elements of this sensationalist lexicon and amplified passages from *La Florida* to depict Indigenous violence as exceptionally cruel and inhuman.

For example, Irving recounts in a passage he reports to have drawn from the Elvas account that "the savages seized their country-man, massacred him on the banks of the river in sight of the Spaniards, and then, as if triumphing in their barbarity, dispersed with horrid yells" (2.80). In another passage, where Garcilaso describes a *curaca* who "mandó tocar arma, la cual dieron con muchos atambores, pífaros, caracoles y otros instrumentos rústicos que traían para hacer mayor estruendo, y todos los indos, a una, dieron un gran alarido para poner mayor terror y asombro a los españoles," Irving alters the sonic landscape to include "yells and war-whoops of savages, who rushed like demons to the assault" (1083, 2.84). By depicting Indigenous people as

demonic, blood-thirsty assassins, Theodore borrowed from the same sensationalist lexicon used to justify U.S. invasion and occupation of the Seminole homeland in Florida.

Theodore also wrote new characters into his 1835 *Conquest* to reflect U.S. settler colonial mythologies. When Luis de Moscoso, De Soto's successor, decides to leave Florida for Mexico in 1542, Garcilaso reports that "todos los capitantes y soldados del ejército hubiesen andado descontentos por no haber hallado en la Florida las partes que pretendían […] de común consentimiento de los más poderosos fue acordado que, lo más presto que les fuese posible, saliesen de aquel reino" (1175-6). However, in the part of Theodore's *Conquest* based on this passage, Anglophone soldiers contest Moscoso's decision. Theodore relates that some of the men

> had still a lingering hope of finding a country sufficiently rich to repay them for all their toils. They represented that Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had told the Emperor of his having *visited a district where cotton grew* […] Besides *they had actually met with cotton mantles* and Turquoises at a province called Guasco […] some of them declared they would rather perish in the wilderness than return beggared and miserable to Europe from an expedition undertaken with such high and vaunting anticipations (213-14, my italics).

Garcilaso's version makes no mention of dissenting soldiers in this particular passage. The hopeful men who dream of cotton and would rather die than leave Florida before making their fortune there are Irving's creation. When Irving writes these cotton-hungry dissenters into his version of the sixteenth-century Spanish expedition, he projects proto-U.S. American settlers into the Spanish colonial past.

The emphasis on cotton here—the soldiers who knew of "a district where cotton grew" and "had actually met with cotton mantles"— is especially noteworthy, because Garcilaso's text makes no mention of native Florida cotton. In fact, Garcilaso emphasizes the distinction between the cotton garments of people in Mexico and the garments made of leather that the Spanish explorers wear for lack of any other available materials for garments in Florida (1221). Irving's version retroactively plants cotton fields across the romantic sixteenth-century "wildernesses" of

Florida, Georgia, and Alabama to suggest that not only U.S. soldiers and settlers inherited Spanish colonial past but that the land itself prefigured their arrival.

In his *Conquest of Florida*, Theodore Irving carries out multiple textual re-enactments. First, he incorporates text from *La Florida del Inca* into his own narrative voice. Irving's narrator uses this text in contradictory ways, both by foregrounding it as the authoritative source material for his historical digest and by obscuring it as the hidden source of his uncited translations. Second, he invites his readers to interpret De Soto and his Spanish soldiers as predecessors or prefigurations of the U.S. soldiers who militarize the frontier and fight campaigns against Indigenous people in nineteenth-century Florida. In this way, re-telling Spanish history also becomes a means of re-telling U.S. history. Finally, he writes categories and characters drawn from nineteenth-century print and popular culture into his account of the early history of Florida. Like Garcilaso, who renegotiates the topographical parameters of the De Soto narrative by rewriting Cabeza de Vaca's account of Apalachee in *La Florida del Inca*, Irving renegotiates the national and ideological allegiances of the De Soto expedition by rewriting Garcilaso's protagonists as prefigurations of nineteenth-century Anglo-American soldiers and settlers.

