

HERCULES'S TONGUE: FORCE AND ELOQUENCE IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY BRAZIL

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Abstract: Drawing on the ancient tradition of the body-metaphor for representing the kingdom and its ruling state, the Portuguese word *língua* (tongue) emerges in the sixteenth century to designate colonial translators overseas. While many studies were dedicated to the interplay between anatomical and political imagery of the period, few have tackled its imprint on particular lexic and discursive contexts. Based upon a variety of sources related to colonial experiences in Brazil, this essay establishes a nexus between the historical semantics of the word *língua* and different models of colonial rule.

Keywords: Translators. Colonialism. Rhetoric. Politics. Anatomy.

A LÍNGUA DE HÉRCULES: FORÇA E ELOQUÊNCIA NO BRASIL DO SÉCULO XVI

Resumo: Seguindo a antiga tradição retórica do corpo como metáfora para representar o reino e o Estado que governa, a palavra portuguesa *língua* estabelece-se no século XVI para designar os intérpretes do além-mar, os *línguas* do reino. Enquanto vários estudos tratam da interseção entre imaginário político e anatômico do período, poucos se detêm em conceitos

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e contextos discursivos específicos. Com base em uma variedade de materiais oriundos de experiências coloniais no Brasil, este trabalho estabelece um nexo entre a semântica histórica da palavra língua e diferentes modelos de governo colonial.

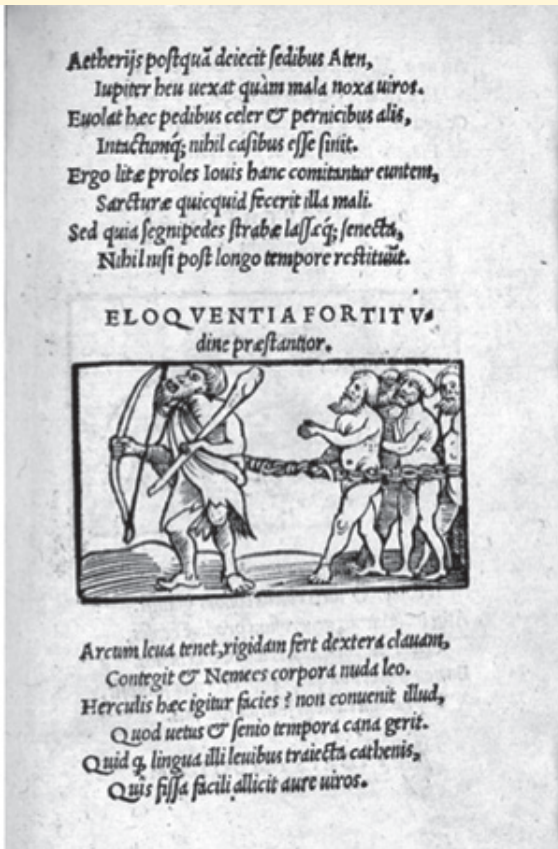
Palavras-chave: Tradutores. Colonialismo. Retórica. Política. Anatomia.

Anatomy of the tongue

Positioned at the threshold of the body, neither within nor outside its boundaries, the human tongue takes a singular place in early modern anatomical discourses. Apt to move beyond the barriers that nature imposes upon its movement, the teeth and lips, the tongue is widely depicted and theorized as the most powerful and least subjectible of organs. This peculiar mobility triggers ambivalent representations ranging from serviceable vehicle to autonomous member. Alongside personifications of the tongue as midwife, footman, trumpeter, or porter, one finds images of the sinful tongue excised and subjected to violent reform, or of the winged tongue defying any form of containment. If the power of the tongue yields to anatomical fantasies of control and subjection, it is, as Carla Mazzio argues, because it dwells on the bodily location of agency and subjecthood.¹ In this essay, I wish to look further at questions attendant to imagining the body in parts. Yet rather than exploring the tongue's defiance of moral and religious discipline, I focus upon the tongue's disposition for enforcing political rule.

The political power of the tongue is strikingly illustrated in the emblem XC of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* (Augsburg 1531) and its innumerable recreations in print. The 1531 edition shows a soldierly Hercules carrying a bow and a club, drawing a small group of men along, with the aid of a chain running from his mouth to their waists (see figures 1 and 2). The image offers an exacerbation of Isidore of Seville's etymology of *lingua* as a word derived from the verb *ligare*: "Varro thinks that the tongue, lingua, was named from binding food; others because it binds words"².

Hercules's tongue, we might add, binds men, as well. Extending out of Hercules's body, the bow, the club, and the chain-like tongue invite comparison. But what exactly is being compared? If what binds men is not the bow and the club, but words - as reads the subscription, not strength, but eloquence - then the emblem praises the tongue for its political function. The tongue is depicted as an eminently political organ for enforcing the association - and, conversely, the dissociation - of people. Thus, the organ of speech, *unlike* arms, not just subdues men, but also holds them together. Yet much *like* arms the tongue wields its force over their bodies.





Figures 1 and 2 – Andrea Alciato: *Emblematum Liber* (Augsburg, 1531)

Alioto's emblem, as I shall indicate below, conflates anatomical representations of the tongue with Humanist rewritings of the Hercules myth and, in so doing, renders the organ's constitutive ambivalence in political terms. In fact, Alioto's image of rule reflects the historical semantics of his time. His emblematic fantasy of bellicose eloquence as a means to conquer, rule, and constitute sociality marks the political language of early modern Portugal. Early in the sixteenth century the term *língua* (besides meaning tongue and language) becomes as well the designation for interpreters used by the kingdom overseas. Drawing on the ancient tradition of the body-metaphor for representing the kingdom and its ruling state, the Portuguese word *língua* is applied to those invested with the political task of representing the kingdom within its swiftly expanding domains. While many studies were dedicated to the interplay between anatomical and political imagery, few have tackled its imprint on particular lexica and discursive contexts. In this essay I establish a nexus between Hercules's tongue in Alciato's emblem and the figure of interpreters in early reports

from colonial Brazil. Beginning with a sketch of two distinctive strands of the Hercules-motif in Renaissance Humanism, I tackle Alciato's rendering of the Gallic Hercules tradition and its reception in Portugal. Turned into a token of sovereignty, and foundational narrative of both French and Portuguese monarchies, the coarse anatomy of the Hercules figure throws light on the *media* used for extending Portugal's power overseas. Based upon a variety of colonial narratives from sixteenth-century Brazil I connect the interpreters, *línguas* of the kingdom with Hercules's bellicose member, the history of colonialism with Renaissance Humanism.

Renaissance Inventions of Herculean Origins

In the *media* used for the transmission and diffusion of the Hercules myth in the Renaissance one finds a distinction between two types of Hercules: the Libyan, or Egyptian, the warrior god, and the Greek, or Trojan, the great orator and model prince. The principal source for the latter is a text by the Greek writer Lucian, entitled "Heracles", in which his playful irony takes the form of a report from Gaul, where he claims to have seen a "very peculiar" picture of the god. Were it not for his "proper attributes," the lions'-skin, the stout club and strung arrow, the traveller would have taken the aged, shaggy figure for "an old sea-dog," or some infernal deity.³ Thinking at first of Hercules's disfiguration as sort of vengeance for his invasion of their territory, Lucian is struck to see that "that old Heracles of theirs drags after him a great crowd of men who are all tethered by ears!"⁴ Moreover, although they are fastened by delicate chains of gold and amber, "by bonds so weak they do not think of escaping."⁵ After wondering for a long time at this way of capturing people, by means of the delicate, yet irresistible chain, the traveller is addressed by a Gaul who solves the riddle, telling him in "excellent" Greek that the Gauls, unlike the Greek connect eloquence with Heracles "because he is far more powerful than Hermes."⁶

Lucian's paradoxical ending and reversal of perspectives did not prevent Renaissance scholars and artists from drawing on his text as an authentic report.⁷ In the context of his Christian, pan-European Humanism, Erasmus praised the Gallic Hercules as embodiment of the ancient ideal of eloquence.⁸ Both Erasmus and Guillaume Budé translated Lucian's text into Latin, to make it readily available, and the latter recounted the myth in his *Institution du Prince* (1547). Furnishing the French monarchy with Trojan origins and the vernacular with a semi-divine ancestor, the Gallic Hercules played a prominent role in French nationalism. The figure's potential for combining political and cultural unity turned it into a timely device for "enriching" the French language and staging the fundament of kingship. Thus, Joachim du Bellay's *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549) ends with an exhortation to readers to remember "your Gallic Hercules" as precursor of the French eloquence: "Vous souviene ...de votre Hercule Gallique, tirant les peuples apres luy par leurs oreilles avecques une chesne attachée à sa langue."⁹ At Henri II's memorable entrance into Paris in 1549, a statue of the Gallic Hercules was used to represent the body of the French king François I. Chained to four figures symbolizing the clergy, the nobility, the council and the people, François's herculean tongue literally supports the body politic.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Alciato's Hercules emblem, was one of the greatest disseminators of the Gallic Hercules myth both in pictures and words. A salient feature of the emblem's transmission is the constant redefinition of Hercules's tongue. Thus, in the 1531 Augsburg edition, as I mentioned before, Hercules's pierced tongue has a thick, heavy chain passing through it, which is attached not to the ears, but to the waist of men following him in a penitential pose. In Wechel/ Lefèvre's 1536 Paris edition a much lighter chain is attached to the ears of a large group of attentive men facing their captor. In the record of Henri's II entrance into Paris, the looseness of the chains holding the body politic together is explicitly interpreted as evidence for the fact that all members voluntarily surrendered to François's eloquent rule.¹⁰