V. Conclusions

Irving's digest rests on a paradoxical claim to historiographic authority. On the one hand, Irving presents *La Florida del Inca* as a privileged primary source on the De Soto expedition. His work rests heavily on carefully studying this source and comparing it with others. On the other hand, Irving's claims also rest on his privileged role as a digestor of texts, someone who evaluates, condenses, and reframes primary historical sources. Because he has the unique

experience of comparing *La Florida del Inca* with several other texts, he is uniquely qualified to recreate Garcilaso's account of the history of Florida using his own narrative voice. This is the implicit claim that authorizes Irving to include non-credited translations from *La Florida del Inca* in the body of his work and present them as his own original work. A great deal of Irving's *Conquest* consists of translations and summaries of *La Florida del* Inca. Future research on the relationship between *Conquest* and early English editions of the Elvas narrative will allow for a more complete and nuanced understanding of the methods Irving uses to craft a history that results from his sustained engagement with just two other texts.

Irving's digest also raises suggestive questions about the nature of translation as an embodied act. This chapter argues that Irving adopts the voice of the Cuzcan historian in his digest and presents it as his own in an act of appropriation that resembles white settlers' use of Indian clothing to explore the possibility of adopting distinctly American political and literary identities. By presenting translations of Garcilaso's narrative as the work of his own literary voice and archival labors, Irving plays the role of Garcilaso for himself and for his readers. Irving also suggests a connection between the physical actions of the U.S. soldiers who invade Florida in the nineteenth century and the movement of the Spanish soldiers who invade Florida in the sixteenth century. By inviting the reader to imagine those two timelines simultaneously as they read *Conquest of Florida*, Irving becomes a participant in the reenactment of both military campaigns. Finally, Irving uses his digest to project tropes and figures of the early U.S. republic backwards into sixteenth-century Florida to create a colonial past that prefigures nineteenth-century U.S. settler colonialist nationalism.

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CONCLUSIONS

I. Summary of findings

Early French and English translations of *La Florida del Inca* are an indispensable part of understanding the wide-reaching impact of Garcilaso's work in the early modern period and nineteenth century. As interlingual and cultural translators transformed this source material in texts, books, and paratexts, they participated in debates about the parameters of translation, re-shaped visual and cartographic representations of space in the early southeast United States, composed idealized and racialized visual and textual representations of Indigenous people, and built settler colonialist teleologies and mythologies that had tangible impacts on Indigenous and settler communities in and out of the region. It is jarring to realize that Garcilaso's translators used his text to support and promote the dispossession of Florida's Indigenous inahbitants, since Garcilaso wrote to promote the possibility that Spanish people would put aside their weapons and contribute to building communities in Florida that were based on mutual love and recognition of common humanity.

It is possible that the translators studied here grant themselves a greater degree of license to experiment with conventions of genre and style precisely because they are working with a text written by an Indigenous and mestizo author about the Americas. Their translations imply racialized readings of Garcilaso that they use to discredit him and to negotiate their own presumed authority. Garcilaso crafted a collective historiographic voice that combined perspectives from Spanish eyewitnesses, Spanish historians, Indigenous actors, other than human beings, material objects, and his own experiences. He adapted conventions of Renaissance historiography to make his text a space for multiple voices, perspectives, archives, and modes of

telling history. But in many cases, Garcilaso's translators used his text to consolidate their own individual historiographic voices.

At the same time, Garcilaso's translators do more than produce texts, books, and narrative voices; they use their bodies to mediate between the material they translate and the versions of history they create. Pierre Richelet uses translation to defend a boundary between civilization and barbarism that implicates his own body, language, and memory. Jean-Frédéric Bernard and his collaborators shuffle through copper plates in their inventory to find images to match with translated text. Theodore Irving reenacts the paths of multiple soldiers as he writes. The work that these translators do contains traces of embodied practices through which they negotiate their own identities and roles as lexicographers, ethnographers, historians, critics, authors and, of course, translators.

The translations studied here are a small sample of much larger corpus of the afterlives of Garcilaso's Florida. A more extensive examination of this corpus might also include material details from Spanish editions of *La Florida* produced across Europe and the Americas, the many English-language translations and adaptations of *La Florida* produced in the U.S. south during the Jim Crow era (1877-1950), as well as German, Flemish, and Dutch editions of *La Florida.* I became aware of the existence of some of the editions studied here over the course of researching this project, so it stands to reason that there are likely more print and manuscript translations and adaptations of *La Florida* that scholars have yet to consider.