The oscillation between strength and eloquence was apprehended in the genealogical differentiation between a Greek and a Libyan Hercules. National histories of Portugal favoured the latter, the warrior Hercules, who allowed to trace the kingdom's origin directly to the history of mankind after the Flood, without a previous connection with ancient Greece and Rome.¹¹ Bernandes de Brito, in his *Monarchia Lusytana* (1597), writes that the Libyan Hercules, after avenging the death of his father, conquering and ruling in Hispania, chooses to live among the people of Lusitania in recognition of their unity, i.e., their “concert & political mode,”¹² which was already more fully developed than among other people inhabiting the peninsula.¹³ Hercules's underscoring of Portuguese political consent bore its mark in the Portuguese language and territory. In his *Grammatica da lingoagem portuguesa* (1536) Fernão de Oliveira's analyses toponyms to demonstrate that Hercules's “followers built in memory and honour of their captain” the foundations of the cities of Évora and Lisbon (called respectively “Libura” and “Libisoca” after their Libyan hero).¹⁴ Here, as elsewhere, Oliveira makes language itself bear witness to the origin of the Portuguese nation.

In contrast to du Bellay's *Défense*, Oliveira presents his work as a tool not only for refining the vernacular at home, but also for spreading it overseas: “let us not toil in foreign language, but perfect our own with good doctrines, so much that we can teach it to many different people and be always praised and loved, for similarity is the cause of love, all the more so in language. In contrast we see in Africa/ Guinea/ Brasil and India that the Portuguese who are born amongst them are not much loved, solely for the difference of language: and those who are born from there wish the Portuguese well and call them their own because they speak like them.”¹⁵ Oliveira seeks to keep the Portuguese tongue attached to the kingdom's body, even as it stretches to new domains, by arguing that language teaching incites the apprentices to love their teachers, and turning it into a means to implant Portuguese rule in the “heart” and “understanding” of different people.¹⁶ Yet since

Oliveira's argument grounds in the example of Portuguese who speak in other people's language,¹⁷ what is the task of language, the nature of Portugal's rule overseas? What kind of Hercules is it endorsing? In tackling these questions, I turn to a Portuguese translation of Alciato's Gallic Hercules.

Although Portuguese presses scarcely issued emblem books, emblems were widespread and well-known.¹⁸ Among the most valuable records handed down to us are the commentaries written by hand on the pages of the French edition of Alciato translated into French by Jean Lefèvre and printed in Paris by Chrétien Wechel in 1536. The marginalia surviving in a copy of Wechel's 1540 edition comprise a paraphrase to most of Alciato's emblems.¹⁹ Unlike the many literal translations, the commentary to emblem XC, "Eloquence is superior to strength," differs significantly from both its Latin and French source.²⁰

It [the image] shows how eloquence and prudence is more powerful to subdue/ conquer the hearts of men than fortitude, because Hercules, not with his strength which was great, but with his eloquence, tamed and conquered the French: there is a chain coming out of his mouth to make us understand that with the words that came out of his mouth he tied and conquered the French who he governed.²¹

By virtue of its choice of vocabulary, marked by the repetition of the verbs to "tie/bind" ("prender") and "conquer/surrender" ("render"), the Portuguese text shifts emphasis from the association between speech and law-giving, made in the Latin and French subscriptions, to the act of conquering and curbing.²² By praising Hercules's eloquent tongue with a bellicose vocabulary, the gloss conflates eloquence and force. Moreover, the redefinition of the power of the tongue entailed in the Portuguese phrasing bears directly on the media enabling Portugal's reach overseas.

With Portugal's expansion covering global distances, how did the Crown uphold its possessions and rule over its displaced subjects? Exploring the historical semantics of the *línguas* ("tongues") of the kingdom, I describe their position vis-à-vis the state, the head of the body politic, based on records originating from Brazil. My observations on the relationship between *línguas* and the kingdom highlights the interlocking of the words exile, interpreter, and soldier.

Portugal's Exiled Tongues

The word used in 15th-century chronicles, *turgimão* (from the same Arabic source as the French *truchement*), was replaced in the sixteenth century by the synecdoche, *língua*, which, designating the translator by means of the organ required for his performance, calls forth a series of relationships between part and whole. Within official discourses, the word necessarily entails a connection between the kingdom's rule and its protruding *tongues*. Keenly aware of the importance of interpreters for the success of its ventures overseas, the Crown issued a blueprint to use the institution of penal exile, called *degredo*, to ensure the availability of colonial interpreters.²³ According to the Portuguese law code, the compilation of laws called *Ordenações Manuelinas*, the penalty of *degredo* applies to different categories of crimes, from murder, blasphemy, to treason (lese-majesty)²⁴ and was adopted not only by the state, but by the Inquisition, as well. A recent study suggests that about half of the convicts sent to colonial Brazil had been tried for betraying signs of "Jewishness."²⁵

The letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha announcing to D. João the "discovery" of Brazil records the association between penal exile and colonial translation. Caminha writes that two exiles, Afonso Ribeiro and João de Thomarinto, were abandoned ashore in order "learn their [natives] speech well and understand them" ("para aprenderem bem a sua fala e os entenderem").²⁶ A contemporary

relation by the anonymous pilot of the expedition lays bare the penitential nature of the fleet's decision: "[we] left two exiles who began to cry. The men of that land comforted us and appeared to feel pity for them" ("deixou dois degredados os quais começaram a chorar. Os homens daquela terra confortavam-nos e mostravam ter piedade deles."²⁷

An insubordinate subject of the kingdom, the penal exile is cut off from the social body of his homeland. The act of banning the convicted subject from his homeland is reminiscent of the act of cutting off the malicious, slippery tongue from the body characteristic of anatomical, moral discourses. Although it is hard to determine the number of exiles convicted for sins of the tongue, the transformation of the exile into an interpreter implies that the punishment is enforced not only on the convict's body as a whole, but also distinctively on a body part – the tongue – hence compelled to utter foreign sounds.²⁸ Extant official documents issued by the Crown explicitly refer to the penalty of *degredo* as a means to purge the kingdom from corrupt or dangerous members.²⁹

The expectation to make penal exiles serve as colonial interpreters conforms to fantasies of the tamed tongue: like the excised tongue, the exiled subject was doomed to serve the Crown, reduced to a serviceable vehicle.³⁰ From Caminha's letter to the report sent by Jesuit missionaries from Brazil, the figure of subjectible *línguas* is pervasive in colonial writing. Since their arrival in 1549, the Jesuits confidently relied on *línguas* to preach to the Indians and translate Christian liturgy into their tongue. After sharing lay interpreters with settlers and colonial authorities, the Jesuits began to recruit and educate their own *línguas*. The newly founded schools served as a site where, cut off from their families, "gentile boys,"³¹ could be "formed by [their] own hands" ("feytos aa nossa mão").³² Nóbrega ensured that both the pupils and their parents willingly submitted to the Jesuit's design: "[the parents] give their children with good will" ("Dão os filhos de boa vontade"),³³ "This house [school] of São Vicente is the poorest of all and the brothers and priests and the boys suffer great hunger and it is that they do not

run away to their parents” (“Esta casa de S. Vicente é a mais pobre de todas e padecem os Irmãos e Padres e meninos muita fome e é maravilha não fugirem para os seus pais”).³⁴

Calling them “little brothers of the land” (“hermanitos de la tierra”)³⁵ Nóbrega writes on the young *línguas* with affection, and believes “that they would never leave us [the members of the Order] and our administration” (“Foy parecer-me que nunca meninos do gentio se apartarão de nós e de nossa administração”).³⁶ A couple of years later, the first school founded in Bahia is empty: “There are no boys from the gentiles now at home” (“Meninos do gentio não há agora em casa”) as most inmates “fled to their own” (“os mais fugram para os seus”). Nóbrega’s amorous language turns political as he recognizes that only the availability of coercive means would have prevented the Indian boys to escape school: “and because there were no means to subject them, they fled” (“e como não havia sujeitá-los, lá se andaram”).³⁷

Nóbrega’s letters, much like anatomical images of tongues, suggest that the figure of the orderly tongue is always potentially disorderly.³⁸ Just like the dismemberment of the tongue could yield “declarations of independence” (think of representations of the flying tongue), the Jesuits’ little tongues (“meninos línguas”) could and did autonomously step out of office. More often than not, dismemberment culminated not in the taming of the tongue into a diligent messenger in the service of the Crown or religious Order, but into a colonial subject who acted in his own right.