Using the more expansive category of "cultural translation" to approach early modern and nineteenth-century translation studies also opens up the possibility of working with a more expansive corpus of works that are closely connected with *La Florida* through their shared publication history. These include: seventeenth-century French dictionaries, early modern

European encyclopedias, translations of the Gentleman of Elvas narrative, the diaries of U.S. army captain Bonneville, Louis Hennepin's travel narrative, early maps of Florida, and more. At the same time, thinking about cultural translation in light of Garcilaso's commitment to lending his voice to collective written, oral, material, and land-based accounts of Indigenous history points us toward new archives and new definitions of translation.

In 2018, Alyssa Mt. Pleasant, Caroline Wigginton, and Kelly Wisecup published an article called "Materials and Methods in Native American and Indigenous Studies: Completing the Turn" in *The William and Mary Quarterly*. Their recommendations for engaging the materials and methods of NAIS studies in early American studies—namely, to develop new expertise, establish relationships with Native communities founded on mutual understanding and shared goals, and incorporate new approaches and archives in scholarship—are critical for further understanding the impact of Garcilaso's work as a writer who contributes to an Indigenous archive of the early Americas, and for thinking differently about the work of translation in extending the life of Garcilaso's text. His is a text which already vividly illustrates and explores problems of translation and historiography, and which already contains models for translation that previous translators have overlooked. What might a new translation of Garcilaso look like if translators did not consider words, sentences, and syntax as the primary material to be translated so much as the form, structure, voice, story, and epistemological dimensions of this work?

II. Future projects

As a book project, this dissertation will move beyond its current structure as a series of case studies to make broader theoretical and methodological interventions in the field of

translation studies that use *La Florida del Inca* and its afterlives as a connecting thread. Chapters will cohere around epistemological, spatial, philological, visual, and performative translation issues that *La Florida del Inca* and its afterlives bring to the fore. It will make additional interventions in Garcilaso scholarship by working to further understand the impact of the afterlives of his writing in various spheres of influence. Furthermore, this project will produce an account of Garcilaso's role in creating histories of the early U.S. southeast by theorizing translations, books, and other materials as sites where people built and experienced this space.

The first chapter of the book will analyze Garcilaso's attempts to use Spanish-language records to write the history of a multi-lingual, Indigenous space. It will draw connections between the questions of translation, archives, and evidence that Garcilaso raises in *La Florida* to the work of a wider genealogy of Indigenous scholars. The second chapter will interrogate the use of *La Florida del Inca* and its multilingual afterlives in cartographic projects to define Florida and reconstruct the route of the De Soto expedition. It will add to the materials studied here to consider early twentieth-century anthropological projects that used *La Florida* as a primary source in studying the early history of the southeast. The third chapter will expand on findings here to further consider translators' use of *La Florida del Inca* and of Spanish American colonial histories more broadly to experiment with the parameters of modern historiography. The fourth chapter will consider visual forms of translation by analyzing three sets of illustrations appended to different versions of *La Florida* and by extending this body of material to include visual representations of the early southeast and of the De Soto expedition from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The fifth and final chapter will build on the implications raised here of studying historical translation as a performative practice. It will explore interlingual and cultural translation as embodied practices by considering a range of activities that memorialize events in

sixteenth-century Florida and that might include local festivals, archaeological digs, and forms of collecting.

This dissertation also lays some of the groundwork for designing an interactive, multilingual digital edition of *La Florida del Inca* that could function as a repository for annotated excerpts from the many freely available digital materials in the corpus I've examined here. This digital project might also serve as a kind of space for anthologizing the work of Garcilaso's early translators as well as for featuring some of the stories in *La Florida* that function like autonomous texts within the text. Including related lesson plans and other support materials would aim to make these stories more accessible to new audiences while also embedding them in the context of Garcilaso's larger work and of a community of readers that spans over four centuries. Finally, a multi-lingual, multi-media digital edition of *La Florida del Inca* might include space where users could engage with and create multi-hand open-access translations of many versions of this text. The most important thing would be to constitute new translations of *La Florida del Inca* as intentionally collective and collaborative experiments, rather than the expert revisions of a solitary scribe.