Exiles from the kingdom, whether convicts, runaways or shipwrecks, who assimilated to local culture, were called *lançados*, from the Portuguese verb *lançar* (to throw). While the term *degradado* indicates how the state strives to hold sway over its scattered subjects and territories, the term *lançados* implies less the exertion of state power than its transmission within an unbound territory. Grounded in the state’s centralization of coercive means, and lack of apt proxies overseas, the connection of penal exiles and colonial translators was paradoxical. Thrown ashore by the state, exiles could easily evade its direct control and cross over

to the native's side. The Crown regretted the backlash of creating runaways, but could not afford withdrawing them.³⁹

The Kingdom's Proxies and Authority Overseas

Moreover, as much as the Portuguese recognized the advantage of words over arms in approaching natives and conducting negotiations, persuasion was premised on the availability of military force.⁴⁰ Indeed, Fernão de Oliveira, the author of the well-known *Gramática da Linguagem Portuguesa* was also the author of largely neglected *A Arte da Guerra do Mar* (1555), a naval treatise from which one quickly learns that the conquest of the sea was a military endeavour ensuing the professionalization and state monopoly of force. To be sure, until the creation of professional armies in the eighteenth century, Portugal, like other European states, drew extensively on the service of foreign mercenary soldiers. To overcome chronic shortage, it also drew on criminal exiles. Before the *degradado* left Portugal and faced being sentenced to serve as interpreter, “the Crown began to refer to him as a soldier rather than the more accurate exile, criminal or convict.”⁴¹ As a consequence of the widespread use of exiles (*degradados*) as soldiers and the frequent overlap of these terms in the documents, it is hard to discriminate among (volunteer) soldiers, exiles and interpreters (*línguas*). This simultaneity of being beyond the law, *hors-de-la-lois*, and forced through exile, *exterris*, into royal service, with the predicament of becoming soldier, interpreter or both, outlines the experience of *línguas*.

In fact, one of the best known *línguas* in sixteenth-century Brazil meets all three of these conditions: João Ramalho, or Jean Reinville, was a Portuguese exiled from the kingdom, an interpreter accredited with great authority by the Indians, and a powerful soldier. The Jesuit Manoel da Nóbrega deems Ramalho “a *petra scandali*.”

In this land lives a certain João Ramalho. He is the oldest here; his and his children's life conform to the life of the Indians, which is why he is for us a *petra scandali*, the greatest hindrance among the gentiles we deal with. He is very known by and related to the Indians. He has many women. He and his sons go with their sisters and have children with them, both the father and the sons. They go to war with the Indians, feast like the Indians, and thus live naked like the same Indians. ⁴²

Ramalho fulfills the expectation voiced in Caminha's letter to D. Manoel, that the penal exiles abandoned ashore learn the native's language and understand them. Yet he also oversteps colonial expectations, provoking Nóbrega's obstinate reproof of his behaviour. Nóbrega's letter is carefully limited to attacking Ramalho's cultural assimilation, silencing over his military power. In contrast, the report by Ulrich Schmidel, a German mercenary who travelled in America in the service of the Spanish (1535-1553), expands on "Reinville's" political "prestige and Power" ("Ansehen und Macht"):

As we moved on/ we arrived at a spot belonging to the Christians/ in which the chief was called Jean de Reinville (...) The Indians / together with 800 Indians [living] in two spots are subjected to the king of Portugal/ and to the power of Jean de Reinville/ who according to his own account has lived in India for 40 years/ ruled/ battled/ and conquered the land. (...)This Reinville [Ramalho] can gather 5000 Indians in one single day/ while the king does not gather 2000. / That much power and great prestige does he have in this land. ⁴³

While foregrounding Ramalho's role in striking alliances with the natives at the Portuguese colony in São Vicente, Schmidel's text also contrasts his power to "gather Indians" with that of the

Portuguese king. Without explaining whether the captured Indians serve the sugar mills as slaves, or the settlers as soldiers, Schmidel asserts the incongruity between Portugal's legally established claim and Ramalho's actually enforced rule: the king may claim the territory, but Ramalho is its "chief authority" ("Oberste"). From a colonial perspective, this asymmetry between the kingdom's head and his unruly member rests precisely on their discrepant power to bind men together.

When put in comparison, Schmidel's report, the kingdom's expectations, and Alciato's emblem are oddly reminiscent. By making Ramalho take the position of Hercules, rather than merely his tongue, or arms, Schmidel's text undermines the kingdom's use of exiled subjects as serviceable means for the translation of its power. In turn, Alciato's book depicts Hercules holding his chain-like tongue, as well as the bow and the club, because he is a soldier, a man of arms, in the first place. What makes the emblem forceful is the enactment of its motto by a bellicose hero, a constitutive ambivalence made explicit in the Portuguese manuscript translation and by the Crown's use of penal exile for imperial purposes. In the context of Portugal's expansionism, the word *língua* gives insight into how a centralized state and its displaced members articulate the language of power and the power of language. Premised on a tacit body metaphor, the synecdoche *língua* holds sway over a seaborne empire. The kingdom employs tongues and arms to keep new subjects attached to its Herculean body. The relationship between the head of the body politic, the sovereign king, and its rightful parts, as the confusion between tongues and arms, the oscillation between bellicose interpreter and eloquent soldier indicates, remains conflictual.

The embodiment of sovereignty within imperial realms continues to generate anxieties expressed in the guise of anatomical language. Writing about the need of strict hierarchy in the military, Oliveira foresees the risks of increasing the number of "heads": "Assim que naturalmente é necessária cabeça, e essa uma só, porque se não acha que natureza ordinariamente criasse corpo de muitas cabeças,

nem a razão a consente...” (Oliveira, 1983, p. 49-50). Oliveira’s etymological and anatomical explanation about the captain of a ship’s crew reflects the recurring call for a single, univocal and personified authority. The exiled tongues and arms of the kingdom were by virtue of their unrestrained mobility beyond the state’s purview. Upon his arrival, the Jesuit Nóbrega aptly remarks on penal exiles he encounters in the colony that they could serve the kingdom only if “chained” to the king’s works. “Trabalhe V.R. por virem a esta terra pessoas casadas, porque certo hé mal empregada esta terra em degradados, que cá fazem muito mal, e já cá viessem avia de ser para andarem afferrolhados nas obras de S. A.” (Nóbrega, 1549, p. 39)

Within a few years, Nóbrega reformulates the Jesuit’s method of conversion. His *Diálogo da conversão do gentio* (1555), a dialogue between two brothers of the Order, a lingua and a smith, stages the primacy of works over words. The replacement of itinerant preaching and humanist teaching for physical violence and enforced regrouping, not only echoes the Portuguese reflection of Alciato’s emblem, but also turns the emblem’s motto upside down.

In the opening of his *Grammatica*, Oliveira expresses fear of the tongue at odds with the body, a mouth that speaks against one’s own will, calling it a monstrous thing. Although the tongue is a figure of understanding, a spiritual medium for the communication between souls, it is nonetheless “bound to the laws of the body.”⁴⁴ What happens to the tongue of a swiftly growing body? Oliveira knew that the kingdom’s proxies overseas spoke not the kingdom’s, but other people’s language, and feared that diversity of tongues increased the risk of multiple heads, uttering words cut loose from the king’s single body and will. In reimagining Portugal’s body politic, he shifted attention from the regulation of language to the regulation of war, supplementing the *Grammatica* (1536) with the *Arte da Guerra do mar* (Art of War at Sea, 1555). Oliveira’s rethinking of the just war tradition is associated with the rise of early modern theories of the state and sovereignty. Whereas the doctrine of just war eventually excluded non-European realms,

Oliveira struggled to keep the king, and his kingdom abroad, under the same rules, and within the same body.

Notes

1. See Carla Mazzio, “Slips of the Tongue”, *The Body in Parts, Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York: Routledge, 1997, p. 55).
2. Apud Mazzio, 1997, p. 56.
3. Lucian, 1961, p. 63.
4. Lucian, 1961, p. 65.
5. Lucian, 1961, p. 65.
6. Lucian, 1961, p. 65.
7. On scepticism about the Herculean and Trojan origin of the French, see Hallowell, 1996, p. 246-7.
8. Hallowell, 1996, p. 247 and Bowen, 2005, p. 2.
9. Du Bellay, 1549, f.91.
10. See *C'est l'ordre qui a este tenu(...)*: “mais elles estoient si treslaches, que chacun le pouuoit iuger ne servir de contraincte: ains qu'ils estoient volontairement tirez par la eloquence du nouuel Hercules, lequel a faict fleurir en ce Royaume le langues Hebraique, Grecque, Latine, & autres, beaucoup plus qu'elles n'ont iamais faict par le passé.” aiiiv.

11. On the polemical sources of the Hercules myth, like Ioannes Annius of Viterbos's *Commentaria* and Berosus Babylonicus, pseudo-Berosus, see Hallowell, 1996, p. 244 and Fernandes, 2007, p. 120. On other mythographers whose works are of primary importance for the invention of Hercules's African origin, see Hallowell, 1996, p. 245.

12. "Chegado Hercules a Lusytannia fez, como appõta Laymundo, grandes fautores aos naturaes da terra, estimando muito ver nelles h~u concerto, & modo pollitico, mais auentajado do que os outros pouos da Espanha: o qual lhe deuia de nacer de muita comunicação que auia em Portugal, por causa da gente que concordia ao templo, de que ja tratamos." (Brito apud Fernandes, 2007, p. 132)

13. For a skeptical view of the Lybian origin myth, see André de Resende, 1996, p. 135 and Fernandes, 2007, p. 146.

14. Hercoles lybio filho de osiris rey do egipto veo morrer em esta terra desejãdo de viver sua velhice descansada em ella por a virtude q dessa conheçia: e os successores deste edificarão em memoria e honrra do nome de seu capitão. Libisona. Libisosa. Libunca. Libura. E Libisoca (...) Oliveira, 1933, p. 19.

15. "(...) e nam trabalhemos em lingua estrangeira/ mas apuremos tanto a nossa com boas doutrinas ~q a possamos ensinar a muytas outras gentes e sempre seremos dellas louuados e amados por ~q a semelhança e causa do amor e mays em as linguas. E ao contrayro vemos em Africa/ Guine/ Brasil e India não amar~e muyto os Portugueses ~q antrelles naçem so polla diferença da lingua: e os de la naçidos qur~e bem aos seus portugueses e chammanlhes seus porq falão assi como elles." Oliveira, 1933, p. 24-5. Although the passage is unclear, the phrasing "from there" could refer to miscegenation, those Portuguese born from native and Portuguese parents.

16. See Oliveira's definition of language in the *Grammatica*'s opening chapter: people]: "A lingoagem e figura do entendimento: e assi e verdade que a boca quanto lhe manda o coração e não outra cousa: antes não deuia a natureza criar outro mais disforme monstro do que são aquelles que falão o que não tem na vontade. Porque se as obras são prova do homem (...) e as palavras são ymagem das obras." Oliveira, 1933, p.17.

17. In fact, Oliveira acknowledges that while language is a "figure of understanding" it is "bound to the laws of the body." Quoting Cicero and Quintilian "este

so e hum meyo que d's quis dar as almas racionaes para se poderem comunicar entre si: e com o qual sendo spirituaes são sentidas dos corpos. Porem não é tam espirituall a lingua que não seja obrigada as leys do corpo. Subsequently Oliveira grounds the differences between languages in the differences between the corporeal tongue, the organ of speech. Oliveira, 1933, p. 17-8.

18. See Vasconcelos, 1917, p. 11-5 and Rubem Amaral Jr, 2008, p. 1-2.

19. José Leite Vasconcelos, the modern editor, acquired a copy of Wechel 1940 edition and decided to publish the Portuguese interpretations in the margin to add Portugal to Alciato's bibliography. Vasconcelos, 1917, p. 15-6.

20. Vasconcelos writes that the handwritten commentaries were made to the Latin text. This does not mean that the Portuguese translator did not take the French text into consideration. Vasconcelos, 1917, p. 17. On how the Portuguese glosses vary from literal translations to amplified expanations, see Vasconcelos, 1917, p. 21-2.

21. “Mostra como a eloquentia e prudentia he mães poderosa pêra render os corações dos homens que a fortaleza, porque Hercules não co sua força, que hera grande, senão co sua eloquentia, domou e rendeo os Franceses: tem uma cadea que lhe sae da boca e prende aquelles homens pera dar a entender que às palavras que lhe saiao da boca predia e rendia os Franceses a quem elle governou.” Vasconcelos, 1917, p. 93.

22. Thus reads the Latin subscription: Arcum leva tenet, rigidam fert dextera clauam./Contegit & Nemees corpora nuda leo./ Herculis hec igitur facies? Non conuenit illud/ Quod uetud & senio tempora cana gerit./ Quid quod lingua illi leui-bus traeiecta cathenis, / Queis fissa facili allicit aure uiros?/ Anne quod Alciden lingua non robore Galli/ Praestantem populis iura dedisse serunt?/ Cedunt arma togae, & quamuis durissima corda/ Eloquio pollens ad sua uota trahit.”

23. On how sites of exile span over lands in Asia, South America and Africa, see Timothy Coates, “Penal Servitude, Internal Exile, and the Beginnings of Imperial Exile” *Convicts and Orphans. Forced and State-sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2001, p. 42-64).

24. Coates (2001) “Legal Basis of Exile as Punishment”, p. 24-7.

25. See Geraldo Pieroni, “Gráfico: tipos de crimes de degredados para o Brasil”, *Vadios, ciganos, heréticos e bruxas: os degredados no Brasil-colônia* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Betrand do Brasil, 2000, p. 127).
26. Pero Vaz de Caminha, “Carta de Caminha”, Paulo Roberto Dias Pereira, ed., *Os três únicos testemunhos do descobrimento do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Aguilar, 1999, p. 73-79, here p. 78).
27. Relato do piloto anônimo, apud Pereira, p. 78.
28. On the penalties applied to the crime of lese-majesty and heresy see Leonor Garcia da Cruz, “O Crime de Lesa-Majestade nos séculos XVI-XVII: leituras, juízo e competências”, *Rumos e Escrita da História* (Lisboa: Colibri, 2006, p. 581-97).
29. See Pieroni, 2000, p. 41.
30. “Fantasies of the tongue’s mobility were often explicitly linked to disturbances of the social and political order. The capacities of the organ as a vehicle, as that which exists to carry and transport, led to its multiple personifications as porters, midwives, footmen, trumpeters, horses, and women, all roles that emphasized the tongue’s ordained position to serve the higher-ups.” Mazzio, 1997, p. 58.
31. Nóbrega, 1955, p. 138.
32. Nóbrega, 1955, p. 130.
33. Nóbrega, 1955, p. 170.
34. Nóbrega, 1955, p. 176.
35. Vicente Rodrigues, apud Leite, 1954,[1552], p. 410.
36. Nóbrega, 1955, p. 265-6.
37. Nóbrega, 1955, p. 283.

38. See Mazzi, 1997, p. 58.

39. On the Crown's awareness of "deliberately creating runaways" and attempts at reversing this policy, see Coates, 2001, p. 87.

40. On the Portuguese recognition of the importance translators and "care to cultivate them" see Metcalf (2005), "Encounter," p. 25-30.

41. Coates, 2001, p. 65.

42. "Nesta terra está um João Ramalho. É o mais antigo dela e a sua vida e a dos seus filhos é conforme à dos Índios e é uma pedra scandali para nós, porque a sua vida é principal estorvo para com a getilidade que temos, por ele ser muito conhecido e muito aparentado com os Índios. Tem muitas mulheres. Ele e seus filhos andam com as irmãs e têm filhos delas, tanto o pai como os filhos. Vão à guerra com os Índios e as suas festas são de índios e assim vivem nus como os mesmos índios (...)." See the letter written from São Vicente in 1553, Nóbrega, p. 174.

43. Note that Schmidel's description of the region ruled by Ramalho was written in 1553, the same year of Nóbrega's letter: "Nun zogen wir fort/ und kamen zu einem Flecken der gehörte den Christen zu/ in welchem der Oberste hies *Iean Reinvielle* (...) Diese Indianer/ darbey 800. Christen in zweyen Flecken sindt dem Kônig in Portugal unterworffen/ und des gemelten *Iean Reinvielle* Gewalt/ welcher nach seinem anzeigen in die 40. Jahr lang in *India* gehaust/ geregirt/ kriegt / und das Land gewonnen. Darumb er billich für andern das Land solte regieren: weil aber solches nicht geschahe/ füreten sie Krieg wieder einander. Dieser *Reinville* kan in einem Tag bey 5000. Indianer zusammen bringen / da der Kônig nicht 2000. zusammen bringt/ so viel Macht und grosses Ansehen hat er in diesem Landt." Schmidel, 95.

44. Oliveira, 1933, p. 17.

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Anonym. *C'est l'ordre qui a este tenu; a nouvelle et jouyeuse entrée (...) le Roy treschrestien Henry deuzieme de ce nom, a faite en sa bonne ville & cité de Paris, capitale de son Royaume, le sexieme iour de Iuin M.D.XLIX*. Paris, 1549.

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